

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.
LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COUNCIL OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA
ASSEMBLED FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING LAWS AND REGULATIONS
UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF THE INDIAN COUNCILS ACTS, 1861 TO 1908
(24 & 25 Vict., c. 87, 55 & 56 Vict., c. 14, AND 9 Edw. VII, c. 4).

The Council met at the Council Chamber at Viceregal Lodge, Simla, on
Tuesday, the 8th September, 1914.

PRESENT:

His Excellency BARON HARDINGE OF PENSHURST, F.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.,
G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., Viceroy and Governor General, *presiding*,
and 43 Members, of whom 36 were Additional Members.

OATH OF OFFICE.

The following Additional Members to make the prescribed oath or affirmation of allegiance to the Crown:—

The Hon'ble Mr. Louis James Kershaw, C.I.E.
" " Sir Henry Parsall Burt, K.C.I.E., V.D.
" " Mr. James Walker, C.I.E.
" " Mr. Ruthven Grey Monteath.
" " Mr. Maneckjee Byramjee Dadabhoy, C.I.E

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT
THE OPENING OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL
SESSION IN THE NEW COUNCIL CHAMBER
AT SIMLA.

His Excellency the President:—" I gladly and warmly welcome
Hon'ble Members of my Legislative Council to the new Council Chamber, and
trust that they will find it much more comfortable and convenient than the
arrangements hitherto made for meetings of Council in Simla.

[The President.] [8TH SEPTEMBER, 1914.]

"Since we met last in Delhi we have to deplore the loss of one of our Members in the death of Rai Bahadur the Hon'ble Mr. Sri Ram. A member of a well-known family, Mr. Sri Ram as a public servant rendered great services to his country and the Government of India. After being for some time a Member of the Legislative Council of the United Provinces, he was twice a Member of this Council and received in 1906 the O.I.E. as a mark of appreciation by Government of his services. His activities extended to various educational, charitable and religious works, and his loss will be as deeply regretted by his province as it is by this Council. I am sure that I may be permitted to say that this Council sympathises deeply with his family in their sad bereavement.

"Before we pass to the ordinary business of Council, I will ask Hon'ble Members to stand up while I read to Council a gracious message addressed to the Princes and Peoples of India by His Majesty the King-Emperor :

'During the past few weeks the peoples of my whole Empire at home and overseas have moved with one mind and purpose to confront and overthrow an unparalleled assault upon the continuity, civilisation and peace of mankind.

'The calamitous conflict is not of my seeking. My voice has been cast throughout on the side of peace. My Ministers earnestly strove to allay the causes of strife and to appease differences with which my Empire was not concerned. Had I stood aside when, in defiance of pledges to which my Kingdom was a party, the soil of Belgium was violated and her cities laid desolate, when the very life of the French nation was threatened with extinction, I should have sacrificed my honour and given to destruction the liberties of my Empire and of mankind. I rejoice that every part of the Empire is with me in this decision.

'Paramount regard for treaty faith and pledged word of Rulers and peoples is the common heritage of England and India.

'Amongst the many incidents that have marked the unanimous uprising of the populations of my Empire in defence of its unity and integrity, nothing has moved me more than the passionate devotion to my Throne expressed both by my Indian subjects and by Feudatory Princes and Ruling Chiefs of India and their prodigal offers of their lives and their resources in the cause of the realm. Their one-voiced demand to be foremost in conflict has touched my heart and has inspired to highest issues the love and devotion which, as I well know, have ever linked my Indian subjects and myself. I recall to mind India's gracious message to the British nation of good-will and fellowship which greeted my return in February 1912, after the solemn ceremony of my Coronation Durbar at Delhi, and I find in this hour of trial a full harvest and a noble fulfilment of the assurance given by you that the destinies of Great Britain and India are indissolubly linked.'

"I think that I am voicing the views of my Council and of the whole of India when I say that we are profoundly grateful to His Majesty for his gracious and stirring message, and that we can only assure His Majesty of our unflinching loyalty and devotion in this time of crisis and emergency.

"I propose now to add a few words explaining in greater detail the situation described by His Majesty in the first few sentences of his message.

"It is now five weeks ago that the British Empire was plunged into war with the two great military nations, Germany and Austria. As has been said by His Majesty the war was none of our seeking, but it has been thrust on us in what one can only describe as a wicked and wanton manner. Although we all deeply deplored the horrible assassination at Serajevo of the Austrian heir to the throne and his consort, we cannot but feel regret that this was made the pretext for a conflict in which it was well known that there was every probability that most of the great Powers of Europe would be involved. It was not however until Germany, with a callous disregard for international obligations to which she herself was a party, refused to respect the neutrality of Belgium guaranteed in the Treaties of 1831 and 1839 by Austria, Russia, Great Britain and Prussia, that the intervention of Great Britain became inevitable. It is hardly necessary for me to describe steps taken by the King-Emperor to ensure peace, and the patient, genuine and whole-hearted efforts of that great statesman, Sir Edward Grey, to induce Germany to take a reasonable attitude, nor need I relate in detail what Mr. Asquith has described as the infamous proposals of Germany to buy our neutrality while giving her a free



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[8TH SEPTEMBER, 1914] [The President.]

hand to destroy the independence of Belgium and the integrity of France and her possessions. All these details have been given by Sir E. Grey and Mr. Asquith in the House of Commons on the 3rd and 4th August.

"It suffices for me to say here that Great Britain having with other great Powers guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium, the vital interests of England being concerned in the independence and integrity of that State, it was her duty to keep her word and to maintain that neutrality with all the forces and resources at her disposal. It was in accordance with this stern sense of duty and with the conviction that her cause was just and righteous that Great Britain, in her accustomed rôle of protector of the smaller independent States, took up the sword to maintain the independence and integrity of Belgium and declared war on Germany. We have only to refer to the words of the German Chancellor in the Reichstag when he admitted that Germany had done a grievous wrong to Belgium to find more than ample justification for the action of our statesmen. The excuse then given that France meditated an attack on Germany through Belgium is one that can deceive no one, for it is notorious that France, who desires peace as much as we do, had already promised to respect the neutrality of Belgium. No Government and no people in Europe had less desire for war than the French, but their engagements by treaty and of honour compelled them to recognise their obligation to Russia. It is common knowledge that Germany for the last ten or fifteen years has been carefully planning and preparing for a campaign of aggression and self aggrandisement, and in spite of all the denials of the German Government of any hostile intentions those, who, like myself, have been engaged in watching over the foreign interests of Great Britain during the past few years, correctly gauged the intentions of Germany to force war upon England, France and Russia as soon as she was ready for it and at the most favourable moment. We are now face to face with a possibly long and exhausting war, which, however just and righteous on our side, must be a terrible ordeal through which we should pass with firm confidence in the justice of our cause, and with strong determination to spare no effort to bring it to a successful conclusion. When this result has been achieved, as I have no doubt it will, let us not boast, but thank Him who has given us the victory. War is a terrible and horrible thing, but there is a worse thing than war, and that is national dishonour and failure of a nation to keep its engagements. This we have been happily spared by the firm and straightforward attitude of our statesmen in England. In this great crisis it has been a source of profound satisfaction to me that the attitude of the British Government has been so thoroughly appreciated in India and has met with such warm support. I have no hesitation in saying that the valuable offers of military assistance that I have received from the Ruling Chiefs of India and the countless offers of personal service and of material help made to me by both rich and poor in the provinces of British India have touched me deeply, and have given me one more proof, which I never needed, of what I have long known, and never for an instant doubted, namely, the deep loyalty and attachment of the Indian people to the King-Emperor and the Throne, and their readiness to make any sacrifice on their part to further and strengthen the interests of the Empire. The fact that the Government of India are in a position to help the mother country by the despatch of such a large proportion of our armed forces is a supreme mark of my absolute confidence in the fidelity of our troops and in the loyalty of the Indian people. I trust that this may be fully recognised in England and abroad.

"That, owing to the war, sacrifices will have to be made is inevitable, and that suffering will be entailed is unhappily certain, but I am confident that the people of India, standing shoulder to shoulder, will shrink from no sacrifice, and will loyally co-operate with Government in maintaining internal order and in doing all in their power to secure the triumph of the arms of our King-Emperor. The countless meetings to express loyalty held throughout India and the warm response of the people to my appeal for funds for the relief of distress in India during the war have filled me with satisfaction, and have confirmed

VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF THE SESSION.

[*The President.*]

[8TH SEPTEMBER, 1914]

my first impression that in this war the Government would be supported by the determination, courage and endurance of the whole country.

"It was moreover with confidence and pride that I was able to offer to His Majesty the finest and largest military force of British and Indian troops for service in Europe that has ever left the shores of India. I am confident that the honour of this land and of the British Empire may be safely entrusted to our brave soldiers, and that they will acquit themselves nobly and ever maintain their high traditions of military chivalry and courage. To the people of India I would say at this time—'Let us display to the world an attitude of unity, of self-sacrifice and of unswerving confidence under all circumstances in the justice of our cause and in the assurance that God will defend the right.'

"I would now like to say a few words upon another question which has seriously occupied the attention of the Government of India during the past 12 months—a subject to which we attach the very highest importance. I allude to the question of migration from one part of our Empire to another.

"Before dealing with this question I would like to remind you that, in a speech which I addressed to you in Council on the 24th March last, I informed you of, an announcement made in the Union House of Assembly at Cape Town, that the Government of the Union would introduce in the following session legislation based on the report of the Commission which had been sitting to inquire into the grievances of Indians in South Africa. As all of you are aware, the proposed Indian Relief Bill has since become law, and I think that we may regard the passing of the Bill by both Houses of the Union Parliament with grateful satisfaction. If the new law does not satisfy every Indian aspiration, it certainly removes the principal grievances from which Indians had for many years been suffering. The solution of this very difficult problem is a matter upon which we may legitimately congratulate the Government of General Botha, and I would like to say in particular that the bold and generous statesmanship which inspired General Smuts and the skill with which he piloted the Bill through the South African Legislature have earned our warm admiration.

"I will now revert to the general question which is one of far-reaching importance. It cannot be dealt with satisfactorily from merely a local standpoint. It is a question for which, in my opinion, a practical solution may be found; but it is essential that such a solution should be based on a reasonable apprehension of the requirements of other parts of the Empire. At the outset of the discussion of the problem which has arisen, we are faced with this difficulty. It is being commonly asserted—whether on historical, legal or constitutional grounds—that the full rights of citizenship of the British Empire include the right to settle in any part of that Empire, irrespective of the existence of local legislation barring or limiting access to the Dominion to which access is sought.

"But it must not be forgotten that to such a doctrine a political impediment exists of an almost insuperable character. Our Empire is largely composed of self-governing units. The Dominions have been given their own legislatures by the Imperial Government in order that they may regulate the management of their internal affairs as may seem best to them. It is beyond question that the control of immigration is primarily an internal question, for each self-governing unit must know best from what materials it desires to provide its future citizens. Thus, indeed, it must clearly be seen that the right of free movement within the Empire is conditional on the exercise by the local Legislatures of their undoubted powers, just as it is restricted even more rigorously by the physical characteristics of certain parts of the Empire. The principle of free migration between all parts of the Empire may have attractions and many advantages; it is indeed the principle for which the Government of India have long and consistently contended. But I have shown that to reduce this principle to practice would involve the most serious difficulties, and the course of events has made it more and more clear that there is no hope of its adoption. On the other hand, when we review the whole situation and the policy that

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we have consistently followed for many years past, I fear that the obvious conclusion at which we must arrive is that the result of this attitude has been to force the Colonies to undertake more and more drastic legislation, and thus to produce the present situation in Canada which has brought the problem to an acute stage. This being so, it seems to me that the time has come when we must change our course and we have to consider whether, if we cannot get all we wanted, some alternative is not feasible to relieve at least the present situation which already is unsatisfactory from the point of view both of Indian and Colonial interests, and may in the future lead to serious trouble. I think that such an alternative can be found, and I shall indicate presently what it is.

"I desire first to try to correct any misapprehension that may exist in this country regarding the attitude of the Governments of the Dominions towards Indians as a whole, and towards the position of the Government of India, in this difficult matter. It is often stated that the Colonial Governments, in formulating their measures for exclusion, are actuated by feelings of animosity towards Indians, and that they would not apply to residents of the United Kingdom any of the restrictions they freely impose on residents of this country. I do not think that such a statement is quite fair. To be impartial it must be admitted that the Colonies naturally place above all other considerations the interests of their own country, as they understand them, just as we in India should put the good of India in the front of our motives for legislation. But time after time the Colonial Governments have given evidence, whether during the discussions in their Legislative Assemblies or in their attempts to negotiate with the Government of India, that they are by no means unmindful of the possible effects of their action on the Government and people in this country; and I think I may say with justice that they are quite willing to consider India's requirements once they are satisfied that the interests of their own country have been adequately secured.

"Then, as to the right of residents of the United Kingdom to enter the Colonies without restriction, I can assure you that the Colonial Governments, both in theory and in practice, maintain their full right to reject such immigrants, and use this right without restriction as they may think their local conditions require. So much is this the case that the freedom with which Canada excludes labourers of inferior physique while encouraging by every possible means the emigration of the fit has been described as constituting a serious drain on the United Kingdom. I would also remind this Council how, some years ago, three English hatters were turned back from Australia on the ground that the local labour market for hatters was overstocked. At the present moment an Ordinance is in force in Canada which forbids any labourer, whether from the United Kingdom or elsewhere, landing in that country. Recently the Government of South Africa actually removed by force from their territories certain English labourers whose presence was felt to be undesirable.

"In the face of such incidents, it is out of place to assert that the policy of exclusion is directed against Indians alone, and that there is therefore an Indian grievance against the Colonies. I should like to add that I have seen a statement recently made by the Hon'ble Mr. Roche, Canadian Minister of the Interior, which I believe to be substantially correct, to the effect that, during the past ten years previous to the arrival at Vancouver of the *Komagata Maru*, 917 English people had been rejected at Canadian ocean ports as compared with 376 Indians.

"I will now touch lightly on the incident of the *Komagata Maru*. The despatch of this vessel from Shanghai to Vancouver with 400 Indians on board was carried out without the cognisance or approval of the Government of India. The object of the promoters of the expedition was undoubtedly to challenge directly the legality of the Canadian immigration laws on the lines that the would-be immigrants were British subjects, and had therefore the right to enter Canada. Such a proceeding was in direct contravention of

[The President] [8TH SEPTEMBER, 1914.]

the existing embargo placed on all labourers of every nationality arriving in British Columbia, and in violation of the condition that the immigrants should arrive by continuous voyage from their place of origin. It is unfortunate and to be regretted that such restrictions should exist; but when they do exist, they cannot be ignored without causing suffering and distress. We must all regret the discomfort suffered by the 400 Indians on board the *Komajata Maru* for which the organisers of the expedition were, in my opinion, culpably responsible. They must have known perfectly well that entry would be refused, and the sending of the ship could only be regarded as most unwise. The promoters should have remembered that they who fail to consider the rights of the Colonies can in return claim little consideration for their own. The Canadian Immigration Act gives the Government of Canada very wide powers, and anybody with any knowledge of its contents would realise how futile it would be to contest them. The case was taken as a test case before the Canadian Law Courts and was lost as was inevitable, the result being that, with very few exceptions, all those on board the *Komajata Maru* were deported. There were unfortunately some breaches of the peace committed by some of the Indian passengers on board, but in the end they left peacefully. In this connection I would like to mention the fact that the Canadian Government very generously gave £300 worth of supplies to the Indians on board for the return journey. This point should not be forgotten. I may add that the developments of this incident were watched by the Government of India with the closest attention; but as the question at issue was of a purely legal character, there was no cause for intervention. When however there was an apparent likelihood of the compulsion of the Indian passengers by armed force, I addressed a communication to the Secretary of State deprecating the use of force on our fellow countrymen, and as you are aware, no force was used. Within the last few days I have learnt that these unfortunate people have been left stranded in Japan. I have therefore requested His Majesty's Consul-General at Kobe to repatriate them to India, and at the expense of Government in the case of those without means.

"Having now cleared the ground of possible misunderstandings, I will revert to the alternative policy to which I referred a few minutes ago as a possible solution. I think I have shown clearly that we have drifted into a position of isolation, and it is evident that, if we are to secure for our Indian fellow-subjects any of the advantages that are now denied, we must substitute for this a policy of co-operation. This can, in my opinion, be achieved only by negotiation with the Colonies on a basis of complete reciprocity. Taking Canada for instance, we know that a certain number of Japanese are admitted annually on a passport system. Surely India may claim at least most-favoured-nation treatment in any negotiations that are opened, and secure equally favourable terms for Indians. It should not be difficult to limit by agreement the number of passports to be issued which, while providing very fully for temporary residence, as in the case of students, tourists and the like, would at the same time strictly limit the right to settle permanently in the country. Those attempting to secure admission without such permits or passports would be rejected at the port of entry after ample warning in the country of origin that such rejection would be inevitable. Clearly no reciprocal arrangement for controlling emigration at both ends can be outlined or considered in detail without full discussion with the Colonial Governments concerned, and it would obviously be undesirable to commence negotiations with the Colonies unless there was a reasonable prospect of some practical outcome of the discussions. If this alternative policy commends itself to the people of India, it would be futile to consider any other line of action until it has been tried and has failed. But with the knowledge in our possession that the Colonies have on various occasions shown themselves alive to the necessity of giving such consideration as is possible to the wishes of the Government of India, I am full of confidence that they would be willing to go to some length in giving facilities to a moderate number of Indian immigrants, while obtaining through such a

VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF THE SESSION ; 7
STATEMENTS LAID ON THE TABLE.

[8TH SEPTEMBER, 1914.]

[*The President ; Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis ;
Sir Harcourt Butler*]

compromises certain restrictions in India on free emigration to the Colonies. This is the policy which the Government of India would advocate at the present time—a policy based on a scheme of complete reciprocity—and it is for the consideration of Hon'ble Members and of the Indian public that I have developed our views here to-day. If these views meet with general approval, the Government of India are ready to recommend them to the Secretary of State, with a view to opening negotiations with the Colonies concerned. I appeal to the Indian public to view this question in no narrow light. India has her rights, but equally have the Colonies. Should it be decided to negotiate with the Colonial Governments, I am confident that they, with their strong Imperial instincts, will meet us in no mean or niggardly spirit, provided that we on our side show our readiness to meet them half-way. The fact that in a few weeks' time our splendid Indian soldiers may be fighting side by side and shoulder to shoulder with our Colonial fellow-subjects against the common enemy is a guarantee of fair and generous treatment on both sides in a controversy of this nature."

The Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis:—"MY LORD, on behalf of the non-official members I beg to express our most respectful gratitude for the kind message of His Most Gracious and Excellent Majesty which you have communicated to the Council this morning, and for His Majesty's appreciation of the loyalty and devotion of the people and princes of India to his person and Throne. I humbly request Your Excellency that you will assure His Majesty that in this crisis the whole country is with him and we will loyally and cheerfully render such help as lies in our humble power to ensure success to British arms, as also to ensure that the future history of this portion of His Majesty's Empire will be as glorious or even more glorious than the past. My Lord, I also take this opportunity of tendering our best thanks to Your Excellency for your vigorous action for the removal of the disabilities of Indians in His Majesty's Overseas Dominions, and for your solicitude and constant efforts to uplift them in the scale of nations."

"My Lord, we are also grateful to Your Excellency for the sympathetic reference you have made to the sad death of one of our colleagues, I mean the Hon'ble Rai Sri Ram Bahadur. On behalf of the non-official Members I beg to associate myself with Your Excellency's remarks. The Council has indeed heard with the deepest sorrow of the untimely and sudden death of that estimable gentleman. He represented important interests, was a respectable member of an important community, and his opinion was respected both in this Council and outside as sound and sobered by age and experience."

STATEMENTS LAID ON THE TABLE.

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler laid on the table a statement* showing the number of Muhammadan Examiners appointed by the various Universities during the quinquennium ending 1913, referred to in the second part of the reply given by him to the question asked by the Hon'ble Raja Abu Jafar at the meeting of the Legislative Council held on the 24th February, 1914.

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler also laid on the table a statement† showing the expenditure incurred by the Local Governments in 1911-12 for the purpose of encouraging vernacular literature, referred to in the reply given by him to the question asked by the Hon'ble Raja Abu Jafar at the meeting of the Legislative Council held on the 24th February, 1914.

* *vide* Appendix A.

† *vide* Appendix B.

[*Sir Harcourt Butler; Mr. Ghuznavi; Maharaja Ranajit Sinha; Sir Robert Carlyle; Mr. Gillan.* [8TH SEPTEMBER, 1914.]

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler also laid on the table a statement* showing the number of Muhammadan Inspectors of Schools and the extent to which schools to which Muhammadans are admitted are brought under their supervision in the various Provinces, referred to in the reply given by him to the question asked by the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali at the meeting of the Legislative Council held on the 7th March, 1914.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi asked :—

Mussalman
education.

1. "Will the Government be pleased to state whether replies from all Local Governments (particularly Bengal) have been received to the Government's circular letter, dated 3rd April, 1913, on the subject of Mussalman education? If so, do the Government propose to lay the same on the table?"

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied :—

"Replies have not been received from all Governments to the circular letter of the Government of India No. 5-5-595, dated the 3rd April, 1913. The Government of Bengal have reported the formation of a Committee to consider questions connected with the Education of Muhammadans. The Government of India recently communicated to the Press information regarding the state of this case. The Government do not at present propose to lay the papers on the table."

The Hon'ble Maharaja Ranajit Sinha of Nashipur asked :—

Cattle cen-
sus.

2. "Will the Government be pleased to state if a census of cattle has been taken in all the provinces, and if not, does the Government propose to issue instructions to do the same?"

The Hon'ble Sir Robert Carlyle replied :—

"A census of cattle is taken regularly in each province, either annually or quinquennially."

The Hon'ble Maharaja Ranajit Sinha of Nashipur asked :—

Nalhati
Azimganj
Branch.

3. "With reference to the reply given by the Hon'ble Sir T. R. Wynne to my question regarding Nalhati Azimganj Branch, may I have the honour to inquire if the East Indian Railway has arranged for at least one passenger train each way at a better speed than the mixed train service?"

The Hon'ble Mr. Gillan replied :—

"The East Indian Railway Administration has been running one purely passenger train in either direction over the Nalhati-Azimganj Branch on and from 1st September, the time taken from Nalhati to Azimganj being reduced to 2 hours and 20 minutes."

[8TH SEPTEMBER, 1914] [*Maharaja Ranajit Sinha; Sir William Meyer; Mr. Gillan*]

The Hon'ble Maharaja Ranajit Sinha of Nashipur asked :—

4. “(a) Will the Government be pleased to state if the proposals for minting gold coins in India is still under consideration” Minting of gold coins in India.

(b) Has it been decided to mint gold coins in India and, if so, when will the mint in India for such coinage be opened?”

The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer replied :—

“ (a) The question of minting gold coins in India is still under consideration, and has recently been referred for the opinion of Local Governments and commercial authorities in connection with the remarks of the Royal Commission on Indian Finance and Currency on this subject. I lay on the table copies of the circular letters* referred to.

(b) The answer to the second part of the question is consequently at present in the negative.”

The Hon'ble Maharaja Ranajit Sinha of Nashipur asked :—

5. “(a) Is it a fact that the Eastern Bengal State Railway used to run formerly one Mail train service between Calcutta and Forbesgunj both up and down?” Mail train service between Calcutta and Forbesgunj.

(b) Is it a fact that since June last the said service has been discontinued? If so, does the Government propose to issue instructions to run one Mail train both up and down on the said line?

(c) Is it a fact that the people travelling for a long distance are very much inconvenienced for want of a fast train on this line?”

The Hon'ble Mr. Gillan replied :—

“The replies to the Hon'ble Member's questions are as follows:—

Prior to 1st April, 1914, trains Nos. 41 Up and 46 Down running between Forbesgunj and Calcutta were designated Mail trains. These trains have not been discontinued, but as their designation was misleading in that they stop at several stations, they have been classified as Passenger trains in recent time tables. No alteration whatever has been made in the timing of train No 41, but No 46 has been allowed 20 minutes extra as, in order to meet the requirements of the public, it now stops at two extra stations.

The traffic on the section referred to does not warrant an additional fast service, and no complaints have been received by Government that long distance passengers are being put to any inconvenience.”

The Hon'ble Maharaja Ranajit Sinha of Nashipur asked :—

6. “With reference to the reply given by the Hon'ble Sir William Meyer to my question regarding the inquiry into the rise of prices, will the Government be pleased to state if they have come to any final decision in the matter?” Result of inquiry into the rise of prices.

The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer replied :—

“The Government of India hope to be able before long to publish the Report with an expression of their own views upon the conclusions embodied in it.”

[*Maharaja Ranajit Sinha ; Sir H. P. Burt ;* [8TH SEPTEMBER, 1914.]
Mr. Banerjee ; Mr. Gillan.]

The Hon'ble Maharaja Ranajit Sinha of Nashipur asked :—

Late running
of down
trains from
Calcutta to
Katihar and
Lalgolaghat.

7. “(a) Is it a fact that all the Down trains from Katihar to Calcutta and Lalgolaghat run unusually late almost since June last ?

(b) Is it a fact that the roadside passengers are very much inconvenienced on account of such delays ?

(c) Is it a fact that the trains are delayed at each station for heavy mango and fish traffic ? If so ; does the Government propose to issue instructions to run a Parcel train for the purpose for the season ? ”

The Hon'ble Sir H. P. Burt replied :—

“ The replies to the Hon'ble Member's questions are as follows :—

(a) For the three weeks from 14th June to 4th July the timings of trains between Katihar and Calcutta were thrown out mainly owing to difficulties which occurred at Lalgolaghat. After that period the trains ran punctually.

(b) Roadside passengers were put to some inconvenience during the period referred to above.

(c) At certain times of the year the perishable traffic accounts for some small delays to passenger trains, but these are not of a serious nature. It is not proposed to run a Parcel train over the Section referred to, as the traffic does not warrant such a course at present ”

The Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee asked :—

Proceedings
of the
Canadian
authorities
in connection
with the
Hindu immi-
grants on
board the
“ Komagata
Maru ”

8. “(a) Has the attention of the Government been drawn to the proceedings of the Canadian authorities in connection with the Hindu immigrants on board the *Komagata Maru* ?

(b) Has the Government received any official information on the subject ?

(c) If so, will the Government be pleased to state it for the information of the Council ?

(d) Will the Government be pleased to state what action, if any, it proposes to take in this matter ? ”

The Hon'ble Mr. Gillan replied :—

“ Government are aware that certain Indian immigrants on the *Komagata Maru* attempted to gain admission to Canada though aware that their action in so doing was in conflict with the laws and regulations of Canada. On their claim to admission being rejected in a court of law, the Canadian Government furnished them with provisions for their return journey.

No official report of their proceedings has been received ; but the whole question of the admission of Indian emigrants to various parts of the Empire is being most carefully examined by Government.”

The Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee asked :—

Names and
qualifica-
tions of
persons
appointed to
Indian Edu-
cational
Service
since crea-
tion of Edu-
cation De-
partment
and appoint-
ment of
Public
Service
Commission

9. “ Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the names and qualifications of persons appointed to the Indian Educational Service (1) since the creation of the Education Department of the Government of India, (2) since the appointment of the Public-Service Commission ? ”

[8TH SEPTEMBER, 1914] [Sir Harcourt Butler; Mr. Banerjee;
Sir Reginald Craddock; Mr. Gillan.]

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied :—

"The information* is laid on the table. Information regarding previous teaching experience has been omitted, as the information is not available in all cases."

The Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee asked :—

10. "Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing—
- (1) the number of Colonials employed in Government service in British India; Number of Colonials employed in British India.
- (2) the Colonies to which they belong, and
- (3) the offices in which they are so employed ?"

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

"The Government of India is not in possession of the information desired by the Hon'ble Member. The facts will however be ascertained, and a statement laid on the table in due course."

The Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee asked :—

11. "Will the Government be pleased to state the chief articles of annual import in India from (1) Australia, (2) Canada, (3) South Africa and their respective values ?" Chief articles of annual import from Australia, Canada, and South Africa and their respective values.

The Hon'ble Mr. Gillan replied :—

"A statement† giving the information desired by the Hon'ble Member is laid on the table."

The Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee asked :—

12. "(a) Has the Government of India made any representation to His Majesty's Government in England about the treatment of Indian emigrants on board the *Komagata Maru* by the Canadian Government ?" Representation to His Majesty's Government in England about the treatment of Indian emigrants on board the "Komagata Maru".
- (b) Does the Government propose to lay the papers relating to the subject on the table ?"

The Hon'ble Mr. Gillan replied :—

"(a) In view of the recognized illegality of the proposed attempt to land emigrants in Canada and of the decision of the Canadian tribunals, no grounds presented themselves for representation on the part of the Government of India, but as already stated by the Viceroy, His Excellency, in a communication to the Secretary of State, deprecated the use of armed force.

(b) The answer to the second part of the question is in the negative."

The Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee asked :—

13. "(a) Is it a fact that both Dr. Travers, Director of the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore, and Dr. Rudolf, Professor of Industrial Chemistry, have tendered their resignations ?" Resignation by Dr. Travers and Dr. Rudolf of the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore.

* *Fide* Appendix H and J.
† *Fide* Appendix K.

[*Mr. Banerjee ; Sir Harcourt Butler ;* [8TH SEPTEMBER, 1914.]
Maharaja M C Nandi ; Sir Reginald
Craddock ; Sir Robert Carlyle]

(b) Have the resignations been accepted, and if so, will the Government be pleased to state the terms about pension or allowance (if any) on which they have been permitted to resign ?”

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied :—

“(a) A report has been received to the effect that Dr. Travers and Mr. Rudolf have resigned their appointments in the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore.

(b) The acceptance of these resignations and the arrangement of terms rest with the Council of the Institute. The Hon'ble Member is referred to the reply given to his question regarding the Institute by myself on the 20th March, 1913.”

The Hon'ble Maharaja M. C. Nandi asked :—

Report of
the Bengal
District
Administration
Committee.

14. “Will the Government be pleased to state whether they have received the Report of the Bengal District Administration Committee, of which the Hon'ble Mr. Levinge is President, or any recommendation, if any, thereon from the Bengal Government ; and if so, will the Government be pleased to lay the report and the recommendation on the table ?”

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

“The Government of India have received a copy of the report in question, but are still awaiting an expression of the views of the local Government upon the different recommendations made by the Committee. The question of the publication of the report will be considered later.”

The Hon'ble Maharaja M. C. Nandi asked :—

Grand Canal
Project in
Bengal.

15. “Did the Government of India have under their consideration a project called the Grand Canal Project in Bengal and in connection with which Mr. Lees was placed on special duty ? If so, will the Government of India be pleased to state whether any decision has been arrived at on the said project and whether any financial provision for the scheme will be made during the coming financial year ?”

The Hon'ble Sir Robert Carlyle replied :—

“The Government of India have not yet come to any decision respecting the Grand Trunk Canal Project, which has been referred back to the Government of Bengal for further consideration. It is not possible at present to say whether funds will be provided for the scheme during the coming financial year.”

The Hon'ble Maharaja M. C. Nandi asked :—

Dacca
University
Scheme.

16. “Are the Government in a position to state when a beginning is likely to be made in connection with the Dacca University scheme ?”

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied :—

“The answer is in the negative.”

The Hon'ble Maharaja M. C. Nandi asked :—

College for
the well-to-
do classes

17. “Will the Government be pleased to state whether any decision has been arrived at in respect of the proposed College for the well-to-do classes ?”

[5TH SEPTEMBER, 1914.] [Sir Harcourt Butler; Maharaja M. C. Nandi; Mr. Gillan; Sir Reginald Craddock; Raja Kushal Pal Singh]

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied :—

“The Hon'ble Member is referred to the answer given to a similar question asked by him on the 3rd February, 1914. The Secretary of State's orders regarding detailed features of the scheme have not yet been received.”

The Hon'ble Maharaja M. C. Nandi asked :—

18. “Will the Government be pleased to state whether it has been finally decided to continue the management of the Tirhoot Railway by the Bengal North-Western Railway Company? If so, were the Provincial Governments and Commercial bodies consulted before the final decision?”

Management of Tirhoot State Railway.

The Hon'ble Mr. Gillan replied :—

“The answer to the first part of the Hon'ble Member's question is that the Secretary of State has agreed to the Bengal and North-Western Railway continuing to work the Tirhoot State Railway up to April, 1932. As regards the second part, the answer is in the negative.”

The Hon'ble Maharaja M. C. Nandi asked :—

19. “Will the Government be pleased to state whether the direct administrative control of the proposed High Court of the Province of Bihar and Orissa will be vested in the Local Government or the Government of India?”

Administrative control of the proposed Bihar and Orissa High Court.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

“The intention is that in respect of administrative control the position of the High Court of the Province of Bihar and Orissa shall be the same as that of all other High Courts except the Calcutta High Court.”

The Hon'ble Maharaja M. C. Nandi asked :—

20. “Will the Government be pleased to state whether the Punjab Government has submitted any scheme for raising the status of the Punjab Chief Court to that of a Chartered High Court?”

Raising of the status of the Punjab Chief Court.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

“The question has been the subject of correspondence between the Government of India and the Local Government which is still proceeding.”

The Hon'ble Raja Kushal Pal Singh asked :—

21. “Will the Government be pleased to state whether they have received a memorial from the United Provinces Mukhtars' Association praying for the removal of 'certificated Mukhtars' from sub-clause (2) to (1) in clause (r) of section 4 of the Code of Criminal Procedure? Will the Government be pleased to state what action they propose to take in the matter?”

Memorial from United Provinces Mukhtars' Association for amendment of section 4 of Code of Criminal Procedure.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

“Such a memorial was received; the subject is at present under discussion.”

[Raja Kushal Pal Singh; Sir Robert Carlyle; [8th SEPTEMBER, 1914.]
Mir Asad Ali; Sir Harcourt Butler; Com-
mander-in-Chief].

The Hon'ble Raja Kushal Pal Singh asked :—

Laws passed
in each
province for
the preser-
vation
and protec-
tion of large
estates.

22. "Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement mentioning the laws that have been passed in each province for the preservation and protection of the estates of large landholders?"

The Hon'ble Sir Robert Carlyle replied :—

"I lay on the table a statement* giving the information asked for."

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali asked :—

Amount of
provincial
educational
grants spent
per annum
on Muham-
madan
schools.

23. "Will Government be pleased to state what amount of provincial educational grants has been spent per annum for the last five years on Muhammadan schools in each of the Indian provinces?"

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied :—

"The information will be obtained and laid on the table."

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali asked :—

Training of
Indian
youths in
ammunition
factories
and work-
shops.

24. "(a) Does Government propose to consider the advisability of training Indian youths in ammunition factories and workshops in the country?"

(b) If there be already such youths under training, what is the number of (i) Hindu, and (ii) Muhammadan youths?"

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief replied :—

"(a) It is understood that the Hon'ble Member refers to the training of Indian youths in our Ordnance factories with a view to qualifying them for employment superior to that obtainable by the ordinary skilled but technically uneducated workmen, i.e., the supervision of the Ordnance factories' workmen, all of whom are Indians. The desirability for such training, with a view of substituting Indian skilled for European skilled supervision to the extent possible, has, for many years past, been recognised, and a system of apprenticeship for Indian youths at present obtains and has obtained for many years past in several of the factories. Indian youths do not however readily come forward as apprentices, and of such as do apprentice themselves a large proportion cancel their indentures for one reason or another. In a measure due to lack of technical polytechnic education as differentiated from practical training, apprentices at the termination of their period of apprenticeship are not generally speaking found to be qualified to supervise workmen. Facilities do not at present exist in the factories for giving technical education, but the matter of how best to afford such education *pari passu* with practical training is at present under consideration.

(b) There are at present 21 Hindu and 8 Muhammadan apprentices. There are also 3 Indian Christian apprentices."

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali asked :—

Legislation
on Indian
emigration
to British
Colonies.

25. "(a) Will Government be pleased to state whether any legislation is under contemplation as regards the subject of Indian emigration to the British Colonies?"

(b) Whether the Government of India propose to draw the attention of the British Colonies through Home Government to the desirability of according better treatment to the Indian emigrants?"

[8th SEPTEMBER, 1914.]

[Mr. Gillan; Mir Asad Ali; Sir H. P. Burt;
Sir Reginald Craddock; Sir William
Meyer].

The Hon'ble Mr. Gillan replied :—

“(a) No legislation is at present contemplated.

(b) The Hon'ble Member's attention is directed to the speech made by His Excellency the Viceroy on the subject in question.”

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali asked :—

26 “(a) Have any complaints been received from the Assistant Station Masters and other members of the Station staff and from third class passengers on the South Indian and Madras and Southern Mahratta Railways? If so, will the Government be pleased to state whether they will cause a full inquiry to be made into those complaints?”

Inquiry into
grievances
of station
staff and of
3rd class
passengers
on South
Indian and
Madras and
Southern
Mahratta
Railways.

(b) Is it a fact that there is overcrowding of passengers in local and passenger trains on these Railways? If so, has the attention of Government been drawn to the matter?”

The Hon'ble Sir H. P. Burt replied :—

“The Government of India have received no complaints on either of the subjects mentioned under heads (a) and (b) of the Hon'ble Member's question.

The Railway Board will, however, bring the Hon'ble Member's question to the notice of the two Railway Administrations referred to, and obtain their remarks thereon.”

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali asked :—

27. “(a) Will Government be pleased to state whether their attention has been drawn to the leading article in the *Hindu* (Madras) of the 24th of April, 1914, re Perambore Workshop riot and inquiry into this disturbance?”

Perambore
Workshop
riot and the
inquiry.

(b) Whether the Government of India propose to direct further investigation into the whole question?”

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

“(a) The Government of India have seen the article referred to.

(b) The matter is essentially one with which the Local Government is competent to deal, and the Government of India do not consider that any useful purpose would be served by their directing a further inquiry”.

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali asked :—

28. “Will Government be pleased to state what action they propose to take upon the Prices Inquiry Report, and whether the report will be issued to the public, and, if so, when?”

Prices
Inquiry
Report.

The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer replied :—

“I would refer the Hon'ble Member to the reply I gave just now to a similar question by the Hon'ble Maharaja Ranajit Sinha.”

16 QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS; RESOLUTION ON THE WAR AND THE QUESTION OF FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE IN CONNECTION WITH THE EXPEDITIONARY FORCE SENT FROM INDIA.

[*Mir. Asad Ali ; Sir Reginald Craddock ; Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis ; The President.*] [8TH SEPTEMBER, 1914.]

Represent-
ation of
Cantonment
stations on
Legislative
Councils.

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali asked :—

29. " Will Government be pleased to state—

- (a) whether they propose to reconsider the question of the representation of the inhabitants of British Cantonments in Native States on the Legislative Councils ; and
- (b) whether their attention has been drawn to the views expressed in an article in the *Hindu* (Madras) of the 6th July, 1914, on the subject of the Civil and Military station of Bangalore ? "

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

" (a) Government do not propose to reconsider the decision intimated in my replies to the Hon'ble Member's questions of the 9th September, 1913, and the 9th January, 1914.

(b) The reply is in the affirmative."

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali asked :—

Eligibility
of native-
born sub-
jects of
Native
States to
appear for
Public
Services
Examina-
tions in
England.

30. " Does Government propose to consider the desirability of throwing open more completely the Indian Public Services, such as the Civil and Medical Services, to the native-born subjects of Native States, by making them eligible to sit for such examinations for admission into these services as are held in England ? "

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

" This matter has been the subject of correspondence between the Govern- ment of India and the Secretary of State, who at present has it under his con- sideration with a view to undertaking legislation in the Imperial Parliament."

RESOLUTION ON THE WAR AND THE QUESTION OF FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE IN CONNECTION WITH THE EXPEDITIONARY FORCE SENT FROM INDIA.

The Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis :—" My Lord, before I move the Resolution that stands in my name I would ask Your Excellency kindly to suspend the Rules of Business."

His Excellency the President :—" I suspend the Rules of Business."

The Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis moved the following Resolution, namely :—

" That in view of the great War involving most momentous issues now in progress in Europe, into which our August Sovereign has been forced to enter by obligations of honour and duty to preserve the neutrality guaranteed by treaty and the liberties of a friendly State, the Members of this Council, as voicing the feeling that animates the whole of the people of India, desire to give expression to their feelings of unswerving loyalty and enthusiastic devotion to their King-Emperor, and an assurance of their unflinching support to the British Government.

' They desire at the same time to express the opinion that the people of India, in addition to the Military assistance now being afforded by India to the Empire, would wish to share in the heavy financial burden now imposed by the War on the United Kingdom, and request the

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[*Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis*]

Government of India to take this view into consideration and thus to demonstrate the unity of India with the Empire.

'They request His Excellency the President to be so good as to convey the substance of this Resolution to His Majesty the King-Emperor and His Majesty's Government.'

He said :—"My Lord, the dimly apprehended but ever-present peril that has lain for many years in the vast armaments of European Nations has at last burst upon us as a terrible reality. Once more race hatred and personal ambition have been too much for all the resources of diplomacy, and all the ties of civilisation and economic interest that link one country with another. But neither the fear of consequences nor the dictates of self-interest have been able to deter England from her duty. More than a hundred years ago she drew her sword and, for half a generation, maintained the unequal struggle in the interests of the weaker nations against the brute force of militarism wielded by the terrible intellect of the greatest general that the world has ever seen, and she rose from this long death grapple acclaimed and accredited as the protector of the weak against the strong and herself enriched and strengthened with the halo of victory and the confidence of success. Byron well said, speaking of England during the war of the last century, that 'her generous aid her name endeared', and I doubt not that, on this occasion, history will repeat itself.

"My Lord, we all keenly appreciate Your Excellency's prompt action in assuring His Imperial Majesty of our whole-hearted loyalty and devotion to his person and Throne at this crisis. Once again Your Excellency has acted as a true and trusted representative of the people. The English Empire is as one great family under one beneficent Crown; within its own doors it may have its difficulties, its differences of opinion. But let not the world mistake us. Should any outside danger threaten us, we stand shoulder to shoulder round our mighty mother, England, and her enemies will find us arrayed in solid phalanx by her side ready to meet any danger and render any sacrifices for the sake of the great and glorious Empire of which we are proud to call ourselves citizens. Indians of all ranks, religions, and shades of political opinion scorn and repel the suggestion that there exists any party or body or individual in this country that hopes for aught but victory for England. We know full well on what this loyal sentiment is based. It is based on gratitude for the past, on contentment in the present, on confidence for the future—a confidence deepened by our own sense of loyalty and our joy at the opportunity which has been given us to prove our claim to be regarded as worthy of the noble fellowship of the Empire. History and experience have taught us the solemn truth that the maintenance of the enlightened British rule is an essential condition of the moral and material progress of our country and of the fruition of our political aims and aspirations. It is for this that we rejoice in the thought that our warrior forces will take the field beside the gallant soldiery of England, that the fighting races—the Sikhs, Pathans, Rapputs and Guikhas—of whom we are so justly proud, will charge shoulder to shoulder with the famous British regiments, whose banners have the records of many a fight fought boldly, in the scene of to-day's tremendous struggle. My Lord, we rejoice that the honour of England, and, for the matter of that, of the whole Empire, has been placed in the hands of His Majesty's Indian soldiers. We fully realize the responsibility of the position, but we have no fears, knowing as we do our men. The splendid Indian army under British guidance may be trusted, be it in the camp or in the stricken field, to render a good account of itself, and to uphold its noblest traditions. This welcome departure in British military policy has evoked universal satisfaction in this country. History, I venture to prophesy, will tell us how much this is due to Your Excellency's personal influence, but believe me, my Lord, the general

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impression is that this policy owes its inception to Your Excellency's personal desire to uplift this nation, and to demonstrate the unity of India with the Empire. My Lord, there is yet a higher and nobler reason for our firm and unstinted support of the British cause. We feel that England to-day has drawn the sword not for lust of conquest,—not for the satisfaction of national hatred or revenge, but in the noble cause of peace, honour and humanity. The correspondence now published regarding this war, which I humbly venture to think might with profit be republished throughout India in all the important languages, will make it clear to all soldiers, whether they be British or Indian, that he who dies on the side of Britain dies a martyr to the cause of humanity, peace and civilization, and will add to himself and his posterity a name of lustre. My Lord, we know the justice of our cause, and we doubt not of the outcome. The British Empire will emerge from the struggle stronger and truer, its arms crowned with success and glory, more deeply founded than ever on mutual respect and confidence of its members and more fitted to achieve its glorious destiny.

“My Lord, it is India's deep desire to prove her title to the esteem and confidence of England and the British Empire in this hour of trial. It is not by words only, but by action that we must prove it; if I may say so, ‘not only with our lips, but in our lives’. It is our firm intention to loyally help our Government and to make any sacrifices that may be needed of us. There is a general and growing desire that we should offer on this occasion all our resources in the service of our King and Emperor. That has been the prevailing sentiment in the crowded meetings convened throughout the country. We shall be untrue to ourselves and to the people we represent if here in Council we do not reiterate the sentiments that prevail outside, and make it clear to Your Excellency that we are and shall be ready to bear our share in the financial burden that will be imposed by this war. We know that our present condition is due to the peace we have enjoyed under the British rule, that our very existence depends upon the continuance of that rule. We cannot, on this occasion, be mere onlookers. Along with our devotion and sympathy, the general desire is to make any contribution that may be required of us. I move this resolution convinced as I am that I shall have the full support of the Council; and that no one of us will grudge to bear his share of the burden on this occasion, and thus to do, as I have this morning already said, all that lies in his power to ensure that the future history of this great Empire shall be no less glorious than its past, and that its mission of peace, of progress and of liberty shall be continued and completed.

“My Lord, most of the members are here assembled. They will of course express their own views, but from among those who are absent on account of age or distance, the Hon'ble Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar expresses his full concurrence in any Resolution that I may move in connection with the War. He says, in a letter he sent to the Hon'ble Sir William Vincent and myself, ‘it is our duty to express our profound belief in the justness of the War declared by His Imperial Majesty's Government, and our readiness and determination to stand by Government most loyally in this holy and unselfish undertaking on behalf of liberty and righteousness’.

“My Lord, it is not for me in public debate to refer to private misfortunes. I will do no more than say that Your Excellency has the most heart-felt sympathy of all the people of India with you in this time of trial.”

The Hon'ble Raja Sir Muhammad Ali Muhammad Khan of Mahmudabad :—My Lord, we meet in this new Council Chamber under the shadow of a great war, but with fervent faith in the righteousness of our cause. Nowhere in the British Empire the importance

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CIAL ASSISTANCE IN CONNECTION WITH THE EXPEDI-
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[*Raja Sir Muhammad Ali Muhammad Khan ;
Sirdar Daljit Singh*]

of the war is better realised than in India and nowhere has the loyal enthusiasm been greater. To us, Members of this Council, it is our solemn duty to stand by the Government in this supreme moment, and it is therefore with the greatest pleasure that I cordially second this Resolution. In my humble opinion, My Lord, the Resolution represents the very essence of Indian public opinion, and we Indians are only too proud to bear our share of the Imperial burden. This is not the time for stint and economy, and I am of opinion that the entire resources of India in men and money should be at the disposal of His Majesty's Government.

"My Lord, I cannot conclude without expressing our deep debt of gratitude, which we owe Your Excellency for despatching Indian troops to the front. We all know that this great measure is due to Your Lordship's initiative. The decision has been acclaimed all over India as a measure of far-sighted statesmanship, which has made the British Government more national than any measure of reform of recent years and made India justly feel proud of her position in the Empire."

The Hon'ble Sirdar Daljit Singh :—"My Lord, the present is too grave an occasion to support the Resolution now before the Council in mere words of formal approval.

"True to her traditions of liberty and in defence of the sanctity of treaty obligations, Britain had to unsheath the sword after all possible endeavours to maintain the peace of the world had proved infructuous. She could no longer shut her eyes to the Machiavellian designs of a nation that has been systematically husbanding and developing its resources with a single sinister aim. Not until the frontiers of a peaceful and friendly neutral State were shamelessly violated, did Britain intervene. Then like Arjuna, the peace-loving and tender-hearted hero of *Mahabharat*, she had to take up arms in a war which may most appropriately be called the *War of Dharma*, in which no sacrifice is too great, no burden too onerous. England's cause is that of righteousness. She has taken up the gauntlet so insolently thrown down; and her army and navy are now engaged not only in vindicating her own prestige and honour, but also in defending the very foundation of international morality and civilisation against the barbarous forces of a calculated vandalism.

"The British Empire with one voice has acclaimed the justice of the cause. The great Dominion Governments and the wide-spread Colonies have vibrated with a single sentiment that the honour of the mother country must, at whatever sacrifice, be maintained. And you, My Lord, are well aware how the heart of this great Dependency has thrilled with the same determination. If India has taken part with cheer and vigour in the theatre of war, it is not only from a sense of duty obligatory upon a loyal and grateful nation in recognition of the manifold blessings that she has been receiving under British rule, nor that without her participation the desired end will not be reached, but she does believe in her heart of hearts that her and England's fortune are one and that, in being arrayed side by side with the British Expeditionary Force in this gigantic struggle, she is not doing anything else but fighting her own battle. The unity of interests and the oneness of purpose are urging her on. I am not only expressing the innermost feelings of my own province, but those of the whole of India, when I say that Your Excellency's assurance of India's loyalty and the offer of her humble services to the Crown represented the unanimous voice of the whole population; and it is my earnest and humble request that Your Excellency may once more convey to our benignant King-Emperor the reiterated assurance that we are all prepared shoulder to shoulder with our fellow subjects beyond the seas to uphold the

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[*Sirdar Daljit Singh ; Mr. Monteath.*] [8TH SEPTEMBER, 1914.]

honour of the British flag with all our might. All our resources, physical and material, are at the disposal of His Most Gracious Majesty, and we are ready to sacrifice our last man and last penny in this noble cause. Every Indian, from the prince to the peasant, literate and illiterate alike, is imbued with a spirit of whole-hearted devotion to the Crown. The demonstrations of loyalty and offers of active service, which are of an unprecedented magnitude in the history of this great country, are a testimony of the appreciation of the manifold benefits derived by the people from the British *Raj*.

My Lord, when has a call been made in the interests of the Crown for service abroad that has not met by a ready response from this country? Speaking in the name and on behalf of the land of five rivers—that nursery of brave soldiers in whose veins runs the blood of warriors of old, I say that we shall deem ourselves fortunate if we can lay down our lives in upholding the honour of the Empire to which we are proud to belong. The services hitherto rendered by the Sikhs and the aristocracy of the Punjab at critical times are too well known as historic events. I hope Your Excellency will pardon me if I say that I feel proud at the fact that some of my own kith and kin are among the troops now on their way to the front.

“The announcement that Indian forces have been given the privilege of fighting shoulder to shoulder with their European comrades in arms in Europe has been received with immense satisfaction all over India, and this honour, we are sure, is due in great part to Your Excellency’s initiative and strong advocacy. It is needless to say how much this will serve to strengthen the ties already knit that binds us to the far off Island Empire. It brings in full realisation the theme of the poet :

‘ And East and West, without a breath,

‘ Mix their dim lights like life and death,

‘ To broaden into boundless day.’

“Let us hope that Indian troops, whom the Marquess of Crewe describes as ‘high-souled men of first-rate training and ancient civilisation’, will give a good account of themselves on the field of battle. Whether fighting on the banks of the Irrawaddy or the Yangtsi-Kiang, marching on Magdala or advancing on the ramparts of Tel-el-Kebir or fighting side by side with the Consulate forces during the Boxer rising, Indian troops have shown their mettle. I have not the least doubt that, mindful of their ancient prowess, they will once more prove themselves worthy of their noble and heroic traditions. But apart from the good services of her martial races, there is another way in which India can share with England the burden of the present crisis. Men and money have, from time immemorial, been the sinews of war. They are, more than ever, needed in modern warfare. We have given the men, and we must give the money; and it is for that reason that I particularly welcome the concluding portion of Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis’s Resolution. I confidently hope that on this occasion there will not be a single individual in the length and breadth of this vast continent who will not come forward with his mite, and that the country will willingly offer to share the financial burden that the United Kingdom is to bear on account of the war.

“Out of a full heart, My Lord, I beg leave, with these words, to accord my unqualified support to the Resolution moved by my honourable friend.”

The Hon’ble Mr. Monteath :—“My Lord, on behalf of the Mercantile community of Calcutta, and as representing the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, I desire to express the genuine patriotism which prevails amongst us in the present crisis, and to give Your Excellency the

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assurance of our most loyal support to the Government of India in the cause of the Empire. We firmly believe it to be a righteous cause, and we believe in the British honour which has called the Nation to arms, and so we are ready for sacrifice. Alas ! it must mean the sacred and terrible sacrifice of family life ; it must mean a sacrifice in commercial prosperity as well as in many other ways ; but we believe it is to build up an Empire whose aim in the past has been peace and prosperity and whose future aim is to establish throughout the world justice, honour, peace and prosperity. India takes an active part in the conflict, and as the first of the Indian army are very probably about this time landing on European soil, we are proud of it, and that our men are among the first from the Over-seas ; and those who have gone to bear our share on the battlefield will be proud too, as shoulder to shoulder, with others from Australia and Canada, they join the forces of the British Empire in the Empire's cause with their allies. We are sending our men, and we are joining in voluntary aid to help them and those who may be in distress. These are personal sacrifices and rightly may we now suggest that the Indian Empire gives to the cause ; a cause which is ours, for England fights to-day not for herself alone, but for the British Empire ; and we belong to that Empire in India. If England falls, we fall, but we with the Over seas Dominions say, England shall not fall. Let us be the first then to offer our wealth, for we may be sure that the British Dominions will be giving of theirs. Let us surely give, for under British rule Almighty Providence has favoured India with prosperity and wealth. We can surely do so,—I speak for Commerce,—for we owe our wealth in India to the development, under Government, of industry and commerce ; and where should we be without the facilities of trade ? Not only agriculture and internal trade, but foreign trade has developed in peace, which peace and prosperity have been assured through justice and honour. Britons and Indians have joined as one in India to make her what she is ; as one without the other could not have made the Indian Empire of to-day ; so let India come forward and take her share in the burden of maintaining the cause of justice, honour, peace and prosperity. In this cause, My Lord, I heartily support the Resolution which has been put forward."

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—" My Lord, after the gracious message of His Majesty the King-Emperor, and the noble utterance which Your Excellency has been pleased to give to the sentiments of the people of India, it is indeed superfluous on the part of any of us to say anything more to assure His Majesty and His Government of the loyalty, the unswerving loyalty, of the people of India. My Lord, all that we need say and should like to say is that India fully recognises her duty at this critical moment, and, God willing, will loyally and manfully discharge that duty ; that no sacrifice of men or money will be grudged by it in order that British arms should triumph ; for the triumph of British arms in the present war means the triumph of right over might, of civilization over the military barbarism of Germany, of ordered freedom over military slavery, and of every principle of liberty and justice that men have held dear in the past, over all that seems to be the opposite of it, judged in the light of the ugly and detestable doings that are reported to be going on in Belgium and other countries. My Lord, "vandalism" will soon, I regret to think, be replaced by 'germanism' if things go on as they are reported to be going on at present. But, however that may be, it is a matter of great satisfaction to all lovers of liberty to think that England, which stood up nobly for it in the past, has risen again to the height of the occasion, and has not hesitated to resolve to sacrifice men and money in order to uphold her own honour and to safeguard the independence of the smaller States of Europe and of the great State of France.

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[*Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya ; Mr. Abbott ;* [8TH SEPTEMBER, 1914.]
Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy.]

"This decision and determination of England reminds me, My Lord, of two lines from one of your glorious poets, who makes a happy warrior say to one when he dearly loved—

" I would not love thee, dear, so much,

Loved I not honour more."

" England has proved that that sentiment still animates Englishmen—aye, Britishers generally; and so long as it continues to animate them, they will act and live as a great nation

" When a hundred years ago England drew her sword in defence of liberty, a great Englishman made the memorable appeal that ' England expects every son to do his duty'. In this present crisis, it is the proud privilege of England to call upon the citizens of a world-wide Empire to respond to a similar call in defence of the honour of the Empire and the liberty of many nations. That call has been nobly responded to ; but I venture to say, My Lord, nowhere more loyally and enthusiastically than in my own dear country. And I hope that when the war will be over, whatever the loss in men and money that it may involve, India will be able to look back with pride and satisfaction upon the part which Indians will have played in it in discharging their duty to their Sovereign and their country.

" I beg humbly to support the Resolution."

The Hon'ble Mr. Abbott :—" My Lord, on behalf of the Domiciled European and Anglo-Indian community, I give this Resolution my whole-hearted support ; and I further take this opportunity of urging Your Excellency to accept one or more regiments of picked volunteers for immediate active service. Our young men are clamouring to go to the front and our women are offering their services, by hundreds, to be of use to the sick and the wounded."

The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy :—" My Lord, I heartily associate myself with all that my friend the Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis has said in moving this Resolution, which embodies the sentiments of the people of India expressed in the numerous public meetings held in the country since the declaration of the war. The Resolution before the Council fully represents the feelings of the people of India ; and we, as representatives of all classes and communities, will be doing the right thing in giving it our enthusiastic support. My Lord, this war has moved all sections of the people of India in a way most gratifying to Imperial sentiment. There is not a corner in India where there is not a genuine and powerful desire on the part of Indians to prove to the world the unity of the Empire by standing in all loyalty in this crisis in support of England, cost what it may in sacrifice of life and property. My Lord, British rule has been dear to the people of this country, but before now it was hardly realised how very dear. My Lord, we Indians, Hindus, Mohammedans, Sikhs, Christians, Parsees, whoever we may be, are in this moment of danger as one body ready to serve England as much on the battle field as with money. There is every disposition among the people to bear a fair share of the financial burden of the war, and now that, at Your Excellency's initiative, Indian troops will fight shoulder to shoulder with the British and the Colonial against our common enemy, the whole of India feels that a great pledge of equal citizenship in the Empire has been vouchsafed to her children. My Lord, as a representative of the Bombay Presidency, I desire to assure the Council that the Resolution will be hailed with proud approval in my part of the country as I am sure it will be in the whole of India.

" My Lord, I most cordially support the Resolution."

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TIONARY FORCE SENT FROM INDIA.

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The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoj :—“ My Lord, I rise to support, with all my heart and with all the earnestness and emphasis I can command, the important Resolution which has just been proposed, in such appropriate terms, by my honourable and distinguished friend, Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis. At the outset it may perhaps seem somewhat superfluous to express our sentiments of loyalty and to repeat our assurances of sympathy and offers of service in the Council chamber after what we have heard of, and witnessed during the last few weeks the scenes of, many crowded and enthusiastic meetings all over the country. But, My Lord, it is only in the fitness of things that we, the chosen representatives of a great people in the premier Council of the Indian Empire, should take the earliest opportunity of stating, in no uncertain language, our sentiments of unswerving loyalty and undeviating attachment to the British Throne and to the person of our beloved Sovereign. My Lord, the war which Great Britain has been driven to wage—a war which she did all in her power to avert—in the name of peace, in the name of humanity, in the name of civilization and international morality, has the full and whole-hearted support of the countless millions of her Indian subjects. In fact, Great Britain's resolute action, in timely intervening in this great contest, has not only secured for her the silent approbation of many neutral Powers, but has evoked universal admiration from all quarters and has raised England in the estimation of the whole world, and has ennobled and illumined British history for all time to come.

“ My Lord, all honour to Great Britain for going to war with Germany, even for a ‘scrap of paper’ for which Germany felt such supreme and Pilate-like contempt. Your Excellency has rightly anticipated us, and we all feel grateful to you for your correct representation of the Indian national feeling on this momentous occasion. The civilised world is no longer in any doubt about our enthusiastic loyalty and devotion to England, through whose beneficent contact and guidance we hope to attain our social and political goal.

“ My Lord, this war, so terrible and so minatory to the whole fabric of European civilisation, has its silver lining; it has demonstrated once for all the absolute solidarity of the Empire. The most perfect harmony exists among the various units, India included, on all large and important issues; the Empire is absolutely united in the presence of a common danger. The war may thus yet prove a blessing in disguise. It is clear, My Lord, that in the present war Germany counted too much upon British neutrality, French unpreparedness and Russian weakness.

“ My Lord, in this great crisis, in this hour of trial, the Dominions have magnanimously come forward and placed all their resources at the disposal of the Mother Country; but, My Lord, we in India are not behind-hand the Dominions in this respect. I am not wrong in stating that India has been foremost in adding her voice to the loud and deafening chorus of spontaneous loyalty which is reverberating throughout the whole of the British Empire. (India, whose interests are permanently and indissolubly interwoven with those of Great Britain, and whose progress and prosperity are solely dependent upon the security of the British Empire, is ready to lay at the disposal of the Crown all that it possesses,—the lives, the properties, and the services of her sons.) The one thought that is now supreme and uppermost in our minds is how we can best serve the interests of the great Empire of which we are not an unimportant unit. My Lord, we proffer with cheerfulness all our resources to the service of the Empire. If need be, we would bear the burden of any fresh taxation that may be found necessary in this unexpected calamity to carry out to its bitter end this just and righteous war. We, as citizens of the British *Empire*, owe sacred duties and obligations to the Crown under whose auspices we have lived and prospered,

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under whose paternal care and guidance the destinies of this great country have been moulded for over a century. All the resources of a vast and united Empire will be ungrudgingly thrown into the great struggle. We, in common with the citizens of Great Britain, are resolved to see this mighty struggle through, not in a spirit of vain gloriousness or vindictiveness, but because we all fully and clearly realise that the time has come finally to end the ever-increasing, distressing, and appalling burden of armaments, which has been forced upon the British Empire by Germany's unjust ambitions and her unceasing intrigue against the peace of the world; that, in short, the time has come for vigorous steps to checkmate the pseudo-Napoleon of the 20th century and to save Europe once again from the dread night-mare of military autocracy.

"My Lord, I cannot refrain from taking this public opportunity of offering to Your Excellency and your Government India's humble but heart-felt congratulations on the wise and statesmanlike decision to employ Indian troops in this great war, and to give them the much-coveted opportunity of closely identifying themselves with Imperial interests. My Lord, this welcome decision of His Majesty's Ministers, taken, as is clear, under Your Excellency's thoughtful initiative, has given a great impetus and patriotic fervour to our determination to stand by Government in this great emergency. My Lord, duty, irrespective of consequences, is one of the most inspiring tenets of the Eastern Faith. As the Hon'ble Sir John Hewett lately remarked, the employment of Indian troops side by side with the best troops in the world, will go a great way to make British rule in India more popular than any other step the Government could take. My Lord, during your term of office you have placed India under the deepest debt of gratitude in many matters concerning her true interests, but Your Excellency's action in employing Indian troops will stand out in bold relief as an epoch-making event in British Indian history.

"My Lord, I only wish to add a word more, and that on behalf of my community. The Parsees are scattered all over India; they yield to no other community in their unswerving devotion, loyalty and attachment to the British Crown; and, in common with other communities, they pray for a speedy and glorious termination of this war, and for the success and triumph of the British arms and the allied forces."

The Hon'ble Mr. Rama Rayaningar:—"My Lord, I beg to accord my cordial support to the Resolution, both on my behalf and on behalf of the constituency I have the privilege to represent on this Council. The fact that some of the earliest and most decent offers of spontaneous help with funds and personal service came from the landed Aristocracy of the Madras Presidency makes the position of my constituents quite clear. They have justified their existence as an important factor of Indian Society. Nor are other classes of people of the Presidency slow to come forward with their contributions. Madras is as enthusiastic in its support of the war as any other part of the British Empire. The conviction that the war England has declared is a righteous war has only added to our enthusiasm. My Lord, about our loyalty to Government, I am sure, there was never in any quarter reasonable doubt; but the present spontaneous enthusiasm of the people in the British cause is a new factor which ought to be specially welcome to England. It was difficult for an out-sider to gauge the true Indian feeling towards England, but the present crisis has made it clear. It has shown unmistakably how deeply attached the people of this country are to the British Rule, and what sacrifices they are prepared to make to ensure its permanence. My Lord, His Majesty's gracious messages to India on the two historic occasions and Your Lordship's unwearied efforts to secure for the Indian a better treatment, both at home and abroad, have converted Indian loyalty into an active feeling of enthusiastic devotion to England. The feeling is universal. Every Indian fervently prays for the success of British arms in the present war, and every one is anxious

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to contribute to that success. My Lord, if at the present moment any Indians consider themselves unlucky, it is because their offers of personal service on the field have not been accepted by the Government. I do not for a moment doubt the wisdom of the Government's decision from a military point of view ; at the same time, the very fact that such splendid material had to be rejected, chiefly for want of training, ought to suggest to Government a sympathetic reconsideration of the Government policy in the matter of Indian Volunteering.

"The time has come, My Lord, when a serious effort should be made by Government for the constitution, equipment and training of an Indian Militia for employment, at short notice, in the field on occasions like this. Indians are ready to fight for the Empire, and their martial traditions should commend their claim to favourable consideration. It is a great thing the British Government has done to give the Indian Army a chance in the European war. It is specially gratifying to note that the initiative came from Your Excellency. I have no doubt, My Lord, Indian men and officers sent out to fight the enemy will justify your confidence in them.

"My Lord, the Honourable mover has referred to financial burdens of the war. Need we assure Your Excellency, after all that the people have themselves said about their readiness to place their resources at the disposal of Government, that any pecuniary sacrifice that may be required of them will be cheerfully made ?

"There are opportunities to improve the resources of the country. German articles not finding their way abroad, there appears to be again a market for Indian natural Indigo. The Sugar industry of India is likely to improve. If the Government take this opportunity to encourage the production in India of the articles we now import from Germany and Austria, the material wealth of the country will greatly increase ; and this increase will more than make up for the temporary financial burden. But be this as it may, we deem it our duty to stand by England and make every sacrifice that is required of us. We had it from Lord Sri Krishna to do our duty without heed to consequences, so we will do our duty, whatever the consequences. May God be with us."

The Hon'ble Mr. Qumrul Huda :—"My Lord, to-day we meet under a peculiar circumstance unparalleled in the history of this country. War, with all its horrors and cruelties, is raging in Europe. Our August Sovereign had to declare war to help the King who was defending his honour and the honour of his country, and the honour of the whole of Europe. It is a righteous cause in which our Sovereign has plunged himself. India, being a part and parcel of the Great British Empire, could not have remained unaffected with what was going on within the Empire. From all parts and creeks and corners of India spontaneous affirmations of loyalty to the King-Emperor and to the Throne have reached Your Excellency as representative of His Majesty. The people were not satisfied with mere expressions of feeling, but applied for permission to join in active service in the present war. The British Government could not have satisfied the people of this country in a better way than to send an Indian Expeditionary force to the war to fight side by side with the English Army. As soon as this fact was known, the Princes of India came forward and desired to contribute in some way or other towards the expense of this Expeditionary force. To meet the wishes of the people in general, Your Excellency was pleased to organise and open the Indian Relief Fund to assist the families and dependants of those who are to fight or to go on active service. I need not say that this call was met with liberality in all parts of the country. All this shows what a keen and intense interest India is taking in this war. Having seen the trend of the mind of this country, my Hon'ble friend, Sir Gangadhar

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Chitnavis, could not have possibly voiced our feelings in a more suitable way than to bring up the Resolution we are discussing. We all know what enormously huge expense means a war in these days. We all also know that England can afford to meet with this expense as long as the war lasts. But we shall be failing in our duties towards England if we do not rise and help England in this unexpected and enormous expense. Shall we not look meanly ungrateful in the eyes of the world if we let pass this opportunity of offering and presenting our mite for the advantages and benefits we have received and are receiving every day under the benign and benevolent rule of Britain. I strongly support the Resolution and submit that this Council desires His Excellency the Viceroy to take into consideration the fact that India is willing to share the heavy financial burden imposed on Great Britain."

The Hon'ble Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi:—"My Lord, I beg to support cordially this Resolution, which has been moved by my honourable friend. It is not necessary for me to refer at any length to the enthusiastic and universal outburst of loyalty throughout India which has been elicited by the war which His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor has been compelled to declare against the Emperor of Germany. Never was the sword drawn in a more righteous cause; and the sympathy of the whole civilised world is with the British Government in the present war. All the classes of His Imperial Majesty's subjects in India are anxious to do their loyal duty to their August Sovereign and to the Empire on the present occasion, and to place all their resources unreservedly at the service of His Imperial Majesty. It is meet that we, the non-official members of this Council, and I, as representing the Zemindars of Bengal, should give expression to the feelings of our countrymen on this the earliest opportunity that we have for doing so. My Lord, as loyal and dutiful subjects of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor, we are particularly gratified and proud that a contingent of His Majesty's brave Indian troops has been sent to Europe to stand side by side with their British comrades in arms and the allied forces and fight for the honour and glory of this great Empire. My Lord, we in this Council and our countrymen would regard it as a great privilege to share the financial burden which will be incurred by the military operations in progress; and we respectfully pray Your Excellency to place our humble view before His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor. Your Excellency took the initiative in placing the services of Indian troops at the disposal of His Imperial Majesty for active service in Europe, and Your Excellency has thereby won the gratitude of all India."

The Hon'ble Kushal Pal Singh:—"My Lord, on behalf of the landholders of the province of Agra, I associate myself with the Resolution. The President of the Agra Province Land holders' Association has already intimated to Your Excellency the desire of the landholders of the province of Agra to help the Government by every means in their power. As their representative on this Council, I most respectfully beg to assure the Government of their deep and unswerving loyalty and steadfast devotion. In times past they gave ample proof of their loyalty. During the troublous days of the Mutiny they displayed conspicuous loyalty. At the present time, when every class and community throughout the country is keen to play some part in Britain's just war, I am sure that the landholders of the province of Agra will yield the palm to none in point of loyalty.

"From every quarter of the British Empire offers of assistance are pouring in, and it is more than gratifying to know that of all her peoples, those of India are well to the fore. The people and princes of India are offering their

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lives, their services and their resources with an earnestness and spontaneity that will be remembered in Indian history. There is a determination here to hesitate at no sacrifice that may become necessary. The countless meetings that have been held all over the country to give expression to this determination fully testify to the fact that never before in the history of India has such unparalleled enthusiasm prevailed, or has such magnificent patriotism been demonstrated by its people. There has never been a war of this magnitude before in the world's history, and it must necessarily impose an extremely heavy financial burden on the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The people of India therefore desire to share in the cost of the war; and thus to show to the world that they realise their obligations to the British Empire, which, to quote the words of the Prime Minister of England, 'knows no distinction of race or class, where all alike are subjects of the King-Emperor and are joint and equal custodians of the common interest and fortunes'.

"Your Excellency has placed the people of India under a debt of deep gratitude by giving an opportunity to the Indian troops to participate in the war."

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi:—"My Lord, on behalf of the 24 millions of Mussalmans of Bengal, whom I have the honour to represent in this Council, I rise to give my heartiest support to the Resolution which has been moved by my friend, the Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis. The Mussalmans of India yield to none in their loyalty and devotion to the British Throne, for they recognise that, within the folds of the British Empire there flourishes the largest Moslem Empire that has ever existed in this world. Under the *Pax Britannica* there are assured to upwards of hundred millions of Mussalmans peace, tranquillity, settled government, even-handed justice, absolute religious toleration, and a keen sympathy and an earnest desire on the part of the Rulers for their advancement and prosperity.

"At the outset, with Your Lordship's permission, I wish to clear the air. There may have risen in some minds, uncharitable to Mussalmans, the question of what would be the attitude of Mussalmans of India if Turkey were involved in this war. That question, My Lord, has been emphatically, promptly, firmly and unhesitatingly answered by the Mussalmans of Bengal as well as other parts of India. Attached as Moslems are to their religion, which they hold dearer than life, they know full well that in this war no such question is involved. They also know too well that England is not now or ever likely to go to war when any such issue is at stake.

"My Lord, there is another potent factor which has evoked the sympathy of practically the whole world on the side of England. England, the home of liberty and freedom, has unsheathed her sword in defence of the liberties of a friendly State and for maintaining the integrity of a weak neutral neighbour against the unholy ambitions of the Mailed Fist of Europe, the disturber of the World's peace. Who is there amongst the citizens of the British Empire who is not prepared to sacrifice all he holds dear when the very honour of his glorious Empire is involved? India of to-day is the creation of England; her destiny is linked with that of England for weal and for woe; her educated classes that represent the masses are the products of English training and English thought. Such being the case, India is prepared to take her full share of the burden of upholding the prestige of the Empire in this gigantic struggle in which the Mother Country is involved. Since that memorable day, the 4th of August, when the news was flashed of the declaration of war, not only have Mussalmans found their way to their Mosques and Hindus to their Temples to offer prayers for the success of the British Arms,—not only in every hamlet, in every village, in every town, in every capital, have thousands in meeting

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assembled and have asserted their staunch loyalty and devotion,—but one and all of them have offered all their resources and their personal services. In Bengal, particularly, enthusiasm has run high, classes vying with classes, community with community, in offering all they are capable of. Bengali youths offered themselves as volunteers for the front in their thousands. But since that was not possible as things were at present, they volunteered to form themselves into an Ambulance Corps. But as that too was not practicable, as they were untrained, they are ready and willing to put themselves under training should the Government graciously make the necessary arrangements.

“ Be it said to his everlasting credit, the energetic Governor of Bengal, His Excellency Lord Carmichael, no sooner did the news reach him than he repaired to the head-quarters in a manner in which none of his predecessors had done before; and under his able, statesmanlike and sympathetic guidance, Bengal is getting quite ready for any emergency. Apart from subscribing largely to the various Relief Funds that have been started, Bengal has resolved to make a present of a supply of gunny bags to the Expeditionary Force, as a special token, peculiarly her own, of her attachment to the Empire.

“ My Lord, how true is the old adage that ‘ there is a silver lining to every cloud ’. This war too has its many bright sides. Not the least resplendent of which is the fact that it has demonstrated to the whole world how truly united was this Empire; and how every one of its component parts had forthwith sunk any internal differences it might have had, and had all joined together in upholding the prestige of the Empire as a whole.

“ The next bright point which seems to me worthy of notice is the impetus that it is likely to give to our arts and industries, if we would only now seize the opportunity that Providence has thrown in our way. Bengal is grateful to its Governor in this connection for having deputed Mr Swan to make inquiries in this direction; and I trust other Provinces will follow suit. Germany and Austria have already reaped a rich harvest in this country; and the time is now come when we should, one and all, resolve to do without all those articles which have been yearly imported from those countries.

“ The second portion of my friend’s Resolution relates to the desire on the part of the people of India to participate in the financial burden now imposed by this war on the United Kingdom. My Lord, from what I have already said, it would be, I think, abundantly clear that not only are we anxious to supply the sinews of war, but we are prepared cheerfully to go far beyond that. We desire to offer all the resources that we can command for the service of the Empire at such a crisis as this. India is fully prepared to take her proper share of the same. May I, on behalf of the Bengal Mussalmans, again assure Your Excellency of our staunch loyalty and our willingness to render whatever help we are capable of for the Empire, and join my friend in requesting Your Excellency to convey to His Gracious Majesty, our King-Emperor, this humble and loyal message from the people of India.

“ The people of India are deeply grateful to Your Excellency for having despatched the Expeditionary Force, particularly the Indian regiments, who will now fight side by side with the other sons of the Empire, British and Colonial. Your Excellency, by this single act, has created one more tie that will bind India to England. We have no doubt that, under Providence, the Indian Expeditionary Force will be able to give a good account of itself, and cover itself with glory and win rich laurels for fair Hindustan.

“ It must be a matter of peculiar gratification to me and to my Colleagues that at least one Indian member of this Council has at the present moment gone to the front to serve his King and his Country—I mean, the gallant Tiwana. I, for one, wish that others amongst us could have had the same opportunity.

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‘ My Lord, one word more, and I have done. In reply to the Moslem deputation, a few months ago, Your Excellency was pleased to say as follows:— ‘ I need hardly repeat to you here what I said in the Legislative Council at Simla in September last as to the Resolution by the British Government of the absolute necessity for the maintenance of the *status quo* as regards the Holy places in Arabia. But I would point out that this is an important and powerful link between your community and the Government and our King-Emperor, for it is only in view of the religious interests of the Mussalmans of India and the value that the Government attaches to the religious freedom and Mohammedan control of the Holy places that such responsibility could rest on Great Britain.’ When such sentiments, My Lord, animate the Government, I say, with all the emphasis I can command, that Your Excellency could count on every single Mussalman if the requisite permission were given to buckle his sword and march to the front and shed his blood in defence of the Empire.”

The Hon'ble Raja Jai Chand:—“ My Lord, the present is an occasion when everybody's heart is full of enthusiasm and feelings of extreme devotion and unflinching loyalty towards the Crown. I am speaking on behalf of the aristocracy of the Punjab, its landholders and martial tribes, of whom each and every member has offered his personal services and all his resources to the Government. My Lord, let me assure Your Excellency that we are all, as one united body, ready to sacrifice our lives and whatever we have to uphold the honour of the British flag.

“ With these few words, I most heartily support the Resolution moved by the Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis.”

The Hon'ble Maharaja Ranajit Sinha of Nashipur:— “ My Lord, I heartily associate myself with the Resolution which has been moved by my honourable friend, Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis. His Majesty's Government, every one knows, has been forced to embark upon this war, not for the sake of extending its territory, or to show to the world its great naval and military powers, but for the sake of honour, humanity, justice and civilisation, so there is not a shadow of doubt that success will be on our side, as our cause is righteous. But we should not, as loyal subjects of the British Crown, sit silent. We are willing, and we have already expressed our resolve to Your Excellency that we are willing, to serve the Empire and to offer our lives and property for the sake of the Crown and for the Empire. We are deeply indebted to the British *Raj* for the manifold blessings which we enjoy, and there is not a single soul in the whole of India, if I may be permitted to say so, who does not like the British Government and who does not wish that the British rule should ever continue here, and that there is not a single person who is not willing to do what is possible for the continuance and safety of British rule in this country. My Lord, we are indeed grateful to Your Excellency for sending Indian troops to the war. According to Hindus, we look upon the Sovereign as the incarnation of God and we consider it a most pious thing to die at the battlefield, so we are confident that the Indian troops who have gone to Europe to fight shoulder to shoulder with British and Colonial troops, will ungrudgingly fight for the success of the British arms and will not hesitate to give their lives on the battlefield for the sake of their King and Empire. My Lord, Bengal, which I have the honour to represent here, has already conveyed, through her Governor, to Your Excellency, her deep and unflinching loyalty and devotion to

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[*Maharaja Banajit Sinha ; Mir Asad Ali Khan.*]

[8TH SEPTEMBER 1914]

the Throne and person of His Majesty ; and I, as one of its humble representatives, beg to take this opportunity of repeating the assurance to Your Excellency, and, through Your Excellency, to His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor, that Bengal will yield to none in her unswerving and unflinching loyalty to the British Crown and attachment to the British Throne. Our young men are enthusiastic to go to the war and serve the King and Empire ; and if it be possible for the Government to utilise their services, I am sure they will not be failing in duty in rendering whatever assistance they can.

“ My Lord, I also support heartily the second part of the Resolution. It is our duty to offer every help possible for the success of the British arms, whether in the form of personal service or rendering such help as is necessary, and we should ungrudgingly bear any burden which may be imposed upon us in order to assist the British Nation at this time.

“ My Lord, we are ready to co-operate with the Government in any matter which may be brought forward for the safety of the Empire and for the success of the British arms.

“ With these few words, I beg to support the Resolution.”

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali Khan :—“ My Lord, we meet to-day under extraordinary circumstances. The European War has cast a deep gloom all over the Indian Empire. Nevertheless, it is like unto the darkness before the coming dawn. England's victory is India's victory, and England's loss is India's loss. With England we are bound to rise or fall. For the fortunes of this country are providentially interwoven with those of England. At the present crisis, a crisis that threatens the very existence of the Empire, mere expressions of loyalty are of little use. The oldest Presidency, I have the honour to represent, I am proud to say, is loyally fulfilling her part in this war. No greater testimony is needed than the fact that good old Madras has already subscribed over fifteen lakhs of rupees to the War Fund. We are ahead of all other provinces in this matter.

“ As a humble representative of the Madras Muslim community, whose staunch and steadfast loyalty to the British Crown and Government is only too well known, I may be permitted to assure Your Excellency and, through Your Excellency, our beloved King-Emperor, of our faithfulness, willingness and readiness to render to the Government whatever help may be required of us. I rejoice to find that the Resolution before the Council asks to share in the financial burden of the war. Whatever differences of opinion there might have been in the past as regards India's share in the Over-seas wars, there is but one opinion at present, that India, poor as she is, will gladly share her burden. All of us earnestly pray for the success of British Arms. Britain's success will be a complete vindication not only of national fair play and justice, but of international honour and glory.

“ My Lord, I shall be failing in my duty as a member of Your Excellency's Council, if I do not express our gratitude to Your Lordship personally and also to the Government of India for sending our troops to the theatre of war in Europe. By this gracious act Your Excellency has but added one more link in the golden chain that binds India to England. Many of us are no doubt aware of the part Your Excellency has played in this delicate transaction. The future historian will no doubt assign to Your Excellency your just and deserved place in the memorable records of the present war.

“ In heartily supporting the Resolution, I associate myself with the Honourable mover, Sir Gangadhar Chutnavis, in all that he has said, and fully share his views and sentiments.”

RESOLUTION ON THE WAR AND THE QUESTION OF FINAN- 31
CIAL ASSISTANCE IN CONNECTION WITH THE EXPEDI-
TIONARY FORCE SENT FROM INDIA.

[8TH SEPTEMBER, 1914] [*Rai Sitanath Roy Bahadur ; Maharaj-Kumar
Gopal Saran Narain Singh.*]

The Hon'ble Rai Sitanath Ray Bahadur:—"My Lord, we are in the midst of a great crisis. We are an integral part of a great Empire of a world-wide power, which is now engaged in a fierce struggle. It is a life-and-death struggle in which the whole of the civilised world is involved, and the deep cannonading which is convulsing Europe is reverberating, so to speak, on our very shores as well; and the immediate effect of that fierce struggle has already become visible in the paralysis of our trade and commerce.

"There are solemn moments in the life of a people when all private interests should be subordinated to the supreme requirements of the Empire. One of those moments has now arrived. It is time that, as an earnest of our deep attachment, loyalty and devotion to the King-Emperor and his Throne, we should, and we do, place our life and property at the disposal of the British Government.

"In my life, I have seen several demonstrations of loyalty and devotion, but never before have I witnessed such a wave of loyalty and enthusiasm pervading the land, permeating all classes of people. Wherever I go, with whomsoever I may talk, I find only one sentiment uppermost in every heart—Success and victory to British Arms. Whatever differences, all undoubtedly of a trivial nature, there might have been between the rulers and the ruled, have now all been completely effaced, and in their place, there is one complete identity of interests and unity of purposes. Success of our rulers is our success, their joy is our joy, their sorrow is our sorrow. The complete unity of our interests has been very well demonstrated by the wise and statesmanlike action taken by the British Cabinet on the initiative of Your Excellency. I mean the despatch of an Indian Expeditionary force to Europe to fight the battle of the Empire. This has gladdened the hearts of the Indians for more reasons than one. It has not only satisfied the just pride of the several martial races that inhabit India, it has not only enhanced their sense of self respect, but has also established and proved, before the world at large, their common citizenship with the inhabitants of the other parts of this great Empire.

"Our interests, our fortune, our life and property are, so to say, inextricably intertwined with the fortune of the British Empire and as such, we fervently pray to the Almighty Father, the King of kings, to give success to the British arms, to allow a just cause to triumph over unrighteousness.

"As for the second part of this Resolution, all that I need say is that, should occasion arise, India will be only too glad to participate, according to her means, in the costs of this great war; for this is a war in the success of which every part of this Empire is vitally interested.

"With these few words, as a member of the Indian mercantile community, I beg to give my humble support to the Resolution."

The Hon'ble Maharaj-Kumar Gopal Saran Narain Singh of Tikari:—"My Lord, the Resolution that is now before the Council is so clearly commendable that no argument is needed to support it. Duty visibly defines the line, and Honour points the direction that we should take. Our Sovereign, the King-Emperor, has been drawn into a war that is not of his seeking; and in defending the neutrality of Belgium and the cherished rights of France, British arms are being exercised in a cause that is righteous and just. England, ever alive to the humanising advantages of peace, persisted so long as she honourably could in neutrality, but when Honour and Duty sounded their call, no answer but the one given could be returned.

"Splendid examples of loyalty to the King-Emperor and devotion to the interests of the Empire are being furnished by the other units of the Empire, and it is but a healthy spirit of emulation that we should also contribute our

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[*Maharaj-Kumar Gopal Saran Narain Singh* ; [8TH SEPTEMBER, 1914.]
Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee.]

mite for the maintenance of England's greatness Our loyalty to the King-Emperor does not require to be professed, our love for his august person does not stand in need of demonstration, our appreciation of British rule in India is above discussion, and the privilege of being a unit of the greatest Empire that the World has seen is our proud possession.

“ My Lord, I support the Resolution ”

The Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee:—“ My Lord, I desire to associate myself and, if I may, the people of Bengal, whom, along with my friends on my left, I have the honour to represent in this Council, with this Resolution. Every Province of the Indian Empire has spoken upon this subject with the utmost clearness and emphasis, and I may add with unparalleled enthusiasm.

“ My Lord, it now devolves upon this Council, as the supreme representative body in the Indian Empire, to focus the public sentiment, to bring together the scattered echoes of the public voice, and to invest them with the solidarity, the dignity and the potency of the national voice. To-day, My Lord, it is not this Province or that Province that speaks in this Council chamber, but here are repeated the echoes of the collective sense of the Nation uttered through their chosen representatives.

“ My Lord, we desire, the representatives of the Indian people, to assure Your Excellency of our unswerving loyalty to the Crown and of our firm resolve to stand by the Empire in this crisis. Apart from the homage and allegiance which we owe to the great Empire to which we are so proud to belong, the Government is entitled to claim our whole-hearted support even on the merits of this controversy. Truly, the sword has been thrust into the hands of England and not into the hands of the German Kaiser as claimed by him; truly, England has drawn the sword in defence of right and justice and the paramountcy of the moral laws. My Lord, England will emerge from this contest higher, nobler, greater than ever, and she will stand forth before the eyes of the civilised world and the bar of history as the champion of menaced nationalities and the proud vindicator of the sanctity of international obligations. My Lord, our loyalty has never been questioned, it is unquestionable. Some of my friends referred—I quote their words—to the tidal wave of loyalty which swept through the country from one end to the other, capturing the hearts and imaginations of a great and vast people. From every section of our population, from the highest to the lowest, from the prince in his palace to the peasant in his cottage, there has emanated the most overwhelming evidence of our supreme devotion to the Empire. The Princes have placed their all at the disposal of the Government, the middle classes have offered their services; the heart of England has been touched. His Majesty has been graciously pleased to recognise our loyal offers, and, My Lord, the Prime Minister in referring to them has spoken in terms which will be graven deep in our hearts and in our memories, and will awaken in us a responsive echo. My Lord, our loyalty has sprung from the fountains of our emotions, but it has its roots also in the reasoned judgment. We are loyal, because we are patriotic; because we believe that with the stability and permanence of British rule are bound up the best prospects of Indian advancement. We believe that, under British rule, we are bound to obtain, sooner or later, sooner rather than later, the full rights of British citizenship, and to secure for ourselves a place, I hope an honourable place, among the free States of a great and federated Empire. My Lord, those are the hopes, the ambitions, which inspire the mind of the educated community as they rally round the banner of the Empire, which is the banner of Freedom and Justice.”

RESOLUTION ON THE WAR AND THE QUESTION OF FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE IN CONNECTION WITH THE EXPEDITIONARY FORCE SENT FROM INDIA.

[5TH SEPTEMBER, 1914]

[*Mr Surendra Nath Banerjee.*]

" My Lord, there are occasions when it is necessary to avow our loyalty, and this is one of those occasions. We desire to tell the world, the enemies of England and all else whom it may concern, that our loyalty is not lip deep, that it is not merely a formula; that behind the serried ranks of one of the finest armies in the world, commanded by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, there are the vast and multitudinous races and peoples of India, banded together as one man, resolved to defend their hearths and their homes and the great Government which has given them protection, and, if need be, to die in their defence. That is the feeling which inspires us, that is the attitude which underlies the loyal offers which have been made.

" My Lord, my thoughts necessarily turn to the great province from which I come, the province of my birth, the province with which I am most deeply and affectionately connected; and, speaking of that province, I will say this, that Bengal is seething with loyal excitement. We can think of nothing else. Every word of what I am about to say is literally true. We can think of nothing else, we can talk of nothing else, we can even dream of nothing else, than the war and how we may assist the Government. My Lord, we wanted to raise a Volunteer Corps of two thousand men. In less than six days' time 600 young men enrolled themselves. We told them what that service meant; we told them that they were to act as doolie bearers, we concealed nothing; we minimised nothing; but they flinched not. A recruiting agent, a young barrister, who went down to Dacca, reported that the Dacca District would alone be in a position to offer ten thousand young men. My Lord, I may, perhaps for a moment, be allowed to relate a little personal incident which took place the other day. A young Bengali Brahmin came up to me and said 'Sir, I want your services in an important matter'. I said 'they are at your disposal'. He said 'I want to go to the front and serve the Government in any capacity the Government may choose to employ me in. I am a cyclist, I can drive motor-cars, I am a draftsman; I do not want any pay whatsoever'. And, my Lord, this young Brahmin comes from one of the most orthodox families in the province. His grand father was a great pandit. The fact shows how far the leaven has proceeded; the fact shows that the sentiment is deep, genuine, widespread. There are Bengali doctors of the highest eminence who have offered their services so that they might be taken to the front and afford medical relief. My honourable friend, the Director General of Post Offices and Telegraphs, will be able to tell this Council how eager the Bengali clerks in his office were to be sent to the front along with the Post Office at the base of operations.

" My Lord, that is the sentiment of Bengal and I take it that that is the sentiment of all India. It is for the Government to decide whether and how far they will avail themselves of these loyal offers. And, my Lord, I will say this, that no more splendid opportunity has ever presented itself to Anglo-Indian statesmanship than now to deepen the loyalty of the people, to add to their contentment, to enhance their self-respect, to inspire them with the spirit of Imperial citizenship and bring India and England closer to one another by the ties of mutual service which, when performed in a season of danger, cannot fail to engender mutual esteem, mutual affection and mutual gratitude, which, after all, my Lord, constitute the true cement of Empire.

" My Lord, I have a few words to say with reference to the second part of the Resolution. The second part of the Resolution follows as a matter of necessary corollary to the first. It embodies in a concrete form the intentions and the views conveyed in the first part of the Resolution. If we are loyal, if we really mean what we say, then our loyalty must touch the springs of human action, must lead us to acts of self-sacrifice, and this Resolution points to the direction in which in the opinion of this Council a sacrifice may be made. My Lord, may I crave your indulgence for a moment to consider the constitutional aspect of this question, not with a view to raise a discordant note but rather to reply by anticipation to objections which might be taken to this part of the

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[*Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee; The President*] [8TH SEPTEMBER, 1914.]

Resolution. My Lord, under the Government of India Act of 1858, except in the case of an actual invasion, or of a sudden emergency, the revenues of India cannot be applied to meet the cost of any expedition outside the limits of India without the consent of both Houses of Parliament. Lord Morley tells us in his 'Life of Gladstone' that this was Mr. Gladstone's provision, and he inserted it with a view to safeguard the financial interests of India. My Lord, I am sorry to have to say that this provision used to be systematically violated until Lord Morley came to our rescue, when he introduced a Resolution into the House of Commons connected with the Soudan Expedition; and ever since then this provision of the statute has been scrupulously respected. Further, my Lord, the people of India are poor. The farthest limit of taxation has been reached, and our own domestic wants are numerous and pressing; but, my Lord, all these constitutional and other considerations must be held in partial abeyance in the presence of the grave situation in which we stand to-day. To-day we are confronted with a crisis of the gravest moment. The very existence of the Empire is at stake; at any rate, its credit, its glory and reputation are jeopardised. We belong to the Empire; we are the children of the Empire; we are a part of it. We claim the full privileges of the Empire. Can you [turning to the non-official representatives], as self-respecting men, claim the privileges of Empire without bearing its burdens? Privilege and burden go together. We aspire to colonial self-government; then we ought to emulate the example of the Colonials, and try to do what they are doing. Our participation in the burden of Empire at the present moment will constitute an irresistible claim to the rights of equal citizenship and equal privileges, which we are so anxious to secure. My Lord, with these words, I support the Resolution, coupled with the earnest hope that our burden may be proportionate to our means and consistent with the satisfaction of our most pressing needs and wants.

"My Lord, in conclusion, I desire to associate myself with my Colleagues in the expression of deep and fervent gratitude to Your Excellency, which they have all voiced with such emphasis, for taking the memorable step that you have taken in sending out an Indian contingent to fight in a European war. My Lord, this is indeed an epoch-making departure. It will constitute a landmark in the history of our country, and will help to bring England and India closer together in the work of progress which has been so happily inaugurated."

His Excellency the President:—"It has been a source of profound pleasure to me to listen to-day to the loyal and patriotic speeches made by Hon'ble Members of my Council, and it has struck me during the course of to-day's discussion in Council that this remarkable demonstration of loyalty and of unity with the Empire has been a fitting baptism of this new Chamber.

"I fully recognise that the views expressed by Hon'ble Members represent, not merely their own personal views, but those of the whole country, which has been deeply moved by the fact that the Empire has, through no fault on the part of its statesmen, been placed in a position of grave external danger. The hearty desire displayed on every side to make material sacrifices and to offer personal service has been a striking demonstration of the enthusiasm of all classes and creeds to unite with the Government in resisting the aggressive action of a Power, which can only be regarded as a menace to civilisation in its savage efforts to dominate Europe and indirectly the World. India has gladly given her sons to fight the common foe side by side with the sons of Great Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, and we may, with confidence and with pride, look forward to their achievements on the battlefield being worthy of the best and highest military traditions of this country. It is no longer a secret that we have already despatched two splendid divisions of infantry to Europe and one cavalry brigade, while three more cavalry brigades and four additional field artillery brigades will follow immediately. We have also another division of infantry with some excellent regiments of Imperial Service

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- CIAL ASSISTANCE IN CONNECTION WITH THE EXPEDI-
TIONARY FORCE SENT FROM INDIA.

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[*The President.*]

Troops ready to start for Egypt to meet any emergency. That we have been in a position to send a military force of over 70,000 combatants to fight for the Empire across the seas is a legitimate source of pride and satisfaction to India as a whole; and with the knowledge that practically all the Ruling Chiefs have placed their military forces and the resources of their States at the disposal of the Government, it is clear that we are not at the end of our military resources. Several of the Ruling Chiefs have, in accordance with their desire, been selected to accompany the expeditionary force, whilst all who have had any military training have expressed a desire to serve. Amongst those selected are Maharaja Sir Pertab Singh, Regent of Jodhpur, and the Maharajas of Bikaner, Patiala, Rutlam, Kishengarh, Jodhpur, the Nawabs of Jaora, Sachin, Bhopal and several other leading Indians of rank and distinction, amongst these being our friend Malik Umar Hayat, whose cheery presence in this Council we shall all miss. I should like to add at the same time that our ally, the Maharaja of Nepal, has also very generously placed his forces at the disposal of Government, while I have received from His Majesty the Amir the most friendly assurances.

"That Hon'ble Members should desire at the same time to share the financial burden cast upon the United Kingdom by the war is a very natural and legitimate aspiration, and one that I cannot commend too highly. I speak for the Government of India when I say that we are in full accord and complete sympathy with the wish expressed, and will be very pleased to gratify it as far as we legitimately can, having due regard to the interests of the Indian tax-payer. You are no doubt aware that we are bound to suffer financially from the war and the consequent dislocation of trade, entailing as it will a falling off in our customs returns and railway receipts. We could however, under ordinary circumstances, have asked the Home Government to bear the whole cost of the expeditionary force, as in the case of the forces sent to China and South Africa, and in this way we could have effected very considerable counter-savings. But I must tell you that we have actually had this matter under our consideration, and we felt that it would not be in accordance with the wishes of the people of India that, in a crisis like the present, India should gain a material advantage at the expense of the Home Government in the savings effected on the despatch of a large expeditionary force to Europe, a feeling which has received full confirmation in the resolution which has been moved and in the speeches which have been made. On behalf of Government I accept that resolution and shall not delay to communicate its terms to the Secretary of State, and it will strengthen our hands in the recommendation we felt disposed to make, and shall now proceed to make, that, under present circumstances, we should accept such portion of the cost of the expeditionary force as would have fallen upon India had our troops continued to be employed in this country under normal circumstances. So far as a rough estimate can be framed at present, and it must necessarily be a very rough one, the net amount which the Government of India would in this way contribute to His Majesty's Government, assuming that the war lasted till towards the end of the current financial year, would be about one million sterling.

"Hon'ble Members will have seen the announcement in the press of the splendid offer of 50 lakhs as a contribution to the cost of the expeditionary force made by His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore. I cannot sufficiently commend this striking and patriotic action on the part of His Highness, whose loyalty, generosity and liberal views are so well known. The money so offered will be placed at the disposal of His Majesty's Government as an additional contribution and has been ear-marked for meeting the cost of the transports taking our troops over-seas. Any other similar offers that may be made will be treated in the like way.

"I trust that this solution of this somewhat difficult question will prove satisfactory to Hon'ble Members and to the country at large. We shall thus,

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[The President; Mr. Gillan] [8TH SEPTEMBER, 1914.]

besides placing a large portion of our Army—which, be it remembered, is primarily maintained for the defence of India—at the disposal of His Majesty's Government, also present them, and that at a time when, as I have said, the war is likely materially to affect our budget arrangements, with a sum which may run to about a million sterling. A contribution on more liberal lines than this would not, we think, be fair to the Indian tax-payer; but that we should go to this extent in helping the mother country is, I believe, a measure which will be in unison with your wishes and with Indian sentiment generally.

“There is, I believe, nothing like comradeship in arms before the enemy, and joint participation in the dangers and hardships of war to level all distinctions, to inspire mutual respect, and to foster friendships. This I regard as the bright side of the despatch of our troops to Europe and of the heavy and material sacrifices that are being made by India for the sake of the Empire. I cannot help feeling that as a consequence better relations will be promoted amongst the component parts of the British Empire, many misunderstandings will be removed, and outstanding grievances will be settled in an amicable and generous manner. In this sense out of evil good may come to India, and this is the desire of us all.

“In conclusion, I accept, on behalf of the Government of India, the loyal and patriotic Resolution moved by the Hon'ble Sir G. Chitnavis, and I shall have very great pleasure in telegraphing its terms to the Secretary of State and in asking Lord Crewe to be so good as to lay it at the foot of the Throne of our King-Emperor.”

The Resolution was put and accepted.

THE SEA CUSTOMS (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Hon'ble Mr. Gillan:—“My Lord, I move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Sea Customs Act, 1878.

“The objects of this Bill, very briefly, are first, to give an additional facility to traders which they cannot enjoy under the present Act, and enable them to ship goods in anticipation of the presentation of the shipping bill and of payment of charges; secondly, to amplify the power of prohibiting exports and imports which at present, under the existing law, must be made from or to all countries so as to enable prohibition to be made, if necessary, with regard to any specified country; and, lastly, to make a somewhat similar change with regard to the power to prohibit payment of drawback. On these points, and in the wording of section 155, experience has shown small defects in the existing Act, which it is the purpose of this Bill to remove.”

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Mr. Gillan:—“I introduce the Bill, and move that the Bill, together with the Statement of Objects and Reasons relating thereto, be published in the *Gazette of India* in English.”

The motion was put and agreed to.

THE INDIAN LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANIES (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Hon'ble Mr. Gillan:—“My Lord, I move for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the Indian Life Assurance Companies Act, 1912.

THE INDIAN LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANIES (AMENDMENT) 37
BILL; THE INDIAN POST OFFICE AND TELEGRAPH
(AMENDMENT) BILL; THE INDIAN ARMY (AMENDMENT)
BILL.

[8TH SEPTEMBER, 1914] [Mr. Gillan; Major-General Birdwood.]

"The amendment here proposed merely recognises the transfer to the new Controller of Currency of certain duties which were formerly discharged by the Comptroller-General."

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Mr Gillan :—"I introduce the Bill and move that the Bill, together with the Statement of Objects and Reasons relating thereto, be published in the *Gazette of India* in English."

The motion was put and agreed to.

THE INDIAN POST OFFICE AND TELEGRAPH
(AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Hon'ble Mr. Gillan :—"My Lord, I move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Indian Telegraph Act, 1885, and the Indian Post Office Act, 1898.

"These amendments, as shown in the Statement of Objects and Reasons, are necessitated by the recent amalgamation of the Post Office and Telegraph Departments and are purely formal."

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Mr Gillan :—"I introduce the Bill and move that the Bill, together with the Statement of Objects and Reasons relating thereto, be published in the *Gazette of India* in English."

The motion was put and agreed to.

THE INDIAN ARMY (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Hon'ble Major-General Birdwood :—"My Lord, with your permission, I beg, on behalf of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, to move for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the Indian Army Act, 1911

"The objects briefly are that when the Indian Army Bill was drafted, Articles 176 and 178 of the Indian Articles of War were transferred bodily to it as clause 114 with a few verbal alterations only and were passed into law.

"The provisions of section 114 of the Indian Army Act have been found to be defective, in that, while providing for the drawing by the Commanding Officer of any pay and allowances due to a deceased person or deserter, they do not fully and specifically provide for the disposal of the sum so drawn.

"The present draft remedies the defect and further provides, on the lines of the English law on the subject, for the forfeiture to His Majesty of the balance of a deserter's effects on the expiration of three years from the date of desertion unless the man has in the meantime surrendered or been apprehended.

"No special provision is required for the disposal of the effects of a man who is convicted of desertion; for, if on conviction he is removed from the service, his estate is settled up like that of any other man who is discharged; while, if he is retained in the service, his estate does not need to be settled up at all. The opportunity is therefore taken to amend the 'Explanation' to section 114 accordingly."

The motion was put and agreed to.

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38 THE INDIAN ARMY (AMENDMENT) BILL; THE INDIAN AIRCRAFT (AMENDMENT) BILL.

[Major-General Birdwood; Sir Reginald Craddock] [8TH SEPTEMBER, 1914.]

The Hon'ble Major-General Birdwood :—“ I also request permission to introduce the Bill and to move that the Bill, together with the Statement of Objects and Reasons relating thereto, be published in the *Gazette of India* in English.”

The motion was put and agreed to

THE INDIAN AIRCRAFT (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock :—“ My Lord, I move for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the Indian Airships Act, XVII of 1911. Although this amending Bill is peculiarly applicable to times of war, it was put on the stocks long before any idea of an impending crisis was entertained.

“ Legislation on the subject of aircraft is necessarily experimental, and this has been the experience in England and India. This in fact was only to be expected. The whole discovery of the means of flight initiated one of the most revolutionary changes of modern civilisation, and the ultimate extent of those changes cannot even now be foreseen. New conditions were introduced of which the world had no previous experience, and in the absence of precedent the different legislatures confronted by these novel circumstances, could only feel their way gradually towards those measures of regulation and control which from time to time seemed expedient. In England there have been two Acts passed on the subject: the first, in 1911 gave powers, for the purpose of protecting the public from danger, to prohibit the navigation of aircraft over prescribed areas, and enacted appropriate penalties for the breach of any such orders. It was a short enactment, and seems to have been primarily designed to protect the general public within the country from such risks as this new form of locomotion might involve. But later other considerations came to the front. Like other beneficent developments of science this one was soon seized upon as a possible means of military attack, and as improvements multiplied and the range and stability of flight were gradually enlarged and perfected, the military aspect of the question inevitably gained prominence in a country where the protection which the sea afforded was threatened by the new peril of aerial attack. Hence we find the next Act of 1913 definitely extending the purposes for which navigation might be prohibited to the defence or safety of the realm, and it was explicitly provided that a prescribed area might include the coast line and the territorial waters adjacent thereto. We also find the inclusion of a drastic provision giving power to enforce compliance with any regulations made by firing upon an aircraft which failed to respond to prescribed signals, and to use any and every other means necessary to compel compliance with the regulations. Any officer thus firing was indemnified from any consequences of his act, and incidents which have already been reported in the war now proceeding will show how absolutely essential is this power to act immediately, and even to the extent of causing death.

“ The Indian legislation on the subject has proceeded upon somewhat different lines. The Imperial Council, like the English Parliament, first legislated in the matter in 1911, and perhaps with more foresight than the latter took more account of the possible military dangers of the uncontrolled use of airships. On the other hand, the geographical position of India at that time rendered entry into it by flight unlikely. Consequently, the Indian Act, speaking generally, was directed towards control over the manufacture, possession, use, sale, import and export of airships, that is to say, towards the regulation of their use once they had been brought into India, and the possibility of their misuse from a military point of view was definitely held in view, for instance in section 3 (h). Again authority was taken to prohibit the import or export of airships if this was expedient in the interest of the public safety or tranquility as also to cancel or suspend licenses in like circumstances, and acquire vessels for the public service. As in the first English Act, the prohibition of flight over prescribed areas was also rendered possible.

THE INDIAN AIRCRAFT (AMENDMENT) BILL; THE SECOND 39
REPEALING AND AMENDING BILL.

[8TH SEPTEMBER, 1914.]

[*Sir Reginald Craddock ; Sir Ali Imam.*]

" Military requirements were therefore met to a greater extent than in the first English Act, but there was no specific provision for the prohibition or regulation of entry by aircraft into British India or over the territorial waters adjacent thereto.

" As has been indicated, this was the consequence of the limited scope of flight by the early aviators ; that has now changed and may be expected to change still further, while the use of the hydroplane has rendered unnecessary even an adjacent land base. Possibly, a certain amount of restraint could have been exercised under the law as it stood, but its extension to meet the requirements of entry into the country by aerial flight might have been open to challenge, and it has been thought preferable to legislate in clear terms in order to remedy this defect. Consequently, the Bill confers power on the Governor General in Council by notification to prohibit or regulate the entry by flight into British India, while, subject to the control of the Governor General in Council, a local Government may exercise a like power within its jurisdiction. It might conceivably be necessary for the Governor General in Council to enforce a general prohibition : on the other hand, local prohibitions may be left to Provincial Governments, provided that their orders do not clash with those of the Imperial Government. The Bill then goes on to specify certain particulars which may be embodied in any conditions laid down, such as the display of signals or marks, compliance with specified signals in a specified manner, landing at a specified place and entry only at a specified place. Lastly, following the recent English Act, the power to fire at aircraft disobeying orders is taken, without which strict regulation is impossible.

" In my remarks hitherto I have used the terms 'airships' and 'aircrafts' indiscriminately. As a minor point, but in harmony with the English Acts it has been thought desirable to substitute the uniform terminology of "aircraft" in the Indian Act, which, with the varying forms assumed by these means of flight, is more appropriate as covering every kind of flying machine or dirigible balloon that may exist or hereafter be invented.

" The Bill is, therefore, primarily designed to meet military considerations, and to safeguard the country from possible attack by these means in a way similar to that which has been found to be required in England. The danger here is, no doubt, remote, but it is necessary to be forearmed, and the Bill represents merely a measure of precaution which all experience shows that it would be unwise to disregard.

" At the present time, however, we are fortunately very far removed from the scene of operations, and the nervous rustics who have been occasionally mistaking the ordinary fire balloons of the country, and even harmless planets, for hostile aeroplanes provided with coloured lamps and search lights, may feel quite re-assured."

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock:—" My Lord, I beg to introduce the Bill and move that the Bill, together with the Statement of Objects and Reasons relating thereto, be published in the *Gazette of India* in English."

The motion was put and agreed to.

THE SECOND REPEALING AND AMENDING BILL.

The Hon'ble Sir Ali Imam:—" My Lord, the Bill which I move for leave to introduce is of the class known to the Indian Legislature as Repealing and Amending Bills. It is of a purely formal character, as it does not aim at enacting any new law, but is intended only to relieve the Statute-book of such matters as have become obsolete by lapse of time or any other cause, to correct certain errors and slips, mostly of drafting, that have come to light, and

40 THE SECOND REPEALING AND AMENDMENT BILL; THE
FOREIGNERS (AMENDMENT) BILL.

[*Sir Ali Imam; Sir Reginald Craddock*]

[8TH SEPTEMBER, 1914.]

to effect some improvement without any change of substance or principle in some Acts of general application passed by the Governor General in Council. The present session of the Council is perhaps particularly opportune for legislation of this kind, as the Government of India are shortly going to issue revised editions of the Madras Code and the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province Code containing certain Acts of the Governor General in Council that are affected by the present Bill. A reference to the Bill will show the particular amendments of the various enactments necessitated by the reasons given in the fifth column of the Schedule. The explanations have been inserted to furnish Honourable Members with the grounds for the proposed amendments and will, of course, be excised when the Bill becomes law. There is nothing controversial in the measure; and, should the Bill be allowed to be introduced to-day, it is hoped that, with the permission of the Council, it may be taken into consideration and passed into law at our next meeting. My Lord, I beg for leave to introduce the Second Repealing and Amending Bill."

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Sir Ali Imam :—" I beg to introduce the Bill and to move that the Bill, together with the Statement of Objects and Reasons relating thereto, be published in the *Gazette of India* in English."

The motion was put and agreed to.

THE FOREIGNERS (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock :—" My Lord, I move for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the Foreigners Act, III of 1864. The effect of the Bill is to add a new section 3-A., after section 3 of the Act. That section runs as follows :—

'The Governor General of India in Council may, by writing, order any foreigner to remove himself from British India, or to remove himself therefrom by a particular route to be specified in the order; and any local Government may, by writing, make the like order with reference to any foreigner within the jurisdiction of such Government.'

"The powers conferred by section 3 have been exercised from time to time for the deportation of undesirable aliens; but it came to light, long before the present state of war existed, that there was a practical difficulty which sometimes hampered the exercise of the powers conferred on the Government by section 3. The presence of a foreigner who was found to be undesirable would first come under the observations of the Police or Magistracy, and since an order of deportation could only be obtained from the Governor General in Council or a local Government, time was required to secure the order. The Government would require to have some detailed information as to the character and antecedents of such a foreigner, and the grounds on which he was considered to be undesirable before it issued such an order. In the meantime there was no power to restrain the movements of the individual in question, and he might either disappear or do further mischief before an order could be obtained, and control over his movements be secured. The new section which this Bill will insert, enables the Commissioner of Police in the Presidency-towns and Rangoon, and the District Magistrate elsewhere, to apprehend the undesirable alien and detain him either on security if he can give security, or failing security, in custody until an order of the Government under section 3 can be obtained. When the order is obtained he is either deported or discharged according to the decision of the Government in his case. This power of detention is a reasonable power for the want of which inconvenience has been felt. I should like, however, to explain to the Council that, although this very necessary power may prove especially useful at a time like the present, yet the necessity for this legislation was felt long prior to the date of the war, and the present Bill has no direct connection with the existing emergency. The deportation of undesirable aliens

[*Sir Reginald Craddock.*]

[8TH SEPTEMBER, 1914.]

is a right which every State reserves to itself at all times, and it is merely this normal power which this Bill is intended to make more efficient. This new section will belong to that part of the Act which is always in operation; for, as the Council are doubtless aware, it is only sections 1 to 4 of the Act which fall into that category. The remaining sections of the Act which contain other provisions in restriction of the movements of foreigners, come into force only in case of necessity by virtue of a notification of the Governor General in Council. When a state of war exists, it has been found necessary to supplement even these further provisions by additional powers enabling *inter alia* the special cases of hostile foreigners to be provided for. These additional powers have been secured by the promulgation of the recent Ordinance of the Governor General.

"In making this explanation I was anxious that the Council should fully appreciate that they are not being asked to pass an emergent measure, but merely to render more efficient the ordinary powers of deportation of undesirable aliens, which can be exercised at all times whether in times of peace or times of emergency."

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock said:—"I now introduce the Bill and move that the Bill, together with the Statement of Objects and Reasons relating thereto, be published in the *Gazette of India* in English."

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Council adjourned to Wednesday, the 16th September, 1914.

W. H. VINCENT,

SIMLA;

Secretary to the Government of India,

The 16th September, 1914.

Legislative Department.

APPENDIX A.

[*Vide Proceedings, page 1*]

Statement showing the number of Muhammadan Examiners appointed by the various universities, during the quinquennium ending 1913 referred to in the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler's reply to the Hon'ble Raja Abu Jafar's question dated the 24th February 1914."

"Statement showing the number of Muhammadan Examiners appointed by the various universities during the quinquennium
24th Feb 1911"

	1909.					1910.					1911							
	Number of Examiners in the Arts examinations.	Number of Muhammadan Examiners in the Arts examinations.	Number of Examiners in the Law examinations.	Number of Muhammadan Examiners in the Law examinations.	Total number of Examiners.	Total number of Muhammadan Examiners.	Number of Examiners in the Arts examinations.	Number of Muhammadan Examiners in the Arts examinations.	Number of Examiners in the Law examinations.	Number of Muhammadan Examiners in the Law examinations.	Total number of Examiners.	Total number of Muhammadan Examiners.	Number of Examiners in the Arts examinations.	Number of Muhammadan Examiners in the Arts examinations.	Number of Examiners in the Law examinations.	Number of Muhammadan Examiners in the Law examinations.	Total number of Examiners.	Total number of Muhammadan Examiners.
Madras	188	1	0	0	197	1	113	8	13	0	136	3	113	3	13	0	136	
Bombay	110	8	14	4	136	13	114	8	16	1	130	9	120	11	16	1	130	
Calcutta University	484	29	30	3	546	34	301	19	55	4	478	22	457	20	68	8	544	38
United Provinces	101	10	13	1	125	11	114	13	13	8	127	14	128	17	13	1	141	16
Punjab	208	44	12	3	267	47	200	30	13	3	213	43	220	41	12	3	261	47

ing 1913 referred to in the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler's reply to the Hon'ble Raja Abu Jafar's question dated the 1914."

Year	1918.				Total number of Examiners.	1919.				Total number of Examiners.	Total number of Muhammadan Examiners in the Arts and Law examinations from 1909-1913, inclusive.			Total number of Examiners in Arts and Law examinations from 1909-1913, inclusive.		
	Number of Muhammadan Examiners in the Arts examinations.	Number of Examiners in the Law examinations.	Number of Muhammadan Examiners in the Law examinations.	Total number of Examiners.		Number of Examiners in the Arts examinations.	Number of Muhammadan Examiners in the Arts examinations.	Number of Examiners in the Law examinations.	Number of Muhammadan Examiners in the Law examinations.		Total number of Examiners.	Arts.	Law.	Total.	Arts.	Law.	Total.
22	3	15	0	187	3	149	8	16	0	164	11	0	11	684	65	750
23	10	16	1	143	11	131	11	16	3	147	13	46	57	601	78	679
24	28	26	7	643	26	600	26	26	4	626	30	114	144	2,494	413	2,907
25	17	18	1	124	18	113	20	13	1	145	21	76	97	807	64	871
26	22	1	1	348	22	326	13	1	1	341	27	114	141	1,104	60	1,164

APPENDIX B.

[Vide Proceedings, page 1.]

Statement showing the expenditure incurred by the Local Governments in 1911-1912 for the purpose of encouraging Vernacular Literature, referred to in the Hon'ble Sir Hareourt Butler's reply to the Hon'ble Raja Abu Zafar's question in Council, dated the 24th February, 1914.

Province.	Expenditure incurred.		
			Rs. A. P.
Bombay			4,240-15-9
Bengal	(1) Eastern Bengal	... ..	3,168-0-0
	(2) Western Bengal	... ..	2,388-0-0
	Total	... ..	<u>5,556-0-0</u>
United Provinces			2,118-5 0
Punjab			2,500-0-0
Bihar and Orissa			108-8-0
Assam			2,165-0-0

Madras, Burma, the Central Provinces, Coorg, the North-West Frontier Province and Delhi incurred no expenditure on this account.

APPENDIX C.

[*Vide Proceedings, page 8*]

Statement showing the number of Muhammadan Inspectors of Schools and the extent to which schools to which Muhammadans are admitted are brought under their supervision in the various provinces referred to in the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler's reply to the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali's question in Council, dated 7th March 1914.

Madras.—There are no Muhammadan inspectors of schools, but all Muhammadan schools for boys are under the direct supervision of Muhammadan sub-assistant inspectors.

Bombay—The number of Muhammadan inspecting officers in the Bombay Presidency is at present as shown below :—

Inspectress of Urdu girls' schools	...	...	...	1
Special Deputy Educational Inspectors	...	...	...	3
District Deputy Educational Inspectors	...	...	...	5
Assistant Deputy Educational Inspectors	...	...	...	24
Total	...	...	...	33

In the Presidency proper there are comparatively few schools to which Muhammadans only are admitted. The Urdu primary schools which are mainly attended by Muhammadan children are usually inspected by a Muhammadan inspecting officer. There are no special Muhammadan inspectors for the secondary schools to which boys belonging mainly or exclusively to that community go.

In Sind, where the number of the institutions solely attended by Muhammadans is greater, a special Muhammadan deputy educational inspector with two Muhammadan assistants has recently been appointed as an experimental measure in one district. In other districts these and other schools are inspected by such officers as are available and there are no special Muhammadan inspecting officers.

The result of the experiment of appointing a Muhammadan lady inspectress cannot be stated at present as the period of one year for which the appointment was originally sanctioned was found insufficient to admit of any certain conclusion being arrived at as to its success or failure, and the appointment has, therefore, been extended to June 1915.

Bengal.—A statement showing separately all grades of Muhammadan inspecting officers down to assistant sub-inspectors, is placed below. The special assistant inspectors for Muhammadan education are required to visit purely Muhammadan institutions.

Statement showing separately all grades of Muhammadan Inspecting Officers down to Assistant Sub-Inspector of Schools in the Bengal Presidency

Division.	Number of Additional inspectors of Schools.	Number of Assistant inspectors of Schools.	Number of Deputy Inspectors of Schools.	Number of Additional Deputy Inspectors of Schools.	Number of sub-Inspectors of Schools.	Number of Assistant Sub-Inspectors of Schools.	REMARKS.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Presidency	2	2	3	3	24	3	
Burdwan	..	3	..	3	8	6	
Dacca ...	..	3	8	...	28	4	
Rajshahi ..	..	3	9	...	14	1	
Chittagong ..	1	2	4	..	19	2	
Total ...	3	11	24	6	92	16	

United Provinces.—There is one Muhammadan divisional inspector of schools, but another inspector is shortly to be appointed to look after Persian and Arabic *Maktabs*. There are no recognised schools in the province exclusively reserved for Muhammadans.

Punjab.—There is one Muhammadan divisional inspector of schools and there is no special Muhammadan inspecting agency for Muhammadan schools for boys.

Burma.—There are no Muhammadan inspectors of schools in Burma and there is no necessity at present to appoint any. There are two Muhammadan deputy inspectors of schools who supervise all schools exclusively intended for Muhammadan boys. These schools are also inspected by non-Muhammadan inspectors of schools. In connection with the Government of India circular letter about improvement of Muhammadan education, a proposal is under consideration to raise the number of Muhammadan deputy inspectors of schools to four, and later to appoint one Muhammadan assistant inspector of schools.

Bihar and Orissa.—There are 5 special Muhammadan inspecting officers, (who also act as general advisers to the divisional inspectors in respect of Muhammadan education) and 10 inspecting maulvis who have under their charge schools which are exclusively Muhammadan. Besides these there are 30 Muhammadan sub inspectors.

Central Provinces.—The Muhammadan schools in the Central Provinces are inspected by the circle inspectors who are entrusted with the supervision of all the vernacular and anglo-vernacular schools within their circles. One of these inspectors is at present a Muhammadan. In Berar there are two deputy inspectors who are intended solely for the purpose of inspecting Urdu vernacular schools, under the supervision of the circle inspectors, and the schools visited by these deputy inspectors are attended almost entirely by Muhammadan pupils.

Assam.—There are no Muhammadan inspectors of schools, but there are 14 Muhammadan inspecting officers, comprising 1 assistant inspector, 6 deputy inspectors and 7 sub inspectors. Muhammadan institutions are brought under the direct supervision of Muhammadan inspecting officers whenever practicable.

Coorg.—There are no Muhammadan inspectors of schools nor are there any special schools intended solely for Muhammadans maintained by Government, but that there are two such schools at Mercara and Virajpet maintained by the municipality.

North-West Frontier Province.—The whole of the educational inspecting staff nine in number, belong to the Muhammadan religion.

Delhi.—There is no Muhammadan inspector of schools in the province.

APPENDIX D.

[Referred to in the Answer to Question 4]

No. 982-F.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

FINANCE DEPARTMENT.

ACCOUNTS AND FINANCE
Paper Currency.

FROM

THE HON'BLE MR. J. B. BRÜNYATE, C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of India,

TO

ALL LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND ADMINISTRATIONS

Dated Simla, the 22nd July 1914.

SIR,

I am directed to address you regarding the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Indian Finance and Currency.

2. Previous to the appointment of the recent Commission, the problems connected with Indian currency had last been dealt with authoritatively by what is known as the "Fowler Committee" of 1898. The deliberations of that Committee took place a few years after the closing of the Indian mints to the unrestricted coinage of silver, the time was transitional, and many of their recommendations were necessarily of a tentative and experimental character. The Report now before the Government of India is a weighty pronouncement on the policy and the measures which have gradually been evolved in pursuance of the Fowler Committee's suggestions and as the outcome of extended practical experience in the working of a Gold Standard system. It emphatically confirms what has been the fundamental basis of the Indian currency policy of the last twenty years, namely, the maintenance of the gold value of the rupee by the restriction of rupee coinage and by the accumulation of gold reserves, and the substantive recommendations which it contains relate, accordingly, less to matters of fundamental principle than to the practical details of financial and currency administration. In view of the facts that, while some of those details are of a technical nature, others intimately affect the commercial life of the country, and that the Commission did not visit India and were only able to examine a limited number of witnesses therefrom, the Government of India consider it desirable to afford an opportunity to the local Governments and the principal commercial bodies in the country to submit an expression of opinion on any points to which they desire the special attention of the Government of India to be called, before the latter transmit to the Secretary of State their own views on those portions of the Report on which his Lordship has consulted them.

3 The Commission's recommendations are of two classes, firstly, those concerning such matters as the conduct of Indian financial administration in London, the relations of the India Office with the Bank of England, and the financial organization and procedure of the India Office; and secondly, those which more nearly concern the Government in this country. Some of the more important of this second class of questions are enumerated below :—

- (1) The use of gold in internal circulation.
- (2) The limit, if any, to be placed on the growth of the Gold Standard Reserve, and the questions of its location and constitution.

- (3) The treatment of the Paper Currency Reserve.
- (4) The question whether the Government of India should now publicly notify their readiness to sell sterling bills in India on London at the rate of 1s. 3 $\frac{29}{32}$ d. whenever they are asked to do so.
- (5) The use and location of the Treasury balances, and the advisability of granting loans therefrom.
- (6) The desirability of increasing the amount of Government's rupee loans.
- (7) The sale of Council Bills in excess of the Secretary of State's immediate requirements, or at a rate below 1s. 4d.
- (8) The question of appointing a small expert body, with instructions either to pronounce definitely against the establishment of a State or Central Bank in India or to formulate a definite scheme for its establishment.

The above summary is not exhaustive, and, in particular, omits the question of the establishment of a gold mint, regarding which a separate communication is being addressed to your Government. On the other hand, it includes one or two matters, such as those referred to in clauses (6) and (4) above, on which the Government of India have either taken action already or may find it convenient to do so in anticipation of the replies to the general reference which is now being made.

*To the local Governments of Bengal, Andhra, Bombay and the Panjab on y

*4. The Government of India are addressing the Presidency Banks and certain Chambers of Commerce direct and are requesting them to send their replies through the local Government. I am to request that, with the permission

of His Excellency the Governor in Council and His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, the Chittagong and Bengal National Chambers of Commerce
Southern India Chamber of Commerce
Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, Bombay,
India Chamber of Commerce, Lahore, may also be consulted by the local Government and ^{their}_{its} views included in your reply.

5. I am to explain, in conclusion, that the Government of India do not ask for, though they in no way deprecate, an exhaustive examination of the ground covered by the Royal Commission's Report. Their object in addressing your own and other local Governments on the subject as well as the leading commercial authorities, is, as already indicated, to obtain expressions of opinion on the particular points to which each authority addressed may have reason to attach special importance, or on which such authority may be specially competent to advise. The Government of India will be glad, also, if these opinions can be submitted without avoidable delay. The report has now been before the public for several months. It has already been closely scrutinised and widely discussed, and it is desirable to proceed to an early decision on the main issues involved. It is hoped, therefore, that the reply to this letter will be submitted not later than the 15th October next.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient Servant,

J. B. BRUNYATE,

Secretary to the Government of India.

APPENDIX E.

[Referred to in the Answer to Question 4.]

No. 983-F.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

FINANCE DEPARTMENT.

ACCOUNTS AND FINANCE.
Mint.

FROM

THE HONOURABLE MR. J. B. BRUNYATE, C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of India,

TO

ALL LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND ADMINISTRATIONS.

Simla, the 22nd July 1914.

SIR,

In continuation of my letter No. 982-F. of to-day's date, I am directed to invite an expression of ^{the views of} His Excellency the Governor in Council ^{His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor (in Council)}, as to the desirability of establishing a gold mint in India. ^{your views}

2. This question came under the consideration of the Royal Commission on Indian Finance and Currency, who, in paragraph 73 of their Report, while expressing their inability to recommend on its merits the establishment of a gold mint, nevertheless saw no objection thereto in principle, provided that Indian sentiment genuinely demanded it, that the Government of India were prepared to incur the expense, and that the coin to be minted should be the sovereign or half-sovereign. In the opinion of the Commission the question is pre-eminently one in which Indian sentiment should prevail, and the Government of India's present enquiry is, therefore, primarily directed towards ascertaining whether there is any considerable body of Indian sentiment which desires the establishment of a mint for the coinage of sovereigns or half-sovereigns.

3. I am to enclose, for convenience of reference, an extract from the section of the Commission's Report (paragraphs 69-73) which deals with this question, and also a copy, with connected papers, of a note which was submitted to the Commission on the question of the probable cost of such a mint (paragraph 12 of Appendix VI of Appendices to the Interim Report, Volume I, page 215, with extract from Parliamentary Paper 495 of 1913). The estimate here referred to is, however, of old date and no authoritative recalculation has since been made.

*4 The Government of India are addressing the Presidency Banks and certain Chambers of Commerce direct and are requesting them to send their ^{To the Local Governments of Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the Punjab only.}

replies through the local Government. I am to request that with the permission of His Excellency the Governor in Council, the Chittagong and Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, Northern India Chamber of Commerce, Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, Bombay, Indian Chamber of Commerce, Lahore may also be consulted by the local Government, and ^{their} _{its} views included in your reply.

5. I am to ask for the favour of a reply not later than October 15th next.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient Servant,

J. B. BRUNYATE,

Secretary to the Government of India,

EXTRACT FROM THE FINAL REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON INDIAN
FINANCE AND CURRENCY.

(b) *Proposed Gold Mint for India.*

69 It will be convenient to deal at this point with the question of the opening of a mint for the coinage of gold in India. This proposal has been recommended on the ground that it would facilitate a flow of gold to India and that the mere fact of gold being coined in India would give confidence in the permanence and stability of the policy recommended by the Committee of 1898. Both these considerations have lost much of whatever weight they originally carried. Gold has flowed freely to India in recent years without this stimulus and we doubt whether any more could have been attracted by mere facilities for coinage.

70. Nor do we believe that the opening of such a mint would be of value at this date in winning public confidence in the stability of the exchange value of the rupee. This consideration had its force in 1899 and 1900, but the experience of 1907-8, the growth of the Gold Standard Reserve, and the whole trend of policy and opinion since 1898, leave no doubt as to the determination of the Government to maintain exchange, and in so far as confidence in their power to do so is lacking, it must be secured by measures which will make a real and not merely an imaginary addition to the resources available for this purpose.

71. More recently the idea of a gold mint has been pressed on the ground that it would increase the amount of gold in circulation. Even if we thought this in itself desirable, we are unable to follow the supposed connection between the end in view and the means recommended for securing it. The people of India can obtain under present conditions as much gold as they desire for currency purposes. Indeed, the more usual difficulty is that gold coin is in greater abundance in the Reserves than is required for internal circulation. But even if this were not so, the mere existence of a mint for the coinage of gold could not add to the amount of gold available for currency purposes, and the idea that such a mint would give India an "automatic" currency, in any sense which is not true of the existing power to import sovereigns at will, appears to us to be wholly without foundation.

72. Nor is it likely that the facilities for converting gold bullion into coin which such a mint would provide would have any appreciable effect on the amount of gold withdrawn from circulation or would encourage gold to come out of hoards in unfavourable seasons. It is quite true that at times of famine and distress gold must come out of hoards, but we see no reason for believing that the amount so forthcoming would be increased by the opening of a mint for gold. The public in any case would secure equal advantages if the Government of India were to renew the notification, withdrawn in 1906, of their readiness to receive refined gold at the Bombay Mint in exchange for notes or rupees.

73. In our opinion, if this were done, it would remove the only practical grievance which can be alleged against the present system in this respect and would render wholly unnecessary the opening of a mint for the coinage of gold. We recognise, however, that there is in some quarters a strong, though a by-no-means unanimous wish, that such an opening should take place. The authority of the Committee of 1898 can be cited in its support and there is said to be a strong sentiment in its favour. We find it difficult to judge accurately of the depth and extent of this feeling. For the reasons already given we do not ourselves share it and we cannot recommend on its merits the establishment of a gold mint in India. But if Indian sentiment genuinely demands it, and the Government of India are prepared to incur the expense, there is, in our opinion, no objection in principle either from the Indian or the Imperial standpoint, provided always that the coin to be minted is the sovereign (or the half-sovereign); and it is pre-eminently a question in which Indian sentiment should prevail. If, however, the final decision be against the opening of a gold mint, we recommend that the notification of the Government's readiness to receive refined gold at the Bombay mint should be renewed on suitable terms.

Extract from a note on proposals for the coinage of gold in India submitted to the Royal Commission on Indian Finance and Currency by Mr L. Abrahams, C. B., Assistant Under Secretary of State for India. (Appendix VI of Appendices to the Interim Report--Volume I.)

12. No estimate has been framed of the cost of establishing an Indian mint for the coinage of sovereigns. An approximate statement of the staff required for a mint capable of coining £2,000,000 a year was drawn up in 1900, and will be found on pages 40 to 42 of the Parliamentary Paper. It will be seen that it includes a superior controlling staff of seven Europeans and five Indians, and a subordinate working staff of 43. The establishment charges (including contingencies and pensions) of other branch mints of similar capacity were in 1911 as follows:—

	Coirage	Charges.	
	£	£	
Sydney	2,615,000	15,157	(Page 127 of Report of Deputy Master of Royal Mint.)
Melbourne	2,851,000	15,721	(Page 127.)
Perth (excluding pensions)	4,434,000	20,178	(Page 151.)

The Australian branch mints recover a substantial portion of their expenditure by the levy of charges for the coinage of gold as allowed by Section 11(8) of the Coinage Act of 1870. The view that has always been taken in discussions regarding a branch mint for the coinage of gold in India has been that there should be no corresponding charge in any such mint.

Estimate of the cost of establishment required for a branch gold mint at Bombay prepared by Mr. Barton for the Royal Mint in 1900. (Extract from Parliamentary Paper 425 of 1913)

PROPOSED SUPERIOR CONTROLLING STAFF OF BRANCH MINT, BOMBAY.

1 Deputy Master and Superintendent.

Bullion Office.

1 Accountant and Chief Clerk, who, under the supervision of the Deputy Master and Superintendent, would be responsible for the receipt and issue of gold, and for the correspondence of the Mint.—European.

2 Clerks, who would keep the books.—Natives.

1 Bullion Keeper, who, under the supervision of the Accountant and Chief Clerk, would receive the gold, and would be primarily responsible for its safe custody until delivered to the Melter, and who would personally check the alligation of the standard pots in the Bullion Office balance, and then deliver the same to the Melter at the Melting House balance in the presence of the Melter.—Native.

Melting Department.

1 Melter, who, under the supervision of the Deputy Master and Superintendent, would direct the operations of his department, and be responsible to the Deputy Master and Superintendent for the bullion in his department.—European.

1 Clerk, who would keep the books of the department.—Native.

Coining Department.

1 Superintendent Engineer of Coining Department, who, under the supervision of the Deputy Master and Superintendent, will direct the operations of rolling, adjusting, cutting, annealing and coining.—European.

1 Balance Mechanician, who, under the supervision of the Superintendent Engineer, will be responsible for the weighing by the automatic balances, and for all balances and weights in the Mint, and would take the place of the Superintendent Engineer if necessary.—European.

1 Assistant Bullion Keeper, who, under the direction of the Superintendent Engineer, and Bullion Keeper will be responsible for the bullion while in the cutting, annealing, coining, and weighing rooms, and will keep the books of the room —Native.

1 Assistant Bullion Keeper, who, under the direction of the Superintendent Engineer, and Bullion Keeper, will be responsible for the bullion while in the rolling and adjusting room.—Native.

Assay Department.

1 Chief Assayer.

1 Assistant Assayer.

Summary.

1 Deputy Master and Superintendent.—European.

1 Accountant and Chief Clerk.—European.

1 Melter.—European.

1 Superintendent Engineer of Coining Department.—European.

1 Balance Mechanician.—European.

1 Bullion Keeper.—Native.

2 Assistant Bullion Keepers.—Natives.

2 Clerks.—Natives.

1 Chief Assayer.—European.

1 Assistant Assayer.—European.

R. B.

PROPOSED SUBORDINATE WORKING STAFF.—NATIVES.

Bullion Office.

2 Messengers.

Melting Department.

6 Furnace Men.

Coining Department.

6 Men, rolling and adjusting mills.

7 Men, cutting presses.

2 Men, washing machine.

2 Men, annealing.

2 Men, marking and weighing.

3 Men, coining presses.

1 Engine-driver.

3 Men, firemen.

1 Fitter.

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Assay Department.

8 Firemen.

The above numbers of the working staff are only approximate, and would be subject to alteration at the discretion of the Deputy Master.

R. B.

*List of Machines being driven by 25-horse engine.**West Coining Department.*—12 Lever coining presses.

1 Packing machine (examining coin).

1 Emery wheel (for grinding tools).

East Coining —7 Screw coining presses (vacuum)

1 Packing machine

Adjusting Department.—3 Pairs of rolls (10 inch diam.).

2 Lathes for turning punches and dies.

1 Emery wheel.

Cutting Department.—13 Cutting presses (10 fitted with automatic feed cutting two rupees blanks at each stroke).

4 Circular files (for tumming edges of straps).

Weighing Department.—68 Automatic weighing machines

4 Edging machines (marking).

2 Filing machines (reducing blanks).

1 Counting machine.

1 Lathe.

Annealing Department.—1 Emery wheel.

1 Rouleaux machine.

R. B.

Articles which could be transferred to the new branch mint without crippling the Bombay Mint.

1 Dragbench.

1 Trial cutting press.

3 Watt's lever coining presses.

6 Automatic balances.

R. B.

APPENDIX F.

[Referred to in the Answer to Question 1.]

No. 984-F.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

FINANCE DEPARTMENT.

ACCOUNTS AND FINANCE.
 Paper Currency

FROM

THE HONOURABLE MR. J. B. BRUNYATE, C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of India,

TO

THE BENGAL, BOMBAY, MADRAS, BURMA, KARACHI,
 UPPER INDIA AND PUNJAB CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE.
 THE SECRETARY AND TREASURER, BANK OF BENGAL.
 THE SECRETARY AND TREASURER, BANK OF BOMBAY.
 THE SECRETARY AND TREASURER, BANK OF MADRAS.

Simla, the 22nd July 1914.

SIR,

I am directed to forward a copy of a Circular letter No. 982-F., dated the 22nd July 1914, addressed to local Governments regarding the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Indian Finance and Currency, and to request that the Government of India may be favoured with the opinion of your ^{Chamber} Board of Directors thereon on the lines indicated in paragraph 5 of the said letter. It will be convenient if your reply is forwarded through the local Government, so that the latter may have the advantage of being in possession of your ^{Chamber} Directors' views when replying to the Government of India's reference.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient Servant,

J. B. BRUNYATE,

Secretary to the Government of India.

Copy forwarded to all local Governments (except Bihar and Orissa).

By order, etc.,

E. M. COOK,

Under Secy, to the Govt. of India.

APPENDIX G.

[Referred to in the Answer to Question 4.]

No. 985-F.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

FINANCE DEPARTMENT.

ACCOUNTS AND FINANCE.
MINT.

FROM

THE HONOURABLE MR. J. B. BRUNYATE, C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of India,

TO

THE BENGAL, BOMBAY, MADRAS, BURMA, KARACHI,
UPPER INDIA AND PUNJAB CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE.
THE SECRETARY AND TREASURER, BANK OF BENGAL.
THE SECRETARY AND TREASURER, BANK OF BOMBAY.
THE SECRETARY AND TREASURER, BANK OF MADRAS.

Simla, the 22nd July 1914.

SIR,

I am directed to forward a copy of a Circular letter No. 983-F., dated the 22nd July 1914, addressed to local Governments regarding the desirability of establishing a gold mint in India and to request that the Government of India may be favoured with the opinion of your ^{Chamber} Board of Directors thereon. It will be convenient if your reply is forwarded through the local Government, so that the latter may have the advantage of being in possession of your ^{Chamber's} _{Director's} views when replying to the Government of India's reference.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient Servant,

J. B. BRUNYATE,

Secretary to the Government of India.

Copy forwarded to all local Governments (except Bihar and Orissa).

By order, etc.,

E. M. COOK,

Under Secy. to the Govt. of India.

APPENDIX H.

[Referred to in the Answer to Question 9.]

I.—Statement showing the names and qualifications of persons appointed to the Indian Educational Service since the creation of the Department of Education (i.e., the 9th December 1910) up to the 4th September 1912.

Presidency or Province.	Name.	Qualifications.	Date of appointment.	Remarks.
Madras	J. H. Mackintosh	B.A. (Oxon) Classical Scholar, Queen's College 2nd Class Honours, Final School of English Language and Literature.	2nd January 1911.	
	J. H. Melville... ..	No University education. Obtained Oxford and Cambridge Higher Certificate.	12th October 1911	Temporary.
	R. W. Ross	B.A. (Lond.), 2nd Class Honours Trained Teachers' certificate (St. Andrew's University), A. T. S. (Lond), 1st Class, Cambridge Higher Local Honours certificate and Teachers' Certificate.	30th September 1911	Temporary.
Bombay	C. J. Eison	M.A. (Edin), 1st Class Honours in Modern Languages and Literature. Heriot Fellow.	30th December 1910.	
	A. C. Miller	M.A. (Cantab), Classical Scholar, Selwyn College 3rd Class in Classical Tripos.	28th July 1911.	
	H. E. H. Pratt	M.A. (Cantab), Schreiner Exhibitioner and Foundation Scholar, Downing College Part I, Natural Science Tripos, 2nd Class.	8th December 1911.	
	C. R. W. Griffith	B.A. (Oxon), 3rd Class Honours, Modern Languages	22nd January 1912.	
	A. N. Meldrum	B.Sc. Honours. D. Sc. (Aberdeen). Associate of the Royal College of Science, London.	3rd April 1912.	
	W. G. Robertson	M.A. (Aberdeen) with distinction in English Literature	16th July 1912.	
	T. T. Williams	B.A. (Cantab), Economics Tripos, Part I, 1st Class, Part II, 2nd Class. B.Sc. (Wales), Cobden Prize-man. Fellow of the Statistical Society.	30th December 1910.	
Bengal	A. H. Harley	M.A. (Glasgow) Ordinary degree embracing Semites. M. R. A. S.	3rd January 1911.	
	A. Macdonald... ..	M.A. (Glasgow), 2nd Class Honours in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. B.Sc. (Glasgow), in Mechanical Engineering with special distinction, Associate of the Royal Technical College, Glasgow.	27th January 1911.	
	R. N. Gilchrist	M.A. (Aberdeen), with 1st Class Honours in Economics and 2nd Class Honours in History and Mental and Moral Science. Fellow of the Royal Economic Society.	11th February 1911.	
	D. B. Mack	M.A., B.Sc. (Glasgow), 1st Class Honours in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.	11th February 1911.	
	J. M. Bottomley	B.A. (Oxon), 1st Class Honours Mathematical Moderations, 2nd Class Honours Classical Moderations, 2nd Class Honours Mathematical Finals.	12th February 1911.	

Presidency or Province.	Name.	Qualifications.	Date of appointment.	Remarks.
Bengal—contd.	W. E. Griffith...	M.A. (Oxon) Pass Degree. Cambridge Teachers' Diploma ...	26th February 1911.	
	J. W. Gunn ...	M.A. (Cantab), 2nd Class Honours, Classical Tripos ...	13th March 1911.	
	J. C. Coyajee ...	B.A. (Bombay), First in First Class. LL.B. (Bombay), B.A. (Cantab) Advanced Student, Economics Tripos Part II, Bar-at-Law. Fellow of the Royal Statistical Society.	17th March 1911.	
	H. A. P. de Sazdow Pittard ...	M.A., Ph. D. (Berlin) ...	6th November 1911	Dead.
	P. D. Shastri ...	M.A. (Punjab), B.T. (Punjab), Ph. D. (Kiel), B.Sc. (Oxon) by Research in Mental and Moral Science. Government of India Scholar, 1909-11.	31st August 1912.	
United Provinces	G. Stewart ...	M.A. (Glasgow), 1st Class Honours in History. Clark Post Graduate scholar in History.	1st February 1911 ...	Resigned.
Panjab	F. B. Tomlinson ...	B.A. (Cantab), 3rd Class History Tripos ...	8th September 1911.	
	H. L. Heath ...	Art Class Teacher's Certificate ...	6th October 1911 ...	Art expert.
	J. E. Gately ...	M.A. (Liverpool), 1st Class Honours History and Economics ...	3rd January 1912.	
Burma	F. E. Storrs ...	B.A. (Cantab), Division I, Class 2, Classical Tripos ...	18th January 1911 ...	Resigned.
	K. M. Ward ...	B.A. (Cantab), Mathematical Tripos, Part I, 1st Class 1908, Natural Science Tripos (Physics) Part II, 2nd Class 1910.	26th February 1911.	
	A. E. Bellart ...	M.A. (Cantab), Holmes Exhibitioner, Natural Science Tripos, 3rd Class, F.C.S.	7th April 1911.	
	A. C. J. Baldwin ...	B.A. (Oxon), 2nd Class Honours in English Language and Literature, 1911, Cashier Scholarship, 1909.	17th December 1911.	
	Bihar and Orissa	E. A. Horne ...	M.A. (St. Andrews), 1st Class Honours in History, 1st Class Honours in Economic Science, Post Graduate Research Scholarship.	11th February 1911.
Assam	D. Thomson ...	M.A. (Glasgow), B.Sc. (Glasgow) with distinction in Chemistry, Ph. D. "Magnam Laude" Göttingen, Carnegie and 1861 Exhibition Research Scholar in Chemistry	28th February 1911.	
	G. A. Small ...	B.A. (Dublin), First Junior Moderatorship in Classics. Also Honours in History.	21st April 1911.	
	Miss M. C. Somerville ...	M.A. (Edin.), 2nd Class Honours in Rhetoric and English Literature	28th February 1911.	
	Central Provinces	F. P. Tostevin ...	B.A. (Oxon), 2nd Class Honours, Modern History ...	22nd January 1912.
	M. Owen ...	M.Sc. (Wales), B.Sc. with 2nd Class Honours in Physics. Late Fellow of the University of Wales. Fellow of the Physical Society of London.	3rd February 1912.	
	W. S. Rowlands ...	B.A. (Oxon), 1st Class, Classical Moderations, 2nd Class, Litt. Hum. ...	3rd February 1912.	
North West Frontier				

APPENDIX J.

[Referred to in the Answer to Question 9.]

II.—Statement showing the names and qualifications of persons appointed to the Indian Educational Service since the appointment of the Public Services Commission (*i. e.*, the 5th September 1912) up to date.

II.—Statement showing the names and qualifications of persons appointed to the Indian Educational Service since the appointment of the Public Services Commission (i.e., the 5th September 1912) up to date.

Presidency or Province.	Name.	Qualifications.	Date of appointment.	Remarks.
Madras	W. C. Douglas	M. A. (Edin.), 1st Class Honours in Classics. B. A. (Oxon), 1st Class Honours Moderation, 2nd Class Honours, Litt. Hum.	12th January 1914.	
	Miss E. Dixon	Trained Teacher's certificate, Higher French certificate	23rd October 1913.	
	A. G. Harper	B. A. (Oxon), 2nd Class Natural Science School (Botany); Diploms of Rural Economy	.. ..	Temporary.
	R. M. Strathern	B. A. (Cantab), 2nd Class, Part I, Historical Tripos ... ..	.....	Temporary.
Bombay	W. T. Saxton	M. A. (Cantab), B. A. 2nd, Class, Part II, Natural Science Tripos, 2nd Class, Part I, Agricultural Diploma, F. L. S.	6th October 1913.	
	R. W. Cable	Trained architect	6th February 1914.	
	H. V. Hampton	B. A. (Dublin), 1st Class Honours. Gold Medal and Moderators'hip Prize in Mental and Moral Philosophy.	22nd February 1914.	
	J. A. Ewing	M. A. (Edin.) Honours in English Language and Literature at Oxford, 2nd Class. Has not formally graduated at Oxford	25th April 1913	Temporary.
	K. N. Colville	M. A. (Oxon), 2nd Class Honours Classical Moderations, 2nd Class Honours, English language and Literature.	6th January 1914	Temporary.
	Bengal	M. F. West	B. A. (Oxon), Classical Moderations, 2nd Class Honours. English Literature, Finals, 3rd Class Honours. Studied Theory and Practice of Education at Manchester and London.	30th November 1912.
G. D'O Malear		B. A. (Oxon), 1st Class Honours, Modern History School	16th December 1912.	
G. H. Langley		M. A. (London) with distinction in Philosophy University Scholar in Logic and Psychology. B. A. (London) with 2nd Class Honours in Philosophy.	13th January 1913.	
W. W. Hornell		M. A. (Oxon), 2nd Class Honours, Litt. Hum. M. B. A. S.	12th May 1913.	
C. A. King		B. Sc., Engineering (London), A. R. C. S. (Dublin), A. M. I. Mech. E.	30th March 1914.	
United Provinces	W. N. F. Woodland	D. Sc (London), Fellow of the University College, London. Life Member of the British Association for the advancement of Science.	6th November 1912.	

	R. H. Moody	...	...	M.A. (Aberdeen), 1st Class Honours in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. M.A. (Cantab). Fifth Wrangler, Mathematical Tripos. (Old Regulations.)	17th March 1913.
	A. P. Cox	...	...	M.A. (New Zealand), 2nd Class Honours in Political Science	21st April 1913.
	R. L. Turner	...	...	M.A. (Cantab), Classical Tripos, Part I, Class I, Division 3. Oriental Languages Tripos, Class L. Classical Tripos, Part II, Section E, Class L.	22nd December 1913.
	H. B. Wetherill	...	...	M.A. (Oxon), 3rd Class Honours, Modern History	January 1914.
Funjab	H. L. O. Garrett	...	...	M.A. (Cantab), 2nd Class Honours, Classical Tripos	5th January 1913.
	J. E. Parkinson	...	...	M.A. (Cantab), 3rd Class Honours, Natural Science Tripos. Diploma in Theory, Practice and History of Education, 2nd Class. Board of Education Certificate, 1st class.	10th March 1913.
	R. H. Wilson	...	...	B.A. (Oxon), 2nd Class Honours, Chemistry	17th March 1913.
	H. B. Dunninghoff	...	...	M.A. (Cantab), B. Sc (London), F. C. S. (London). 1st Class Honours, Natural Science Tripos, Cambridge 2nd Part Natural Science Tripos, Class II, Chemistry, B.Sc., Honours. (London) 2nd Class.	7th May 1914.
	R. G. Wright	...	...	B.A. (Cantab) Pass degree in Classics	.....
Burma	G. H. Luce	...	...	B.A. (Cantab), Division III of 1st Class in the Classical Tripos. 2nd Class Honours in Section A, English, of the Medieval and Modern Language Tripos.	1st November 1912.
	T. Z. D. Babington	...	...	B.A. (Oxon), 2nd Class Honours in English Language and Literature	14th March 1913.
	J. A. Murray	...	...	M.A. (Edin) First Class Certificated Teacher	20th October 1913.
Bihar and Orissa	W. V. Duke	...	...	B.A. (Royal University of Ireland) and M.A. (Dublin) Obtained 1st Senior Moderatorship with Gold Medal and Prize for Economic Science in 1909 and a University Prize for Political Economy in 1910.	13th February 1913.
	T. C. Orgill	...	...	B.A. (Cantab), Classical Tripos, Division J, 2nd Class	1st May 1913.
	R. McCombe	...	...	B.A. (Dublin) First Classical Sizar 2nd Classical Scholar. 1st of 1st Class Honours in Classics. 1st Class Honours in Classics, English and French.	21st May 1913.
	F. R. Blair	...	...	M.A. (Edin.), 2nd Class Honours in English Literature	27th December 1913.

Presidency or Province.	Name.	Qualifications.	Date of appointment.	Remarks.
Bihar and Orissa— <i>contd.</i>	J. H. Thickett	B.A. (Cantab), Division I, Class III, Moral Science Tripos	12th January 1914.	Date of appointment not yet fixed. Recently appointed. Has not yet joined.
	W. W. T. Moore	B.A. (Dublin), Class I Honours in Mathematics	23rd February 1914.	
	S. H. Masood	B.A. (Oxon), Bar-at-Law, Class II, Honours Modern History ... ..	.....
	J. S. Armour	M.A. (Glasgow), 1st Class Honours in English, Luke Fellowship in English, Balliol College, Oxford, 3rd Class, First Honours School of Modern History.	.....
	Miss E. H. Crawford	Cambridge Higher Local	15th April 1914.	
Assam	D. E. Roberts	M.Sc., (Wales) B.Sc. with 1st Class Honours in Mathematics, 1st Class Honours in Physics. Fellow of the University of Wales.	23rd February 1914.	Recently appointed. Has not yet joined.
	A. E. Brown	M.A., LL.B. (Cantab). History Tripos, Part I, Class I. History Tripos, Part II, Class I. Law Tripos, Part I, Class I. Senior Whewell Scholar.	13th March 1914.	
	B. C. Giffin	M.A. (London), B.A. (London), 3rd Class Honours in English ... ..	.....
Central Provinces	G. G. B. Hunter	(Oxon), 1st Class Honours in Modern History. President of Stubbs Historical Society. Has not yet formally graduated.	29th December 1913.	Recently appointed. Has not yet joined.
	H. E. F. Craddock	B.A. (Oxon). Scholar, University College. 2nd Class Honours Moderations. 3rd Class Litt Hum.	7th January 1914.	
	F. M. Cheshire	B.A. (Cantab), 1st Class, Part I, History Tripos. 2nd Class Part II. History Tripos. 2nd Class, 2nd Part, Theological Tripos.	3rd February 1914.	
	Miss G. M. Broughton	M.A. (London). B.A., 2nd Class Honours in Philosophy	16th January 1913.	
	Miss E. Chamier	(Oxon). 4th Class Honours, Natural Science, Chemistry and Physics	12th October 1913.	
North-West Frontier Province.	F. K. Clark	M.A. (Cantab), 1913, 1st Division, 2nd Class Honours Classical Tripos, 1908.	Recently appointed. Has not yet joined.
	L. T. Watkins	M.A. (Cantab). 3rd Class Honours in Classical Tripos, Part I	7th October 1913.	

APPENDIX K.

[Referred to in the Answer to Question 11.]

Statement showing the value (in thousands of rupees) of the principal articles imported into India from (1) Australia, (2) Canada and (3) South Africa during the five years ending 1912-13.

(1) From Australia.

Articles.	1908-09.	1909-10.	1910-11.	1911-12.	1912-13.
Horses	21,35	27,26	42,64	33,19	23,59
Wooden sleepers	14,36	43,35	35,36	41,35	32,77
Coal	22,66	4,18	6,72	5,86	15,09
Grain, pulse and flour	26,27	77	97	1,78	89
Other articles	17,87	20,07	28,40	27,43	28,09
Total	102,31	95,68	113,49	109,61	95,48

(2) From Canada.

Articles.	1908-09.	1909-10.	1910-11.	1911-12.	1912-13.
Provisions and oilman's stores	1	6	3	22	23
Other articles	3	3,94	4	2	4
Total	4	4,00	6	24	27

* Includes rails and fish plates of steel and iron of the value of Rs. 392 thousands.

(3) From South Africa.

Articles.	1908-09.	1909-10.	1910-11.	1911-12.	1912-13.
Coal	12,11	11,84	3,50	3,61	29,79
Other articles	4,48	3,55	68	84	1,26
Total	16,59	15,39	3,98	4,45	31,06

APPENDIX I.

[Referred to in the Answer to Question 22].

Statement showing the Laws passed in each province for the preservation and protection of large estates.

Madras—

- The Madras Court of Wards Act (I of 1902).
- The Madras Impartible Estates Act (II of 1904).

Bombay—

- The Ahmedabad Talukdars Act (VI of 1862).
- The Bombay Court of Wards Act (I of 1905).
- The Broach and Kaira Incumbered Estates Act (XXI of 1881).
- The Gujarat Talukdars Act (VI of 1888) (now under amendment).
- The Sindh Incumbered Estates Act (XX of 1896).

Bengal—

- The Bengal Court of Wards Act (IX of 1879).
- The Bengal Settled Estates Act (III of 1904).

Bihar and Orissa—

- The Bengal Court of Wards Act (IX of 1879).
- The Chota Nagpur Incumbered Estates Act (VI of 1876).
- The Bengal Settled Estates Act (III of 1904).

United Provinces—

- The Oudh Estates Act (I of 1869).
- The United Provinces Court of Wards Act (III of 1899).
- The Bundelkhand Incumbered Estates Act (I of 1903).
- The Oudh Taluqdars Relief Act (XXIV of 1870).
- The Oudh Settled Estates Act (II of 1900).

Punjab—

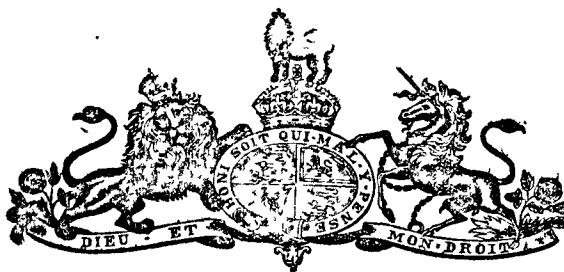
- The Punjab Court of Wards Act (II of 1903). Applied also to the North-West Frontier Province.

Central Provinces—

- The Central Provinces Court of Wards Act (XXIV of 1899).

Ajmer—

- The Ajmer Government Wards Regulation (I of 1886).
- The Ajmer Taluqdars Relief Regulation (IV of 1872).
- The Ajmer Taluqdars Loan Regulation (II of 1911).



GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.
LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COUNCIL OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA
ASSEMBLED FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING LAWS AND REGULATIONS
UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF THE INDIAN COUNCILS ACTS, 1861 TO 1909
(24 & 25 Vict., c. 87, 55 & 56 Vict., c. 14, AND 9 Edw VII, c. 4).

The Council met at the Council Chamber at Viceregal Lodge, Simla, on
Wednesday, the 16th September, 1914.

PRESENT :

His Excellency BARON HARDINGE OF PENSHURST, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G.; G.C.V.O.,
G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., Viceroy and Governor General, *presiding*,
and 45 Members, of whom 37 were Additional Members.

STATEMENTS LAID ON THE TABLE.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock :—" I beg to lay on the table a statement* giving the information regarding medical education among Indian women, which was promised in the reply given by me to the question asked by the Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoy at the meeting of the Legislative Council held on the 9th March, 1913.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock :—" I also beg to lay on the table statements† for the years 1910-13 giving the information which was promised in the reply given by me to the question regarding the security furnished by newspapers and printing presses, which was asked by the Hon'ble Mr. Qumrul Huda at the meeting of the Legislative Council held on the 9th March, 1914.

* *Vide* Appendix A (pp. 85-88, *post*).

† *Vide* Appendixes B to E (pp. 89-92, *post*).

[Mr. Ghuznavi; Mr. Maxwell] * [16TH SEPTEMBER, 1914.]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi asked :—

Number of Eurasians, Hindus and Mussalmans employed in the Postal and Telegraph Departments in Bengal, on salary of Rs 50 and upwards.

1. "(a) Is it a fact that the total number of appointments in all grades of the service from Rs. 50 and upwards in the Postal Department throughout the Presidency of Bengal is 1,483, out of which (i) 1,307 are held by Hindus, (ii) 87 by Eurasians and others and (iii) 89 by Mussalmans ?

(b) Is it a fact that the total number of appointments in all grades of the service from Rs. 50 and upwards in the Telegraph Department throughout the Presidency of Bengal is 703, out of which (i) 200 are held by Hindus, (ii) 494 by Eurasians and others and (iii) 9 by Mussalmans ?

(c) If so, will the Government be pleased to state whether they propose to consider the desirability of taking steps so that Mussalmans may get a larger share of appointments in the Postal Department and that both Mussalmans and Hindus may get a larger share of appointments in the Telegraph Department in Bengal ?

(d) Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table two lists, one for Postal, and the other for the Telegraph Department giving details of all the appointments held by Hindus, Mussalmans, Eurasians and others in all grades of the service from Rs. 50 and upwards in the Presidency of Bengal ? "

The Hon'ble Mr. Maxwell replied :—

" (a) and (b) The distribution given by the Honourable Member shows the number of appointments held by Hindus, Muhammadans and others, respectively, when he asked a question on this subject on the 9th September last. The present distribution is shown in the statements * now laid on the table.

(c) (i) In the case of the Post Office all officials who are empowered to make appointments have been instructed to encourage applications for employment as clerks and sub-postmasters from suitable Muhammadan candidates, but the number of such applications is at present comparatively small. There are, relatively speaking, a considerable number of suitable Muhammadan candidates for appointment as Superintendent of Post Offices and every effort is made to give them a due proportion of these higher posts.

(ii) In the case of the Telegraph Department the Honourable Member is referred, as regards appointments to the superior grades, to the debate in this Council on the resolution moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale on the 8th March, 1911. Owing to the suspension of recruitment, in view of the amalgamation of Posts and Telegraphs, no appointments to the superior establishment have been made since that date.

In the upper subordinate and subordinate establishments, all appointments on salaries ranging between Rs. 50 and Rs. 500, with the exception of a comparatively small number of clerkships, must be held by men who join the Department as telegraphists after a course of training as paid probationers in the training classes. In the Post Office practically all the signalling appointments are held by Indians, while in the Telegraph Department twenty-five per cent of the vacancies for telegraphists throughout India and Burma are reserved for Indians, and Muhammadans and Hindus are afforded equal opportunities of securing these appointments.

(d) I beg to lay on the table statements* showing separately the number of appointments now held in the Presidency of Bengal by Hindus, Muhammadans and others in all grades from Rs. 50 and upwards in the Post Office and the Telegraph Department, respectively. I may explain that the statements include the head quarters' staff of both departments and also the appointments on Rs 50 and upwards in the office of the Director General "

* Vide Appendices F and G (pp 219-222, post)

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[*Mr. Ghuznavi; Sir Harcourt Butler.*]

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi asked :—

2. "(a) Will the Government be pleased to state what is the total amount of money which has accrued as interest up to date from the time of the creation of the Savings Banks on the money deposited in the said Banks throughout the whole of India by Mussalman depositors, if any, who have not drawn and have expressed an intention not to draw any money as interest owing to their religious susceptibilities?"

Accrued interest on the money deposited by Mussalman depositors in the Savings Banks and utilization of the same for Mussalman education.

(b) Will the Government be pleased to state whether they will take steps to devote that amount for the purpose of Mussalman education?"

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied :—

(a) "A statement* giving such information as is available is laid on the table. The Hon'ble Member's attention is invited to the explanation which accompanies it.

(b) The Government of India consider that the course suggested would be inconvenient in practice. Large grants have recently been given for education from general revenues, and special Muhammadan institutions have had their share of these grants. The Hon'ble Member is referred to the communiqué on the subject of grants to Muhammadan Educational institutions issued on the 22nd August, 1914."

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi asked :—

3. "With reference to the question put by me at the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held on the 17th September, 1913, with regard to religious training for Mussalman as well as for Hindus and the answer by the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler to the effect that 'The Government of India are sensible of the importance of religious instruction and also of the difficulties which attended it. They have addressed the Local Governments on the subject and await their replies,'"

Religious training for Hindus and Muhammadans.

(a) Will the Government be pleased to state whether the said replies have now been received? If so, do the Government propose to lay the same on the table?"

(b) With reference to the same question and answer as given by the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler, will the Government be pleased to give details of the 'large number of alienations of State revenues which existed before British Rule and which have been confirmed by the Government of India for the purpose of Hindu and Muhammadan religious endowments' and state what sum they amount to?"

(c) What is the amount of the sum that is given annually to meet the cost of religious teachers for non-Christian troops?"

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied :—

"(a) All Governments have not yet given final replies to the letter addressed to them by the Government of India on the subject of religious and moral instruction. When the correspondence is complete the Government of India will consider the question of its publication.

(b) The Government of India are not in possession of figures for the whole of India. In the Madras Presidency, the net assessment on land alienated for the support of temples, mosques and other religious buildings and for the maintenance of the services therein as settled by the Inam Commission of 1859-60 amounted to Rs. 23,62,262. In the Bombay Presidency, land bearing an assessment of Rs. 3,96,377 was alienated for the support of religious institutions and cash grants to the value of Rs. 2,22,608 annually were confirmed

* Vide Appendix H (p. 233, part).

[*Mr. Ghuznavi ; Sir Harcourt Butler ;* [16TH SEPTEMBER, 1914.]
Sir Reginald Craddock.]

in perpetuity for the same object as the result of the work of the Inam Commission of 1852. These figures, however, do not represent the total grants made for all religious purposes even in these Presidencies.

(c) The maximum sum admissible on account of the cost of religious teachers for non-Christian troops is Rs. 48,960 per annum. This amount however has not yet been fully worked up to, owing to the fact that certain units of the Indian Army, which are entitled to religious teachers, have not applied for sanction to their establishment, such sanction being necessary before the cost can be borne by the State."

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi asked :—

Dacca University Scheme.

4. "(a) Have orders of the Secretary of State been received regarding the detailed features of the Dacca University Scheme? If so, do the Government propose to lay the same on the table?"

(b) Will the Government be pleased to state when they propose to introduce legislation for the establishment of the Dacca University?"

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied :—

"(a) The orders of the Secretary of State regarding the detailed features of the Dacca University Scheme have not been received.

(b) Government are not yet in a position to state when legislation for the establishment of the Dacca University will be introduced."

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi asked :—

Total number of pilgrims that left for the Hedjaz during the last 10 years.

5. "Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the total number of pilgrims that have left for the Hedjaz from the different Presidencies and Provinces of India during the last 10 years?"

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied :—

"In reply to the Hon'ble Member's question, a statement* is placed on the table giving the figures required for the 10 years ending with the year 1912. Figures for 1913 have not yet been received by the Government of India."

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi asked :—

Distribution of Judicial branch of Provincial Civil Service between Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and Assam.

6. "Have orders of the Secretary of State been received with regard to the proposals relative to the distribution of the Judicial branch of the Provincial Civil Service between the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and Assam, and in the matter of promotion and prospects of Subordinate Judges and Munsiffs in the Presidency of Bengal? If so, will the Government be pleased to state in detail what they are?"

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

"I lay on the table a statement† which will, I think, give the information desired."

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi asked :—

Proposed Usury Bill.

7. "With reference to my question and the answer given by the Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock at the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council on the 17th September, 1913, with regard to my proposal that Government should bring in a Usury Bill and the recent resolution issued by Government anent

* Vide Appendix I (p. 224, post)

† Vide Appendix J (p. 285, post).

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[*Sir Reginald Craddock; Mr. Ghuznavi; Mr. Gillan; Mr. Sitanath Ray; Sir H. P. Burt.*]

thereto, will the Government now be pleased to state—

- (1) whether Government have decided to undertake such legislation?
- (2) If the answer to the above question be in the affirmative, when such legislation will be undertaken? and
- (3) what lines such legislation is likely to take?

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied:—

"The Hon'ble Member is referred to the Home Department letter, No. 1052-1063, dated the 6th July, 1914, which was communicated to the press but of which I can give him a copy if desired. Pending the receipt of the replies to that reference, the points raised by him remain undecided."

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi asked:—

8. "Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table, when ready, a statement showing the Excise revenue in the different Provinces of India during the last 15 years?"

Excise revenue in different Provinces and Provinces of India during last 15 years.

The Hon'ble Mr. Gillan replied:—

"A statement" is laid on the table giving the information desired by the Hon'ble Member"

The Hon'ble Mr. Sitanath Ray asked:—

9. "In continuation of my question regarding a railway line connecting Calcutta with Barisal, put about this time last year in this Council, and in view of the resolution on this subject moved in the Bengal Legislative Council on the 5th August last having been accepted by the Local Government, will the Government be pleased to make a detailed and definite statement regarding this projected railway line with special reference to the following points:—

Projected railway line connecting Calcutta with Barisal.

- (a) the alignment of the projected line;
- (b) the estimated cost;
- (c) the estimated earnings;
- (d) the gauge to be used in the construction of the intended lines; and
- (e) the time when it would be taken in hand?"

The Hon'ble Sir. H. P. Burt replied:—

"(a), (b) and (c) The information asked for cannot be furnished as the detailed survey of the line has not yet been completed.

(d) The line will be located as for the 5' 6" gauge, and it is probable that this gauge will be adopted, if and when construction takes place

(e) Government are not in a position to supply this information at present."

The Hon'ble Mr. Sitanath Ray asked:—

10. "(a) Is it a fact that several kinds of kerosine oil, called white oil, are imported into this country from America and sold here, not as kerosine oil but as white oil?"

Importation of white oil as kerosine oil and introduction of a legislative measure for prevention of adulteration of food-stuffs.

(b) Is the above oil much cheaper than mustard oil and ghee, and is it being largely utilised for adulterating mustard oil and ghee by traders and shop-keepers?"

[*Sir Harcourt Butler ; Mr. Huda*]

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(c) Is it a fact that mustard oil and ghee are extensively used by the Indians in the preparation of almost all their articles of food ?

(d) Is mustard oil or ghee when adulterated with white oil injurious to human health ?

(e) Is it a fact that the adulteration of the various articles of daily consumption such as ghee, mustard oil and specially milk has created feelings of alarm and uneasiness in the minds of the people ?

(f) If the answers to the above questions are in the affirmative, will the Government be pleased to state whether it would take any legislative action in this matter in the way of passing an All India Food Act on the lines of the English and American Acts for the prevention of such adulteration ? If so, when ?

(g) Is it a fact that the Government of Burma has, at the instance of the Burma Chamber of Commerce, recommended to the Government of India the introduction of a legislative measure for prevention of adulteration of food-stuffs ?

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied :—

" (a) So far as the Government of India are aware white oil is not imported into India from America. The following quantities of the oil were imported from other countries, mainly Germany, during the last three years :—

1911-12	...	...	1,750,420 gallons.
1912-13	...	...	2,266,238 "
1913-14	...	...	2,568,158 "

(b) The answer is in the affirmative. The average wholesale market prices in Calcutta of white oil, mustard oil and ghee are as follows :—

White oil Rs. 11-3-0 to Rs. 13-4-0 per maund.
Mustard oil Rs. 16-3-0 per maund.
Ghee Rs. 48-0-0 to Rs. 49-13-0 per maund.

It is understood that the white oil imported is used mainly as an adulterant of ghee and vegetable oils.

(c) The Government of India are aware that ghee and mustard oil are extensively used by Indians in the preparation of many articles of food.

(d) The extent to which such adulteration is noxious depends entirely on the nature and amount of adulteration.

(e) The Government of India are not aware that the adulteration of food-stuffs has created alarm in the minds of the generality of people in India.

(f) The Government of India have had under consideration for some time the subject of the prevention of the adulteration of foods and drugs and have inquired from Local Governments and Administrations as to the desirability of legislation and as to the form which such legislation, if approved, will yet take. All replies have not been received.

(g) The Government of Burma have recommended the introduction of legislation for the prevention of the adulteration of food."

The Hon'ble Mr. Huda asked :—

11. " (a) Has the attention of the Government of India been drawn to the questions put and answers given in the Legislative Council of Bihar and Orissa on the 17th January, 1914, on the subject of the effect on the Provincial Judicial Service in that province of the division of the cadres which followed on the territorial distribution of Bengal ?

Distribution of cadres of Provincial Judicial Service between Bengal and Bihar and Orissa.

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Sir Harcourt Butler.*]

(b) Has any remedial action been recommended to the Government of India by the Local Government and if so, will the Government of India state its nature and the action it is proposed to take ?”

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

“ (a) The answer is in the affirmative.

(b) Both the Local Government and the Government of India recognize that some measure of temporary relief is justified in respect of certain grades of the Provincial Judicial service in Bihar and Orissa adversely affected by the recent cadre distribution, and it is hoped to make public shortly the remedial treatment decided upon.”

The Hon'ble Mr. Huda asked :—

12. “ Do the Government propose to lay on the table (a) opinions on the Report of the Patna University Committee submitted by different public bodies, associations and individuals to the Government of Bihar and Orissa, and (b) the report of the Select Committee appointed by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa to consider these opinions ?”

Report of the Patna University Committee.

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied :—

“ The Government of India have not received the opinions referred to by the Hon'ble Member on the Report of the Patna University Committee, nor the report of the Select Committee to which he alludes.”

The Hon'ble Mr. Huda asked :—

13. “ (a) Has the attention of the Government been drawn to the question asked by the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Sayid Fakhruddin regarding the practice of removing Indian shoes before entering Court rooms and the reply given thereto by the Hon'ble Mr. McPherson on the 6th April last in the meeting of the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa ?”

wearing of Indian shoes in courts.

(b) Does the Government contemplate modification of the resolution of the Government of India dated the 19th March, 1868, and referred to in reply by the Hon'ble Mr. McPherson ?”

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

“ The Government of India have seen the question and answer referred to. In the reply given the Local Government stated that considerable diversity of practice prevailed in the law courts of the province in the matter of the removal of shoes, and added that they did not consider it necessary or desirable to lay down any hard and fast rule for the guidance of judicial officers, but were content to leave the matter to the good sense of the Courts and the good feeling of the public. The Government of India consider that the attitude adopted by the Local Government was correct and do not propose to issue any further orders.”

The Hon'ble Mr. Huda asked :—

14. “ (a) Is it a fact that the majority of the Mussalmans and the Hindus of the new Province are in favour of an Islamic College being erected along with other Colleges at the creation of the Patna University ?”

Erection of an Islamic College in connection with the Patna University.

(b) If so, does the Government propose to erect an Islamic College side by side with other Colleges in the University of Patna ?”

[*Sir Harcourt Butler ; Mr. Huda ; Sir Robert Carlyle ; Maharaja M. C. Nandi ; Sir H. P. Burt ; Mr. Ghuznavi*] [16TH SEPTEMBER, 1914.]

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied :—

"The reply to part (a) of the question is that the Government of India have no information on the subject beyond that contained in the first paragraph on page 26 of the Report of the Patna University Committee. This being so, it is not possible to give a reply to part (b) of the question."

The Hon'ble Mr. Huda asked :—

Delay in building the High Court at Bankipore.

15. "(a) Is it a fact that there has been delay in building the High Court at Bankipore ?

(b) If so, will the Government be pleased to state the cause of the delay and the approximate time within which the building of the High Court is to be finished and the High Court is to start its work ?"

The Hon'ble Sir Robert Carlyle replied :—

"(a) No delay has taken place in the building of the High Court at Bankipore.

(b) It is anticipated that, if no adverse circumstances arise, the building will be completed and the work of the High Court commenced towards the end of 1915."

The Hon'ble Maharaja M. C. Nandi asked :—

South African coal for Indian Railways.

16. "Will the Government be pleased to state whether the Railway Board have placed any order for South African coal for Indian Railways, and, if so, what is the amount and value ?"

The Hon'ble Sir H. P. Burt replied :—

"No orders have been placed since 1912 for South African coal. In that year 2,28,700 tons were ordered for delivery in 1912 and 1913"

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi asked :—

Steps for the prevention of malaria in different parts of India.

17. "(a) Will the Government be pleased to state what steps are being taken to combat the ravages of malaria in different parts of India, particularly Bengal ?

(b) Is it a fact that people of certain districts and sub-districts of Bengal, such as Mymensingh and Tangail, are suffering excessively this year from malaria ?

(c) Will the Government be pleased to state what steps it is proposed to take to meet the special case of Bengal ?"

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied :—

"(a) The Hon'ble Member is referred to the annual reports of the several provincial Sanitary Commissioners, which give detailed accounts of measures which are being taken for dealing with malaria, and to paragraphs 18 and 19 of the Sanitary resolution of the Government of India Nos. 888-908, dated the 23rd May, 1914.

(b) The mortality from fever in Bengal up to June was not excessive. The Government of India have no information as to a severe outbreak of malaria at Mymensingh and Tangail and other parts of Bengal.

(c) deals with a matter with which the Local Government is primarily concerned, and the question is one which may appropriately be asked in the Local Council."

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[Mr. Ghuznavi; Sir Reginald Craddock]

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi asked :—

18. " (a) Will the Government be pleased to state whether they propose to contribute any sum towards the upkeep of the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine besides providing the six lakhs for the site and laboratory; and, if the answer is in the affirmative, the amount of such contribution? Government contribution towards the upkeep of the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine.

(b) If a Pasteur Institute be located in one of the wings of this institution, will the Government be pleased to state what sum they would be likely to grant towards it? "

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

" (a) The recurring charges of the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine will be borne by the Local Government assisted by contributions which have been generously offered. The Governing Body of the Indian Research Fund Association have agreed to contribute the pay of the Professors of Pathology and Bacteriology, and Protozoology for five years.

(b) The Government of India have received no proposals from the Government of Bengal with reference to the location of a Pasteur Institute in a wing of the School of Tropical Medicine at Calcutta. Seeing, moreover, that the pathological and research laboratories attached to the School and the Calcutta Medical College fulfil all the functions of a Pasteur Institute with the exception of an anti rabie treatment, the Government of India do not think it necessary to consider the question of a grant in aid for this purpose."

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi asked :—

19. " (a) Is it the rule that pilgrim ships bound for Jeddah are required to call at Perim on their outward journey from Bombay to Camaran, only in the event of a case of plague, cholera or other infectious disease occurring among the pilgrims between Bombay and Aden? Rule regarding calling at Perim of pilgrim ships bound for Jeddah.

(b) Is it a fact that last year majority of pilgrim ships with clean bills of health and without any case of any infectious disease occurring among the pilgrims were, on their arrival at Aden, still ordered to call at Perim on their way to the quarantine station of Camaran?

(c) Is it a fact that when the attention of the Port Health Officer of Aden, Major King, was drawn to it, he promptly rescinded the order and allowed the S S. 'Bahrein' and all ships that came after her to proceed direct to Camaran?

(d) Is it a fact that this year the S S. 'Sumatra' as well as the S. S. 'Akbar' which carried the first batch of pilgrims were ordered by a new Port Health Officer in the place of Major King, to call at Perim, and it was only when the Captains of the two boats protested and produced a copy of the standing orders of the Government as obtained from the Health Officer of Bombay, that they were allowed to proceed direct to Camaran?

If the answer to part (d) is in the affirmative, will the Government be pleased to state whether it is proposed to take steps to keep the Aden Authorities informed of the orders of Government so that proceedings like the above on the part of the Port authorities may be avoided in future?

Will the Government be pleased to state whether they will consider the advisability of making the same rule hold good as regards calling at Perim of pilgrim ships on their homeward journey? "

[*Sir Harcourt Butler ; Mr. Ghuznavi ;* [16TH SEPTEMBER, 1914.]
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The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied :—

" (a) Pilgrim ships proceeding to Jeddah are required to call at Aden only in the event of plague being discovered on such vessels at Aden and between Aden and Perim.

Detailed information on the points referred to in clauses (b), (c) and (d) is not available; but the Government of Bombay report that pilgrim ships with clean bills of health were ordered to call at Perim by the former Port Health Officer, Aden, and that the present Port Health Officer followed the same procedure in certain cases this year also. He has now ceased to do so. The Government of Bombay will be asked to instruct the port health authorities at Aden with a view to prevent a recurrence of such proceedings in the future.

As regards the last paragraph of the question, the present practice is to examine every returning pilgrim ship at Perim. On the outward journey, pilgrims have to undergo a careful medical inspection at Bombay prior to embarkation; but, as no medical examination of returning pilgrims is held at Jeddah, it has been thought desirable from the sanitary standpoint that every ship should call at Perim on the return journey. It is probable, however, that this point will be shortly considered by the Pilgrim Committee, Bombay."

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi asked :—

Redistribution in the proportion of posts held by Civil Surgeons promoted from the posts of Civil and Military Assistant Surgeons, serving under Local Governments.

20. " (a) Will the Government be pleased to state what is the total number of Military Assistant Surgeons who are serving under the Local Governments, and what is the number of Civil Surgeoncies that have been filled up from amongst them ?

(b) Will the Government be pleased to state what is the total number of Civil Assistant Surgeons, and what is the number of Civil Surgeoncies that have been filled up from amongst them ?

(c) Will the Government be pleased to state whether they would consider the desirability of making any redistribution in the proportion of posts held by these two classes of officers? If not, will the Government be pleased to state their reasons ? "

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

" The figures asked for by the Hon'ble Member are as follows :—

Number of Military Assistant Surgeons serving under local Governments	...	...	...	...	188
Number of Civil Surgeoncies reserved for them	...	...	...	...	50
Number of Civil Assistant Surgeons serving under local Governments	...	...	...	...	754
Number of Civil Surgeoncies reserved for them	...	...	...	...	36

Civil Assistant Surgeons belong to purely provincial services, but the figures as regards them have been compiled from the best information available without a general reference.

As regards head (c) the Hon'ble Member is referred to paragraph 2 of the Despatch No. 2, dated the 5th March, 1914, which was published for general information at pages 1275-6 of the *Gazette of India* of the 1st August."

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi asked :—

Revision of salaries of peons attached to the Civil and Criminal Courts in India.

21. " (a) Is it a fact that the salaries of peons attached to the Civil and Criminal Courts (particularly in the Mofussil) throughout India were fixed more than 2 or 3 decades ago and have not been revised since ?

(b) Is it a fact that the salaries of peons range from six to eight rupees only ?

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[*Sir Reginald Craddock ; Maharaja Ranajit Sinha ; Mr. Gillan ; Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis.*]

(c) Is it a fact that the cost of living has considerably increased within the last 2 or 3 decades ?

(d) Do the Government propose to take any steps to increase their salaries ? ”

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

“ It is not possible to give categorical replies to questions of this kind concerning the whole of India. The adequacy of the salaries of peons attached to civil and criminal courts is essentially a matter for the different local Governments to consider. Conditions are not the same in all Provinces or even in all parts of the same Province. In some Provinces, the scale of pay has already been considerably improved in recent years, while in some others the matter is engaging the attention of the local Government. Any proposals that may be received for improving the remuneration of this class of Government servants will receive the sympathetic consideration of the Government of India.”

The Hon'ble Maharaja Ranajit Sinha of Nashipur asked :—

22. “ (a) Is it a fact that since the outbreak of European War there has been considerable rise in the price of *food-stuffs* and other necessaries of life in all the Provinces ?

Rise in the price of food-stuffs since the outbreak of European War.

(b) If so, will the Government be pleased to state what steps, if any, they propose to take in the matter ? ”

The Hon'ble Mr. Gillan replied :—

“ (a) and (b). Immediately after the outbreak of war, there was a general upward movement of prices in India. Inquiries which were at once instituted by the Government of India, however, showed that prompt measures were being taken, where necessary, by Local Governments and Municipal Authorities, to check this movement. As a result, prices are now generally normal. The only serious increases which have been maintained are in the prices of refined sugar and Liverpool salt. The rise in the price of sugar is due to short shipments to this country, which is dependent on Java and Mauritius for large quantities of sugar. The Government of India are watching the situation carefully, but the increased price appears inevitable owing to the stoppage of large exports of beet sugar from Germany and Austria-Hungary to the United Kingdom. The shortage of Liverpool salt is due to the temporary suspension of sailings from the United Kingdom. A fall in price is anticipated as soon as the normal traffic has been restored. The price of Indian salt has not been affected.

The Government of India are satisfied that the Local Governments and Administrations are taking all necessary steps in this matter, and they do not therefore propose to take any action at present.”

The Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis asked :—

23. “ Will Government be pleased to state what, if any, encouragement does Government intend giving to the local manufacturing of stores necessary for the use of spinning and weaving mills, owing to the stoppage of all such articles from Germany and Austria, and to state if any attempts have been made to help people concerned in the Mill and other industry to bring in necessary stores from other countries where they may be available ? ”

Arrangement for the supply of stores necessary for the use of spinning and weaving mills stopped from Germany and Austria.

[*Mr. Gillan ; Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis ; Sir
William Meyer ; Mr. Abbott ; The
Commander-in-Chief.*] [16TH SEPTEMBER, 1914]

The Hon'ble Mr. Gillan replied :—

"Government are considering the whole question of providing from fresh sources imports hitherto obtained from Germany and Austria. They are not at present in a position to make any announcement on the subject."

The Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis asked :—

Mr. K. L.
Dutta's
Report on
Prices in
India.

24. "(1) Has Mr. K. L. Dutta's Report on Prices in India been considered by Government ?

(2) What action, if any, has been taken in connection with its publication, with a view to make it available to the public ?

(3) Will Government kindly explain its attitude as regards the solution of the problem of regulating prices or mitigating the evil of high prices ?"

The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer replied :—

"The first and second parts of the question were answered in the reply which I gave, on the 8th September, to a similar question asked by the Hon'ble Maharaja Ranajit Sinha. The usual arrangements will be made for sale to public as in the case of other Government publications.

As regards the third part of the question, the Government of India's views on the Report will be published, as I explained on the 8th September, at the same time as the Report itself. But my Hon'ble friend must not expect to find, either in the Report or in the Resolution, any scheme of price regulation or a general panacea for the hardships which high prices, like other changes in economic conditions, may impose on particular classes."

The Hon'ble Mr. Abbott asked :—

Indian
Subordinate
Medical
Department.

25. "(1) With reference to the reply given by the Hon'ble Major-General Birdwood to my questions put on the 17th September, 1913, will the Government be pleased to state whether a reply has yet been given to the memorial of about 3½ years ago, regarding designation, disabilities as to status, pay, conditions of service, etc.

(2) Will the Government be pleased to state whether they propose to extend to them the same privilege and concession as was recently sanctioned for the Indian Medical Service, that is, when travelling by Railway at their own expense to travel in the class in which they are entitled to travel at the public expense on payment of the fare of the class next below it ?"

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief replied :—

"(a) The matter is still under consideration. As large expenditure is involved, it is likely that some time will elapse before any definite reply can be given to the memorialists."

(b) The extension of the concession referred to by the Hon'ble Member, was made to bring officers of the Indian Medical Service into line with other regimental officers of the same ranks. The case of the Indian Subordinate Medical Department is not analogous, as its members already receive the same concessions as are allowed to officers and warrant officers in similar positions in other departments. The question of the extension of this concession, which has now been raised for the first time, will, however, receive consideration."

The Hon'ble Mr. Abbott asked :—

Appoint-
ment of
Anglo-
Indians
as Deputy
Superinten-
dents of
Police.

26. "Is it a fact that several appointments of Indians have been made, direct to the grade of Deputy Superintendents of Police ?

Do Government propose to confer a proportionate number of these appointments on members of the Domiciled Anglo-Indian Community in each Province ?"

[16TH SEPTEMBER, 1914.] [Sir Reginald Craddock ; Mr. Abbott ;
The Commander-in-Chief ; Sir William Meyer]

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

"The Government of India have no definite information on the point, but from the statement laid on the table on the 24th February last in connection with a question ask by the Hon'ble Member, it would appear that some Indians have recently been appointed direct to the grade of Deputy Superintendent of Police.

The appointment of Deputy Superintendents of Police is a matter within the discretion of the local Governments, and the Government of India do not propose to issue any further general instructions."

The Hon'ble Mr. Abbott asked :—

27. "Will the Government be pleased to state whether they propose to open depôts at suitable centres for the enrolment and recruitment of European British subjects in India for enlistment in the British Army?"

Depôts in India for the recruitment of European British subjects for the British Army.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief replied :—

"It is proposed to open recruiting depôts for the recruitment of men of European parentage for British units at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Karachi and Rangoon, and men will, within certain limitations, also be permitted to enlist for any corps at the Head-quarters of any British unit in India."

The Hon'ble Mr. Abbott asked :—

28. "Will the Government be pleased to say—

(1) If it is a fact that no promotion has been made from the subordinate to the superior grades of the Military Accounts Department since 1914?

Promotion from the subordinate to superior grades of the Military Accounts Department.

(2) If it is a fact that such promotions are made from time to time in the Civil and Public Works Accounts Services?

(3) If it is a fact that Deputy Examiners of the Military Accounts perform duties similar to those assigned to Officers of the Superior Service in that Department and that their duties and responsibilities are not unlike those allotted to Officers in the superior grades in the other Account Services?

(4) If the answer to (1) is in the affirmative, why no such promotion has been made?

(5) Whether the Government propose to cause a full inquiry to be made into the matter and a report furnished showing reasons why Deputy Examiners of the Military Accounts Department are held to be ineligible for promotion to the higher grades."

The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer replied :—

"(1) and (2). The answers to parts (1) and (2) of the question are in the affirmative.

I presume that the date 1914 given in the question is a clerical error. In any case, no such promotion has been made in the Military Accounts Department since 1890.

(3) Deputy Examiners of the Military Accounts Department correspond roughly with Chief Superintendents of the Civil Accounts Department, and, like the latter officers, are employed to assist the superior officers of the Department, but may also discharge duties which would otherwise fall on junior members of the superior staff.

[*Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola*; *Sir William Meyer*.] [16TH SEPTEMBER, 1914.]

(4) Because formerly the superior staff of the Department was recruited from officers of the Indian Army, and is now recruited from candidates appointed by the Secretary of State in England.

(5) No action as suggested in part 5 of the question is considered necessary.

Deputy Examiners have during the last few years been given a higher place in the interior economy of the Department than formerly, and the question of further improving their prospects either by the selection, from time to time, of deserving and capable incumbents for the superior staff, or by increasing their pay has been under consideration by the Military Accountant-General and proposals on the subject are shortly expected from him. The question has also been before the Public Services Commission. The proposals of the Military Accountant-General and any recommendations which the Public Services Commission may make will receive due consideration from Government."

The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola asked :—

Request for information in a tabular form for each Province, under certain heads regarding population, revenue and Imperial grants.

29. "Will Government be pleased to furnish the following information in a tabular form for each of the last 5 years ?

1st column.—The year.

2nd column.—The name of each of the Provinces and local administrations in India including Burma, North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan.

3rd column.—Population according to the last census of each Province and local administration excluding the population of Native States.

4th column.—Total amount of revenue collected in each Province and local administration under Imperial heads.

5th column.—Total amount of revenue demand under Provincial heads.

6th column.—Total amount of revenue demand under divided heads, stating the portion (a) retained by each Province and (b) paid to the Imperial Government.

7th column.—Total revenue of each Province for Provincial purposes.

8th column.—Total amount of payments by each Province to the Imperial Government.

9th column.—The amount of assignments granted to each Provincial Government under the terms of the current Provincial contracts.

10th column.—The total amount of grants paid to each Provincial Government for non-recurring expenditure under (a) Education and Sanitation and (b) all other heads.

11th column.—The total amount of grants made to each Provincial Government for recurring expenditure under (a) Education and Sanitation and (b) all other heads."

The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer replied :—

"Much of the information asked for by my Hon'ble Friend is already available to him in our published accounts and statistics. The population statistics will be found in table 2 of the "Statistical Abstract relating to British India." The amount of revenue collected in India in each province under (a) Imperial, (b) Provincial and (c) Divided heads, together with the portion of (c) received by the Imperial and Provincial Governments, respectively, will be found in Accounts Nos. 7 and 9 of the Finance and Revenue Accounts; and the figures for the Home Treasury of the Government of India will be found in Account No. 2 of the same publication. Corresponding figures

[18TH SEPTEMBER, 1914.]

[*Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola; Sir William Meyer; The President; Mr. Ghuznavi; The Commander-in-Chief.*]

for a series of years will be found in Accounts Nos 9 and 8 of the 'Statistics compiled from the Finance and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India'. The amount of assignments granted from Imperial to Provincial revenues, or *vice versa*, under the terms of the current provincial settlements, will be found in Account No. 71 of the Finance and Revenue Accounts for 1912-13.

In these accounts the figures for the North-West Frontier Province are shown as wholly Imperial in a separate column, and the figures for Baluchistan are included in the wholly Imperial revenue shown under the column headed India General. This arrangement is adopted because there is no regular provincial settlement with these minor administrations, though they have been given certain independent powers of incurring expenditure.

2. It is not possible to discover readily from the published Finance and Revenue Accounts the detailed information about Imperial grants which my Hon'ble Friend wants for the 10th and 11th columns of his statement. I accordingly lay on the table statements* giving this information for the five years ending 1912-13. The accounts for 1913-14 have not yet been finally closed."

The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola :—"With your permission, My Lord, I should like to ask the supplementary question whether all these publications to which I have been referred have got to be investigated by us in order to get in a concrete form the information which I have asked in this question, each column having a direct bearing on the issue that I propose to raise."

The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer :—"The answer I would give to the Hon'ble Member is that the compilation of such a statement as he requires needs some labour somewhere and it is considered more expedient that the Hon'ble Member, if he takes a deep interest in the subject, should work up the figures himself than that the work of the Finance Department should be clogged, especially at this period of stress, by having to do it."

The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola :—"I understand, Your Excellency, that the Hon'ble Member desires that we should entertain a Secretariat staff to work out these details."

His Excellency the President :—"Order! Order!"

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi asked :—

30. "(a) Is the Government aware that there is a feeling of disappointment in Bengal owing to the inability on the part of the authorities to accept the services of those who came forward to be enlisted as members of the proposed Bengal Ambulance Corps?"

(b) Will the Government be pleased to state whether they will be prepared to utilize their services, if necessary, when those that volunteer for service in an Ambulance Corps are trained and have learnt their duties?

(c) If so, will the Government be pleased to state whether they are prepared to make arrangements to teach them their duties so that they may be effective members of an Ambulance Corps?"

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief replied :—

"The Government of India have nothing to add to the correspondence published on this topic between the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha and His Excellency the Governor of Bengal."

[*Mr. Ghuznavi ; Sir Harcourt Butler ;* [16TH SEPTEMBER, 1914.]
Mr. Dadabhoy.]

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi asked :—

31. " (a) Is it a fact that Indian Mussalman pilgrims to the *Hedjaz* on their way through the disinfecting sheds before embarkation at Bombay are stamped on the backs of their hands and on their breasts ?

(b) If so, will the Government be pleased to state whether they propose to take steps so that some other means may be adopted for distinguishing pilgrims who are passed after medical inspection ? "

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied :—

" The answer to (a) is in the affirmative. The system has been in force for 15 years and no compulsion is used.

(b) The matter is engaging the attention of the Government of Bombay, who state that they are issuing an explanatory press note on the subject."

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi asked :—

32. " (a) Has the attention of the Government been drawn to an article published in the *Mussalman* of the 7th August, reproduced partly from the *Common Weal*, anent the Dacca University Scheme ?

(b) Is it a fact that Government favours the idea of establishing Christian Missionary Colleges for men and for women as part of the Dacca University Scheme ?

(c) Has the attention of the Government been drawn to the resolution by the Government of Bengal in which it states that 'nothing in the nature of proselytism among non-Christian students will be allowed' ?

(d) Has the attention of the Government been drawn to a letter published in the *Statesman* of the 23rd August over the signature of the Rev. Mr. Shore of the Oxford Mission, Dacca, on the subject of the work of that Mission ? "

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied :—

" The Government of India have not seen the article alluded to as published in the *Mussalman* of the 7th August. They have seen the resolution of the Government of Bengal published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of August, the 13th, 1914, and the letter alluded to as published in the *Statesman* of the 23rd August. They await the opinion of the Government of Bengal, who have invited public comment and criticism."

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy asked :—

33. " (a) Has any correspondence passed between this Government and the Secretary of State for India for the freer admission of Indian students into the educational institutions of the United Kingdom ?

(b) If so, will such correspondence be laid on the table ? "

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied :—

" The whole question is still the subject of correspondence with the Secretary of State and it is not possible to publish anything at present "

[10TH SEPTEMBER, 1914.]

[*Mr. Dadabhoy ; Sir Reginald Craddock.*]

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy asked :—

34. " Will Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing, province by province, the number of capital sentences passed in each of the years 1912-13 and 1913-14, the number of acquittals in murder cases, the number of appeals by Government against such acquittals, and the number of convictions on appeal with details of sentences ? "

Number of capital sentences passed, number of acquittals in murder cases, number of appeals against such acquittals and number of convictions on appeal.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

" The information is not immediately available, but will be obtained and laid on the table in due course. "

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy asked :—

35. " Will Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the percentage of murder cases in proportion to population during each of the three decades since 1881, and the percentage of capital sentences inflicted ? "

Percentage of murder cases in proportion to population and percentage of capital sentences inflicted.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

" Assuming that the expression sentences inflicted means sentences imposed by the Courts, the figures can be extracted from the published criminal statistics and census, tables and I shall be happy to place these at the disposal of the Hon'ble Member should he care to see them. "

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy asked :—

36. " With reference to the Government statement in the House of Commons in March last that the whole question of appeals against acquittals was under consideration, will Government be pleased to state if any decision has now been come to on the subject, and whether they propose to lay on the table the connected correspondence, if any, between this Government and the Secretary of State for India ? "

Question of appeals against acquittals.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

" The question is still under consideration, and no papers can be laid on the table at present. "

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy asked :—

37. " Will Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the number of floggings in India in 1912-13 and 1913-14. "

Number of floggings in India.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

" It is understood that the Hon'ble Member refers to sentences of whipping inflicted by the Criminal Courts. A statement* giving the figures for 1912 is laid on the table. The annual reports for 1913, from which the information would be taken, have not yet all been received. The facts for that year can be given later if the Hon'ble Member repeats his question at a subsequent session. "

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy asked :—

38. " Will Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing, year by year, for the last ten years, the number of persons sent to prison for default in payment of fines, as also the proportion which such persons bear to the total number of persons sent to jail during the year ? "

Number of persons sent to prison for default in payment of fines.

* *Ivide Appendix Q (p. 230, post).*

82 QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS; THE SEA CUSTOMS (AMENDMENT) BILL.

[Sir Reginald Craddock; Mr. Dadabhoy; [16TH SEPTEMBER, 1914]
Mr. Wood; Mr. Rayaningar; Mr. Gillan.]

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

"The information asked for by the Hon'ble Member is not contained in any of the Jail or Judicial Statistics compiled for inclusion in the annual reports on Jails or Criminal Justice. The amount of trouble involved in their collection would be altogether disproportionate to their importance. The Government of India, therefore, regret their inability to comply with the Hon'ble Member's request."

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy asked :—

Circulation in India of translations of diplomatic correspondence relating to War.

39. "Will Government be pleased to consider the advisability of circulating freely in India translations in all the important vernaculars of the diplomatic correspondence between England and Germany relating to the War."

The Hon'ble Mr. Wood replied :—

"The Government of India are grateful to the Hon'ble Member for his suggestion, which will be transmitted to the Local Governments for such action as they may consider desirable."

The Hon'ble Mr. Rayaningar asked :—

Appointment of two temporary additional judges of the Madras High Court.

40. "(a) Do Government propose to lay on the table the correspondence that passed between the Madras High Court and the Madras Government and between the Madras Government and the Government of India regarding the last appointment of the two temporary additional judges of the High Court?"

(b) Has the attention of Government been drawn to Sir S. Subramanya Iyer's article in *Common Weal* on Judicial Reform in India, and have Government considered the suggestion made in it?"

(c) Do Government propose to take any action on the lines suggested?"

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

"(a) The Government of India do not think that any useful purpose would be served by the publication of the correspondence which has passed between them and the Madras Government.

(b) and (c) The Government of India have not seen the article referred to."

THE SEA CUSTOMS (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Hon'ble Mr. Gillan :—"My Lord, I move that the Bill further to amend the Sea Customs Act, 1878, be taken into consideration. As I explained at the last meeting of this Council, the measure is a purely formal one, intended to remove certain minor defects in the existing Act."

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Mr. Gillan :—"I have then to move, My Lord, that the Bill be passed."

The motion was put and agreed to.

THE INDIAN LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANIES (AMENDMENT) 83
BILL; THE INDIAN POST OFFICE AND TELEGRAPH
(AMENDMENT) BILL; THE INDIAN ARMY (AMEND-
MENT) BILL; THE INDIAN AIRCRAFT (AMENDMENT)
BILL

[16TH SEPTEMBER, 1911.]

[*Mr. Gillan; The Commander-in-Chief;
Sir Reginald Craddock.*]

**THE INDIAN LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANIES
(AMENDMENT) BILL.**

The Hon'ble Mr. Gillan :—" I next move, My Lord, that the Bill to amend the Life Assurance Companies Act, 1912, be taken into consideration."

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Mr. Gillan :—" I move, My Lord, that the Bill be passed."

The motion was put and agreed to.

**THE INDIAN POST OFFICE AND TELEGRAPH
(AMENDMENT) BILL.**

The Hon'ble Mr. Gillan :—" I move that the Bill further to amend the Indian Telegraph Act, 1885, and the Indian Post Office Act, 1898, be taken into consideration."

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Mr. Gillan :—" I move, My Lord, that the Bill be passed."

The motion was put and agreed to.

THE INDIAN ARMY (AMENDMENT) BILL.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief :—" My Lord, I move that the Bill to amend the Indian Army Act, 1911, be taken into consideration."

The motion was put and agreed to.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief :—" My Lord, I move that the Bill be passed."

The motion was put and agreed to.

THE INDIAN AIRCRAFT (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock :—" My Lord, I beg to move that the Bill to amend the Indian Airships Act, 1911, be taken into consideration. I have nothing to add to the remarks I made when introducing the Bill at the last meeting."

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock :—" My Lord, I now move that the Bill be passed."

The motion was put and agreed to.

[*Sir Ali Imam*] ,

[16TH SEPTEMBER, 1914]

THE REPEALING AND AMENDING BILL.

The Hon'ble Sir Ali Imam :—“ My Lord, I move that the Bill to amend certain enactments and to repeal certain other enactments be taken into consideration. On the last occasion, when moving for leave to introduce the Bill, I dwelt upon the principal features of the proposed legislation. It is hardly necessary for me to detain the Council any further.”

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Sir Ali Imam :—“ My Lord, I move that the Bill be passed.”

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Council adjourned *sine die*.

W. H. VINCENT,

Secretary to the Government of India,

Legislative Department.

SIMLA ;

The 23rd September, 1914.

[Vide Proceedings, page 65.]

Statement exhibiting the information regarding medical education among Indian women, asked for by the Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoy at the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held on the 9th September 1913.

Presidency or Province.	No. of Indian ladies (a) who have taken a degree in Medicine (b) who have been trained as Sub-Assistant Surgeons (c) who have been trained as midwives and nurses during the last 10 years.	Facilities existing in the shape of (a) special institutions and (b) special scholarships for the purpose of promoting medical education among Indian women.	Amount of annual expenditure on such institutions and scholarships.
Madras	(a) 1 (b) 7 (c) 448	(a) Nil, but facilities exist for the training of nurses and midwives at the Government Maternity Hospital and the Rajal. Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar Lying-in-Hospital. (b) Certain scholarships amounting to Rs 300 per annum and 5 scholarships varying in value from Rs 800 to Rs. 180 per annum Indian women are given free medical education in all the schools. Rs. 12,000 per annum is given towards the higher medical education of women in general.	Values from year to year.
Bombay	(a) 44 (b) and (c) 150	(a) Nil. (b) 3 out of six University scholarships varying from Rs. 246 to Rs. 120 per annum. There are also scholarships valued at Rs 20 per mensem, which fluctuate in number; 10 scholarships amounting to Rs 3,912 per annum, 2 at Rs 10 per mensem; 1 at Rs. 122½ per annum, and 2 whose value is not known.	Rs. 7,078.
Bengal	(a) Nil (b) 28 (c) 278	(a) Nil, but a training in nursing and midwifery is given to Indian women at the Dufferin Victoria Hospital, Calcutta. Classes are held at certain stations for imparting instruction to indigenous <i>dhas</i> . (b) Special concessions in the shape of scholarships and free studentships are allowed to those who are admitted into the Medical College, Calcutta, and the Medical Schools	Rs. 2,410.
Bihar and Orissa	(a) Nil (b) 7 (c) 163 (Dhas)	(a) Nil, but there are 8 special classes in the province for training Indian <i>dhas</i> (b) In the Medical Schools female students are given free admission and free tuition. They are also given a scholarship of Rs. 10 per mensem. <i>Dhas</i> pupils are given stipends varying from Rs 4 to Rs. 10 per mensem each	Rs. 1,928.

Presidency or Province.	No of Indian ladies (a) who have taken a degree in medicine (b) who have been trained as Sub-Assistant Surgeons (c) who have been trained as midwives and nurses during the last 10 years.	Facilities existing in the shape of (a) special institutions and (b) special scholarships for the purpose of promoting medical education among Indian women	Amount of annual expenditure on such institutions and scholarships
United Provinces ...	(a) Nil ... (b) 118 ... (c) 84	(a) Nil, but <i>dhas</i> classes are held at the Dufferin Hospitals at Lucknow, Cawnpore, Allahabad and Benares (b) There are no special scholarships for Indian women. At the Lucknow Medical College scholarships are granted to female students but their value has not yet been fixed. The Dufferin Fund grants 15 scholarships of the value of Rs. 10 per month each to female students. A private scholarship of Rs. 10 per mensem is also given. (c) The Women's Christian Medical College, Ludhiana, (not for Indian women only)	Rs. 7,930
Punjab ...	(a) Nil ... (b) 31 (c) 289.	(b) At the Women's Christian Medical College, Ludhiana, 2 Government scholarships are offered each year to non-Christians and certain college scholarships are offered to Christians. Scholarships are also given from the Dufferin and McDonnell Funds at the Lahore Medical College	Not known
Burma ...	(a) Nil ... (b) 1 (c) 238	(a) Nil, but Indian women are trained as midwives and nurses at the General Hospital and the Dufferin Hospital, Rangoon. (b) There are no special scholarships for Indian women. 3 Government scholarships of Rs. 40 per mensem each tenable for 6 years are offered to female students. There are also 10 scholarships of Rs. 40 per mensem each tenable for 4 years, for which women are eligible.	Not known.
Central Provinces ...	(a) Nil ... (b) 12 (c) 151	(a) Nil. (b) A bonus varying from Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 and a scholarship of Rs. 10 per mensem for four years is offered to female students. A bonus varying from Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 is also given. The Dufferin Fund gives 5 scholarships of Rs. 10 per mensem each for 4 years and 12 scholarships of Rs. 8 per mensem each for one year; some scholarships of Rs. 6 per mensem each; six scholarships of Rs. 7 per mensem each annually, and one of Rs. 10 per mensem	Rs. 4,344
Assam ...	(a) Nil ... (b) } Not known (c) }	There are no special institutions or scholarships for Indian women ...	Not known.

Presidency or Province.	No. of Indian ladies (a) who have taken a degree in medicine (b) who have been trained as Sub-Assistant Surgeons (c) who have been trained as midwives and nurses during the last 10 years.	Facilities existing in the shape of (a) special institutions and (b) special scholarships for the purpose of promoting medical education among Indian women.	Amount of annual expenditure on such institutions and scholarships.
Central India ..	(a) Nil ... (b) Nil ... (c) 170 (Midwives)	(a) Nil. (b) No special scholarships. Classes of midwives are trained under the auspices of the Late Lady Curzon's Victoria Memorial Scholarship Fund.	Rs. 1,450.
Hyderabad ...	(a) Nil .. (b) Nil ... (c) 206	(a) Nil, but special practical lectures in midwifery are given at the Secunderabad hospital (b) No special scholarships. Local <i>dhas</i> are induced to undergo training by the grant of a monthly allowance of Rs. 10 each to 5 <i>dhas</i> at a time	Rs. 900.
Ajmer-Merwara ...	(a) Nil ... (b) Nil ... (c) 28 (<i>Dhas</i>)	(a) There is a <i>dhas</i> training class at Ajmer. (b) Nil.	
Rajputana ...	(a) Nil ... (b) Nil ... (c) 52 (<i>Dhas</i> .)	(a) There is a <i>dhas</i> training class at Ajmer. (b) 6 scholarships of Rs. 15 per mensem annually	Rs. 4,515.
Mysore ...	(a) Nil ... (b) Nil ... (c) 7 (Midwives).	(a) Nil. (b) Midwives are trained under the auspices of the Victoria Memorial Scholarship Fund.	Rs. 120 (for training one midwife).
Baluchistan ...	(a) Nil ... (b) Nil ... (c) 11 (Midwives).	(a) Nil, but special classes for training Indian women in nursing and midwifery are attached to the hospitals in Quetta and Sibi. (b) 5 scholarships varying in value from Rs. 12 to Rs. 8 per mensem	Rs. 1,767.

APPENDIX B.

[*Vide Proceedings, page 65.*]

STATEMENT I.

STATEMENT SHOWING (1) THE NAMES OF THE PRINTING PRESSES PLACED UNDER SECURITY UNDER THE INDIAN PRESS ACT, 1910 (I OF 1910), AND (2) THE NAMES OF THOSE PRESSES WHOSE SECURITY, OR FURTHER SECURITY, WAS FORFEITED (WITH GROUNDS OF FORFEITURE) DURING THE YEARS 1910, 1911, 1912 AND 1913.

STATEMENT I.

Statement showing (1) the names of the printing presses placed under security under the Indian Press Act, 1910 (I of 1910), and (2) the names of those presses whose security, or further security, was forfeited (with grounds of forfeiture) during the years 1910, 1911, 1912 and 1913.

Province.	Name of printing press	Names of newspapers printed thereat	Amount of security demanded with section under which demanded	If security forfeited, the grounds of forfeiture with section under which forfeited	Amount of further security	If further security forfeited the grounds of forfeiture	Whether printing press was opened, remained open or closed after demand of security, or continued operations subsequent to forfeiture	REMARKS
Madras	1 Saraswati Vilas Press, Chingleput,	Nil	Rs. 500 [Section 3(1)]	1910.	..	..	Remained open ..	The security was returned in 1912.
	2 Jagadosa Press, Berhampur.	The Harnam	Rs 500 [Section 3(1)]	..	..	..	Opened ..	The press closed on 24th May 1912.
	3 Swarnamukhi Press, Narasapur.	Nil	Rs 100 [Section 3(1)]	..	..	..	Opened and still working.	
	4 Press of M. R. Ry. Ayanki Venkatachalapati Rao, Masulipatam.	Nil	Rs 1,000 [Section 3(1)]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press not opened.	
	5 Harthara Press	Nil	Rs 500 [Section 3(1)]	..	..	..	Opened ..	The press worked till September 1911, when it was closed and the security was refunded.
	6 Nayanar Press	Nil	Rs. 500 [Section 3(1)]	..	..	..	Opened and still working.	
	7 Showkatal Islam Press	Nil	Rs. 500 [Section 3(1)]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press closed.	

Bombay	8	Mantvannan Press	Nil	Rs 500 [Section 3(1)]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press not opened.
	9	Lakshmi's Stationery and Printing Works.	..	Rs. 500 [Section 3(1)].	..	..	..	Ditto.
	10	Lakshmilalassam Press, Sattur.	Nil	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Opened . . . Security dispensed with in 1912,
	11	Chandika Printing Press, Bombay.	Nil	Rs. 500 [Section 3(1)].	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press not opened.
	12	Shri Cutchi Deeba Oswal Printing Press, Bombay	Nil	Rs. 500 [Section 3(1)]	..	..	..	Ditto
	13	New Albert Printing Press, Bombay.	Nil	Rs. 500 [Section 3(1)]	..	..	..	Ditto
	14	Rasuli Printing Press, Bombay	Nil	Rs. 500 [Section 3(1)]	..	..	..	Ditto
	15	Lakshmi Venkatesh Press, Kalyan (Thana).	No mention made by the District Magistrate.	Rs 500 [Section 3(1)]	..	..	..	Ditto
	16	Edward Printing Press, Sukkur.	Sindhi, Satwadi and Hind Shadi Sahita Fund, Circular.	Rs. 1,000 [Section 3(1)]	..	..	..	Ditto
	17	Phadke's Printing Press, Thana.	No mention made by the District Magistrate.	Rs. 500 [Section 3(1)]	..	..	..	Ditto
18	All Akbar Printing Press, Bombay	Nil	Rs 500 [Section 3(1)]	..	..	..	Ditto	
19	Jain Printing Press, Surat	Nil	Rs 500 [Section 3(1)]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press not opened.	

STATEMENT I—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press.	Names of newspapers printed thereat	Amount of security demanded with section under which demanded.	If security forfeited, the grounds of forfeiture with section under which forfeited.	Amount of further security.	If further security forfeited the grounds of forfeiture.	Whether printing press was opened, remained open or closed after demand of security or continued operations subsequent to forfeiture	REMARKS.
				<i>1910 contd—</i>				
Bombay— <i>contd</i> ..	20 Sharada Krīdan Press, Bombay.	Phal Jyotishadarak Daivadnya Sam- achar	Rs 1,000 .. [Section 3(1)].	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press closed.	
	21. Manohar Press, Poona ..	Kal	Rs 5,000 .. [Section 3(2)].	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press closed.	
	22. Rashtramat Printing Press, Bombay.	Rashtramat ..	Rs 5,000 .. [Section 3(2)].	..	..	..	Ditto,	
	23. Shri Mahesh Mudralaya Printing Press, Surat.	Shakti	Rs. 5,000 .. [Section 3(2)].	..	..	..	Ditto,	
Bengal	24 Calcutta Printing Works, Calcutta.	NG	Rs. 500 .. [Section 3(1)].	..	..	..	Opened.	
	25. Standard Press, Calcutta	NG	Rs. 1 000 .. [Section 3(1)].	..	..	..	Ditto.	
	26 Sastra Proohar Press, Calcutta	NG	Rs. 50 .. [Section 3(1)].	..	..	..	Ditto,	Security since returned
	27. Mahesh Press, Calcutta ..	NG	Rs. 1,000 .. [Section 3(1)].	..	..	..	Ditto,	
	28 Mercantile Printing Works, Calcutta.	NG	Rs. 500 .. [Section 3(1)].	..	..	..	Ditto.	

	29 G Press, Calcutta ..	Nil ..	Rs 500 [Section 3(1)]				Ditto.	
	30 Soma Press, Calcutta ..	Nil ..	Rs. 1,000 [Section 3(1)]				Ditto.	
	31 Commercial Press, Calcutta	Nil ..	Rs. 1,000 [Section 3(1)].				Ditto.	Security since returned.
	32 Hamida Press, Calcutta	Nil ..	Rs. 500 [Section 3(1)].				Security not deposited and press not opened.	
	33 A press (no name given), Calcutta.	Nil ..	Rs. 1,000 [Section 3(1)]				Ditto.	
	34 Joy Press, Rangpur ..	Nil ..	Rs. 500 [Section 3(1)]				Remained open	
	35 A press at Unasia (no name given), Faridpur.	Arya Prabha ..	Rs. 500 [Section 3(1)]				Security not deposited and press closed.	
United Provinces .	36 Brahma Press, Etawah ..	Brahman Sarnoswa	Rs 2,000 [Section 3 (2)]				Remained open	Amount of security reduced to Rs. 500 in 1913.
	37 Hivzul Matahai Press, Moradabad.	Shamsul Nihar ..	Rs. 1,000 [Section 3 (1)]				Security not deposited and press not opened.	
	38 Dosh Sewak Press, Allahabad.	(Not given) ..	Rs. 1,000 [Section 3 (1)]				Security not deposited and press closed.	
	39 Prayag Publishing Company, Limited, Allahabad.	Hindi Pradip ..	Rs 3,000 [Section 3 (2)]				Ditto.	
	40 Shaikat-ul-Matabe Press, Meerut.	Shahnai Hind ..	Rs 2,000 [Section 3 (2)]				Ditto.	

STATEMENT I—contd.

Province	Name of printing press.	Names of newspapers noted thereat.	Amount of security demanded with section under which demanded.	If security forfeited the grounds of forfeiture with section under which forfeited.	Amount of further security.	If further security forfeited the grounds of forfeiture.	Whether printing press was opened, remained open, or closed after demand of security or continued operations subsequent to forfeiture.	REMARKS.
				1910 contd.				
United Provinces <i>contd.</i>	41. Hitkan Press, Agra ..	Musafir ; .	Rs 2,000 [Section 3 (1)]. ..	..	..	..	Opened .. .	Security refunded in 1913.
	42. George Hiteshi Press, Aligarh.	<i>Nil</i> .	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)] ..	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press not opened.	
	43. Jogeshar Press, Benares .	<i>Nil</i> ..	Rs 500 [Section 3 (1)]. ..	..	..	..	Opened.	
	44. Dharma Bhudayn Press, Benares.	*(1) Yasho Jain Granth Mala (2) Jain Shasan.	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)] ..	..	..	..	Opened . . .	* (1) and (2) discontinued from July 1913. Press closed in July 1913 and security returned.
Punjab ..	45. Iqbal-i-Hind Press, Lyallpur	<i>Nil</i> .	Rs. 1,000 [Section 3 (2)] ..	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press closed.	
	46. Gurmukhi Press, Bhaini Ala, Ludhiana.	<i>Nil</i> .	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)] ..	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press not opened.	
	47. Arjuna Press, Lahore ..	<i>Nil</i> ..	Rs 500 [Section 3 (1)]. ..	..	..	..	Opened.	
	48. Martan Press, Rawalpindi	<i>Nil</i>	Rs. 500 Section [3 (1)]	..	..	..	Opened.	

	49	Brahman Sudhar Press, Rawalpindi.	<i>Nil</i>	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Opened.
	50	Ved Pracharak Press, Rawalpindi.	<i>Nil</i>	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press not opened.
	51.	Shanti Press, Rawalpindi	Shanti } ..	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	.	Opened.
	52	Alhaq, Delhi	Alhaq	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Opened.
	53	Ashraf Press, Delhi	<i>Nil</i> . . .	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	.	Security not deposited and press not opened.
	54.	Ghosa Press, Delhi ..	<i>Nil</i> . . .	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	.	..	..	Ditto.
Burma	55	Pandian Press, Rangoon.	The Pandian ..	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	.	..	..	Remained open.
Bihar and Orissa ..		<i>Nil</i> .						
Central Provinces .	56.	Prabodh Press, Nagpur	Deaha Sewak .	Rs. 2,500 [Section 3 (2)]	..	..	.	Security not deposited and press closed.
	57.	Mathai Hussain Press, Hoshangabad.	<i>Nil</i> .. .	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	.	.	..	Security not deposited and press not opened.
Assam . . .	58.	Deahbarta Press, Sylhet	Deahbarta .	Rs. 1,000 [Section 3 (1)]	..	.	..	The security was not deposited and the press was sold to the proprietor of the <i>Paridarshak</i> news- paper in Sylhet, who had been exempted from furnishing security.
North-West Frontier Provinces.	59.	Bilas Press, Dera Ismail Khan.	Frontier Advocate	Rs. 4,000 [Section 3 (2)]	..	..	..	The security was not deposited and the press closed.

STATEMENT I—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press	Names of newspapers printed thereat	Amount of security demanded with section under which demanded.	If security forfeited, the grounds of forfeiture with section under which forfeited	Amount of further security	If further security forfeited the grounds of forfeiture.	Whether printing press was opened, remained open or closed after demand of security or continued operations subsequent to forfeiture	REMARKS
				1910 contd.				
Coorg	<i>Nil.</i>							
Madras .. .	1 Coronation Press, Bellary	<i>Nil</i>	Rs 1,000 [Section 3 (1)]	..	.	..	Opened.	
	2 Sitarama Nilaya Press, Tumkur	<i>Nil</i> .. .	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Remained open ..	Security refunded in 1912.
	3 Hindu Mitran Press, Madras	<i>Nil</i>	Rs 1,000 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press not opened	
	4 Vijaya Press, Madras	<i>Nil</i>	Rs 1,000 [Section 3 (1).]	..	..	..	Ditto	
	5 Vaidyanatha Ayyar Press, Madras	<i>Nil</i> .. .	Rs 1,000 [Section 3 (1).]	.	.	..	Ditto.	
	6 Gopala Vilasam Press, Madras	<i>Nil</i>	Rs 1,000 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Ditto.	
	7 Sri Janaki Vilasam Press, Madras.	Hindu Theological Journal by P. J. N. Srinivasa Sarma.	Rs 1,000 [Section 3 (1)]	.	.	..	Not opened by Gopal Rao, the applicant.	Security not deposited. The press stood in name of one Srinivasa Sarma, who intended to sell the press to one Gopal Rao, who was not permitted to declare as its keeper without security.

1912

	8	Sri Arumbe Des ghar Press, Madras.	Nd	..	..	Ra. 1,000 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press not opened.
	9	Sachidanandam Press, Virudupatti.	Nd	..	..	Ra. 500 [Section 3 (2)]	..	..	..	The press is open.
	10	Subrahmanya Vilasam Press, Battur.	Nd	..	..	Ra. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Ditto ..
	11	Sri Krishnavilasam Press, Srivilliputtur.	Nd	..	..	Ra. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Ditto
	12	Samasthanam Press, Ramnad.	Nd	..	..	Ra. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Ditto
	13	Vysiamitran Press, Devakottai	The Vysiamitran	..	..	Ra. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Ditto
	14	Press, Kumbakonam.	Nd	..	..	Ra. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Remained open.
	15	Sivasprakasam Press, Tuticorin.	Nd	..	..	Ra. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Ditto.
	16	Darbar Press, Tinnevely Bndge.	Kalpaka	..	..	Ra. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Opened.
	17	Vijaya Lakshmi Vilasam Press, Palamcottah.	Nd	..	..	Ra. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Security not deposited. The press remained closed in this year, but was allowed to open without security in the next year so long as it printed no periodical matter.
Bombay	18	Ganpat Kurnhaji Press, Bombay.	No mention made by Chief Presidency Magistrate, Bombay.	..	..	Ra. 1,000 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	As the press was ordered to be sold by public auction to satisfy a Civil Court decree the security was returned on 28th July 1913.

The security demanded was dispensed with in 1913.

STATEMENT I—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press.	Names of newspapers printed thereat.	Amount of security demanded with section under which demanded.	If security forfeited, the grounds of forfeiture with section under which forfeited.	Amount of further security.	If further security forfeited the grounds of forfeiture.	Whether printing press was opened, remained open or closed after demand of security or continued operations subsequent to forfeiture.	REMARKS.
Bombay— <i>contd.</i>	19. Shri Maha Laxmi Press, Bombay.	<i>Nil</i>	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1).]	..	..	..	Security was not deposited and press not opened.	
	20. Vidyabhushan Press, Bombay	<i>Nil</i>	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press closed	
	21. Kalbadevi Printing Press, Bombay.	<i>Nil</i>	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1).]	..	..	..	The declarant became ill and had to close the press. On his application to the Chief Presidency Magistrate the amount of security was returned.	..
	22. Chitraahala Press, Poona	(1) Chitramaya Jagat. (2) Shalapatraka (both magazines).	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Remained open.	
	23. Maratha Printing Press, Bombay.	<i>Nil</i>	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Security was not deposited and press not opened.	
	24. Commercial and Trading Press, Bombay.	Science and Industry (magazine).	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Ditto.	
	25. Felat Printing Works, Bombay	<i>Nil</i>	Rs. 1,000 (Section 3 (1).]	..	..	..	Ditto.	

1911—*contd.*

	26 Matba Hamidi Press, Bombay.	Punch Bahadur	Ra. 2,000 [Section 3 (2)]	..	..	..	..	Security not deposited. The press closed for a time, but opened on the cancellation by the Government of Bombay of the demand for security
Beng	27. Dew Nagri Jantaloza Press, Calcutta.	Nil.	Ra. 1,000 [Section 3 (1)].	..	..	..	..	Opened.
	28 A press (no name given), Calcutta.	Nil.	Ra. 500 [Section 3 (1)].	..	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press not opened
	29. Dwarka Nath Press, Rajshahi.	Nil.	Ra. 500 [Section 3 (1)].	..	..	..	..	Remained open.
	30. Joy Press, Rungpur	Nil.	Ra. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	..	Ditto.
	31. Howrah Printing Works, Howrah.	Nil.	Ra. 500 [Section 3 (1)].	..	..	..	..	Remained open.
	32. Saraswati Press, Chittagong.	Nil.	Ra. 500 [Section 3 (1)].	..	..	..	..	Opened.
	33. Akshoy Printing Works, 24-Parganas.	Nil.	Ra. 500 [Section 3 (1)].	..	..	..	..	Do.
	34. A press at Olpur (no name given), Faridpur.	Nil.	Ra. 500 [Section 3 (1)].	..	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press not opened.
	35. Bhagyakul Press, Daoca	Nil.	Ra. 500 [Section 3 (1)].	..	..	..	..	Ditto.
	36 Kamala Printing Press, Midnapore.	Nil.	Ra. 500 [Section 3 (1)].	..	..	..	..	Opened.
United Provinces	37. Kurmi Hitaishi Press, Chunar.	Kurmi Hitaishi	Ra. 100 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	..	Opened.

STATEMENT I—contd.

Province.	Names of printing press.	Names of newspapers printed thereat	Amount of security demanded with section under which demanded.	If security forfeited, the grounds of forfeiture with section under which forfeited.	Amount of further security.	If further security forfeited the grounds of forfeiture.	Whether printing press was opened, remained open or closed after demand of security or continued operations subsequent to forfeiture	REMARKS
United Provinces— <i>contd.</i>	38. Engineering Press, Meerut	<i>Nil.</i>	Rs 2,000 [Section 3 (1)].	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press not opened.	
	39. Siddiki Press, Meerut ..	<i>Nil.</i>	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)].	..	..	..	Ditto.	
	40 Anathala Press, Agra ..	Dharam Divakar	Rs 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Ditto.	
	41. Warsi Press, Agra ..	<i>Nil.</i>	Rs 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Ditto.	
	42 Coronation Printing Works, Agra.	<i>Nil.</i>	Rs 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Ditto.	
	43. Osafi Muhammadi Press, Agra.	<i>Nil.</i>	Rs 500 [Section 3(1)].	..	..	..	Ditto.	
	44. Said-ul-Matebe Press, Meerut	<i>Nil.</i>	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)].	..	..	..	Ditto.	
	45 Bajai Bharat Press, Meerut	<i>Nil.</i>	Rs 500 [Section 3 (1)].	..	..	..	Ditto.	
	46 Stowell Press, Garhwal ..	Garhwal Samachar	Rs. 500 [Section 3(1)].	..	..	..	Opened. Closed in 1913 and transferred to Moradabad.	
	47 Garhwal Press, Dehra Dun	The Garhwal	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)].	..	..	..	Opened	

1911—*contd.*

	48 Qasir Hind Press, Fyzabad	Qasir Hind	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	.	.	..	Opened
	49. Lakshmi Narayan Press, Benares.	(1) Nawanit. (2) Mahamandal Magazine and Nigamagat Chan- drika. (3) Pandit Ashram Joytahi Vistayak Sachitra Hindi Mansik Pustak (4) Qasir-i-Hind (discontinued from 30th January 1912) (5) Yoga Pahasya. (6) Indu. (7) Mahamandal Samachar (discon- tinued from January 1913)	Rs 1,000 [Section 3 (1)].	.	.	.	Do.
Punjab	50 Sham Press, Lyallpur	Nil	Rs 1,000 [Section 3 (1)]	.	.	..	Security not deposit- ed and press not opened
	51 George Machine Press, Lyallpur.	Milap	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)].	.	.	..	Opened.
	52 Ashraf Press, Ludhiana	Nil	Rs 400 [Section 3 (1)].	.	...	..	Do.
	53 Karnal Press, Karnal	Nil	Rs 100 [Section 3 (1)]	.	.	..	Do
	54 Lahore Printing Works, Lahore.	Nil	Rs 750 [Section 3 (1)]	..	.	..	Security not deposit- ed and press not opened.
	55 Loyal Press, Lahore	Loyal Gazette	Rs 1,000 [Section 3 (1)].	.	.	.	Opened.

STATEMENT I—*contd.*

Province	Name of printing press.	Names of newspapers printed thereat	Amount of security demanded with section under which demanded	If security forfeited the grounds of forfeiture with section under which forfeited	Amount of further security	If further security forfeited the grounds of forfeiture	Whether printing press was opened, remained open or closed after demand of security or continued operations subsequent to forfeiture	REMARKS
				1911— <i>contd</i>				
Punjab— <i>contd</i>	56 Pindi Das Press, Lahore	Nil	Rs 2,000 [Section 3 (1)]	.	.	.	Security not deposited and press not opened.	
	57 Narayan Press, Lahore	Bawa Samachar	Rs 500 [Section 3 (1)]	.	.	.	Opened	
	58 Model Press, Lahore	Phulwari	Rs 600 [Section 3 (1)]	.	.	.	Do	
	59 Rifah-i-Am Press, Lahore	(1) Tahzib-i-Niswan *(2) Brahaman Par-charsak (3) Sat Updesh. (4) Islah-i-Sukhan (5) Zamindar (Daily and Weekly) and (6) Rahnama.	Rs 500 [Section 3 (1)]	Security forfeited on 6th September 1913 under section 4 (1) for the publication of an article in the "Paigham-i-Sulah" newspaper, dated the 31st July 1913 entitled "The Arjan's challenge is accepted"	Rs 1,000	..	Remained open	* The press printed the following papers at the time the second security was demanded — (1) Paigham-i-Sulah, (2) Tahzib-ul-Niswan, (3) Phul, (4) Al-Bhuran, (5) Kausar, (6) Rasala, (7) Anjuman-i-Hama-yat-i-Islam and (8) Miftah-ul-Iraa.

	60	Zamindar Press, Lahore	<i>Nil</i>	Rs. 1,000 [Section 3 (1)].				Security not deposited and press not opened.
	61	Rafiq Punjab Press, Rawalpindi.	<i>Nil</i>	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)]				Opened.
	62.	Tamuddan Press, Delhi.	Tamuddan and Asmat.	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)]				Remained open.
	63.	Delhi Printing Works, Delhi	<i>Nil</i>	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)].				Opened.
	64.	George Press, Delhi	<i>Nil</i>	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)].				Security not deposited and press not opened.
	65.	Victoria Press, Delhi	<i>Nil</i>	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)]				Ditto
	66	Qaisar Printing Works, Delhi.	<i>Nil</i>	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)].				Ditto
	67	Ahmadi Press, Delhi	<i>Nil</i>	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)]				Ditto.
	68	Royal Capital Press, Delhi	<i>Nil</i>	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)]				Ditto.
Burma		<i>Nil.</i>						
Bihar and Orissa		<i>Nil.</i>						
Central Provinces	69.	Coronation Press, Chanda	<i>Nil</i>	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)]				Opened.
Assam	70.	Arjan Press, Silohar	The Surma	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)].				Do.
North-West Frontier Provinces.		<i>Nil.</i>						
Coorg		<i>Nil.</i>						

STATEMENT I—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press.	Names of newspapers printed thereat	Amount of security demanded with section under which demanded	If security forfeited, the grounds of forfeiture with section under which forfeited	Amount of further security	If further security forfeited the grounds of forfeiture.	Whether printing press was opened, remained open or closed after demand of security or continued operations subsequent to forfeiture	REMARKS
				1912.				
Madras	1 Prince of Wales Press, Madras.	<i>Nil</i>	Rs 1,000 [Section 3 (1)]		..		Security not deposited No security was demanded from later purchasers who are now working the press	
	2 Cosmopolitan Press, Madras	The United India and Native States	Rs. 1,000 [Section 3 (1)]	..			Security not deposited and press closed	
	3. Chantanya Press, Madras	<i>Nil</i>	Rs 1,000 [Section 3 (1)]				Security not deposited.	The Press has since been purchased by another person in whose case security has been dispensed with.
	4. Madhava Vilasam Press, Madras.	<i>Nil</i>	Rs 1,000 [Section 3 (1)]	..			Security not deposited and press closed.	
Bombay	5 Industry Printing Press, Bombay.	Science and Industry (Magazine)	Rs. 1,000 [Section 3 (1)]		..		The press having been closed the amount of security was returned.	
	6 Chand Kiran Printing Press, Bombay.	Kundali Vidnyan (Magazine).	Rs 500 [Section 3 (1)].				Remained open	
	7. Nagari Press, Bombay	<i>Nil</i>	Rs 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..			Ditto	The press stopped work and security returned in 1913.

8. King George Press, Parola, East Khandesh.	Khandesh Samachar.	Ra. 2 000 [Section 3 (1).]	.	..	..	Ditto.	
9. Tolugu Printing Press, Bombay.	NW	Ra. 2,000 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Ditto	The amount of security was subsequently returned as the press changed hands.
10. Coronation Press, Bombay	NW	Ra. 500 [Section 3 (1).]	..	..	..	Ditto	The security was dispensed with on 25th March 1913 when the keeper and the printer were changed and the amount was returned on the 8th April 1913 to the original declarant.
11. Shri Gajanan Press, Dhulla.	NW	Ra. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Remained open.	
12. Anglo-Vernacular Press, Ahmedabad.	The press printed certain handbills which had been written with the object of bringing into hatred the Jain Switambar community.	Ra. 500 [Section 3 (2)]	.	..	..	Ditto.	
13. Chandra Prakash Press, Ahmedabad.	Ditto	Rs 500 [Section 3 (2)]	..	..	..	Ditto.	The keeper of this press was prosecuted under section 23 (1) of the Indian Press Act and fined for not depositing the security within the time fixed.
14. Gujrat Patra Printing Press, Nandad, Kaira.	Printed the seditious book "Anath Bhajan-avali" which was proscribed by the Government of Bombay.	Rs. 3,000 [Section 3 (2).]	..	..	..	Ditto.	

STATEMENT I—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press.	Names of newspapers printed thereat.	Amount of security demanded with section under which demanded.	If security forfeited, the grounds of forfeiture with section under which forfeited.	Amount of further security.	If further security forfeited the grounds of forfeiture	Whether printing press was opened, remained open or closed after demand of security or continued operations subsequent to forfeiture	REMARKS.
				<i>1912—contd.</i>				
Bengal ..	15 Bank Press, Calcutta	<i>Nil</i>	Rs 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Remained open	
	16 Radha Krishna Press, Calcutta.	<i>Nil</i>	Rs 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Opened.	
	17 New Town Press, Calcutta	<i>Nil</i>	Rs 1,500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press not opened.	
	18 New Town Press, Calcutta	<i>Nil</i>	Rs 1,500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Ditto.	
	19 Gurkha Sathi Press, Calcutta.	Gurkha Sathi	Rs. 1,000 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press closed.	
	20 Hand Press (no name given), Calcutta.	<i>Nil</i>	Rs 500 [Section 3 (1).]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press not opened.	
	21 Tulsī Litho Printing Works, Calcutta.	<i>Nil</i>	Rs 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Ditto.	
	22 Samaj Darpan Press, Howrah.	<i>Nil</i>	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1).]	..	..	..	Remained open	

United Provinces..	23. Imperial Press, Chittagong	Hita Barta	..	Rs 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	..	Opened.	Security subsequently returned.
	24. Sarborom Press, Chittagong	Senti	..	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1).]	..	..	..	..	Opened.	
	25. Chronicle Press, Darjeeling	Darjeeling Times	..	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	..	Opened.	
	26. Akil-ul-Mataba, Bahraich	Nil	..	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1).]	..	..	..	..	Opened ..	Security subsequently reduced from Rs. 500 to Rs. 100
	27. Darbar Printing Works, Agra.	Nil	..	Rs. 100 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	..	Security not deposit- ed and press not opened.	
	28. Suraj Prakash Press, Agra	Nil	..	Rs. 200 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	..	Ditto ..	
	29. Coronation Press, Muttra	Nil	..	Rs 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	..	Ditto.	
	30. George Press, Moradabad	George Gazette	..	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1).]	..	..	..	..	Ditto.	
	31. Shrikrishna Press, Pilibhit	Nil	..	Rs. 1,000 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	..	Ditto.	
	32. Chamone Hind Press, Meerut.	Nil	..	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	..	Ditto.	

STATEMENT I—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press	Names of newspapers printed thereat.	Amount of security demanded with section under which demanded.	If security forfeited, the grounds of forfeiture with section under which forfeited.	Amount of further security.	If further security forfeited the grounds of forfeiture.	Whether printing press was opened, remained open or closed after demand of security or continued operations subsequent to forfeiture	REMARKS.
				1912— <i>contd.</i>				
United Provinces— <i>contd.</i>	33 Arya Press, Meerut ..	Nil	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1).]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press not opened.	
	34 Muslim Press, Lucknow.	Muslim Gazette	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Opened	Press closed in 1913 and security returned. The paper ceased publication.
	35 Badri Kedarshwar, Garhwal	Nil	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1).]	..	..	..	Opened.	
	36 Chandan Press, Aligarh	Nil	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1).]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press not opened.	
	37 (Name not given), Aligarh	Nil	(Amount not given) [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Applicant expressed his inability to deposit any security and the press did not open.	
	38. Kailash Press, Aligarh .	Nil	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1).]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press not opened.	
	39 Dwadash Shren Press, Aligarh .	Nil	Rs. 500 [Section 3(1)] ..	..	..	..	Security was deposited but press did not open	
	40 Tara Printing Works, Benares.	(1) Nawa Jiwan. (2) Theosophy in India.	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)] .	..	..	..	Remained open ..	*Discontinued from December 1912

Punjab	41	George Printing Works, Benares.	(3) Central Hindu College Magazine. *(4) Sons of India. Vaniya Sukh-dayak.	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	.	..	..	Opened.	
	42	Qaumi Press, Lyallpur .	Nil.	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press not opened.	
	43.	Phulwari Press, Lyallpur	Nil.	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Ditto.	
	44.	Sewak Press, Multan ..	Mashr-i-Government.	Rs. 2,000 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Opened.	
	45	George Press, Amritsar ..	Nil.	Rs. 1,000 [Section 3 (1)]	.	..	.	Security not deposited and press not opened.	
	46	Rose Bazar Steam Press, Amritsar.	(1) Wakil (2) Tashrib-ul-Ikhlaq (3) Nizam-ul-Mashaiikh. (4) Insaan.	Rs. 1,000 [Section 3 (1)]	.	..	..	Remained open ..	Security demanded on redeclaration of the keeper of the press.
	47	London Job Press, Amritsar.	Nil.	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press not opened.	
	48.	Khalsa Sewak Press, Amritsar	Khalsa Sewak ..	Rs. 1,000 [Section 3(1)]	.	..	..	Opened.	
	49	Dial Press, Lahore ..	Jhang Sial and Baghbir Patrika.	Rs. 2,000 [Section 3(1)]	..	Rs. 3,000	..	Closed after forfeiture of first security and demand of second security.	

STATEMENT I—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press.	Names of newspapers printed thereat.	Amount of security demanded with section under which demanded.	If security forfeited the grounds of forfeiture with section under which forfeited.	Amount of further security.	If further security forfeited the grounds of forfeiture.	Whether printing press was opened, remained open or closed after demand of security or continued operations subsequent to forfeiture.	REMARKS
Punjab— <i>contd.</i>	50 Mans Ram Press, Lahore	<i>Nil.</i>	Rs 600 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press not opened.	
	61 Sat Vihar Printing Works, Lahore.	<i>Nil.</i>	Rs 600 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	.	Ditto.	
	52 Zamindar Press, Lahore	<i>Zamindar (daily and weekly).</i>	Rs 2,000 [Section 3 (1)]	Security forfeited on 15th September 1913 under section 4 (1) for the publication of objectionable articles in the issues of the "Zamindar" newspaper, dated the 29th July, & 26th and 28th August 1913	Rs 10,000	Further security forfeited on 12th January 1914 under section 6 as well as the printing press for the publication of objectionable articles in the issues of the "Zamindar" newspaper, dated the 19th, 20th, and 21st November 1913.		

	53	King George Press, Delhi	N/L	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	.	.	..	Security not deposited and press not opened.
	54.	Sadhu Press, Delhi	Sadhu	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	.	..	Opened.
	55	Sat Dharm Parcharak Press, Delhi.	Sat Dharm Parcharak.	Rs. 1,000 [Section 3 (1)]	.	.	..	Opened.
	56	Chutshi & Son Press, Delhi	N/L	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	.	Security not deposited and press not opened.
Burma ..	57	The Aungzemingala Press, Bassein.	The Aungzemingala Advertiser.	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Remained open
Bihar and Orissa	58	Maithil Printing Works, Madhubani, Darbhanga.	N/L	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	.	.	..	Remained open
Central Provinces		N/L			.	.		
Assam ..	59.	Kamala Press, Nowgong	N/L	Rs 500 [Section 3 (1)]	.	.	..	Opened.
North-West Frontier Province.	60	Edward Gazette Press, Abbottabad.	Edward Gazette	Rs 2,000 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	The security was not deposited and the press closed.
Coorg .		N/L						
					1913			
Madras ..	1.	Krishnan Press, Udamalpet	N/L	Rs. 50 .. [Section 3 (1)]	..	.	..	Opened ..
	2	Ramachandra Vilas Press, Coimbatore.	N/L	Rs. 100 [Section 3 (1)]	.	.	..	Opened ..
	3.	Asha Press, Terhampur	The Asha	Rs 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Opened ..
	4.	Circular Educational Branch Press, Nandyal	N/L	Rs 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	.	..	Security not deposited and press not opened.
								Security subsequently re-funded

STATEMENT I—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press	Names of newspapers printed thereat	Amount of security demanded with section under which demanded.	If security forfeited, the grounds of forfeiture with section under which forfeited.	Amount of further security.	If further security forfeited the grounds of forfeiture	Whether printing press was opened, remained open or closed after demand of security or continued operations subsequent to forfeiture	REMARKS.
				1913—<i>contd.</i>				
Madras— <i>contd.</i>	5 Goodwin and Co Press, Madras.	<i>Nil</i>	Rs. 1,000 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press not opened	
	6 Shanmuganandam Press, Madras	(1) Vikataratnam (2) Swadeshabhmani	Rs 1,500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press closed.	
	7 Hindu Royal Theatrical Press, Madras.	<i>Nil</i>	Rs 1,500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Security not deposited; it was demanded on change of hands, the press is still working under the original proprietor.	
	8 George Press, Madras ..	<i>Nil</i>	Rs 1,000 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press not opened.	
	9. Paropakari Press, Madras	Paropakari	Rs 2,000 [Section 3 (1).]	..	..	..	Ditto.	
	10 Mary Press, Madras .	<i>Nil</i>	Rs 1,000 [Section 3 (1).]	..	..	..	Ditto.	
	11. Vijaya Vikatan Press, Madras.	Vijaya Vikatan	Rs 1,000 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press closed.	
Bombay	12 Sharada Vijaya Printing Press, Mehemadabad (Kara)	<i>Nil</i>	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Remained open ..	

	13. Century Press, Bombay..	Science and Industry (Magazine).	Rs 1,000 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	..	The press having been sold, the amount of security was returned.
	14. Jain Advocate Press, Ahmedabad	Jain Advocate .	Rs 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	..	Remained open ..
	15. Kheigadi Printing Press, Bombay	Khelgadi, Mandar and Mouja (Magazines)	Rs 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	..	Ditto
	16. Sri Krishna Mudralaya, Bombay.	No mention made by the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Bombay	Rs 1,000 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	..	Security not deposited and the press was not opened
	17. Mahmadi Press, Surat ..	Nil	Rs 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	..	Remained open ..
Bengal ..	18. Amrita Bazar Patrika Press, Calcutta	(1) Amrita Bazar Patrika. (2) Sri Sri Vishnu Priya-o-Ananda Bazar Patrika.	Rs 5,000 [Section 3(1)]	..	..	..	..	Remained open.
	19. Kalini Press, Calcutta ..	Nil	Rs 500 [Section 3(2),	..	..	..	..	Ditto.
	20. Sonaton Press, Calcutta	Nil	Rs 500 [Section 3(1)]	..	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press not opened.
	21. Bogolu Press, Calcutta ..	Nil	Rs 500 [Section 3(1)]	..	..	..	..	Opened.
	22. Mitra Press, Calcutta ..	Nil	Rs 1,000 [Section 3(1)]	..	..	..	..	Opened
	23. Datta Press, Calcutta ..	Nil	Rs 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press closed
	24. Ranjan Press, Calcutta ..	Regeneration ..	Rs 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	..	Opened.

STATEMENT I—*contd.*

Province	Name of printing press	Names of newspapers printed thereat	Amount of security demanded with section under which demanded	If security forfeited, the grounds of forfeiture with section under which forfeited	Amount of further security	If further security forfeited the grounds of forfeiture	Whether printing press was opened, remained open or closed after demand of security or continued operations subsequent to forfeiture	REMARKS
				1913—<i>contd.</i>				
Bengal— <i>contd.</i>	25 Muhammadan Orphanage Press, Calcutta.	<i>Nil</i>	Rs 500 [Section 3 (1)]	.	..	.	Security not deposited and press closed.	
	26 Lily Press, Calcutta	<i>Nil</i>	Rs 500 [Section 3 (1)]	.	.	.	Opened	
	27 Crescent Printing Works, Calcutta.	<i>Nil</i>	Rs 1,000 [Section 3 (1)]	..	.	.	Security not deposited and press not opened	
	28 Hilal Press, Calcutta ..	<i>Al-Hilal</i>	Rs 2,000 [Section 3 (1)]	.	..	..	Remained open.	
	29 Lokenath Yantra Printing Press, Calcutta.	<i>Nil</i>	Rs. 2,000 [Section 3 (2)]	..	.	.	Security not deposited and press closed	
	30 Royal Printing Works, Ltd., Jalpaiguri.	<i>Nil</i>	Rs 500 [Section 3 (1)]	.	.	.	Remained open	
	31 Jewel Press, Bogra ..	<i>Nil</i>	Rs 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Remained open.	
	32 Sudraan Press, Fubna ..	<i>Nil</i>	Rs 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Opened	
	33 Sulav Jantra Press, Dacca	<i>Nil</i>	Rs. 500 Section 3 (1)]	.	..	..	Remained open.	

United Provinces	34	Indian Colour Printing Works, 24-Parganas.	Nil	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Opened.	
	35	Pratibasi Press, 24 Parganas.	Nil	Rs 500 [Section 3 (1)]	.	.	.	Security not deposited and press not opened	
	36	Darjeeling Mail Press, Darjeeling.	Darjeeling Mail	Rs. 500 [Section 3(1)]	.	.	..	Opened.	
	37	Saraswati Machine Printing Press, Meerut.	Kashatri (Hindi edition).	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	.	.	..	Opened.	
	38	Tajhid Press, Meerut	Tajhid	Rs 500 [Section 3 (1)]	Security forfeited on 13th September 1913, under section 4 (1) for the publication of a leaflet in Urdu entitled "Kaho Takbir"	.	..	Opened but closed after forfeiture of security.	
	39	Aryo Vedic Press, Meerut	Nil	Rs 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press not opened	
	40	Nuri Press, Amroha	Ahmahdi	Rs 1,000 [Section 3(1)]	.	.	..	Security not deposited and press not opened	
	41	Prabhatkar Press, Kunch.	(1) Satya Prakash (2) Dhanram Prakash.	Rs 500 [Section 3(1)]	.	.	..	Opened	Press broken up in November 1913, and security refunded. Papers ceased publication
	42	Hari Narayan Press, Allahabad.	Nil	Rs 1,000 [Section 3(1)].	.	.	..	Security not deposited and press not opened	
43	Muhammadan Press, Bareilly.	Muhammadan Gazette	Rs 500 [Section 3(1)]	..	..	..	D'tto		

STATEMENT I—*contd.*

No.	Name of printing press.	Names of newspapers printed the cost	Amount of security demanded with section under which demanded	If security forfeited, the grounds of forfeiture with section under which forfeited.	Amount of further security	If further security for forfeited the grounds of forfeiture	Whether printing press was opened, remained open or closed after demand of security or continued operations subsequent to forfeiture	REMARKS
1913—<i>contd.</i>								
United Provinces— <i>contd.</i>	44 Union Gazette Press, Barilly.	Union Gazette	Rs 2,000 [Section 3(2)]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press closed	
	45 Taksal Press, Jhansi .	Nil	Rs 1,000 [Section 3(1)].	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press not opened	
	46 Urdu Press, Aligarh .	Urdu-i-Mualla .	Rs 3,000 [Section 3 (2)].	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press closed	
	47 Indian National Press, Fyzabad.	Nil	Rs 500 [Section 3(1)]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press not opened.	
	48 Bharti Press, Aligarh	Nil	Rs 500 [Section 3(1)].	..	..	..	Ditto	
	49 Art Printing Works, Benares,	(1) Saraswat Prakash, (2) Andambar	Rs. 500 [Section 3(1)]	..	..	..	Opened.	
	50 Krishna Printing Works, Benares.	Nil	Rs. 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Opened	
	51. Lahari Press, Benares ..	Upanyas Lahari ..	Rs 500 [Section 3 (1)].	..	..	..	Remained open	

Punjab	52. St. Andrew's Press, Cawnpore.	Herald of India	Rs. 500 [Section 3(1)].	..	..	..	..	Remained open.
	53. (Name not given), Cawnpore.	Job work, commercial and other books.	Rs. 500 [Section 3(1)].	..	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press not opened.
	54. George Press, Cawnpore	Al ilms	Rs 500 [Section 3(1)].	..	..	..	..	Ditto
	55. Vaish Press, Ludhiana ..	Nil	Rs. 500 [Section 3(1)].	..	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press not opened
	56 Hind Press, Kombauri, Rewari Tahsil, Gurgaon District.	Nil	Rs 150 .. (Section 3(1)).	.	..	..	..	Ditto
	57 Badr Press, Qadian, Gurdaspur District.	Badr	Rs. 3,000 [Section 3(2)].	.	..	..	.	Security not deposited and press closed
	58. Arya Press, Jullundur City	Arya Musafir and Bharat	Rs. 1,000 [Section 3(2)].	.	.	..	..	Remained open.
	59. Chashma-I-Hikmat, Jhelum City.	Nil	Rs 1,000 [Section 3(1)].	.	.	..	..	Security not deposited and press not opened
	60 Chandar Press, Amritsar	Nil	Rs 2,000 [Section 3(1)]	..	.	..	..	Ditto
	61. King Press, Amritsar ..	Nil	[Section* 3(1)]	..	..	..	..	Ditto
62 Hand Press, Amritsar ..	Nil	Rs 1,000 [Section 3(1)].	..	..	..	..	Ditto	
63. Ram Press, Amritsar ..	Nil	Rs 1,000 [Section 3(1)].	..	..	..	..	Ditto	
64. Desh Press, Lahore ..	Desh and Himala	Rs. 1,500 [Section 3(1)]	..	.	..	..	Opened.	

*The applicant asked for permission to start a press without security, but it was not granted.

STATEMENT I—*concl'd.*

Province.	Name of printing press	Names of newspapers printed thereat	Amount of security demanded with section under which demanded.	If security forfeited the grounds of forfeiture with section under which forfeited.	Amount of further security	If further security forfeited the grounds of forfeiture	Whether printing press was opened, remained open or closed after demand of security or continued operations subsequent to forfeiture.	REMARKS.
				1913—				
				<i>concl'd.</i>				
Punjab— <i>concl'd.</i> ..	65 Lakhmi Press, Lahore .	Paigham-i-Sulah and Jiwan Tat.	Rs 1,000 [Section 3(1)].	Opened	
	66. Fanchal Press, Lahore	3,000	..	Security not deposited and press not opened	Really the "Dial" press, whose security of Rs 2,000 was forfeited under section 4(1), (<i>vide</i> item 49 of 1912)
	67 Brahmin Press, Lahore ..	Brahman	Rs 500 [Section 3(1)]	..	..	..	Opened.
	68 Anglo-Oriental Press, Lahore	<i>Nil</i>	Rs 500 [Section 3-(1)]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press not opened
	69 Loyal Gazette Press, Lahore	Loyal Gazette ..	Rs 1,000 [Section 3(1)].	..	..	..	Opened.
	70 Darbar Press Lahore ..	<i>Nil</i>	Rs. 500 [Section 3(1)].	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press not opened
	71 Rawalpindi Press, Rawalpindi.	<i>Nil</i>	Rs 500 [Section 3 (1)]	..	..	..	Opened.
	72 Gobind Press, Rawalpindi	<i>Nil</i>	Rs 500 [Section 3 (1)].	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press not opened.
	73. Nasim Press, Rawalpindi	<i>Nil</i>	Rs 2,000 [Section 3(1)].	..	..	..	Ditto.

	74. Shanti Press, Rawalpindi	Shanti, Brahman Gazette and Nam-i Hind.	Rs. 1,500 [Section 3(1)].	Remained open ..	The press was already on security of Rs. 500, which was been enhanced to Rs. 1,500.
Burma	<i>Nil.</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	....
Bihar and Orissa ..	75. Moswin-i-Tarakhi Press, Bihar, Patna.	Ittihad ..	Rs. 2,000 [Section 3(1)].	..	..	..	..	Security not deposited and press closed.
	76. Aahan-ul-Mutabi Press, Patna City.	Mushahir-i-Biha.	Rs. 1,000 [Section 3(2)].	..	..	..	..	Ditto.
Central Provinces	77. Maharashtra Press, Nagpur	Maharashtra ..	Rs. 500 [Section 3(1)]	..	..	..	..	Opened.
Assam	78. National Publishing Agency Press, Kamrganj.	<i>Nil.</i>	Rs. 2,000 [Section 3(1)].	..	..	..	..	Opened.
North-West Frontier Province.	<i>Nil.</i>	..	....	..	..	..	..	....
Delhi .. .	79. Art Printing Works	<i>Nil.</i>	Rs. 500 [Section 3(1)].	..	..	..	..	Opened.
	80. Bait-ul-Sharaf Press ..	Rafiq	Rs. 1,000 [Section 3(1)].	..	..	..	..	Opened.
	81. Comrade and Hamdard Press.	Comrade and Hamdard.	Rs. 2,000 [Section 3(1)]	..	..	..	..	Remained open.
	82. Durweeh Press ..	Nizam-ul-Masharik Tabib.	Rs. 500 [Section 3(1)]	..	..	..	..	Opened.
	83. Hindu Sahayak Press ..	Hindu Sahayak .	Rs. 1,000 [Section 3(1)]	..	..	..	..	Opened.
	84. Central Punjab Printing Works.	<i>Nil.</i>	Rs. 500 [Section 3(1)]	..	..	..	..	Opened.
	85. Type Printing Works ..	<i>Nil.</i>	Rs. 500 [Section 3(1)].	..	..	..	..	Opened.
Coorg	<i>Nil.</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	....

APPENDIX C.

[*Vide Proceedings, page 65.*]

STATEMENT II.

STATEMENT SHOWING (1) THE NAMES OF THE NEWSPAPERS PLACED UNDER SECURITY UNDER THE INDIAN PRESS ACT, 1910 (1 OF 1910), AND (2) THE NAMES OF THOSE NEWSPAPERS WHOSE SECURITY OR FURTHER SECURITY WAS FORFEITED (WITH GROUNDS OF FORFEITURE) DURING THE YEARS 1910, 1911, 1912 AND 1913.

STATEMENT II.

Statement showing (1) the names of the newspapers placed under security under the Indian Press Act, 1910 (1 of 1910), and (2) the names of those newspapers whose security, or further security, was forfeited (with grounds of forfeiture) during the years 1910, 1911, 1912 and 1913

Province.	Name of newspaper.	Amount of security demanded and section under which demanded.	If security forfeited, the grounds of forfeiture with section under which forfeited.	Amount of further security.	If further security forfeited, the grounds of forfeiture	Whether newspaper began, or continued, or ceased publication after demand of security or continued operations subsequent to forfeiture.	REMARKS.
				1910.			
Madras .	1 Bali, Masulipatam .	Rs. 200 [Section 8 (1)]	..		.	Began publication	The paper was given up in May 1911 and the security was refunded.
	2 Hindu Kesari, Madras	Rs 1,000 [Section 8 (1).]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and paper ceased publication	
	3 Tranquebar Mitran, Tanjore	Rs 500 [Section 8 (1)]	.	..		Ditto.	The paper was printed at Kankal in French territory and the publisher applied for permission to print it at Mayavaram in British India. Security was demanded but not furnished. The paper ceased to issue at Kankal on 10th May 1911.
	4 Tanjore Times, Tanjore .	Rs 500 [Section 8 (1) ]	.	..	..	The paper ceased to exist after May 1910	In September 1910 the publisher was ordered to make a fresh declaration before restarting the paper and security was demanded. This was not furnished.
Bombay	5 Dnyan Vardhak, Bombay	Rs 500 [Section 8 (1) ]	..	..		Security not deposited and paper ceased publication.	
	6 Mahratta, Poona .	Rs 1,000 [Section 8 (1) ]	..	..	.	Continued publication.	
	7. Sindhu, Sukkur	Rs 1,000 [Section 8 (1).]	..	..	.	Ditto	

	8	Akhbar-i-Soudagar, Bombay	Rs. 500 [Section 8 (1)]	..	..	..	Ditto.	
	9	Islami-Akhbar, Larkana	Rs 750 [Section 8 (1).]	..	.	.	Security not deposited and paper not started.	
	10	Moslm, Poona	Rs. 500 [Section 8 (1)]	..	..	..	Continued publication	Security refunded on 14th August 1913.
	11	Vinod, Bombay	Rs 500 [Section 8 (1)]	..	.	.	Security not deposited and paper not started.	
	12	Kal, Poona	Rs. 5,000 [Section 8 (2)]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and paper ceased publication.	
	13	Rashtamat, Bombay	Rs 5,000 [Section 8 (2)]	..	..	..	Ditto	
	14	Gujarati, Bombay	Rs 2,500 [Section 8 (2)]	..	..	..	Continued publication.	
	15	Sakhi, Surat	Rs. 5,000 [Section 8 (2)]	..	.	..	Security not deposited and paper ceased publication.	
	16	Rajasthan, Ahmedabad	Rs 1,000 [Section 8 (2)]	..	..	..	ditto	
Bengal	17	Dharma, Calcutta	Rs. 2,000 [Section 8 (2)]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and paper ceased publication.	
	18	Co operator, Calcutta	Rs. 500 [Section 8 (1)]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and paper not started.	
	19	Darul-Sultanat, Calcutta	Rs 500 [Section 8 (1)]	..	..	..	Began publication.	
	20	Samaj, Calcutta	Rs 500 [Section 8 (1)]	..	..	.	Ditto.	
	21	Karmayogin, Howrah	Rs 2,000 [Section 8 (2)]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and paper ceased publication.	
	22	Vaisya Patrika, Jessore	Rs 500 [Section 8 (1).]	..	.	..	Began publication.	

STATEMENT II—*contd.*

Province.	Name of newspaper.	Amount of security demanded and section under which demanded.	If security forfeited, the grounds of forfeiture with section under which forfeited.	Amount of further security	If further security forfeited, the ground of forfeiture	Whether newspaper began, continued, or ceased publication after demand of security or continued operations subsequent to forfeiture.	REMARKS.
			1910				
United Provinces..	23. <i>Mavyada</i> , Allahabad	Rs. 500 [Section 8 (1).]	..	..	..	Began publication.	
	24. <i>Kayasth</i> , Allahabad	Rs 500 [Section 8 (1).]	.	..	..	Security not deposited and paper not started.	
	25. <i>Hindi Pradip</i> , Allahabad.	Rs 3,000 [Section 8 (1)]	.	..	..	Security not deposited and paper ceased publication.	
Punjab ..	26. <i>Senyasi</i> , Sargodha, Shahpur district.	Rs. 500 [Section 8 (1)]	..	..	..	Began publication.	
	27. <i>Punjab Advocate</i> , Mianwa	Rs. 2,000 [Section 8 (1)]	Security forfeited on 31st July 1912 under section 9 (1) for the publication in its issues of the 6th, 13th and 27th June 1912 respectively of letters entitled "S h a k s h i Hukumat", "S h a k s h i Hukumat 2" and "Shaksh Hukumat 3"	..	..	Ceased publication after forfeiture of security.	

	28	Mujaddid, Lahore	Rs. 2,500 [Section 8 (2) ]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and paper ceased publication	
	29	Amrit Medical Journal, Rawalpindi.	Rs 500 [Section 8 (1).]	..	.	..	Security not deposited and paper not started.	
Burma		<i>Nil.</i>						
Bihar and Orissa ..		<i>Nil.</i>						
Central Provinces	30.	Dasha Sewak, Nagpur	Rs. 2,500 [Section 8 (2).]	..	.	..	Security not deposited and the press at which the paper was printed stopped work on the 3rd June 1910.	
Assam	31	Prajasraktu, Habiganj	Rs. 500 [Section 8 (1) ]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and paper ceased publication.	
	32.	Dashbarta, Sylhet	Rs. 500 [Section 8 (1) ]	..	.	..	Ditto	
	33	Assam Bandhab, Dibrugarh	Rs 500 [Section 8 (1) ]	..	..	..	Continued publication	As the paper dealt with literary, scientific and commercial subjects only security was refunded in March 1913.
North-West Frontier Province.	34.	Frontier Advocate, Dera Ismail Khan.	Rs. 4,000 [Section 8 (2) ]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and paper ceased publication	
Coorg		<i>Nil.</i>						
					1911			
Madras	1	Vaniyankulam, Madras	Rs 1,000 [Section 8 (1) ]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and paper not started.	
	2	Vaniyankulam, Madras	Rs 1,000 [Section 8 (1).]	Ditto	The paper subsequently appeared in 1913.

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STATEMENT II—contd.

Province	Name of newspaper	Amount of security demanded and section under which demanded	If security forfeited the grounds of forfeiture with section under which forfeited	Amount of further security	If further security forfeited the grounds of forfeiture	Whether newspaper began, continued, or ceased publication after demand of security or continued operations subsequent to forfeiture	REMARKS
				1911—contd.			
Madras—contd	3 Al Eslah, Madras	Rs 1,000 [Section 8 (1)]	.	.	.	Security not deposited and paper not started	
	4 International Pen Portraits, Madras.	Rs 1,000 [Section 8 (1)]	.	.	.	Security not deposited and paper ceased publication.	
	5 Nella Mitran, Tinnevely	Rs 500 [Section 8 (1)]	.	.	.	Security not deposited and paper not started	
	6 Diravida Ranjani, Tinnevely	Rs 500 [Section 8 (1)]	.	.	.	Ditto	
Bombay ..	7 Vaishnav Dharm Patra, Bombay	Rs 500 [Section 8 (1)]	.	.	.	Security not deposited and paper not started	
	8 Jan Prakash, Bombay	Rs 1,000 [Section 8 (1)]	.	.	.	Ditto.	
	9 Hindi Jan, Bombay	Rs 500 [Section 8 (1) ]	.	.	..	Continued publication	Security returned on 8th April 1913 as the declarant ceased to be printer and publisher.
	10 Dharm Pradip, Bombay	Rs 500 [Section 8 (1) ]	.	.	..	Security not deposited and paper not started	
	11 Arya Punch, Bombay	Rs 500 [Section 8 (1) ]	.	.	..	Ditto	

	12	Punch Bahadur, Bombay	Rs 500 [Section 8(2)]	..	Security forfeited on 22nd September 1911 for the publication in its issue of 26th June 1911 of an article entitled "Which is good? Cow-slaughter or slaughter of daughters?"		Ceased after forfeiture of security	
Bengal	..	13	Daly Hitavadi, Calcutta	Rs 5,000 [Section 8(2)]			Security not deposited and paper ceased publication	
		14	Indian Royal Chronicle, Calcutta	Rs 1,000 [Section 8(1)]	.		Began publication	
		15	Sri Sonatun Dharma, Calcutta	Rs 500 [Section 8(1)]	.		Security not deposited and paper not started.	
		16	Bharat Bandhu, Calcutta	Rs 500 [Section 8(1)]	..		Ditto	
		17	Herald, Dacca	Rs 500 [Section 8(1)]	.		Began publication	
		18	The Eastern People, Dacca	Rs 500 [Section 8(1)]	.		Security not deposited and paper not started	The idea of publishing the paper was abandoned, not because security was demanded, but because the editor failed to get a subsidy from Government
		19	Arya Darpan, Dacca	Rs 500 [Section 8(1)]	.		Ditto	
United Provinces		20	Adab, Lucknow	Rs 500 [Section 8(1)]	.		Security not deposited and paper not started	
		21	Naram, Fyzabad	Rs 500 [Section 8(1)]	.		Began publication	Paper ceased publication and security was returned.
		22	Bharat Dharma Neta, Benares.	Rs 500 [Section 8(1)]	..		Began publication	Paper ceased publication from January 1913 and security refunded

STATEMENT II—*contd.*

Province	Name of newspaper.	Amount of security demanded and section under which demanded	If security forfeited, the grounds of forfeiture with section under which forfeited	Amount of further security	If further security for feited, the grounds of forfeiture	Whether newspaper began, continued, or ceased publication after demand of security or continued operations subsequent to forfeiture	REMARKS
				1911— <i>contd.</i>			
United Provinces— <i>contd.</i>	23. British Safir, Agra ..	Rs 2,000 [Section 8 (1)]	.	..	.	Security not deposited and paper not started	
	24. Awaz Wahin, Agra ..	Rs 500 [Section 8 (1)]	..	..	..	Ditto	
Punjab ..	25. Bishu Daya Nand, Rawalpindi.	Rs 1,000 [Section 8(1)].	..	..	..	Security not deposited and paper not started.	
	26. Jhang Sai, Jhang-Maghuana	Rs. 1,000 [Section 8(2)] ..	.	.	.	Continued publication ..	In 1912 the paper removed to Lahore and in 1913 the security deposited by the keeper of the press at which the paper was printed was forfeited.
	27. Bharat, Jullundur City ..	Rs. 500 [Section 8(1)].	..	..	..	Began publication.	
	28. Almuin, Amritsar .	Rs 1,500 [Section 8(2)].	.	.	..	Security not deposited and paper ceased publication.	
	29. Hindu (weekly), Lahore .	Rs 500 [Section 8(1)]	..	..	..	Began publication	
	30. Brihaspati, Lahore ..	Rs. 1,000 [Section 8 (1)]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and paper not started.	
	31. Rajput, Lahore . ..	Rs. 500 [Section 8(1)].	..	..	..	Ditto.	
	32. Jat Advocate, Lahore ..	Rs. 500 [Section 8(1)].	..	..	.	Ditto.	

	33	Bianpar, Lahore..	Rs. 500 [Section 8(1)].	..	..	..	Ditto.
	34.	Literary and Religious Monthly Magazine, Rawalpindi.	Rs 500 [Section 8(1)].	..	..	..	Ditto.
	35.	Al Haq, Delhi	Rs. 1,000 [Section 8 (1)]	..	..	..	Continued publication
Burma	36.	Akhbar-i-Burma	Rs. 500 [Section 8(1)].	..	..	..	Continued publication
Bihar and Orissa		Nil.	..	..	..	..
Central Provinces		Nil.	..	..	..	..
Assam		Nil	..	..	..	..
North West Frontier Province.		Nil.	..	..	..	..
Coorg		Nil	..	..	..	..	Continued publication
					1912.		
Madras	1.	The Deccan Review, Madras	[Section 8(1)] The person did not appear	..	..	..	Security not deposited and paper not started.
	2	Madras Exchange Gazette, Madras	Rs 1,000 [Section 8(1)]	..	..	..	Ditto.
	3	Ganesh Advertiser, Madras	Rs 1,000 [Section 8 (1)]	..	..	..	Ditto.
	4	Lokaranjani, Tanjore	Rs. 500 [Section 8(1)]	..	..	..	Began publication.
Bombay	5	Bharat Jivan, Bombay	Rs 750 [Section 8 (1)]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and paper not started
	6.	Arya Prakash, Bombay	Rs 1,000 [Section 8 (1)].	..	..	..	Ditto ..
							The paper used to be published in Baroda. The declarant wanted to have it published in Bombay but the security demanded not being deposited, it continued to be published at Baroda

STATEMENT II—*contd.*

Province	Name of newspaper	Amount of security demanded and section under which demanded	If security forfeited the grounds of forfeiture with section under which forfeited.	Amount of further security.	If further security forfeited the grounds of forfeiture	Whether newspaper began, continued, or ceased publication after demand of security or continued operations subsequent to forfeiture	REMARKS
				<i>1912—contd.</i>			
Bombay— <i>contd.</i>	7. <i>Vilas</i> (magazine), Bombay	Rs 500 [Section 8 (1)]	.	.	∴	Security not deposited and magazine not started	
	8. Lok Shikshan, Poona	Rs 2,000 [Section 8 (1)]	..	.	..	Security not deposited	The security was to be deposited only in case the lines on which the magazine was being conducted were altered as suggested by the declarant. But the security was not paid and the magazine is being conducted on the old lines.
	9. Phoenix, Karachi	Rs 1,000 [Section 8(1)].	..	.	..	Continued publication	
	10. Patel Bandhu, Surat	Rs 100 [Section 8 (1)]	..	..	..	Ditto	
	11. Kesar, Poona	Rs 5,000 [Section 8 (2)].	..	..	..	Ditto.	
	12. Kathiawar and Mahi Kantha Gazette, Ahmedabad	Rs 2,000 [Section 8 (2)]	..	..	..	Security not deposited. The paper continued publication for which the editor was prosecuted under section 23(2) of the Press Act and fined Rs 300. After this the paper ceased publication.	

Bengal	13	Hitabadi, Calcutta	Rs. 500 [Section 8(1)].	..	..	..	Continued publication.
	14.	Oriya, Calcutta	Rs 500 [Section 8(1)].	..	..	.	Security not deposited and paper not started.
	15	Power, Calcutta	Rs 500 [Section 8(1)].	..	..	..	Ditto
United Provinces	16.	Shamsul Nihar, Moradabad.	Rs 2,000 [Section 8(1)]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and paper not started.
	17.	Hindu Soldier, Moradabad	Rs 500 [Section 8 (1)].	..	..	..	Ditto.
	18	Rusala Guldistia, Meerut	Rs 500 [Section 8 (1)]	.	.	..	Ditto.
	19	Jain Parthip, Saharanpur	Rs 500 [Section 8(1)]	.	.	..	Began publication.
	20	Series of novels in a monthly journal, Aligarh.	Amount not given [Section 8(1)]	..	.	..	Applicant expressed his inability to deposit any security and hence the paper did not begin publication.
	21	Paliwal Brahmadaya, Aligarh.	Rs 500 [Section 8 (1)]	..	..	.	Continued publication
	22.	Theosophy in India, Benares	Rs 500 [Section 8(1)]	.	.	..	Continued publication
	23	Trisul, Benares	Rs 500 [Section 8(1)]	.	.	..	Continued publication
	24	Sachitra Monthly Panchang, Benares.	Rs 500 [Section 8(1)]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and paper not started.
	25	Cawnpore News, Cawnpore	Rs 500 [Section 8(1)]	.	.	.	Ditto.

Security refunded as the keeper of the Tara Printing Works from whom a security of Rs. 500 had been taken became also the printer of the paper.

STATEMENT II—contd.

Province.	Name of newspaper.	Amount of security demanded and section under which demanded	If security forfeited the grounds of forfeiture with section under which forfeited.	Amount of further security.	If further security forfeited the grounds of forfeiture	Whether newspaper began, continued, or ceased publication after demand of security or continued operations subsequent to forfeiture	REMARKS
				1912—contd.			
Punjab	26 Hindu Gazette, Amritsar .	Rs 500 [Section 8(1)] ..	..	..	..	Security not deposited and paper not started.	
	27 Literary Magazine, Amritsar	Rs 1,000 [Section 8(1)].	..	.	..	Ditto.	
	28. Mashir-i Sihat, Gujrat ..	Rs 500 [Section 8(1)].	..	..	..	Began publication.	
	29 Sihat aur Daulat, Lahore .	Rs 500 [Section 8(1)].	..	..	..	Security not deposited and paper not started.	
	30 Zamindar (weekly), Lahore	Rs 1,000 [Section 8(1)].	..	..	..	Continued publication . . .	} The securities deposited by the keeper of the "Zamindar Press" as well as the press itself were confiscated in 1913-14 .
	31. Zamindar (daily), Lahore ..	Rs 1,000 [Section 8(1)]	..	..	..	Ditto . . .	
	32 Sarhaddi .. ..	.	..	Rs 5,000 ..	..	Further security not deposited and paper not started	This paper was held to have been the "Punjab Advocate" (item 27 of 1910) under a new name
Burma	Nil.						
Bihar and Orissa	Nil.						
Central Provinces	Nil.						
Assam	Nil.						

North-West Frontier Province.	33. Coronation Magazine, Peshawar.	Rs. 1,000 [Section 8(1)].	..	..	..	..	Security not deposited and magazine not started.	
	34. Akhbar-i-Salah, Abbottabad	Rs. 1,000 [Section 8(1)]	..	..	..	..	Began publication ..	The publication of the paper was abandoned on 26th February 1913.
	35. The Afghan, Peshawar ..	Rs. 2,000 [Section 8(1)].	..	..	..	..	The amount of security being reduced from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 500, it was deposited and the paper continued publication.	
Coorg ..	Nil							
Delhi ..	36. Al-Balagh ..	Rs. 2,500 [Section 8(2)]	..	..	..	..	Security not deposited and paper ceased publication.	
					1913.			
Madras ..	1. Fortnightly paper devoted to industry, society, education, literature, the arts, etc., Coimbatore (Name not given in the application)	Rs. 500 [Section 8 (1)].	..	..	..	..	Security not deposited and paper not started	
	2. Andhra Chandrika, Cuddapah	Rs. 1,000 [Section 8 (1)]	..	..	..	..	Security deposited The paper had not made its appearance but a prospectus was issued.	
	3. Paropakari, Madras	Rs. 2,000 [Section 8 (1)]	..	..	..	..	Security not deposited and paper not started	
	4. Vikataratnam, Madras	Rs. 1,500 [Section 8 (1)]	..	..	..	..	Security not deposited and paper ceased publication	
	5. Vijaya Vikatan	Rs. 1,000 [Section 8 (1)].	..	..	..	..	Security not deposited and paper ceased publication	
	6. The Students' Magazine, Nellore.	Rs. 500 [Section 8 (1)]	..	..	..	..	Security not deposited by students' society and paper ceased publication	
	7. Ramanujan, Tanjore ..	Rs. 500 [Section 8 (1)]	..	..	..	..	Security not deposited and paper not started	

STATEMENT II—*contd.*

Province	Name of newspaper	Amount of security demanded and section under which demanded	If security forfeited the grounds of forfeiture with section under which forfeited	Amount of further security	If further security forfeited the grounds of forfeiture	Whether newspaper began, continued, or ceased publication after demand of security or continued operations subsequent to forfeiture	REMARKS
Madras— <i>contd.</i>				1913— <i>contd.</i>			
	8. Yathathavachari, Tanjore	Rs 500 [Section 8 (2)]	.	.	.	Continued publication	
	9. Tanjore Times, Tanjore	Rs 500 [Section 8 (1)]	.	.	.	Security in respect of this paper was demanded in 1910 and was not furnished. The publisher again applied in 1913 and the previous order was repeated. Security was not deposited and paper not published.	
Bombay	10. Viasah D shawal, Bombay	Rs 500 [Section 8 (1) ]	.	.	..	Security not deposited and paper not started.	
	11. Masik Mitra, Bombay	Rs 500 [Section 8 (1)]	.	.	.	Began publication.	
	12. Suprabhat, Ahmednagar	Amount not stated [Section 8 (1) ]	.	..	..	Security not deposited and paper not started.	
	13. Patrika, Lonkheda, West Khandesh.	Rs. 500 [Section 8 (1) ]	..	..	..	Continued publication.	
	14. Iltifog, Bombay	Rs 500 [Section 8 (1) ]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and paper not started.	
	15. Vidushak, Bombay	Rs 500 [Section 8 (1) ]	..	..	..	Ditto.	

	16	Din Mitra, Bombay	Rs. 500 [Section 8 (1)]	..	..	..	Ditto.	
Bengal ..	17	Hablul Matin, Calcutta (Bengali edition)	Rs. 500 [Section 8 (1)]	..	..	..	Began publication.	
	18	Hablul Matin, Calcutta (Urdu edition).	Rs. 500 [Section 8(1)].	..	..	..	The paper began publication after the demand of security of Rs. 500 but ceased publication when it was forfeited and a further security of Rs. 2,000 demanded.	
	19	Hablul Matin, Calcutta (English edition).	Rs 500 [Section 8(1)]	..	..	..	Began publication.	
	20	Fun and Frolic, Calcutta ..	Rs 500 [Section 8(1)]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and paper not started.	
	21	Bharat Bazar, Calcutta	Rs 500 [Section 8(1)]	..	..	..	Began publication	
	22	Calcutta Spectator, Calcutta	Rs 500 [Section 8(1)]	..	..	..	Ditto	Security since returned.
	23	Prabashi, Calcutta	Rs 500 [Section 8(1)]	..	..	..	Continued publication.	
	24	Neokhali H. L. L. Limited, Neokhali	Rs 500 [Section 8(1)]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and paper not started.	
	25	Prantabashi, Mymensingh.	Rs 500 [Section 8 (1)]	..	..	..	Continued publication.	

Security forfeited on 23rd September 1913 under section 8(1) for the publication in its issue of 12th September 1913 of an article entitled "A faithful advice to the Government for removing the grievances of Muslims"

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STATEMENT II—*contd.*

Province.	Name of newspaper.	Amount of security demanded and section under which demanded.	If security forfeited, the grounds of forfeiture with section under which forfeited.	Amount of further security	If further security forfeited, the grounds of forfeiture	Whether newspaper began, continued, or ceased publication after demand of security or continued operations subsequent to forfeiture.	REMARKS.
United Provinces..	26 Sadha Samachar, Farrukhabad.	Rs 2,000 [Section 8(1)]	..	1913—	<i>contd.</i>	..	Security not deposited and paper not started.
	27 Abhur Samachar, Etawah ..	Rs. 500 [Section 8(1)]	..	..	..	..	Continued publication
	28. Marthal Markand, Mainpuri	Rs 500 [Section 8(1)]	..	..	..	..	Security not deposited and paper not started
	29. Al Shahid, Allahabad ..	Rs 750 [Section 8(1)].	..	..	..	..	Ditto.
	30. Tauhid, Meerut ..	Rs 1,000 [Section 8(1)]	..	..	..	..	Ditto.
	31. Lusan-ul-Sudg, Lucknow ..	Rs. 1,000 [Section 8(1)]	..	..	..	..	Ditto
	32. Aynoved Sor, Agra ..	Rs. 150 [Section 8(1)].	..	..	..	..	Ditto.
	33. Prem Giyan, Aligarh ..	Amount not given [Section 8(1)]	..	..	..	..	Application to start the paper without a security was rejected and consequently the paper did not begin publication.
	34 Urdu-i-Maulla, Aligarh ..	*Amount not mentioned [Section 8(1)]	..	..	..	..	Security not deposited and paper not started.

Punjab..	35. Ahl-e Patika, Rewari, Gurgaon.	Ra. 500 [Section 8(1)]	..	..	..	Security not deposited and paper not started.
	36. Brahmin Samachar, Ambala City.	Ra. 500 [Section 8(1)]	..	..	..	Ditto.
	37. Sukh Dats, Amritsar ..	Ra. 500 [Section 8(1)].	..	..	..	Ditto.
	38. Albilagh, Amritsar ..	Ra. 2,000 [Section 8(1)].	..	..	..	Ditto.
	39. Ahl-i-Hadis, Amritsar ..	Ra. 2,000 [Section 8(2)].	..	..	..	Security not deposited and paper ceased publication.
	40. Sultana, Lahore ..	Ra. 500 [Section 8(1)].	..	..	..	Security not deposited and paper not started.
	41. Hindu (daily), Lahore ..	Ra. 500 [Section 8(1)].	..	..	..	Began publication.
	42. Cashmeri, Lahore ..	Ra. 500 [Section 8(1)].	..	..	..	Security not deposited and paper not started.
	43. Reformer, Lahore ..	Ra. 500 [Section 8(1)].	..	..	..	Ditto.
	44. Sud Samachar, Lahore ..	Ra. 500 [Section 8(1)].	..	..	..	Ditto.
	45. Jat Monthly, Lahore ..	Ra. 500 [Section 8(1)].	..	..	..	Ditto.
	46. Jam-i Jahan Numa, Lahore.	Ra. 500 [Section 8(1)].	..	..	..	Ditto.
	47. Desh, Lahore ..	Ra. 1,000 [Section 8(1)].	..	..	..	Began publication.
	48. Sud Gazette, Lahore ..	Ra. 500 [Section 8(1)].	..	..	..	Security not deposited and paper not started.
	49. Army Gazette, Rawalpindi	Ra. 500 [Section 8(1)].	..	..	..	Ditto.

STATEMENT II—concl'd.

Province.	Name of newspaper.	Amount of security demanded and section under which demanded.	If security forfeited, the grounds of forfeiture with section under which forfeited.	Amount of further security.	If further security forfeited, the grounds of forfeiture.	Whether newspaper began, continued or ceased publication after demand of security of continued operations subsequent to forfeiture.	REMARKS
				1913	concl'd.		
Burma	50 The Thathanalinkaya News	Rs 500 [Section 8(1)].	..	..	..	Continued publication.	
	51. The Wasit-ul-Islam ..	Rs. 500 [Section 8(1)].	..	..	..	Ditto.	
Bihar and Orissa	Nil.	..	..	..	..	....
Central Provinces	Nil.	..	..	..	..	....
Assam	Nil.	..	..	..	..	....
North-West Frontier Province.	Nil.	..	..	..	..	....
Coorg	Nil.	..	..	..	..	....
Delhi	52. Satdharam Parcharak ..	Rs 500 [Section 8(1)].	..	..	..	Continued publication.	

APPENDIX D.

[*Vide Proceedings, page 65.*]

STATEMENT III.

STATEMENT SHOWING THE NAMES OF THE PRINTING PRESSES EXEMPTED FROM THE DEPOSIT OF SECURITY DURING THE YEARS 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, WITH A SUMMARY OF THE REASONS RECORDED BY MAGISTRATES AS REQUIRED BY THE PROVISO TO SECTION 3 (1) OF THE INDIAN PRESS ACT, 1910 (I OF 1910.)

STATEMENT III.

Statement showing the names of the printing presses exempted from the deposit of security during the years 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, with a summary of the reasons recorded by Magistrates as required by the proviso to section 3 (1) of the Indian Press Act, 1910 (1 of 1910).

Province.	Name of printing press	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS	
	1910.			
Madras	1. Sri Varalakshi Vilasam Press, Nellikuppam.	The press prints only marriage notices, invitation cards, account books, etc.		
	2. The Aryan Press, Bellary .	Press does only job work		
	3. The Saraswati Vilas Press, Chingleput	Security of Rs 500 was first demanded, but was subsequently dispensed with as the press did only job work		
	4. The Kanchi Bhushana Press, Conjeeveram.	Does only job work		
	5. The United Free Church Mission Press, Chingleput.	Chronicles the religious activities of the mission.		
	6. Arya Vilasa Press, Madanapalle	Prints notices, judgments and other job work.		
	7. Sri Sarada Press, Chittoor ..	Ditto		
	8. Kalyana Kumara Vilas Press, Cuddapah	Prints Taluk Board's proceedings, Munsif and District Court judgments and other job work.		
	9. Siva Sidhanta Press, Cuddapah	Ditto		
	10. A. E. L. M. Press, Guntur .	Old presses registered in 1910.		
	11. Bharatavilasa Press, Narasaraopet			
	12. Prabodhini Press, Duggirala			
	13. P. V. R. L. S. Press, Ongole ..			
	14. Kanyaka Parameswari Mudraksharasala, Bapatla			
	15. Desabhimani Press, Guntur			
	16. Seethavilasa Press, Tenali ..			
	17. The Circular Educational Press, Bezvada		Prints scholastic matter.	
	18. Albert & Co., Regina Press, Madras District.		Declaration made only on account of changed location	
	19. A. L. V. Press, Madras District		Ditto	
	20. Athiganapathi Press, Madras District	A small hand press.		
	21. Cosmopolitan Press, Madras District	Ditto.		
	22. Connemara Press, Madras District .	Fresh declaration due merely to change of location.		
	23. Emperor Press, Madras District .	Ditto		
	24. Guardian Press, Madras District	Ditto		
	25. Gurger Press, Madras District ..	Ditto .		
	26. Good Pastor Press, Madras District .	Prints religious matter and the Tamil religious monthly magazine "Good Pastor "		
	27. Indian Law Gazette Press, Madras District	Mainly prints legal matter and the Tamil legal monthly magazine "The Indian Law Gazette".		
	28. Jeevakarunya Vilasam Press, Madras District	Application consequent on the change of location of press.		
	29. Jeevaratnakaram Press, Madras District	Ditto.		
	30. M. Krishna & Co. Press, Madras District.	to		
	31. Mathabai-Rahimani Press, Madras District.	Ditto.		

STATEMENT III—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
<i>Madras—contd.</i>	1910—<i>contd.</i>		
	32 Mohemedias Press, Madras District	Application consequent on the change of location of press	
	33 Mu-Iyathul Islam Press, Madras District.	Ditto	
	34 Manickavachagar Press, Madras District	Ditto	
	35. Nafi-ul Islam Press, Madras District	Ditto.	
	36. G A Natesan & Co Press, Madras District.	Ditto	
	37 Presidency Press, Madras District	Ditto.	
	39 Riverdale Press, Madras District	Ditto	
	39 Ramakrishna Press, Madras District	Ditto	
	40 Sri Madhuma Makeswar Press, Madras District	Ditto	
	41 Smarton Press, Madras District	Ditto	
	42 Vidvasironmani Vilas Press, Madras District	Ditto	
	43 Waverley Press, Madras District	Ditto	
	44 Kalyanasundaram Press, Madras District.	A small hand press.	
	45. Kaviprakasa Ganesananda Press, Madras District.	Ditto.	
	46 T A Krishna & Co. Press, Madras District.	Ditto.	
	47 Kanara Press, Madras District	Well reported on.	
	48 Lokanandini Press, Madras District	Ditto	
	49 Polygraph Type-write Duplicating Press, Madras District.	Ditto	
	50 P R Rama Ayyar & Co Press, Madras District.	Ditto.	
	51 Sri Janaki Vilasam Press, Madras District.	Press to be used for printing religious books and journals.	
	52 Sasulekha Press, Madras District	Ditto	
53. Sri Parjatha Press, Madras District	Ditto		
54 Sri Chitanandam Press, Madras District.	Ditto		
55. Syamala Press, Madras District	Ditto.		
56 Sri Lakshmi Narasimha Vilasam Press, Madras District.	Ditto		
57 Vedantaratakaram Press, Madras District.	Ditto.		
58. South Indian Press, Madras District..	The keeper is a retired Deputy Collector and the paper, "Hindu News," printed at the press is well conducted.		
59 S. Vas & Co Press (Sri Partha Press), Madras District.	Press used for printing purely legal matter.		
60. Seetharam Press, Madras District	Small hand press used for job work.		
61 R Venkayya Brothers' Press, Madras District.	Ditto.		
62 K R Ranganatham & Brothers' Press, Madras District.	A portion of the Setupati Press removed to a new locality under a different name.		

STATEMENT III—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS
Madras— <i>contd.</i>	1910—<i>contd.</i>		
	63 Saradambal Press, Madura	Declaration due to change in ownership of press	
	64 Sri Ramanuja Vilasam Press, Madura.	A change in locality of press. No change in nature of work done	
	65 Muhimattil Uloom Press, Malabar District	Security dispensed with as press is an old one, fresh registration being due to formal reasons.	
	66 Vidya Vilasam Press, Malabar District	Ditto	
	67 Spectator Press, Malabar District	Ditto	
	68 Kaiaparamba Press, Malabar District	Ditto	
	69 Courant Press, Malabar District	Ditto	
	70 Manjanavilakkam Press, Malabar District	Ditto	
	71 Kampiom Brothers' Press, Malabar District	Ditto	
	72 Vidya Santhanam Press, Malabar District	Ditto	
	73 Mambahul Hidayat Press, Malabar District	Ditto.	
	74 Kiratha Rudram Press, Malabar District	Ditto	
	75 Edward Press, Malabar District	Small hand press	
	76 Victoria Press, Malabar District	Small hand press used for job work	
	77 Mathaka Ismaila Press, Malabar District	An old press	
	78 Empress Victoria Press, Malabar District	Ditto	
	79 Muhikil Garayib Press, Malabar District	Security dispensed with on understanding that no periodical or newspaper is printed	
	80 Brigade Office Printing Press, Wellington	The press prints only departmental orders.	
	81 Edward Press, Negapatam ..	Re registration in name of new owner.	
	82 Poornachandrodaya Press, Tanjore ..	Mere re-registration of an old press as the date of original registry is not known	
	83 Darling Press, Tinnevely District ..	Small hand press.	
	84 Subrahmanya Vilas Press, Tutuicorn..	Does only job work.	
	85 Church Mission Press, Palamcottah	Prints only religious periodicals	
	86 Southern Star Press, Trichinopoly ..	Nothing objectionable printed	
	87 The Packia Vilasam Press, Trichinopoly District	Ditto	
	88 D'Silva Press, Trichinopoly ..	Does only job work.	
	89 Sri Ambagai Vilas Press, Kullitala ..	Ditto.	
	90 The Sri Krishna Vilas Press, Trichinopoly	Ditto.	
	91 St. Joseph's Industrial School Press, Trichinopoly	Nothing objectionable printed	
	92 Audit Press, S I Ry, Trichinopoly ..	Only office circulars and other correspondence of the Company are printed	
	93 The Ticket Printing Press, S I Ry, Trichinopoly	Only railway tickets are printed.	
94 The Vidya Sankar Press, Karur ..	No newspapers or periodicals published.		
95 The Wooden Printing Press, Karur ..	Does only job work.		
96 Sitarama Vilas Press, Vizagapatam District	A small hand press, intended for printing zamindari receipts and other forms used by landlords and their tenants.		

STATEMENT III.—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
Bombay	1910—<i>contd.</i>		
	97. Abdeally Ahmedjee Printing Press (new), Bombay.	The matter printed is of a mercantile character	
	98. Advertiser Steam Printing Press (new), Bombay.	Prints catalogues only.	
	99. Alvi Press (old), Bombay	The press has been in existence for 10 years.	
	100. Albion Printing Press (new), Bombay	The press does job work only.	
	101. Anglo Persian Printing Press (old), Bombay.	Old press; does job work, prints law books; the declaration due to change of place.	
	102. Arthur John Sharp's Printing Press, (old), Bombay	Old press.	
	103. Artists Printing Press (new), Bombay	Does only job work.	
	104. Bolton Fine Art Litho Works (new), Bombay,	Prints coloured and plain trade labels, advertisements, envelopes, etc.	
	105. Bombay Merchant Printing Press (new), Bombay.	Does only job work, mill forms and muster rolls	
	106. Business Printing Press (old), Bombay	Does job work. Does not print books or journals, etc.	
	107. Caxton Printing Works (old), Bombay	Re-registration of an old press.	
	108. Chhatraprabha Press (old), Bombay	Ditto.	
	109. Crown Electric Printing Press (old), Bombay	An old press; a change in name only.	
	110. Dayan Sagar Press (old), Bombay ..	An old press. change of locality only.	
	111. Echo Printing Works (old), Bombay..	Prints the "Echo" As this journal publishes unobjectionable matter, security was dispensed with.	
	112. Elegant Photo Litho Press (old), Bombay.	Prints cheques, share-certificates, trade books, etc. only.	
	113. George the Fifth Printing Press (new), Bombay	Prints handbills and advertisements only	
	114. Gopal Narayan and Company's printing Press (old), Bombay.	An old press.	
	115. Government Central Press (old), Bombay.	Owned and controlled by the Government of Bombay.	
	116. Indian Art Printing Press (new), Bombay.	Prints handbills, advertisements, etc. only.	
	117. Indian Printing Works (old), Bombay	Does only job work.	
	118. Industrial Press (old), Bombay ..	The press has been in existence for the last 41 years.	
	119. Akbari Islam Printing Press (old), Bombay.	Change of name only.	
	120. Jagadishwar Printing Press (new), Bombay	Prints religious books only.	
121. Janu Printing Works (old), Bombay ..	The press has been in existence for two years past, but previous declaration is not traceable.		
122. J N Petit Parsi Orphanage Printing Works (new), Bombay.	No objectionable matter printed.		
123. Karlokar Sangit Press (old), Bombay	Prints only handbills relating to the dramatic company.		
124. Karnatak Printing Press (old), Bombay.	An old press; the present declaration being in respect of a change of ownership.		
125. Matabai Hasani Litho Press (old), Bombay.	An old press.		

STATEMENT III.—*contd.*¹

Province.	Name of printing press.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
	1910—<i>contd.</i>		
Bombay— <i>contd.</i>	126 Meher Printing Works (new), Bombay.	Prints forms, bills, labels, etc. only.	
	127. Metropolitan Printing Press (new), Bombay	Prints only chemist and druggist labels, receipt books, etc.	
	128. Minto Printing Press (old), Bombay	Change of locality, does not publish any newspapers.	
	129. Muslim Herald Printing Press (old), Bombay.	The press has been in existence for the last 26 years.	
	130 N S Patel & Co's Printing Press (old) Bombay.	The press has been already registered.	
	131. Parol Maxim Company's Press (new), Bombay	Prints only postcards and exercise books.	
	132 Rajapurkar Company's Printing Press (old), Bombay	Prints only handbills and tickets of the company.	
	133 Reliance Printing Press (old), Bombay.	Prints only bank forms, office memoranda, etc.	
	134 Saraswati Printing Press (old), Bombay.	The press was established in 1896. Declaration due to change of locality	
	135. Secretariat Press (old), Bombay	Owned and controlled by the Government of Bombay.	
	136 Shanti Vijaya Printing Press (new), Bombay.	Prints "Luhana Darpan" Security dispensed with as the same applicant has already made a declaration in respect of the paper	
	137. Shri Ganesh Printing Press (old), Bombay.	An old press.	
	138. Shri Karmesh Printing Press (old), Bombay.	Ditto.	
	139 Shri Krishna Litho Press (old), Bombay.	Filed a declaration in respect of the press seven years ago.	
	140 S Narayan Printing Press (new), Bombay.	Prints only handbills and does job work.	
	141 Star Litho Printing Press (new), Bombay	Does not print any books, newspapers, etc.	
	142 Suvarna Printing Press (new), Bombay.	Prints a monthly magazine on medicine and religious books only.	
	143 Vartaman Press (old), Bombay	An old press of 40 years standing. Declaration due to change of location.	
	144. Vishwambhar Printing Press (old), Bombay.	An old press	
	145 Vividh Mudra Mandu Printing Press (new), Bombay	Prints only trade pamphlets.	
	146. Anglo Vernacular Printing Press, (new), Ahmedabad	Not mentioned	
	147 Padam Vahs Printing Press, (old)	Ditto.	
	148 Dnanodaya Printing Press, (old)	Ditto.	
	149 H P Suka's Printing Press (old), Kaira	Ditto.	
	150. The Gujarat Standard Printing Press, (new), Surat	Ditto.	
	151 The Irish Presbyterian Mission Press, (new), Surat.	Ditto.	
	152. Din Mitra Printing Press (new), Ah- mednagar	Ditto.	

STATEMENT III.—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
	1910—<i>contd.</i>		
<i>ibay—cont'd.</i>	153. Desh Kai Vartaman Printing Press (new), East Khandesh.	Not mentioned.	
	154. The Motilal Printing Press (old), East Khandesh.	Ditto.	
	155. Sharadashram Printing Press (old), East Khandesh.	Ditto.	
	156. The Vithal Printing Press (old) East Khandesh.	Ditto.	
	157. Aryavarta Printing Press, West Khandesh.	Ditto.	
	158. Gaikwar's Press (old), Poona ..	An old press, prints labels, etc.	
	159. Gharपुरy's Press (old), Poona ..	A new declaration, the former declarant is dead.	
	160. The Hanuman Art Printing Press (new), Poona.	Proposes to do only job work.	
	161. The Islam Press (old), Poona ..	An old press.	
	162. Jagaditechhu Press (old), Poona ..	The former declarant being dead the present declaration is made Undertakes only commercial, religious, historical printing, etc.	
	163. The Orphanage Press (old), Poona ..	Produces only commercial news and general printing	
	164. Saraswati Prasad Press (new), Poona	The keeper intends reprinting old works on Arya Vaidik.	
	165. Soudagar Press (new), Poona ..	Small hand press intended for commercial job work.	
	166. Gourishankar Press (new), Poona ..	For job work only.	
	167. Shri Shotkari Printing Press (new), Poona.	Does job work and official reports, etc. only	
	168. M. Francois D'abree's Printing Press (new), Poona.	Intends to print handbills, letter forms, bill heads, etc., only	
	169. Vritta Prasarak Printing Press (old), Poona.	An old press.	
	170. Ramdas Press (new), Satara ..	Not mentioned.	
	171. The Akbarali Printing Press (old), Sholapur.	Ditto	
	172. Navals's Printing Press (new), Sholapur.	For printing commercial wrappers, handbills, etc.	
	173. Bolgaum Samachar Printing Press (new), Bolgaum.	} Not mentioned.	
	174. Dhundiraj Printing Press (old), Bolgaum.		
	175. Harekar's Printing Works (old), Bolgaum.	Intended merely for printing handbills, etc.	
	176. Shri Vardhaman Press (new), Bolgaum	Not mentioned.	
	177. R. V. Korur's Printing Press (new), Bypapur.	Ditto.	
	178. The Satya Shodhak Printing Press, Ratnagur.	An old press.	
	179. Haroon Printing Press (old), Karachi .	An old press; present declaration due to change of locality.	
	180. The Sind Gazette and Commercial Press (old), Karachi.	An old press.	
	181. The Union Press (old), Karachi ..	Ditto.	

STATEMENT III.—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
	1910—<i>contd.</i>		
Bombay— <i>contd.</i>	182. V. B. Vazv's Printing Press, Karachi.	Intended for printing merchants' labels and other art work.	
Bengal	183. Radha Krishna Litho Works, Calcutta	Not mentioned.	
	184. New Bengal Press, Calcutta ..	Ditto.	
	185. Art Union Press, Calcutta	Ditto.	
	186. Commercial Printing Works, Calcutta	Ditto.	
	187. Ranjan Press, Calcutta	Ditto.	
	188. Gobinda Press, Calcutta	Ditto.	
	189. Twentieth Century Press, Calcutta ..	An old press.	
	190. Moslem Printing Works, Calcutta ..	Not mentioned.	
	191. Bani Press, Calcutta	Ditto.	
	192. University Printing and Publishing Company, Calcutta	Exempted as the directors and proprietors were men of position.	
	193. Mohan Press, Calcutta	Declaration due to change of locality	
	194. Tara Press, Calcutta	Well reported on.	
	195. Saraswati Press, Calcutta	Declaration due to change of locality only	
	196. Mulhar Art Press, Calcutta	Ditto.	
	197. Eternal Press, Calcutta	Ditto	
	198. Chandra Press, Calcutta	Ditto	
	199. Hetaisana (Good Will) Press, 24-Parganas.	Press intended for job work only.	
	200. Bibhuti Press, 24-Parganas	Well reported on.	
	201. Bharat Mahila Press, Dacca	Press was started by the Superintendent of the Dacca Orphanage to print a periodical magazine in the interests of that institution	
	202. Gopinath Jantra Press, Dacca ..	Prints' handbills and other job work.	
	203. Ishan Press, Dacca	Prints handbills and similar job work.	
	204. Bangla Jantra Press, Dacca ..	Ditto.	
	205. Nazam Press, Dacca	Ditto.	
	206. Alexander Steam Machine Press, Dacca	Ditto.	
	207. Muhammedi Press, Dacca	Ditto.	
	208. Santosh Press, Dacca	Ditto,	
	209. Sukha Press, Dacca	Ditto.	
	210. Baikuntha Nath Jantra Press, Dacca	Ditto.	
	211. Swarna Press, Dacca	Ditto.	
	212. Sakti Press, Dacca	Ditto.	
	213. Adarsha Press, Dacca	Ditto.	
	214. Ahim Press, Dacca	Ditto.	
	215. Ram Sundar Press, Dacca	Ditto.	
	216. Brahmabani Press, Dacca	Ditto.	
	217. Ananda Press, Dacca	Ditto.	
	218. Islamia Press, Dacca	Ditto.	

STATEMENT III—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security	REMARKS.	
Bengal— <i>contd.</i>	1910—<i>contd.</i>			
	219 East Press, Dacca	Prints handbills and similar job work.		
	220 Edward Printing Works, Dacca	Ditto.		
	221 Oriental Press, Dacca	Ditto.		
	222 Kohinoor Press, Dacca	Ditto		
	223 Girish Press, Dacca			
	224 East Bengal and Assam Era Press, Dacca	Nothing objectionable printed.		
	225 Mankrenj Press, Dacca	Prints handbills and job work		
	226 Nawab's Press, Dacca	Prints only rent-receipts for the estate of the Nawab of Dacca.		
	227 Gandaria Press, Dacca	Prints handbills and other job work.		
	228 Simath Press, Dacca	Ditto.		
	229 Bhaja Hari Press, Dacca	Ditto		
	230 Royal Printing Works, Dacca	Ditto.		
	231 Victoria Press, Dacca	Ditto		
	232 Ashutosh Press, Dacca	Ditto.		
	233 Santi Press, Dacca	Ditto		
	234 East Bengal Printing and Publishing House, Dacca	The press was an old one. New partners joined the firm.		
	235 Kashi Printing Works, Dacca	Prints handbills and other job work.		
	236 Sayamantak Press, Dacca	Ditto		
	237 Royal Printing Press, Dacca	Ditto.		
	238 Binapani Jantra Press, Dacca	Ditto.		
	239 Yousofy (Litho) Press, Dacca	Ditto.		
	240 Putha Charan Kumar's Press, Rajshahi	Exempted on the grounds that a member of the Putha Raj family who could be relied on to carry out the undertaking had guaranteed that the keeper of the press, which was in the <i>Rajbari</i> , would not print any objectionable matter		
	241 Bani Printing Press, <i>alias</i> Bani Press, Rajshahi	An old press		
	242 Tomoghur Press, Rajshahi	Ditto.		
	243. Rajshahi Press, Rajshahi	Ditto.		
	244. Tawtya Prakash Press, Rajshahi	Ditto.		
	245. Savita Press, Rajshahi	Ditto		
	246. Rani Bhowani Printing Works, Rajshahi	Ditto		
	247. Brojendra Press, Rajshahi	Ditto.		
	248. Ganesh Press, Rajshahi	Ditto.		
	249 Victoria Press, Rajshahi	Ditto.		
	250 Sudhakar Press, Rajshahi	Ditto.		
	251 Kaji Press, Rajshahi	Ditto.		
	252. Bolghur Saradindu Press, Rajshahi	Ditto.		
253. Baseline Press, Jessore	Prints job work only.			
254. Loyal Citizen Press, Howrah.	On account of keeper's father's reputation.			
255. Hosanna Press, Mymensingh	Used for job and similar printing work.			

STATEMENT III—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security	REMARKS.
	1910—<i>contd.</i>		
United Provinces	256. Radha Press, Ghazipur . . .	An old press.	
	257. Ghansia Press, Ghazipur . . .	Ditto	
	258. Edward Press, Agra . . .	Intended for publication of religious books only.	
	259. Zafar Press, Moradabad . . .	A litho and type press.	
	260. Johar Press, Moradabad . . .	Object of paper printed at the press was to promote union among Muhammadans.	
	261. The New Printing Works, Jhansi	An old press which does only job work.	
	262. Anwari Alam Press, Dehra Dun	An old press	
	263. Matba Musahibi Press, Meerut . . .	Not on record	
	264. Kherul Motah Press, Meerut . . .	Ditto.	
	265. The Station Press, Meerut . . .	Press started for business purpose only.	
	266. Sri Billeshar Press, Meerut . . .	Applicants sold Hindi and Sanskrit books of social and moral character	
	267. Tohfa Muhammadia Press, Meerut . . .	Nothing against the applicant.	
	268. Bhashkar Press, Meerut . . .	Started for business purpose only	
	269. Sarab Upkari Press, Meerut . . .	Nothing against the applicant.	
	270. New Press, Saharanpur . . .	Confined to printing of commercial notices and the like	
	271. Sarab Doshi Jatu Hitkari Press, Saharanpur.	Record not traceable	
	272. Agarwal Press, Lucknow . . .	} Undertaking taken not to print anything objectionable.	
	273. Shaki Press, Lucknow . . .		
	274. Fasih Muhammad Taib Press, Lucknow		
	275. Meyer Press, Lucknow . . .		
	276. Darul Ishaq Press, Lucknow. . .		
	277. An Nazir Press, Lucknow . . .		
	278. Gorakha Press, Benares . . .	An old press A new declaration was taken as the original declaration was not traceable.	
	279. Medical Hall Press, Benares	Ditto	
	280. Ghazi Press, Sultanpur . . .	Does only job work and prints no books or pamphlets	
	281. Kul Bhashkar Press, Allahabad	} Not mentioned	
	282. Sudarshan Press, Allahabad . . .		
	283. Artist Press, Allahabad	Used for printing botanical drawing	
284. Industrial Evangelistic Mission Press, Allahabad.	Prints religious matter only		
285. Newal Kishore Press, Cawnpore . . .	An old press		
286. Christian Press, Cawnpore	} Old presses.		
287. Brahman Press, Cawnpore . . .			
Panjab	288. Elliot Printing Press, Dalhousie, Gurdaspur	The application for declaration was made in 1908 and remained pending till 1910, hence no security was considered necessary. The press is worked on a very small scale only for printing office forms, notices, reports, price lists, etc.	
	289. Shajra Kishwar Press, Amritsar . . .	Well reported on.	Press did not open.

STATEMENT III—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security	REMARKS.
	1910—<i>contd.</i>		
Punjab— <i>contd.</i>	290. Punjab Christian Press, Lahore	Not mentioned.	
	291. English Job Press, Lahore		
	292. Gopal Press, Chunan, Lahore		
	293. Imperial Photo Engraving Co. Press, Lahore		
	294. Jijnasu Press, Lahore.		
	295. Kitast Press, Lahore	Security waived provided it prints only <i>bilas</i> (ornamental writings)	
	296. Lahore Chromo Litho Printing Works, Lahore	Security waived provided no papers or books are printed.	
	297. Punjabee Press, Lahore	Not mentioned	
	298. Aryan Press, Hoshiarpur	Only publishes handbills, notices, etc.	
Punjab	299. Chin Hwa Pao Press	Local Government did not think security needed	
	300. Myanna Thulika Kari Press	Prints unobjectionable books in Burmese only.	
	301. Zabudipa Dama Thi Yian Press	Ditto.	
	302. East India Press ..	Ditto	
	303. The Electric Press	An old established press.	
	304. British India Press ..	Prints unobjectionable books in Burmese only.	
	305. S P G. Press	Prints Missionary work only	
	306. Mandalay Times Press	Prints job work only	
	307. Upper Burma Gazette Press	Ditto.	
Orissa and Orissa	308. Jagannath Press, Puri ..	The press is used chiefly by the Pandas for the purposes of their profession and no periodical or newspaper is issued from it.	
Central Provinces	309. Pratab Press ..	The proprietor declared that he had no intention of publishing or issuing any periodical or newspaper.	
Assam	310. Shastra Prakash Press, Barpeta, Kamrup.	Not mentioned	
	311. Jonkin Press, Dibrugarh, Lakhimpur	Ditto.	
	312. Victoria Press, Gauhati, Kamrup	Exempted as the press had been in existence before and had been well conducted.	
	313. Welsh Mission Press, Sylhet Salar	Press was to do job work only.	
	314. Kamalo Press, Dharmapur, Kamrup	Not mentioned.	
	315. Parjat Press, Dhubri, Goalpara ..	An old press	
	316. Maitri Press, Habiganj, Sylhet	Undertaking taken that only job work would be done.	
	317. Radhanath Press, Dibrugarh, Lakhimpur.	Not mentioned	
	318. Assam Railways and Trading Company's Press, Dibrugarh, Lakhimpur.	Ditto	
	319. Ram Charan Press, Habiganj, Sylhet	An old press re-named for job work only	
	320. The Assam Central Press, Darrang.	Not mentioned.	

STATEMENT III—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security	REMARKS.
	1910—concl'd.		
North West Frontier Province	Nil		
Coorg .. .	Nil		
	1911.		
Madras .. .	1. Usmania Press, Jaffrebad, Vaniyambadi	Proprietor is Manager of Arabic Press attached to large Islamiah school at Vaniyambadi and press is used for school purposes only	
	2. Sri Krishna Vilasam Press, Triuppahiyur	Old press re-registered. Press prints marriage notices, invitation cards, etc	
	3. Patriot Press, Cuddalore, New Town	Old press re-registered.	
	4. Basal Mission Press, South Canara District.	Old press re-registered owing to change in management	
	5. Dharma Prakasha Press, South Canara District.	Old press re-registered owing to change in premises.	
	6. Codalbai Press, South Canara District.	Old press re-registered owing to change in management	
	7. Sadananda Press, South Canara District	Fresh declaration due merely to change in premises and partial change in ownership.	
	8. Ramanath Press, South Canara District	Old press. Fresh registration due to change in premises	
	9. Emmanuel Press, Coimbatore	Prints matter of an entirely unobjectionable kind.	
	10. Saraswativilas Press, Coimbatore	Prints accounts, notices, etc.	
	11. Jagadesa Press, Palakkumedi	Declaration made in consequence of change of place.	
	12. The Ganjam Printing Company, Aska	Ditto	
	13. The Kishore Chandra Press, Aska	Ditto	
	14. Sri Saraswati Press, Behrampur	Ditto	
	15. Kamala Press, Godavari District	An old press of small value	
	16. Bharativilasa Press, Narasaraopet	An old press. Merely a change of location	
	17. Arya Vysya Press, Guntur	Declarant the editor of a well-conducted paper.	
	18. Chandrika Press, Guntur	Merely a change of address.	
	19. Abhinavabharati Press, Vejjenda	An old press.	
	20. Sriramaithe Press, Challapalli	Used mainly for printing forms for the use of zamindar's office	
	21. South Vallu Estate Press, Masulipatam	Belongs to the estate under the Court of Wards and does no private work.	
	22. Sotu Press, Masulipatam	In existence prior to Press Act. Fresh declarations filed merely owing to change of buildings	
	23. Sri Bhyrava Press, Masulipatam ..		
	24. Albert and Company Regina Press, Madras District.	Declarant well reported on. Declaration due to change of location.	
	25. Alexandra Press, Madras District	Ditto	
	26. A. L. V. Press, Madras District	Ditto	
	27. Athu Kalamthi Press, Madras District	Old proprietor died and his wife declared as kuerter.	

STATEMENT III.—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
<i>Madras—contd.</i>	1911²—contd.		
	28 Brigade Staff Offices Press, Madras District	Does Government work.	
	29 Bhuloka Vyasa Press, Madras District	Press prints purely religious books.	
	30 Cosmopolitan Press, Madras District	Well reported on.	
	31 Chandra Press, Madras District	Ditto	
	32 Chamaraja Press, Madras District	Ditto	
	33 Chaitanya Press, Madras District	Dislocation due to change of locality.	
	34 D'Indar and Company Press, Madras District	Mainly for printing soda water labels.	
	35 Dwaita Parakasha Press, Madras District.	Prints religious matter	
	36 Emperor George Press, Madras District	Ditto	
	37 Hamodi Press, Madras District	Ditto	
	38 India Printing Works, Madras District	Intends printing only legal works.	
	39 Lalami Press, Madras District	Mere change of locality.	
	40 Indian Law Gazette Press, Madras District	Ditto	
	41 Minerva Press, Madras District	Change of keeper.	
	42 Meykandan Press, Madras District	Change of locality	
	43 The Mechanical Engraving Process & Co. Press, Madras District	Does photographic and artistic work	
	44 Madras Ripon Press, Madras District	Change of locality	
	45 Presidency Press, Madras District	Ditto	
	46 Price Current Press, Madras District	Change of keeper.	
	47 Ramaprasanthayam Press, Madras District	Change of locality	
48 Rasul Press, Madras District	Used for printing cigarette labels only		
49 Shawkatul Islam Press, Madras District	Change of locality.		
50 Sri Chutanandam Press, Madras District	Ditto		
51 Saslekha Press, Madras District	Ditto		
52 Sri Parjatha Press, Madras District	Ditto		
53 Sri Padmanabha Vilasam Press, Madras District.	Change of proprietor.		
54 Sri Gurusurti Srinivasulu Mudraksharasala Press, Madras District	Change of locality. The press prints small Telegu books of purely religious nature.		
55 Sri Gopala Vilasam Press, Madras District	Ditto		
56 Sri Jaya Vinayakasvaparakasam Press, Madras District.	Ditto		
57 Smarton Press, Madras District.	Change of proprietor.		
58 Vidyampalana Sundaram Press, Madras District	Publishes religious books required for students studying in the Saivaprakasa Institution at Chidambaram.		
59 Vajrayanti Press, Madras District ..	Used for publishing religious books only.		
60 Waverley Press, Madras District ..	Change of locality.		
61 Mechanical Press, Duddigul.. ..	For job work only.		

STATEMENT III.—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
	1911—<i>contd.</i>		
Madras— <i>contd.</i>	62. Ganapathi Vilas Press, Madura ..	For job work only	
	63. Meenambika Press, Periyakulam .	Change in locality	
	64. Bal C and Co's Press, Madras District	For business purposes only.	
	65. Saraswati Vijayam Press, Madras District	For printing covers of school copy books, etc., only	
	66. Vignana Chintamani Press, Malabar District	An old press.	
	67. Bharata Bandhu Press, Malabar District	Ditto	
	68. Muecmal Islam Press, Malabar District	Ditto	
	69. Victor Press, Malabar District ..	Ditto	
	70. Mary Memorial Press, Malabar District	Security dispensed with partly in view of keeper's status and partly because the press is not to be used for newspapers or anything connected with public news	
	71. Bhawani Press, Nellore District .	Well reported on.	
	72. Kamoo Press, Coonoor	Does only job work.	
	73. Gotha Vilasam Press, Srivilliputtur	Prints harmless matter.	
	74. Sri Rukmani Vilasam Press, Srivilliputtur	Prints principally forms, etc	
	75. Sundaravilasam Press, Rajapalayam	Prints harmless matter	
	76. Sri Krishna Vilasam Press, Ramnad	New declaration made merely on account of change in location.	
	77. Manikkam Press, Paramakudi	Used for printing patta, muchhika and other forms, judgments and the like	
	78. Devakotta Estate Press, Ramnad District	Registration consequent on changes in name and proprietorship of press	
	79. Saiva Siddhanta Press, Ramnad District	Registration consequent on changes in location	
	80. Davidabhimani Press, Salem District	Well reported on.	
	81. Sundaravadant Press, Salem District	Security considered unnecessary on general grounds	
	82. Evangelical Lutheran Mission Press, Tranquebar	Case of re registration.	
	83. Michael Press, Mayavaram	Does only job work	
	84. Valmiki Press, Mayavaram	Re-prints old Sanskrit records	
	85. Saraswati Vilas Press, Mayavaram .	Case of re-registration.	
	86. Champaka Lakshmi Vilas Press, Mannargudi	Ditto	
	87. Darling Press, Palamcottah	Ditto	
	88. The Union Central Press, Tinnevely	No books or newspapers printed	
	89. Chintamani Press, Palamcottah .	Old established press, chiefly printing judgments	
	90. Lakshmi Vilasam Press, Ambasamudram	No books or newspapers printed	
	91. Arunodayam Press, Tinnevely District	Does only job work	
	92. Kantimathi Vilasam Press, Tinnevely	Case of re-registration, owing to change of premises	
	93. Vanuvilasam Press, Tinnevely District	Case of re-registration	
	94. Elasaividya Vilasam Press, Ettayapuram.	Intended for printing forms required for the Zamin office, Ettayapuram	

STATEMENT III.—*contd.*

Province,	Name of printing press.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security	REMARKS
	1911—<i>contd.</i>		
<i>ma—concl</i>	95 Gomati Vilasam Press, Tenkan	Does only job work	
	96 Sarada Press, Palamcottah	Declaration due only to change of premises	
	97. The Shanmuga Vilas Press, Trichinopoly	Does only job work	
	98. Basel Printing works, Vanganpatan	Case of transfer of old press to new locality	
<i>bay ..</i>	99 Bacarro and Company's Litho and Type Works (new), Bombay	The applicant had made a declaration in respect of the "Bombay Watchman" paper which is printed in this press and security is dispensed with on that occasion	
	100 British Crown Press (new) Bombay	Does only job work	
	101 Chharg Printing Press (old), Bombay	The press has been in existence for the last twelve years, the present declaration being with regard to the change of place	
	102 City Printing Press (new), Bombay	Prints only handbills, advertisements, etc	
	103 C N Printing Press (new), Bombay	Prints trade bills, labels, etc	
	104 Daftar Ashkara Press (old), Bombay	Prints "Rast Chitar" paper, which has been in existence a great number of years	
	105 Economic Printing Press (new), Bombay	Does only job work	
	106. Elphinstone Printing Press (new), Bombay	Ditto	
	107 Messrs Gogate, Kelkar & Co's Printing Press (old), Bombay.	Ditto	
	108 Guljari Hasani Printing Press (new), Bombay	Prints books used in schools	
	109. Ismail Litho Printing Press (new), Bombay	Prints labels and other sundry work	
	110 I tbanon Type and Litho Works (new), Bombay	Does only job work	
	111 Lithographic Press (new), Bombay	Ditto	
	112 Muzaffi Printing Press (old), Bombay	An old press The present declaration being from the printer of the press, security is dispensed with.	
	113 Naderi Printing Press (old), Bombay	Prints the 'Islah' and does other job work	
	114 Parsi Printing Press (old), Bombay	'The Parsi' paper is printed in this press, job work is also done Nothing else is printed	
	115. P Muni Brothers Printing Works (new), Bombay	Does only job work	
	116 Ram Printing Press (old), Bombay ..	An old press given to the printing of notes, guides, dramatic songs, etc., the present declaration being with respect to the change of place	
	117 Ramji Printing Press (new), Bombay	Does merely job work	
	118. Saraswati Art Printing Works (new), Bombay	Ditto	
	119 Satvaparakash Printing Press (new), Bombay	Ditto	
	120. Shankar Printing Press (new), Bombay	Ditto.	
	121 Sbrri Krishna Printing Press (new) Bombay.	Does sundry work such as receipt books, bill books, advertisements, etc., etc.	
	122. S. Ramani Printing Press (new), Bombay.	Does only job work	
	123 Sudhakar Printing Press (old), Bombay	Ditto.	

STATEMENT III—*contd.*

Province	Name of printing press	Summary of reasons for exemption from security	REMARKS
	1911—<i>contd.</i>		
Bombay— <i>contd.</i>	124 Times of India Press (old), Bombay	Well conducted	
	125 Urdu Press (old), Bombay	An old press. The present declaration is in respect of a change of place	
	126 Vaidik or Printing Press (new), Bombay	Does only job work	
	127 The Bharat Bandhu Printing Works (new), Ahmedabad	Not mentioned	
	128 The Brahmans Printing Press (new), Ahmedabad	Ditto.	
	129 The Desai Printing Press (new), Ahmedabad	Ditto.	
	130 The Dhama Vijay Printing Press (new), Ahmedabad	Ditto.	
	131 Harshad Printing Press (new), Ahmedabad	Ditto	
	132 Mahammedi Printing Press (new), Ahmedabad.	Ditto.	
	133. Mahakanta Gazette Printing Press, (new), Ahmedabad	Ditto	
	134. Rajanagar Printing Press (old), Ahmedabad.	Ditto	
	135 Mathura Dwarakadas Press (new)	Prints only handbills, advertisements, etc.	
	136 The Mitra Mandel Mudraleya Press (old), Kaira	An old press, change of locality only.	
	137. The Surat Jain Printing Press (old), Surat	An old press. Declared previously	
	138 Orphanage Press (new), Sharanpur	Not mentioned.	
	139 Gangalalal Press (old), Nasik	Ditto.	
	140 Mudran Mandu Press (new), Nasik	Security was thought unnecessary though at first it was demanded	
	141 Purank's Art Litho Press (old), Poona	An old press, the present declaration being in respect of a change of place.	
	142 Dab Dab Handari Printing Press, (new), Poona	Does only job work.	
	143 Hari Narayan Gokhale's Printing Press (old), Poona	Prints only religious books and job work	
	144. Fritz Schlecher's Lithographic Works (old), Poona	Prints only mythological and other pictures placards, etc.	
	145 A D Jethe's Litho Press (new), Poona	A petty concern.	
	146. Rajapurkar Co's Press (old), Poona	Only a hand press, used for printing matter for the Company's dramatic performances.	
147 Shreeda Vile's Press (new), Poona	A small press intended to be used mainly for rubber type stamp work		
148 The Yeshwant Press (old), Poona	Prints only books and does job work		
149 Fiza Press (new), Satara	An old press; change in locality only		
150 Jog's Printing Press, (new), Satara	Not mentioned.		
151 The Sholepu Samachar Press (old), Sholapur	An old press		
152 Khadilkar's Press for photo works (old), Belgaum.	Solely used for the purpose of art printing.		
153 Shri Mahavir Printing Press (old) Belgaum.	Not mentioned.		

STATEMENT III—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press	Summary of reasons for exemption from security	REMARKS.
	1911—<i>contd.</i>		
<i>ibay—contd.</i> ..	154. Gayatri Printing Press (<i>new</i>), Dharwar	Does only job work.	
	155. Sheikh Abdul R. Sheikh Abdullah's Press (<i>new</i>), Hyderabad	Not mentioned.	
	156. Lalaram C. Kripaldassani's Press (<i>new</i>), Hyderabad	Ditto	
	157. The Karachi Lithographic Press (<i>new</i>), Karachi.	Does job work only	
	158. The Karachi Press (<i>new</i>), Karachi ..	Ditto.	
	159. The Maratha Press (<i>old</i>), Karachi	An old press, does only job work	
	160. The Saraswati Press (<i>old</i>), Karachi .	An old press, present declaration is merely with respect to change of hands	
	161. The Śwadeshi Bandu (<i>old</i>)	An existing press well conducted in the past.	
.. ..	162. Deokunandan Press, Calcutta	An old press, change of locality only	
	163. Calcutta University Press, Calcutta	Ditto.	
	164. Ratnakar Press, Calcutta	Ditto	
	165. Chandra Art Press, Calcutta .	Nothing known against the declarant.	
	166. Uchit Bakta Press Calcutta .	An old press	
	167. Basumati Branch Press, Calcutta	Not mentioned.	
	168. S. B. D. Press, Calcutta ..	Prints labels, etc	
	169. Kalyani Press, Calcutta ..	An old press, change of locality only.	
	170. Relieving Press, Calcutta ..	Ditto.	
	171. Kaderia Press, Calcutta .	An old press	
	172. Nityananda Press, Calcutta	An old press, change of locality only.	
	173. Srimadhab Press, Calcutta ..	Ditto	
	174. Mohan Press, Calcutta .	Does only job work	
	175. Nandy Press, Calcutta .	An old press.	
	176. New Samaj Press, Calcutta .	Not mentioned	
	177. Abasar Press, Calcutta	Declarant succeeded his father as keeper on the latter's death.	
	178. Ratnakar Press, Calcutta .	An old press	
	179. Lakshmi Bilas Press, Calcutta .	Does only job work	
	180. M. Press, Calcutta ..	Ditto.	
	181. Cherry Press, Calcutta .	An old press, change of locality only	
	182. Bengalee Press, Calcutta ..	A long-established press	
	183. New Artistic Press, Calcutta	Does only job work.	
	184. New Relieving Press, Calcutta	Does only job work.	
	185. Reform Printing Press, Calcutta .	Declaration due to change of the name of the press.	
	186. Jiban Press, Calcutta .	An old press, change of locality only	
	187. Cherry Press, Calcutta .	An old press.	
	188. Good Hope Press, Calcutta ..	Ditto.	
	189. Balmiki Press, Calcutta ..	An old press; change of locality only.	
	190. Kusumika Press, Calcutta ..	Ditto	

STATEMENT III—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
<i>Bengal—contd.</i>	1911—<i>contd.</i>		
	191. Vidyasagore Press, Calcutta	Not mentioned.	
	192 L N Press, Calcutta ..	Change of locality only	
	193 Sinclair Company's Press, Calcutta	Ditto.	
	194 India Press, Calcutta	} Not mentioned	
	195 Lyon's Press, Calcutta .		
	196 Satya Naram Press, Calcutta	Change of locality only	
	197 Elahi Press, Calcutta .	Not mentioned	
	198. Bengal Roy Press, Calcutta	Declaration was only necessary because the old press was replaced by a new one.	
	199 Akshay Press, Calcutta	Intended for printing religious books	
	200 Indian Press, Calcutta ..	Well reported on	
	201. Clive Electrical Printing Works, Calcutta	Does job work only.	
	202 Satya Press, Calcutta . .	Declaration was only necessary because the press had passed to the keeper by inheritance.	
	203 Victor Press, Calcutta . .	Change of locality only	
	204 Hardless Press, Calcutta . .	Prints books on cooking, etc	
	205. Bose and Dutta Company Press, Calcutta.	An old press, change of locality only	
	206. Lyon's Press, Calcutta .	Ditto	
	207 Radha Kissen Press, Calcutta	Undertaking given that the press would not print anything objectionable	
	208 Exchange Press, Calcutta	Ditto	
	209 New Oriental Press, Calcutta .	An old press; change of locality only	
	210 Islam Press, Calcutta ..	Keeper exempted as he was already exempted as publisher of a newspaper.	
	211. Basanta Press, Calcutta .	Undertaking given that the press would print business matters only	
	212. Kohnpur Press, Calcutta .	Not intended for printing newspapers.	
213 Sri Madhab Press, Calcutta	An old press, change of locality.		
214. Surya Press, 24-Parganas	No newspaper or periodical printed		
215. Power Steam Press, 24-Parganas ..	An old press, and no newspaper or magazine printed at it		
216 Hena Press, Dacca	Prints hand bills and does other job work		
217 Nahnaksha Press, Birbhum ..	Undertaking given that no objectionable matter would be printed		
218 Sanjoy Press, Faridpur .	Exempted as the press had been in existence before the Indian Press Act, 1910, was passed, and was well reported on.		
219 Hitashi Press, Faridpur	Ditto		
220. Doymoy Press, Malda	A small hand press, used chiefly for printing hand-bills, etc		
221 Sakti Press, Nadia .	Press had been in existence for thirty years.		
222 Sidhya Press, Nadia .	Press had been in existence for about four years, and was well reported on.		
223. Probodh Press, Howrah	Declarant undertook to print only High Court paper-books.		

STATEMENT III—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
	1911—<i>c ntd.</i>		
1— <i>contd.</i>	224. Kali Das Press, Pabna	The press was in existence before the introduction of the Indian Press Act, 1910, nothing known against the keeper, and no newspaper was printed at it.	
	225 Shyama Press, Pabna	Ditto	
	226 Dhanmantari Press, Pabna	The press was in existence before the introduction of the Indian Press Act, 1910, nothing known against the keeper	
	227. Nababikas Press, Pabna	Ditto.	
	228 Sarada Press, Pabna	Ditto	
	229 Arjya Press, Pabna	Ditto.	
	230 Hitasi Press, Pabna	The press and the newspaper printed at it were in existence before the Indian Press Act, 1910, was passed, nothing known against the keeper	
	231. Diamond Press, Pabna	No newspaper printed at the press and nothing known against the keeper.	
	232 Minto Press, Chittagong	Exempted as the keeper was the father of the Treasurer of the Chittagong Treasury, who in that capacity had deposited Rs. 20,000 with Government	
Provinces . .	233. Subh-Sadiq Press, Sitapur	An old paper Prints no newspapers.	
	234 Istibsar Press, Rae Bareilly	No security had to be required of other presses in the district.	
	235 Sarda Press, Moradabad	Not returned	
	236 Walker Press, Mainpuri	A small press for printing advertisements, etc.	
	237. Jagdish Press, Mainpuri	A small press for ordinary trade purposes	
	238 Elias Printing Press, Raikhet	Does only job work.	
	239 Anglo-Vernacular Press, Raikhet	An old press Does only job work	
	240 Sadiq-ul-Mulk Press, Jhansi	Does only job work	
	241 Modern Press, Allahabad	Declarant stated press was intended to print only job work and no newspaper or periodical.	
	242 Amar Press, Dehra Dun	} Not mentioned	
	243. Gharwali Press, Dehra Dun		
	244. Shubh Chintak Press, Allahabad		} Ditto
	245. Agarwal Press, Allahabad		
	246 Qasmi Press, Deoband	Printed ordinary Deoband Arabic College papers and the college magazine.	
	247. Jami Lal Printing Machine Press, Saharanpur	Record not traceable.	
	248 Naram Press, Saharanpur	Not returned.	
	249 Iena Ashri Press, Lucknow	} Undertaking given that nothing objectionable would be printed.	
	250. Imperial Printing Press, Lucknow		
	251. Chashmai Fair Press, Shahjahanpur	The owner of the press had already a well conducted press at Hardoi and no security appeared to be necessary for the press in this district.	
	252. Nami Press, Shahjahanpur	Prints nothing objectionable.	
	253. Gaurish Press, Benares	} Old presses; original declarations being not traceable, new ones were taken.	
	254. Saudul Mathai Press, Benares		
	255. Vidya Vilas Press, Benares		

STATEMENT III—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
	1911—<i>contd.</i>		
United Provinces— <i>contd.</i>	256. Kalpa Tara Press, Benares ..	Old presses Original declarations being not traceable, new ones were taken.	
	257. Kadri Press, Benares ..		
	258. Vayapati and Karigar Press, Benares ..		
	259. Beni Ram Press, Benares ..		
	260. Nageshar Press, Benares ..		
	261. Bahar Press, Azamgarh ..	Undertaking given that nothing beyond forms and notices will be printed.	
	262. St. Andrews' Press, Cawnpore ..	Change of locality only	
	263. Islamic Press, Cawnpore ..	Security not considered necessary as the owner is an old dealer in books.	
	264. Muhammadi Press, Cawnpore ..	Change of locality only	
	265. Majidi Press, Cawnpore ..	An old press, change in name of proprietor only.	
	266. P. C. Nigam Press, Cawnpore ..	Change of locality only	
	267. Sri Krishna Press, Cawnpore ..	Well reported on.	
	268. Army Press, Cawnpore ..	Ditto	
	Punjab	269. Union Printing Press, Ludhiana ..	An old press
270. Punjab Text Book Press, Gujranwala ..		Applicant's father is Head Master of the Government High School at Gujrat.	
271. Husaini Press, Wazirabad, Gujranwala District ..		Prints religious books only	
272. Siddiqi Press, Gujranwala ..		The applicant is a printer of literary and religious books	
273. Goorg Press, Jullundur Cantt. ..		Undertaking given that nothing objectionable would be printed	
274. Ram Press, Amritsar ..		Nothing against the proprietor	
275. Temperance Press, Amritsar ..		The press was intended for the publication of the "Temperance Guide."	
276. Coronation Printing Works, Amritsar ..		The press was intended for the "Khalsa Advocate," a Sikh organ	
277. India Universal Printing Press, Lahore ..		} Not mentioned.	
278. Lahore Machine Press, Lahore ..			
279. Mohyal Mittar Press, Lahore ..		Undertaking given that nothing objectionable would be printed	
280. Newal Kashmir Press, Lahore ..		Not mentioned.	
281. Sherif-ul-Mahatabi Press, Lahore ..	Ditto		
282. Military Printing Works, Sialkot ..	Well reported on		
283. Himalayan Press, Delhi ..	Mr Guest publishes the "News of India" in Simla and the "Durbar Bulletin" was only a temporary offshoot from that paper. This press was started for the printing of the "Durbar Bulletin." Deposit of security therefore dispensed with.		
Burma	284. Kemmendue Press ..	Prints unobjectionable books in Burmese and job work only	
	285. Deva Sekku Press ..	An old press change of locality only.	
	286. The Mun Tien Kung Pao Co., Ltd., ..	Chinese declarant well reported on.	

STATEMENT III—*concl.*

Province.	Name of printing press.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
1911—concl.			
Burma— <i>cont.</i>	287 The Shakespear Press	Publishes translations of Shakespear's works only.	
	288 The Sun Press	Prints its own paper "The Sun."	
	289. The Burma Commercial Advertiser	Well reported on.	
	290. Victoria Press	Does chiefly job work.	
	291 Dr. May's Printing Works	Ditto	
	292 Mngala Dipa Press	Ditto.	
	293. Akyab Orphan Press	Well reported on.	
	294 Mandalay Herald Press	Prints job work only	
Bihar and Orissa	295 Mithila Mihir Press, Darbhanga	Well reported on.	
	296. District Board Press, Darbhanga	The control of the Press is vested in the Chairman of the District Board.	
	297 Annapurna Press, Purulia	Nothing known against the keeper	
	298 Binod Press, Balasore	No newspaper has ever been published or is likely to be published from the press	
Central Provinces	299 Christian Mission Press	The press is maintained for the publication of unobjectionable literature	
	300 Aryakata Press	The owner of the press declared that he had no intention of publishing or issuing any periodical or newspaper.	
	301 Fairandrapur Press	Ditto	
	302 St. Francis de Sales' School Printing Press.	The press was exempted as the Principal of the School combined the three capacities of proprietor, printer and publisher	
Assam	303 Co operative Press, Silchar	A very small press	
	304 Bijaya Press, Dhubri	Well reported on	
North West Frontier Province.	Nil		
Bengal	Nil		
1912			
Andhra	1. Manonmani Nanthanam Press, Tiruvan- namalai.	A small hand press.	
	2. Coronation Press, Ranga p... ..	Ditto	
	3. Criminal Investigation Press, Vellore	An old press change of locality.	
	4. Krishna Vilasam Press, Vellore	Used only for job work. No change in character on transfer to new owner	
	5. Sri Rama Press, Robinsonpet, Kup- pam.	Case of transfer. Used only for job work.	
	6. National Press, Tiruppattur	Used for job work only	
	7. Sri Gothavilasam Press, Timuri	Ditto.	
	8. Sri Rukmani Vilasam Press, Villupu- ram.	Old press re-registered. Print's marriage notices, invitation cards, etc.	
	9. The Sanlara Vilas Press, Bellary	Does only job work.	

STATEMENT III—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
	1912—<i>contd.</i>		
<i>Madras—contd.</i>	10 Kadriya Press, South Canara District	Does only job work	
	11 Mangala Press, South Canara District	Ditto	
	12. The American Advent Mission Press at Valacheri, Saldapet taluk	Devoted to religious work of the Mission	
	13 The Sri Venkatesa Press, Conjeeveram	} Worked in Madras without payment of security before owners came to this district Both do job work. Mere change of locality	
	14. The United Printing Works, Conjeevaram		
	15 M A Ghatala Press, Chittoor	Used for printing notices, judgments and other job work.	
	16 Natesa Press, Coimbatore	Ditto.	
	17 Sri Venkateswara Vidyasagar Press, Godavari District	A hand press The keeper undertakes not to print any newspaper, magazine or journal	
	18. Vanu Press, Guntur	Merely a change of premises	
	19 Rajya Rama Press, Narasaraopet	The keeper was formerly manager of Bharata Vilasa Press, an old Press registered in 1910	
	20 Radha Press, Guntur	Nothing known against declarant	
	21. Sarada Press, Tenali	Well reported on.	
	22 Durga Printing works, Ellore	The keeper says that he does not intend to print matter of an objectionable nature	
	23. Venugopala Press, Pangedigudom	Solely for printing forms, etc, for the North Vallur Zamindar	
	24 Andhraprachermi Printing Works, Nidadavole	Keeper undertook not to print newspaper or periodical	
	25 Telugu Law Journal Press, Masulipatam.	Keeper exempted from security as publisher of the Telugu Law Journal.	
	26 Sudarsini Press, Narsapur	Merely a transfer of locality.	
	27. C N Orphanage Press, Madras District.	Well reported on.	
	28 Chamaraja Press, Madras District	Change of locality.	
	29 Chaitanya Press, Madras District	Ditto	
	30. Eastern Star of India Press, Madras District	Well reported on	
	31 Hidayat Press, Madras District	Ditto.	
	32. Jeevaratnakaram Press, Madras District	Change of locality	
	33 Jeevaratna Vinayaga Sambander Press, Madras District.	Ditto.	
	34 T A Krishna and Company Press, Madras District	Ditto.	
	35. Kaviprakasa Ganesananda Press, Madras District.	Ditto.	
	36. Konaia Law Press, Madras District	Well reported on	
	37 Lokanandini Press, Madras District	Ditto.	
	38 Model Press, Madras District	Change of keeper. The new keeper is well reported on	
	39 Morley and Company Apollo Press, Madras District.	The keeper is well reported on	
	40 McDowell and Company Press, Madras District.	Ditto.	
	41 Minerva Press, Madras District	Well reported on.	

STATEMENT III—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press	Summary of reasons for exemption from security	REMARKS.
	1912—<i>contd.</i>		
<i>Indra—contd.</i>	42 Naitamilvilasam Press, Madras District	Well reported on	
	43 Nafi ul Islam Press, Madras District	Change of locality.	
	44 Platnair Press, Madras District	Well reported on.	
	45 Prince of Wales Press, Madras District	Ditto	
	46 Ram Printing Works, Madras District	Ditto	
	47. S V. N Press, Madras District	The keeper well reported on.	
	48. Sangaritha Vilakkam Press, Madras District.	Change of locality	
	49 Shahul Hamidya Press, Madras District	Ditto	
	50 Sri Lakshmi Narasimha Vilasam Press, Madras District.	Ditto	
	51. Sachithanandam Press, Madras District	Ditto	
	52 Singaram Press, Madras District	Ditto	
	53. Shanmuganandam Press, Madras District	Well reported on.	
	54. Sitaram Press, Madras District	Ditto	
	55. T V C. Press, Madras District	Used mainly for printing books of literary character	
	56 Tawker Press, Madras District	Used mainly for printing catalogues of Tawker and Sons	
	57. Vani Bhushanam Press, Madras District	Used for printing religious books.	
	58 Vajrayanti Press, Madras District	Ditto	
	59. Vidvasanmony Vilas Press, Madras District	Change of locality	
	60. Chitrasala Press, Madura	A hand press.	
	61. Tamil Sangam Power Press, Madura	In existence since 1902 and there was merely a change of President in 1912	
	62. Setupathi Press, Madura	Change of locality	
	63. Asha Lakshmi Vilasam Press, Madura	Transfer of ownership.	
	64 The Victoria Press, Madura District	Change in proprietorship.	
	65 Mambattal Ayuyah Press, Malabar District.	Small lithographic press for lithographing translations of Arabic religious treatises into Malayalam	
	66 Kottakkal Press, Malabar District	Old press	
	67 The Reformer Press, Malabar District	Old press with a change of name, owner and situation.	
	68. Subrahmanya Vilasam Press, Sattur	} Not mentioned.	
	69 Lakshmi Vilasam Press, Sattur		
	70 Sri Krishna Vilasam Press, Srivilliputtur.		
	71 Sachithanandam Press, Virudupatti		
	72 Samastanam Press, Ramnad	In view of the position and high repute of the Raja, security originally demanded was dispensed with.	
	73. Sundaravilasam Press, Rajapalayam	Case of re-registration of old press due to change of ownership	
	74 Jayaratnakaram Press, Salem District	Security considered unnecessary on general grounds.	
	75. T A. C Press, Salem District	Ditto.	
	76. Sri Desasahayam Press, Pattukkottai	Re-registration in name of new keeper	
	77. Kalyanasundram Power Press, Tanjore	Re-registration for change of premises.	

STATEMENT III—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
1912—<i>contd.</i>			
Madras— <i>contd.</i>	78 Sri Krishna Vilas Press, Tanjore	Case of re registration.	
	79 Karmanidhi Medical Hall Lawley Electric Printing Press, Tanjore District	Security dispensed with so long as job work only is done	
	80 Sri Krishna Vilasa Press, Kumbakonam.	Security dispensed with so long as printing of school books only is done	
	81 Branch of Sri Nadiamman Press, Pattukkottai	Security dispensed with so long as job work only is done	
	82 Saradavilasa Press, Mayavaram	Re-registration due to change of premises	
	83 Scottish Branch Press, Negapatam	Case of re-registration.	
	84 Tripurasundari Press, Shiyali	Re-registration due to change of premises	
	85 Arya Prakasani Press, Tinnevely Bridge	Fresh declaration was obtained for change of ownership	
	86 Vijaya Lakshmi Vilasam Press, Palamcottah	Security was demanded in 1911, and the press closed. It was, however, registered in 1912, without security and security was dispensed with so long as press printed no periodical matter	
	87. Ganesha Vilasam Press, Kovilpatti	Only job work is done.	
88. Krishna Vilasam Press, Kovilpatti	Ditto		
89 Hymavati Press, Vizagapatam	Change of locality Does only job work		
90 Observatory Press, Vizagapatam	Intended chiefly for printing work of the estate of Shrumahammadpuram and the observatory and for job work.		
91 Vizagapatam Commercial Corporation Press.	To be used only for the distillery and for job work		
Bombay ..	92 Advocate of India Press (old), Bombay	Prints the "Advocate", a well known Bombay daily	
	93 Asharunulnabi Printing Press (new), Bombay	Prints "Habibul Akhbar", a weekly paper containing public news but nothing objectionable	
	94 Ayurved Martand Printing Press (new), Bombay	Undertaking given that nothing objectionable would be printed	
	95 B B and C I Railway Agent's Office Press (old), Bombay.	Nothing else except what is connected with the railway, such as bills, forms, etc, is printed	
	96. Bombay Printing Press (new), Bombay	Intends to print and publish postcards, handbills, invitation cards, etc	
	97 Bombay Vaibhav Printing Press (old), Bombay.	An old press change of locality only.	
	98 Chitradodha Latho Press (new), Bombay	Prints pictures as well as postcards	
	99 Dattaprasad Printing Press (old), Bombay	Not mentioned.	
	100 Daya Segar Printing Press (old), Bombay	Does only job work.	
	101 Din Bandhu Printing Press (old), Bombay	An old press.	
	102. Durbar Printing Press (new), Bombay	Intends to do job work only.	
	103 Durga Printing Press (new), Bombay	Ditto.	
	104. F B Merzban and Co's Press (new), Bombay	Not mentioned	
	105 Gulistan Printing Press (new), Bombay.	Ditto.	

STATEMENT III—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
<i>Bombay—contd.</i>	<i>1912—contd.</i>		
	106. Hatami Printing Press (new), Bombay.	Does job work only	
	107. Huseni Printing Press (new), Bombay	Job work of the nature of postcards, handbills, invitation cards, bill books, etc., is done.	
	108. Hyderi and Sabdari Printing Press (old), Bombay	Religious books are only printed	
	109. India Publishing Company's Printing Press (old), Bombay	Well reported on.	
	110. Jalali bin Siddiki Printing Press (new), Bombay.	The printer undertakes to print the Muhammadan religious books during the absence of the proprietor who is away on a pilgrimage to Mecca.	
	111. Kahir Sagar Printing Press (new), Bombay	Proposes to print bill books, receipt books, handbills, etc.	
	112. Kader Printing Press (new), Bombay	Ditto	
	113. Kazi Printing Press (new), Bombay	Ditto	
	114. Khoja Mitra Printing Press (new), Bombay	The declarant proposes to print letters, handbills, etc.	
	115. Laxmi Art Printing Press (new), Bombay.	The press is for art printing, and photo engraving	
	116. Litho Press (new), Bombay	Only labels and handbills are to be printed in the press	
	117. Lord Printing Press (new), Bombay	Ditto.	
	118. Maneck Printing Press (new), Bombay	Prints only a magazine named 'Frolic and Fun'	
	119. Mufide Rojgar Press (old), Bombay	An old press, the present declaration is a renewal of the previous one.	
	120. Mustafai Printing Press (old), Bombay	Publishes school books.	
	121. New Art Printing Press (new), Bombay	Does job work only	
	122. Phackhim Litho Works (new), Bombay.	Ditto	
	123. Postmaster General's Press (old), Bombay.	Prints only general letters, departmental forms and circulars	
	124. Presidency Printing Press (new), Bombay	Does only job work.	
	125. Queen Mary Printing Press (new), Bombay.	Ditto	
	126. Ratnasagar Printing Press (new), Bombay	Intended for job work only.	
	127. Saahidanend Printing Press (new), Bombay.	Prints labels, art blocks, handbills, etc.	
128. Shri Vajpai Art Litho Works (new), Bombay	Job work, label printing, etc., is done		
129. Subodhini Printing Press (new), Bombay	Prints religious matters.		
130. Typographia Mariano Printing Press (new), Bombay.	Intends to publish translations of several religious books in Portuguese and Konkani.		
131. Vaidya Brothers Press (new), Bombay	Does only job work.		
132. Vidya Laxmi Printing Press (new), Bombay.	Proposes to print advertisements, bills, and do other job work.		
133. Wahabia Printing Press (new), Bombay.	Educational books will be printed in the press. Job work also will be done.		
134. The Edward Printing Press (new), Ahmedabad.	Not mentioned.		
135. Hamidi Press (new), Ahmedabad	Ditto.		

STATEMENT III—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
<i>Bombay—contd.</i>	1912—contd		
	136. The George Coronation Printing Press (new), Ahmedabad.	Not mentioned	
	137. Shri Ramkrishna Printing Press (new), Ahmedabad	Ditto.	
	138. Satya Prakash Printing Press (new), Ahmedabad	Ditto.	
	139. Shri Satya Vijaya Printing Press (old), Ahmedabad	Ditto	
	140. The Victoria Printing Press (old), Ahmedabad	Ditto.	
	141. The Vishnu Printing Press, (new), Ahmedabad.	Ditto.	
	142. Narmada Printing Press (old)	An old press, change of locality only	
	143. Samudri Vijaya Press (new)	Not mentioned.	
	144. Coronation Press (new), Ahmednagar	Ditto	
	145. Ibrahim Press (new), East Khandesh	Prints only notices, advertisements, etc	
	146. Jain Printing Press, Jalgaon (new)	The declarant is a respectable shopkeeper and a loyal citizen	
	147. Hiraji Printing Press (new), Nasik	Prints only handbills, etc	
	148. Anandmohan Press (new), Poona	Prints labels and does other job work.	
	149. Dnyan Chakshu (old), Poona	An old press	
	150. Israelite Press (old), Poona	Not mentioned	
	151. Nyayashraya Press (old), Poona	An old press. The former declaration was joint; the present declaration being made on the death of the other declarant.	
	152. Shri. Tukaram Fine Art Litho Works (new), Poona	Nothing known against declarant	
	153. Vaidyak Printing Press (old), Poona	The press is not likely to be misused	
	154. The Sidhanth Printing Press (new), Satara	Will prints only handbills, advertisements, etc.	
	155. The Kirloskar Co's Printing Press (new), Satara.	The declarant's stay there was temporary.	
	156. Shri Saraswati Press (old), Belgaum	An old press.	
	157. The Kirloskar Press (old), Belgaum	Only handbills will be printed	
	158. Vande Jnsvaram Press (new), Belgaum	Security dispensed with as the paper printed at the press deals only with the subject of religion and has hitherto been allowed without security.	
	159. Dharma Tarangani Printing Press (new), Dharwar	Not mentioned.	
	160. Karnatak Printing Works (old), Dharwar	An old press, merely a change in name.	
	161. Alhag Printing Press (old), Hyderabad	Not mentioned.	
	162. George Printing Press (new), Hyderabad	Ditto.	
163. Hardilchasp Printing Press (new), Hyderabad	Ditto.		
164. Fazay Kadri Printing Press (new), Karachi.	The press is intended for doing job work only.		
165. The Star of India Printing Works (new), Karachi.	Intended to do job work and publishing newspapers.		

STATEMENT III—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press	Summary of reasons for exemption from security	REMARKS.
	1912—<i>contd.</i>		
ibay— <i>contd.</i>	166. Victoria Printing Works (new), Karaohi	Intended for doing job work only	
	167. Mirpurkhas Gazette Press (new), Thar and Parkar District.	Not mentioned	
gal	168. Durbar Press, Calcutta	Intended for printing religious books only.	
	169. University Printing Works, Calcutta	Intended for printing handbills, etc	
	170. Art Union Press, Calcutta	Intended for job work only.	
	171. Emerald Printing Works, Calcutta	An old press, printing school books, etc.	
	172. Standard Drug Press, Calcutta	Intended for printing labels, etc	
	173. Joy Press, Calcutta	An old press, change of of locality only.	
	174. Good Will Press, Calcutta	Intended for printing office forms, etc	
	175. Gobinda Press, Calcutta	Intended for printing labels, etc	
	176. New Minerva Press, Calcutta	Intended for printing religious books, etc.	
	177. Kabiratna Press, Calcutta	Declarant succeeded his father as keeper on the latter's death.	
	178. Albion Press, Calcutta	Change of locality only	
	179. Tapani Chromo Litho Press, Calcutta	Intended for printing pictures, etc	
	180. Hilal Press, Calcutta	Not mentioned	
	181. Sri Krishna Press, Calcutta	Intended for printing bills, cheques, receipts, etc	
	182. Oriental Printing Works, Calcutta	Intended for printing labels, etc.	
	183. Dynoc Printing Works, Calcutta	An old press	
	184. Metcalfe Printing Works, Calcutta	Intended for printing school and college books	
	185. Art Printer Press, Calcutta	Intended for job work and not for printing newspapers	
	186. Kansa Press, Calcutta	Intended for printing labels, etc.	
	187. Bani Press, Calcutta	Declaration was only necessary because the old press was replaced by a new one.	
	188. Kabita Ratnakar Press, Calcutta	Change of locality only	
	189. Srimadhab Press, Calcutta	Undertaking given that the press would not print political matter	
	190. Jyotish Prokash Press, Calcutta	An old press	
	191. Cranenburgh Law Printing Press, Calcutta.	Intended for printing law books, etc	
	192. Industrial Press, Calcutta	Intended for job work only	
	193. Universal Printing Works, Calcutta	Change of locality only	
	194. Basumati Press, Calcutta	Ditto	
	195. New Saraswati Press, Calcutta	Intended for printing handbills, etc	
	196. Mary Printing Works, Calcutta	Intended for printing letters, bills, etc.	
	197. Diamond Press, Calcutta	Intended for job work only	
	198. Deokinandan Press, Calcutta	Change of locality only.	
	199. Saraswati Press, Calcutta	Ditto.	
	200. M. A. Press, Calcutta	Ditto.	
	201. Razaki Press, Calcutta	Printed only labels, etc.	
	202. Bijali Printing Works, Calcutta	Intended for printing bills, etc.	

STATEMENT III—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
	1912—<i>contd.</i>		
Bengal— <i>contd.</i>	203 Empire Press, Calcutta	Not mentioned	
	204 Sudha Samudra Press, Calcutta	Intended for printing labels, etc	
	205 Ram Krishna Printing Works, Calcutta	Intended for printing theatrical books, etc.	
	206. Diamond Press, Calcutta	Well reported on.	
	207 Kana! Press, Calcutta	Change of locality only	
	208 Review Press, Calcutta	Intended for printing unobjectionable matter	
	209. Bengal Economical Printing Works, Calcutta.	Intended for printing forms, etc	
	210 Industrial Printing Works, Calcutta	An old press; change of locality only	
	211 Dakhayani Press, Calcutta	Intended for printing religious books only.	
	212. Sany Press, Calcutta	Change of locality only.	
	213 Aziza Press, Calcutta	Intended for printing religious books, etc.	
	214 Dobnagn Jantraloya Press, Calcutta..	An old press; change of locality only	
	215 Calcutta Union Press, Calcutta	Not mentioned.	
	216 Nazratul Islam Press, Calcutta	Intended for printing placards	
	217. Commercial Press, Calcutta	Intended for printing labels, etc.	
	218 Sarna Press, Calcutta	Intended for printing Government publications	
	219. Durbar Press, Calcutta	Change of locality only	
	220 Propapata Press, Calcutta	Undertaking given that the press would not print objectionable matter	
	221 Rezan! Press, Calcutta	Change of locality only	
	222. Metropolitan Press, Calcutta	Undertaking given that the press would only print vouchers, etc.	
	223 Review Press, Calcutta	Change of locality only	
	224. New Victoria Press, Calcutta	Ditto	
	225 Loyal Citizen Press, Calcutta	Ditto.	
	226 Hlal Press, Calcutta	Not mentioned.	
	227 Bengal Art Studio Press, Calcutta	Intended for printing plans, maps, etc	
	228 Muhammadan Orphanage Press, Calcutta	Intended for job work.	
	229 Commercial Press, Calcutta	Ditto.	
	230 Nag Printing Works, Calcutta	Intended for printing letter headings, etc.	
	231 Recorder Electric Press, Calcutta	Change of locality only	
	232 Sen Press, Calcutta	An old press, declaration necessary as the press passed into new hands by inheritance.	
	233 Moslem Press, Calcutta	Intended for printing religious books	
	234 Graphic Press, Calcutta	Intended for printing labels, etc	
	235 Latho Press, Calcutta	Ditto	
	236 Chitra Gupta Press Calcutta	Ditto	
	237 Sri Madhab Press, Calcutta	Intended for printing handbills, etc.	
	238 Samswat Press, Calcutta	Change of locality only	
	239. Prativa Press, Calcutta	Intended for printing labels, etc.	

STATEMENT III.—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
	1912—<i>contd.</i>		
Bengal— <i>contd.</i>	240. Art Studio Press, Calcutta ..	.. Undertaking given that no newspaper would be printed.	
	241. Gopi Press, Calcutta ..	.. Intended for printing labels, bills, etc	
	242. Jiban Press, Calcutta ..	.. Change of locality only.	
	243. Gopi Press, Calcutta ..	.. Declaration necessary owing to the old press having been removed to give place to a new one.	
	244. Satya Narain Press, Calcutta ..	.. Keeper was exempted before as keeper of another press.	
	245. B. P. M.'s Press, Calcutta ..	.. Intended for printing school books, etc.	
	246. Royal Press, Calcutta ..	.. Intended for educational purposes.	
	247. Kumari Press, Calcutta ..	.. Intended for printing letter headings, etc.	
	248. Osmani Press, Calcutta ..	.. Intended for printing labels, etc.	
	249. Artist Press, Calcutta ..	.. Intended for printing letters, etc.	
	250. Amir Hossain Press, Calcutta ..	.. Intended for printing religious books.	
	251. Gyanratna Kar Press, Calcutta ..	.. Intended for printing labels, etc.	
	252. Balanashi Press, Calcutta ..	.. Ditto	
	253. Jyotish Prokash Press, Calcutta ..	.. Intended for job work and for printing religious papers.	
	254. New Relieving Press, Calcutta ..	.. Intended for printing forms, headings, etc.	
	255. Shyama Press, 24-Parganas ..	.. Only High Court papers are printed.	
	256. Parijat Press, 24-Parganas ..	.. Undertaking given not to print any book or journal.	
	257. Annada Press, 24-Parganas ..	.. Nothing known against the declarant.	
	258. Azma Press, 24-Parganas ..	.. Keeper was a Government servant.	
	259. Indian Press, 24-Parganas ..	.. The press had been in existence for some years and had not offended.	
	260. Sataria Press, 24 Parganas ..	.. Well reported on.	
	261. Indian Photo Engraving Works, 24-Parganas.	.. Does only job work.	
	262. Prudential Printing Works, 24-Parganas.	.. Does only job work.	
	263. Dawn's Press, 24-Parganas ..	.. Exempted as the keeper was reported to be a respectable man, and the press was intended for his own use only.	
	264. Arjya Press, 24-Parganas ..	.. Undertaking given that nothing objectionable would be printed.	
	265. Kalpataru Press, 24-Parganas ..	.. Undertaking given not to print any newspaper or book.	
	266. Star Printing Works, 24-Parganas ..	.. Undertaking given not to print objectionable matter.	
	267. Electric Press, 24-Parganas ..	.. Does only job work.	
	268. Victoria Press, Dacca ..	.. Prints hand bills and does other job work.	
	269. Binapani Janta Press, Dacca ..	.. ditto.	
	270. Jagat Art Press, Dacca ...	.. ditto.	
	271. Islamic Press, Dacca ..	.. ditto.	
	272. Madhusudan Press, Dacca ..	.. ditto.	

STATEMENT III.—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security	REMARKS.	
	1912 —<i>contd.</i>			
Bengal— <i>contd.</i>	273. Utshaha Jantraloy Press, Rangpur ..	Declarant undertook not to print any newspaper		
	274. Katyani Press, Rangpur .	ditto.		
	275. Majumdar Press, Rangpur..	Prints only hand-bills, advertisements, cheques, invitation letters, and the like.		
	276. A branch press in Kallyanpur (name not given) Howrah.	Most of the publications issued from the press were religious		
	277. A press at No. 5, Dharmatala Lane (name not given), Khurut.	Intended for job work only, and undertaking given that it would not print any newspaper or periodical.		
	278. Diamond Press, Howrah	Intended for job work only.		
	279. Bswaduta Press, Howrah . . .	Principal object of the press was to print a paper, the publisher of which had been exempted from furnishing security		
	280. Suraj Press, Pabna	The persons controlling the press and the newspaper printed at it were known to the District Magistrate.		
	281. Radha Binod Press, Pabna .	The press was in existence before the introduction of the Indian Press Act, 1910, no newspaper was printed at it.		
	282. Lakshu Press, Pabna .. .	The declarant was law-abiding.		
	283. Bose Press, Darjeeling .. .	Does job work only.		
	284. Visitor Press, Darjeeling	The press existed before 1910.		
	285. Gorkha Press, Darjeeling ..	The press existed before 1910, and the declared objects of the paper printed at it were religious and missionary.		
	286. Darjeeling Press Company, Darjeeling	The press existed before 1910 and printed no newspaper.		
	287. Chatteswar Press, Chittagong	Declarant was a Government pensioner.		
	United Provinces	288. Maqbul-ul-Matba Press, Hardoi .	The owner of the press promised that no periodical or newspaper would be published by him and because a press was needed there.	
		289. Pande Ram Saran Lal's Press, Ghazipur	Is used to publish the Ghazipur Gazette, a quasi-official publication.	
		290. Indra Press, Khurja .. .	Is under the supervision and guidance of Rai Mawa Ram Bahadur, Rais of Khurja.	
		291. Mohab-i-Tulba Press, Sitapur	The press never worked and the permission granted for opening it was cancelled in June 1913.	
		292. Hamdard Islam Press, Agra ..	Nothing known against the proprietor	
		293. Branch of Ram Narayan Press, Muttra.	The proprietor had a small press in the city and opened this press in cantonments for the convenience of the regiment and its followers	
		294. L. P. Nayar Press, Muttra .. .	Prints only notices and advertisements connected with trade.	
		295. Educational Press, Muttra .	Nothing known against the keeper.	
296. Dharam Dwakar Press, Moradabad		An old press.		
297. Munkhub Press, Moradabad ..		Not mentioned.		
298. Narain Press, Mainpuri .. .		No security was required as no security was demanded in the Meerut District, where a similar paper was published.		
299. Kabir-ul-Matba Press, Allahabad .		Applicant, a well known Rais, Honorary Magistrate, and Member, Municipal Board.		
300. Commercial Works, Allahabad ..		The press does no general work.		

STATEMENT III.—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
	1912—<i>contd.</i>		
United Provinces— <i>contd.</i>	301 Danita Hit.ashi Press, Allahabad ..	The press was meant for printing books edited by and for the benefit of Indian ladies.	
	302. Bal Hateshu Press, Meerut ..	Set up for printing educational matters only.	
	303. Regimental Press, Meerut ..	Exempted so long as it remained in the line of the 13th Hussars' boundaries.	
	304. Akhtar-i-Hind Press, Saharanpur ..	Not mentioned	
	305 Law Printing Press, Lucknow ..	Undertaking given that nothing objectionable would be printed	
	306. Intuzami Press, Shahjahanpur ..	Press opened for purposes of printing orders	
	307. Mahamandal Shashtra Prakash Simti, Limited, Press, Benares.	A security of Rs 500 had been taken from the publisher of the "Tasul" one of the papers printed at the press	
	308 Gobind Lakshmi Press, Azamgarh ..	Declaration taken that nothing beyond forms would be printed without special permission.	
	309 Madina Press, Bijnor ..	} Not mentioned.	
	310 Din Bhandu Press, Bijnor ..		
	311. Kurwar Co-operative Bank Press, Sultanpur.		
	312. Harhar Press, Balla ..	The owner started the press for printing forms, etc.	
	313. P. C. Nigam. Press, Cawnpore ..	} Old presses, change of locality only.	
	314 Asfi Press, Cawnpore ..		
	315. Qayumi Press, Cawnpore ..	Change in name of proprietor only.	
	316 Printing Press, Cawnpore ..	Change of locality.	
	317. Coronation Press, Cawnpore ..	Security not considered necessary.	
	318. Razaqi Press, Cawnpore ..	Nothing known against declarant.	
	319. Commercial Press, Cawnpore ..	An old press, change of locality only.	
	320 Sardha Press, Cawnpore ..	Security not considered necessary considering the class of business the declarer proposes to do.	
	321 People's Own Press, Gujranwala ..	Would print no political literature.	
	322 Central Punjab Printing Works Press, Gujranwala.	Well reported on.	
	323. Amrita Press, Lahore ..	} Do merely job work.	
	324 Jaahn Press, Lahore ..		
	325. Star Printing Press, Lahore ..		
	326. Trades Printing Works, Lahore ..		
	327. Raj Kishan Press, Ambala Cantonment.	Not mentioned.	
	328. Akhbari Press ..	Prints school books only.	
	329 Chintamani Printing Works ..	Nothing known against proprietor.	
	330. Myanamawaddy Press ..	Ditto	
	331. Subramani Press ..	Nothing known against proprietor	
	332. Small Hand Press..	Prints only Church notices and leaflets for free distribution.	
	333. The Burma Trade Journal Printing Press.	Nothing known against proprietor.	
334. Dah Printing Press ..	Prints advertisements only.		

STATEMENT III.—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
	1912— <i>contd.</i>		
Burma— <i>contd.</i>	335. Burma News Press	Nothing known against proprietors.	
	336. Star of Burma Press	Prints job work only.	
	337. Society for the Propagation of Buddhism Press.	Ditto.	
	338. Burma Magnet Press	Ditto.	
Bihar and Orissa ..	339. (Name not given), Patna City. ..	The Magistrate had reasons for thinking that the press would not be misused.	
Central Provinces ..	340. Wardha Lahari Printing Press ..	The press was not to be used for printing any newspapers or pamphlets.	
	341. Sataram Printing Press	} Not mentioned.	
	342. Marwari Printing Press		
	343. Nagpur Vaibhad Press	Only cigarette labels and play hand bills are printed.	
	344. Jubbulpore Post Press	It was considered unlikely that the proprietor would misuse the press.	
Assam	345. Paridarsall Press, Sylhet	Not mentioned	
North-West Frontier Province.	346. The Akhbar-i-Sabha Press,* Hazara ..	Ditto.	*The editor of the Akhbar-i-Sabha paper had already provided the security demanded for his paper but previous to this date he had had it printed at a press owned by himself.
	347. Coronation Press, Peshawar ..	Ditto.	
Coorg	<i>N/A.</i>		
Delhi	348. Pioneer Branch Press, Himalaya ..	} The papers printed at these presses are only temporary off-shoots of original papers, hence security for the presses dispensed with.	
	349. Himalaya Press,		
	1913.		
Madras	1. Courant Press, Tiruppattur	Declaration made merely because of change of address.	
	2. Krishnavilasam Press, Vellore	The character of the press not changed on account of transfer of ownership.	
	3. Vanatikethana Press, Vellore	Merely a change of locality.	
	4. Victoria Press, Vellore	Ditto.	
	5. Pachayappa Printing Press, Karai	Small hand press for job work.	
	6. Record Press, Vellore	Declaration consequent on change of ownership. No change in nature of work done.	
	7. A. Kumarasami & Co. Press, Tindivanam.	Prints only marriage notices, invitation cards, account books and forms, etc.	
	8. Kohinoor Press, South Canara District	For job work only.	
	9. Sharada Press, South Canara District	An old press. Fresh registration due to change of premises.	
	10. Sri Kotha Vilasa Press, Saidapet	For job work only.	
	11. Popular Printing Press, Proddatur	Change in nature of owner only.	
	12. City Press, Godavari District	Only a small job press.	
	13. Golden Press, Godavari District	For job work only.	
	14. George Press, Godavari District	Small hand press for job work.	
	15. Saraswati Press, Godavari District ..	Old press sold to new keepers who give assurance that they will conduct it properly.	
	16. Vidyardhini Press, Godavari District	A small hand press for job work and for printing a small women's magazine.	

STATEMENT III—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security	REMARKS.
	1913—<i>contd.</i>		
<i>—contd.</i>	17. Lakshmi Press, Ongole	An old press.	
	18. Bharativilasa Press, Narsaraopet	An old press. There has been only a change of location.	
	19. P V R. L. S Press, Ongole	Ditto.	
	20. Chandrika Press, Guntur	Merely a change of address.	
	21. Sarada Nishethanam Press, Ongole	Well reported on.	
	22. V. V. Prasad & Co., Guntur		
	23. Sri Gowri Press, Nuzvid	Does mainly job work.	
	24. Hithakarini Press, Ellore	Security dispensed with on condition that the press is not used for any objectionable matter.	
	25. Manjuvani Press, Ellore	Declaration due to change in premises.	
	26. Audi Saraswati Nilayam Press, Madras District.	Change of locality only.	
	27. Audi Lakshmi Narayana Press, Madras District.	Re opening of old press. Well reported on.	
	28. A. V. N Press, Madras District	Well reported on.	
	29. Albion Press, Madras District	Case of father succeeding son.	
	30. Athaur Rahimoon Press, Madras District	Change of locality. Well reported.	
	31. Ambil Press, Madras District	Ditto.	
	32. Alexandra Press, Madras District	Ditto.	
	33. Ayurvodie Printing Press, Madras District.	Change of locality. Well reported on.	
	34. Alavi Press, Madras District	Prints religious books in Hindustani and Urdu.	
	35. Bhulaka Vyasan Press, Madras District	Change of keeper. Well reported on.	
	36. Dwita Prakasika Press, Madras District	Change of locality. Used for printing religious books.	
	37. Govind Press, Madras District	The proprietor is a retired compositor of the Government Press.	
	38. Hogarth Press, Madras District	The proprietor is a retired compositor of the Government Press and a leading missionary.	
	39. Indian Patriot Press, Madras District	Change of locality.	
	40. India Printing Works, Madras District	Change of locality and proprietor. Well reported on.	
	41. Jeevakarunya Vilasam Press, Madras District.	Change of locality. Prints small school books.	
	42. Jeevaratna Vinayaga Sambandar Press, Madras District.	Purchased by applicant during the year. Well reported on.	
	43. Karumi Press, Madras District	Change of locality and proprietor. Well reported on.	
	44. Kalvanasundaram Press, Madras District.	Ditto.	
	45. Kunni Press, Madras District	Mainly used for printing cigarette labels.	
	46. K. M. Swamy & Co., Jupiter Press, Madras District.	New proprietrix. Well reported upon.	
	47. Lokanandini Press, Madras District ..	Prints lithographic pictures, etc., and note books.	
	48. Mu Iyathul Islam Press, Madras District	The father of the old keeper declared as keeper. Well reported upon.	
	49. Minerva Press, Madras District	New keeper well reported on.	

STATEMENT III—*contd.*

Province,	Name of printing press.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
	1913—<i>contd.</i>		
Madras— <i>contd.</i>	50. Monvork Press, Madras District ..	Keeper well reported upon.	
	51. Mohemedina Press, Madras District ..	Change of locality. Used for printing Urdu and Arabic books on religion and Philosophy and periodical entitled "Lava-ul-Islam," an inoffensive journal.	
	52. Municipal News Press, Madras District	Well reported on.	
	53. Presidency Press, Madras District ..	Change of locality. Well reported on.	
	54. Price Current Press, Madras District	Ditto.	
	55. Penrose & Co, Nur Jahan Press, Madras District	A new press. Well reported on.	
	56. Ranganatham Press, Madras District	Ditto.	
	57. Swadesha Mitran Press, Madras District	Change of locality. Well reported on.	
	58. Siddi Vinayagar Press, Madras District	Well reported on.	
	59. St. George Press, Madras District ..	Ditto.	
	60. Sarathi Printing Works, Madras District	Ditto	
	61. Saraswati Press, Madras District .	Ditto	
	62. Sudananda Nilayam Press, Madras District	Ditto	
	63. Sastra Bodini Press, Madras District	Ditto	
	64. Sri Pandurangam Press, Madras District	Ditto.	
	65. Sri Balamanorama Press, Madras District.	Ditto.	
	66. Sivagami Vilasam Press, Madras District.	Proprietorship of press alone changed.	
	67. Showkatul Islam Press, Madras District	Change of locality only. Well reported on.	
	68. Sangaritha Vilakkam Press, Madras District.	Ditto.	
	69. Sri Ramanya Vilasam Press, Madras District.	Ditto.	
	70. Sri Venuganam Press, Madras District	Ditto	
	71. Sri Subrahmanya Vilasam Press, Madras District.	Ditto.	
	72. T. V. C. Press, Madras District ..	Ditto.	
	73. Taniambal Vilasam Press, Madras District.	Ditto.	
	74. Vedam & Co Press, Madras District	Ditto	
	75. Vapi Vilasam Press, Madras District ..	Ditto.	
	76. Universal Press, Madras District ..	Nothing known against keeper.	
	77. Visvanatha Chetti & Co. Aarsted Water Label Printing Press, Madras District.	Ditto.	
	78. Venca Press, Madras District ..	Ditto.	
	79. Vani Nilayam Press, Madras District	Ditto.	
	80. Mahalakshmi Vilasam Press, Madura ..	Declaration necessary merely on account of change in locality.	
	81. Haktim Printing Press, Bodinayakanur.	For job work.	
	82. Vivekabhann Press, Madura, ..	More change in locality of press.	

STATEMENT III—*contd.*

Provinces	Name of printing press.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
	1913—<i>contd.</i>		
Madras— <i>contd.</i>	83. Shanmuga Vilas Press, Madura ..	Declaration due only to transfer of ownership.	
	84. The Norman Printing Bureau, Malabar District.	An old press; only a change in ownership.	
	85. Eastia Press, Malabar District ..	Security dispensed with in view of status of keeper.	
	86. Mithavathi Printing Works, Malabar District.	An old press; only change of ownership and place.	
	87. Lakshmi Vilasam Press, Branch, Manamadura.	Intended only for miscellaneous work.	
	88. Shanmuga Vilas Press, Salem District	Security considered unnecessary on general grounds.	
	89. Padmanabha Press, Salem District ..	Ditto.	
	90. Mata Press, Tanjore ..	Security dispensed with so long as it is used only for trade purposes.	
	91. Exoclear Press, Negapatam ..	A small hand press for private work only.	
	92. Aryan Press, Kumbakonam ..	Security dispensed with so long as the press confines itself to job work.	
	93. Ganjasevay Press, Negapatam ..	Re-registration for change of premises.	
	94. Gopalavilas Press, Kumbakonam ..	Ditto.	
	95. City Press, Tanjore ..	Security dispensed with so long as only odd job work is done.	
	96. Haysavadana Vilas Press, Kumbakonam.	Re-registration for change of premises.	
	97. Darling Press, Palamcottah ..	A case of re registration.	
	98. Church Mission Press, Palamcottah ..	Ditto.	
	99. Saradah Press, Palamcottah ..	Ditto.	
	100. Krishna Vilasam Press, Kovilpattu ..	Ditto.	
	101. Pethachi Press, Palamcottah ..	To print only Tamil classics and translations.	
	102. Sri Rama Vilasa Press, Vizagapatam	An old press, does only job work.	
Bombay ..	103. Axis Printing Press (new), Bombay ..	Does only job work.	
	104. Bombay Gazette Electric Printing Press (old), Bombay	Prints the "Bombay Gazette."	
	105. Bombay Guardian Mission Press (old), Bombay	Nothing objectionable is printed.	
	106. Bombay Job Works Printing Press (new), Bombay.	Cards and papers will be printed.	
	107. Bombay Samachar Printing Press (old), Bombay.	Prints the <i>Bombay Samachar</i> , an old paper declared last some five years back, and was then exempted from security.	
	108. Bombay Vartaman Press (old), Bombay.	Prints the Zoroastrian calendar, a summary in Gujarati of events occurring in the Parsi community year by year. Nothing objectionable is printed.	
	109. Calson Printing Works (new), Bombay	Only job work is printed.	
	110. Century Press (new), Bombay ..	Will not print objectionable matter.	
	111. City Press (new), Bombay ..	Only job work will be done.	
	112. Cole & Company's Press (new), Bombay.	Only job work is done.	
	113. Commercial Reporter Moan Press (new), Bombay.	Job work and appeal paper books are printed.	
	114. Crown of India Press (new), Bombay	Ditto.	

STATEMENT III—*contd.*

Provinces.	Name of printing press.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
	1913—<i>contd.</i>		
Bombay— <i>contd.</i> ..	115. Crown Electric Printing Works (new), Bombay.	Prints the <i>Oriental Review</i> Also does job work	
	116. D. N. Pavri's Press (new), Bombay ..	Does only job work.	
	117. East India Press (new), Bombay ..	Ditto.	
	118. Empire Agency Printing Press (new), Bombay.	Trade circulars and handbills only are printed in the press.	
	119. English Printing Press (new), Bombay	Only job work will be done.	
	120. Examiner Press (new), Bombay .	Not mentioned. .	
	121. Globe Printing Works (new), Bombay	Only job work, such as advertisements, catalogues, etc., will be printed in the press.	
	122. Gopalji Printing Press (new), Bombay	Books and papers are printed in the press	
	123. Gulzar Husseini Printing Press (new), Bombay.	The Koran and school books are printed in the press.	
	124. Herald Printing Works (new), Bombay	Does job work only.	
	125. Indu Vijaya Company's Printing Press (old), Bombay.	An old press, has been in existence for 51 years.	
	126. Islamic Mail Press (new), Bombay ..	Prints "Islamic Mail." Also does other job work. Undertaking taken from declarant not to print anything objectionable	
	127. Kaiser-i-Hind Printing Press (old), Bombay	Prints the "Kaiser-i-Hind," an Anglo Gujarati weekly; undertaking taken from declarant not to print anything objectionable.	
	128. Lady Northcote Hindu Orphanage K. N. Sailor Press (new), Bombay.	Does job work, also magazines and books are printed.	
	129. Luna Printing Press (new), Bombay	Does job work only.	
	130. Manockji Petit Manufacturing Co.'s Printing Press (new), Bombay.	Prints labels, wrappers, catalogues, etc., in connection with the work of the company.	
	131. Maneklal Maganlal and Co's Printing Works (new), Bombay.	Job only work only will be done in the press.	
	132. Manoranjan Electric Printing Works (new), Bombay.	Undertaking taken from declarant not to print anything objectionable.	
	133. Narbada Latho Press (new), Bombay	Prints only trade marks on cloth.	
	134. New Western India Printing Press (old), Bombay.	An old press, change of name only.	
	135. Para Printing Press (old), Bombay ..	Does job work and prints the "Para" paper, and nothing else.	
	136. Phalke's Art Press (new), Bombay ..	Meant for printing art publications.	
	137. Pirojshaw Burjorji Printer's Printing Press (new), Bombay.	Intended for job work only.	
	138. Professional Printing Press (new), Bombay.	Meant only for job work.	
	139. Quasi Press (new), Bombay ..	Not mentioned.	
	140. R. J. Shastri's Printing Press (new), Bombay.	The printer intends to print only job work and small religious books.	
	141. Raghunath Printing Press (new), Bombay.	Prints only labels, hand-bills, books, covers, etc	

STATEMENT III—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	Remarks.
	1913—<i>contd.</i>		
Bombay— <i>contd.</i> ..	142 Railway Times Press (old), Bombay	Prints the "Railway Times" and other things connected with the Amalgamated Society of Servants of India and Burma of which the keeper is the president	
	143. Rotangar Printing Press (new), Bombay	Does job work only.	
	144 Red Crescent Printing Press (new), Bombay	Ditto.	
	145 Raze Hassanee Printing Press (new), Bombay	Prints the Koran and religious books only.	
	146 Sri Laxmi Narayan Printing Press (new), Bombay	Does only job work.	
	147 Sarda Printing Press (new), Bombay	Ditto.	
	148. S. Gopal and Co's Printing Press (new), Bombay.	Ditto.	
	149 Shri Kulkike Printing Press (new), Bombay	Does only job work.	
	150 Shri Krishna Printing Press (new), Bombay	Ditto	
	151. Shri Krishna Vasudev Printing Press, Bombay	Ditto	
	152 Shri R. J. Laxmi Printing Press (new), Bombay.	Only exercise books, covers, handbills, etc.	
	153 Shrutibodh Press (new), Bombay ..	Not mentioned.	
	154 Standard Printing Press (new), Bombay	Nothing but job work will be done in the press.	
	155. Summons Press (new), Bombay ..	Only job work will be done in the press.	
	156. Suverna Printing Press (new), Bombay	Only religious books are printed in the press.	
	157. Vaishya Printing Press (new), Bombay.	Intended for printing labels, bill books, receipt forms and such other job work.	
	158. Vitthal Printing Press (new), Bombay	Intended for commercial work only.	
	159. Victoria Printing Press (old), Bombay	An old press used for printing newspapers, books, etc. The present declaration being a renewal of its previous one on account of the change of place.	
	160. Ahmedabd Sanshodh Printing Press (new), Ahmedabad.	Not mentioned.	
	161. The Ghanshyam Printing Works (new), Ahmedabad	Ditto.	
	162. Shri J. An Vidy Vidy (old), Ahmedabad.	Ditto.	
	163 Shri Kesaraji Printing Press (old), Ahmedabad.	Ditto.	
	164. Mukund Art Printing Press (new), Ahmedabad.	Ditto.	
	165. Nijamya Printing Press (new), Ahmedabad.	Ditto.	
	166. Nanamya Printing Press (old), Ahmedabad.	Ditto.	
	167. Shri Ratanagar Printing Press (old), Ahmedabad.	Ditto.	

STATEMENT III—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security	REMARKS.
	1913—<i>contd.</i>		
Bombay— <i>contd.</i>	168 Shri Satyanarayan Printing Press, (new), Ahmedabad.	Not mentioned.	
	169 The Ahmedabad United Printing Press (old), Ahmedabad.	Ditto	
	170 Vijaya Pravartak (old), Ahmedabad..	Ditto.	
	171. Panch Mahal Printing Press, (new) ..	A small press which prints nothing but hand-bills and such matter	
	172 Prince of Wales Press (new), Ahmed nagar.	Not mentioned.	
	173 Shree Umakant Printing Press (new), East Khandesh	The declarant is a respectable shop-keeper. He does not propose to print any newspaper or magazine.	
	174. T. N. Pujari's Press (new), Nasik ..	Intended only for labels and placards.	
	175 The New Printing Press (new), Poona	Press to be merely an adjunct to declarant's stationery business, etc.	
	176 The Crown Press (new), Poona ..	Only a small press for job work	
	177 Kirloskar Sanjit Press (old), Poona ..	To be used for the purpose of the company	
	178 The Poona Observer Press (old), Poona	Not mentioned	
	179 Maratha Vijaya Press (new), Belgaum	Means for printing bills, advertisements and periodical works of an unobjectionable nature.	
	180 Shahare's Printing Press (new), Belgaum.	The proprietor is poor; the press is badly needed and the proprietor cannot furnish security without incurring debt.	
	181 Satya Prakash Printing Press (new), Dharwar	Meant for job work only.	
	182 Dayanand Press (new), Dharwar ..	Job work only will be executed in the press.	
	183 Dnyan Chandrodaya (old), Dharwar	An old press.	
	184. The Sidney Art Printing Press, Kolaba	Not mentioned.	
	185 The Standard Printing Works (new), Hyderabad	Ditto.	
	186 The New Star Printing Press (new), Hyderabad	Ditto.	
187 The Vidya Sagar Printing Press (old), Hyderabad	Ditto		
188 Hamedia Litho Press (new), Karachi	Exempted from security so long as the press is well conducted.		
189 Tockchand Hamandass Printing Press, Sukkur.	The press is not intended for newspapers.		
Bengal	190 Girish Printing Works, Calcutta ..	Intended for printing school books, etc.	
	191. New Seal Press, Calcutta	Prints religious books, etc.	
	192. Uma Press, Calcutta	Intended for printing hand-bills, etc.	
	193 Gadadhar Press, Calcutta	Intended for printing catalogues, etc.	
	194 Star Printing Works, Calcutta ..	Intended for printing office forms, etc.	
	195 Fine Art Cottage Press, Calcutta ..	Intended for printing pictures, etc.	
	196. New Artistic Press, Calcutta	An old press—change of locality only.	
	197 Santi Press, Calcutta	Intended for printing bills, forms, etc.	
	198. Corinthian Press, Calcutta	Intended for printing receipts, etc.	
	199. Presidency Press, Calcutta ..	Intended for printing hand bills, etc.	

STATEMENT III—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
	1913—<i>contd.</i>		
Bengal— <i>contd.</i>	200 New Relieving Press, Calcutta .	An old press. change of locality only.	
	201 Punchanan Press, Calcutta .	Intended for printing religious books, etc.	
	202 Sankar Press, Calcutta	Ditto	
	203 Bhabani Press, Calcutta .	An old press; change of locality only.	
	204 Fine Job Printing Works, Calcutta ..	Intended for printing cash memoranda, etc.	
	205 Die Press, Calcutta ..	Intended for stamping dies.	
	206 Sabanya Press, Calcutta	Intended for printing handbills, etc.	
	207 Nirmalla Press, Calcutta .	Change of locality only.	
	208 Universal Printing Works, Calcutta .	Intended for printing cheques, letters, etc.	
	209 New Seal Press, Calcutta .	Change of locality only.	
	210 Habibi Press, Calcutta	Intended for printing religious books only.	
	211 Islamic Press, Calcutta	Intended for printing handbills, etc.	
	212 Bakshi Press, Calcutta	Declaration necessary because the old press had been removed in order to give place to a new one.	
	213 Lalt Press, Calcutta ..	Intended for printing bills, etc.	
	214 Kamala Kanta Press, Calcutta .	Intended for printing religious books.	
	215 Oriental Art Press, Calcutta .	Intended for printing labels, etc.	
	216 Oaman Press, Calcutta	Change of locality only was necessary owing to change of the site of the press.	
	217 Royal Press, Calcutta ..	Declaration necessary owing to the removal of the old press in order to give place to a new one.	
	218 Projapati Press, Calcutta	Change of locality only	
	219 Sayone Press, Calcutta ..	Not mentioned	
	220 Soymore Printing Works, Calcutta .	Intended for printing school books, etc.	
	221 Bysack Press, Calcutta ..	Intended for printing labels.	
	222 Bachaspatya Press, Calcutta ..	Intended for printing religious books.	
	223 Roy and Son's Press, Calcutta .	Intended for printing illustrations for magazines, etc.	
	224 Bose's Printing Works, Calcutta ..	Intended for printing letter headings, etc.	
	225 Moslem Press, Calcutta .	Change of locality only	
	226 Windsor Press, Calcutta .	An old press, intended for job work only.	
	227 Gupta Press, Calcutta ..	Change of locality only	
	228 New Dhanmanti Press, Calcutta .	Intended for printing catalogues, etc.	
	229 Cones and Company's Press, Calcutta	Ditto.	
	230 Sakti Printing Works, Calcutta ..	Intended for job work, etc.	
	231 Burman Press, Calcutta	Intended for printing labels, etc.	
	232 J Printing Works, Calcutta ..	A small press for printing labels, etc.	
	233 Sherazee Press, Calcutta	Intended for printing religious books.	
	234 Sahoo Press, Calcutta	Intended for printing school books and papers for children.	
	235 Projapati Press, Calcutta ..	Change of locality only	
	236 Jeeban Press, Calcutta	Declaration necessary owing to the removal of the old press in order to give place to a new one.	
	237 Private Press, Calcutta	Change of locality only.	

STATEMENT III—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing pr. es.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security	REMARKS.
	1913—<i>contd.</i>		
Bengal— <i>contd.</i>	237. Alexandria Press, Calcutta ..	..	Declaration necessary owing to the removal of the old press in order to give place to a new one
	239. Kar Press, Calcutta ..	..	Intended for printing labels, rent receipts, etc.
	240. Abashar Press, Calcutta ..	..	Intended for printing religious books and not news.
	241. Bijali Printing Works, Calcutta ..	..	Change of locality only
	242. Sri Sankar Press, Calcutta ..	..	Intended for printing letter headings, labels, etc.
	243. Radha Krishna Press, Calcutta ..	..	Intended for printing cards, etc.
	244. New Bengal Press, Calcutta ..	..	Intended for printing school books, etc.
	245. Panja Press, Calcutta ..	..	Intended for printing letter headings, etc.
	246. B. N. Press, Calcutta ..	..	Intended for printing receipts, etc.
	247. Clive Electric Printing Works, Calcutta	..	Intended for printing labels, etc.
	248. Kohnoor Printing Works, Calcutta	..	Change of locality only.
	249. Lahayana Press, Calcutta ..	..	Intended for printing bill forms, etc.
	250. Mary Art Press, Calcutta ..	..	Intended for printing handbills, etc.
	251. Lawrance Press, Calcutta ..	..	Intended for printing catalogues, school books, etc.
	252. Commercial Press, Calcutta ..	..	Nothing known against the declarant.
	253. Wahidi Press, Calcutta ..	..	Intended for printing religious and school books
	254. New Diamond Press, Calcutta ..	..	Nothing known against the declarant.
	255. Ashutosh Printing Works, Calcutta.	..	Ditto
	256. Dudnath Press, Calcutta ..	..	Intended for printing religious books, etc.
	257. Sankar Press, Calcutta ..	..	Nothing known against the declarant.
	258. Calcutta Fine Litho Printing Works, Calcutta	..	Change of locality only
	259. Monohur Press, Calcutta ..	..	Nothing known against the declarant.
	260. Ganga Press, Calcutta ..	..	Intended for printing paperbooks of the High Court.
	261. New Kadambini Press, Calcutta ..	..	Intended for printing letter headings, etc.
	262. Royal Press, Calcutta ..	..	Change of locality only
	263. Biswa Bhandar Press, Calcutta ..	..	Intended for printing bills, labels, etc.,
	264. Jain Press, Calcutta ..	..	Intended for printing religious books
	265. Delhousie Printing Company's Press, Calcutta	..	Nothing known against the declarant.
	266. Sri Bhagobal Press, 24-Parganas ..	..	Only books were printed at the press, and nothing known against the keeper.
	267. Basheria Press, 24-Parganas ..	..	Business papers were printed at the press, and nothing known against the keeper.
	268. Muhammadia Press, 24-Parganas	..	Nothing known against the keeper at Dacca, where the press existed for a long time, and nothing known against him in the 24-Parganas district.
	269. Amin Press, 24-Parganas ..	..	Keeper appeared to have worked for some years at a press at Dacca, and nothing known against him.
	270. Jahnavi Press, Dacca ..	..	Printed hand-bills and did other job work.
	271. Motrai Azim Press, Dacca ..	..	Ditto.
	272. Santi Press, Dacca ..	..	Ditto.

STATEMENT III—*contd.*

Province,	Name of printing press,	Summary of reasons for exemption from security	REMARKS.
	1913—<i>contd.</i>		
Uttar Pradesh— <i>contd.</i> ..	273. Roy Press, Dogra	Only receipts and zamindari account books were printed.	
	274. Mohurapur Press, Birbham	Only rent receipts, etc., were printed at the press. Exempted on the condition that no objectionable matter would be printed.	
	275. Islamia Press, Rajshahi	Keeper did not intend to publish any newspaper or periodical.	
	276. Shambhu Chandra Press, Rangpur	A fresh declaration was made owing to the death of the keeper. No reason for exemption was recorded by the Magistrate.	
	277. Majumdar Press, Rangpur	The press had been well conducted in the past.	
	278. Ambica Press, Faridpur	The press was in existence before the Indian Press Act, 1910, was passed, and its past conduct had been satisfactory.	
	279. Sankar Press, Tippera	The declarant was a man of position.	
	280. Gordon Crown Treadle Plates Press, Tippera.	Nothing against the declarant.	
	281. Hopkinson and Cope's Super Royal Abbion Press, Tippera.	Press was a small one and intended only for job work.	
	282. Saraswati Press, Tippera	Keeper is poor and nothing known against him.	
	283. Saroda Press, Bakarganj	Press was a small hand one and intended for the purpose of printing <i>takalatnamas</i> , rent receipts, etc.	
	284. Hitashi Press, Bakarganj	An old press, declaration necessary as the ownership had passed from husband to wife.	
	285. Santa Press, Bakarganj	Keeper is poor and nothing is known against him.	
	286. Kadiara Asan Press, Noakhali	Press had been in existence for many years.	
	287. Noakhali Hitashi, Limited, Noakhali	The persons, who expressed the intention of starting the press, also expressed their intention of printing a newspaper at it. Security was demanded in the respect of the paper, but it was not thought necessary to demand any further security from the press.	
	288. Lithography Press at No. 100, Ramkrushnapur Lane, Howrah.	Intended for lithographic work only.	
	289. Jamini Press, Howrah	Intended for job work only.	
	290. Darjeeling-Himalayan Railway Press, Darjeeling.	The management of the company was of a responsible and quasi-Government nature.	
	291. Darjeeling Municipal Press, Darjeeling	The work of the municipality was of a responsible and quasi-Government nature.	
United Provinces ..	292. Jafri Press, Partabgarh	Prints only forms and educational works.	
	293. Bairampur Estate Press, Gonda	Owned by Maharaja of Bairampur.	
	294. Bahunath Kasbi Press, Gonda	The brother of the applicant, now deceased, had the press before him and no security was required or found to be necessary.	
	295. Mohini Press, Agra	Nothing known against proprietor.	
	296. Kanha Lal Press, Agra	An old press which only printed books.	
	297. Balkshen Press, Agra	Only books were to be printed at the press.	
	298. Hitkan Press, Agra	The newspaper "Musafir" which was printed at this press by the former proprietor had been conducted on moderate lines during the last three years and the security of Rs. 2,000 taken from the former proprietor was refunded.	

STATEMENT III—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.	
United Provinces— <i>contd.</i>	1913—<i>contd.</i>			
	299	Krishna Press, Etawah .. .	A security of Rs 500 had already been taken under section 8(1) in respect of the "Abhir Samachar" printed at the press	
	300	Sri Ram Agya Press, Bareilly .. .	The press had been established for some years without a formal declaration by the keeper, and there was no complaint against it.	
	301.	Basu Steam Printing Press, Bareilly	Deals chiefly in job work and forms.	
	302	Ahli Sunnat Press, Bareilly .. .	The press has given no cause for complaint hitherto	
	303	Urdu Akhbar Press, Bareilly .. .	An old press.	
	304.	Kasri Press, Bareilly .. .	The press printed a harmless paper known as "Satopkari" and did job work.	
	305.	Arya Anathala Press, Bareilly	The press printed the periodical "Arya Patro" and did job work. Nothing against the paper	
	306	Suleman Press, Bareilly .. .	Printed station orders and the like and did job work.	
	307	Meston Press, Moradabad .. .	Security dispensed with on condition that the press was not used for printing any objectionable matter	
	308	Vidya Bhushan Press, Moradabad .	Application for revival of an old press	
	309	Sharma Machine Press, Moradabad	Shankar Das, the old proprietor of Dharam Dwarakar Press, was allowed to start this press without security	
	310	Job Works Press, Moradabad	Nothing against the editor or publisher of the "Garhwal Samachar" which it was proposed to print at the press.	
	311.	Ahtashamia Press, Moradabad	An old press. Security was dispensed with on condition that nothing objectionable was printed in the paper "Nizam-ul-Mulk" printed at the press	
	312	Rizai Press, Amroha .. .	Proprietor is a Municipal Commissioner Security dispensed with on condition that no newspaper or periodical magazine or writing of objectionable nature was printed.	
	313,	Jagat Press, Muzaffarnagar .. .	} Started purely for literary and commercial work	
	314	Veopar Press, Muzaffarnagar .		
	315	Unioj Press, Jhansi .. .	Intended for job work only.	
	316.	Jhansi Press, Jhansi .. .	Does only job work.	
	317	Masawat Press, Allahabad .. .	Assurance given by Mr Zahur Ahmad, Bar-at-Law, that the paper to be printed at the press was not a sectarian one Security not considered necessary.	
	318.	Qudsai Press, Allahabad .. .	Nothing known against declarant.	
	319.	Tribeni Printing Works, Allahabad	Declarant is a Government servant about to retire and the press is a small hand machine.	
	320	Hindi Press, Allahabad .. .	Press to be used for the production of Vidyaratnu and Hindi books.	
	321	Taluqdar Press, Fyzabad .. .	Proprietor is the uncle of the Taluqdar of Daryabad.	
	322	Brij Kishore Press, Fyzabad .. .	Started only for job work	
	323.	Dharam Press, Meerut .. .	Undertaking taken from declarant not to print anything objectionable.	
	324.	Nasrul Matabe Press, Saharanpur .. .	Not mentioned.	
	325.	Mahamdyalay Printing Press, Jwalapur	Ditto.	
	326.	Phoenix Printing Press, Lucknow .. .	} Undertaking taken from declarant not to print anything objectionable.	
	327.	Tamannai Press, Lucknow.. .		

STATEMENT III—*contd.*

Province.	Name of printing press.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.	
	1913—<i>contd.</i>			
United Provinces— <i>mid.</i>	328. Dîn Muhammad Press, Shahjahanpur	Prints only books of study for boys and forms used in courts.		
	329. George Meston Muslim Press, Bijnor	} Not mentioned.		
	330. Gurukul Press, Bijnor			
	331. Karwar Raj Printing Works, Sultanpur.			
	332. Ghafoori Press, Cawnpore	Ordinary literature is only printed.		
	333. Raghunandan Press, Cawnpore	Security not considered necessary in view of the nature of the work undertaken.		
	Punjab	334. Zia-ul-Islam Press, Qadian, Gurdaspur district.	As the other publications issued from Qadian were without security, so in this case no security was considered necessary.	
		335. Noor Press, Qadian, Gurdaspur-district	No security was demanded from the applicant for the periodical "Noor" which was printed at Lahore, hence no security was considered necessary.	
		336. Prem Belas Press, Gujranwala	Transferred from Lahore where it was exempted from security.	
		337. Hamilton Press, Jullunder Cantonment	Prints work connected with the Station Staff Office.	
338. George Press, Amritsar		Nothing against applicant.		
339. Anwar-ul Quraish Press, Amritsar		Ditto.		
340. Ahmadiya Press, Lahore		Undertaking taken that no papers or periodicals are printed.		
341. Anwar Ahmadi Press, Lahore		The press was closed for some time and was then re-opened. Security was not taken in the first instance.		
342. Doaba Educational Press, Lahore		Undertaking taken that only educational matters are printed.		
343. Empire Press, Lahore		Undertaking taken that no newspapers are printed.		
Bombay	344. Hikmat Press, Lahore	Security waived provided only the "Hikmat" paper was printed.		
	345. Khosla Brothers' Press, Lahore	Security waived provided nothing objectionable was printed.		
	346. Orient Press, Lahore	Security waived provided only job work was done		
	347. Elliot Printing Press, Dalhousie, Gurdaspur.	See entry no. 288 of 1910. No fresh reasons recorded.	Redeclaration made on a change of printer.	
	348. Kohinoor Press	} Print job work only.		
	349. George Press			
	350. Arthawaddy Press			
	351. Tekkatho Press	} Print job work only.		
	352. Indian Press			
	353. Mingala Times			
	354. Bey Brothers' Press			
	355. A. Ayoob Press			
	356. The Madras Printing Works	The proprietor is owner of another press entitled the "Mercantile Printing Works."		
	357. Eng Aun Tong Press	Prints job work only.		
	358. Arakan News Press	Loyal to Government.		
359. Mingala Thuyoun Press	No likelihood of being used for objectionable purposes.			

STATEMENT III--*concl'd.*

Province.	Name of printing press.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
	1913--<i>concl'd.</i>		
Bihar and Orissa	360 Albert Printing Works and Stores, Purnea.	The keeper of the press prints no newspapers and does not intend to print one	
	361. P.C Press, Purnea .. .	No books are printed at the press and it is not intended to print any	
	362 Arjun Lal and Co Press, Purnea .	Intended only for printing forms.	
	363. (Name not given), Puri . . .	The Magistrate was given to understand that the newspaper to be printed at the press would deal with social and religious matters.	
	364 Des Utkal Press, Balasore .	The newspaper printed at the press has been well conducted.	
	365 Samanta Press, Balasore . . .	Ditto	
Central Provinces	NH .. ..	. . .
Assam	366. Press at Kaljrapara, Barpeta, Kamrup	Not mentioned.	
	367. Chanda Nath Press, Maulvi Bazar, Sylhet.	Executes job work and is kept by a retired Government servant.	
	368. Dharma Prakash Press, Jorhat, Sib-sagar.	The press is used for the reproduction of old <i>puthis</i> and religious books and is under the patronage of the Ardhirkar Goswami of the Annata Satra.	
North-West Frontier Province	NH .. ..	. . .
Coorg . . .	NH .. ..	. . . .

APPENDIX E.

[Vide Proceedings, page 65]

STATEMENT IV.

STATEMENT SHOWING THE NAMES OF THE NEWSPAPERS EXEMPTED FROM THE DEPOSIT OF SECURITY DURING THE YEARS 1910, 1911, 1912 AND 1913 WITH A SUMMARY OF THE REASONS RECORDED BY MAGISTRATES AS REQUIRED BY THE PROVISIO TO SECTION 8 (1) OF THE INDIAN PRESS ACT, 1910 (1 OF 1910).

STATEMENT IV.

Statement showing the names of the newspapers exempted from the deposit of security during the years 1911, 1912 and 1913, with a summary of the reasons recorded by Magistrates as required by the proviso to section 8 (I) of the Indian Press Act, 1910 (I of 1910).

Province.	Name of newspaper.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security	REMARKS
	1910.		
Madras ..	1. Vaidika Mitra, South Canara District	A religious periodical	
	2 B G M College Magazine, South Canara District,	A college magazine published by the Basel German Mission	
	3 Guide to Sunday School teachers, South Canara District	A religious magazine.	
	4 The Divya Gnana Deepika, Chittoor	A purely religious and philosophical magazine	
	5 The Harman, Ganjam District	Printed at the Jagadees Press, security from which was demanded and deposited.	
	6 The Sahaya, Godavari District	A Christian religious paper	
	7 The Teacher, Godavari District ..	Purely educational.	
	8. Law Patrika, Godavari District .	Non-political	
	9 Manoranjani, Godavari District .	Ditto	
	10 The Andhra, Guntur District	An old established paper, the name only having been changed	
	11 Desabhimani, Guntur District ..	An old paper	
	12 Dharmaprakasika, Guntur District	Deals with social educational and religious topics only	
	13 Gospel witness, Guntur District ..	Old established journal devoted to religious topics only.	
	14 Mission news, Guntur District ..	Old paper	
	15 Mission news for women, Guntur District.	An old paper which deals with ecclesiastical matters only	
	16 Prabodhani	} Old papers	
	17 Telugu Officer } Guntur District .		
	18 Yuddhadhwani }		
	19 Law Trayam, Kistna District .	A purely legal journal The paper was not actually started	
	20 Anglo-Indiana, Madras District	The publisher and printer of the journal are the same It is also kept of press at which journal is printed	
	21 Christ Church Madras Monthly Magazine, Madras	The printer of the journal is also the keeper of the press at which the journal is printed	
	22. Indian Interpreter, Madras District	Ditto	
	23 Indian Shorthand Journal, Madras District	Ditto	
	24 Indian Veterinary Journal, Madras District.	Ditto.	
	25 Indian Stage, Madras District .	Ditto	
	26 Indian Review, Madras District .	Ditto.	
	27. Legal Adviser, Madras District	Ditto	
	28 Light of Truth or the Siddhanta Deepika and the Agraric Review, Madras District	Ditto	
	29 Mercantile Law Journal, Madras District.	Ditto.	
	30 Madras Courier, Madras . .	Ditto	

STATEMENT IV.—*contd.*

Province.	Name of newspaper.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security	REMARKS.
	1910—<i>contd.</i>		
Madras— <i>contd.</i>	31. Madras Law Times, Madras	The printer of the journal is also the keeper of the press at which the journal is printed.	
	32. Journal of the South Indian Association, Madras District.	Ditto	
	33. Law Record, Madras District	Ditto	
	34. Madras Weekly Notes, Madras	Ditto.	
	35. Madras Temperance Herald, Madras	Ditto.	
	36. National Missionary Intelligencer, Madras District.	Ditto.	
	37. Progress, Madras District	Ditto.	
	38. Schooldays and Holidays, Madras District.	Ditto.	
	39. Southern India Chamber of Commerce Report, Madras District.	Ditto	
	40. Students' Own Magazine, Madras District.	Ditto.	
	41. United India and Native States, Madras District.	Ditto.	
	42. Chakravartium, Madras District	Ditto.	
	43. Good Pastor, Madras District	The journal deals with religion only	
	44. Messenger of Truth (Tamil), Madras District	Ditto.	
	45. Messenger of Truth (Telugu), Madras District.	Ditto.	
	46. Maha Vikata Thoothan, Madras District.	Comic journal.	
	47. Vivekavathi, Madras District	Deals with religion.	
	48. Hindu Neesan, Madras District	Publisher of journal is also printer and registered keeper of press at which journal is printed.	
	49. Lava-ul-Islam, Madras District	Publisher of journal is registered keeper of press at which journal is printed.	
	50. Lokopakar, Madras District	Ditto.	
	51. Monthly Witness, Madras District	Ditto.	
	52. Indian Law Gasette, Madras District	Ditto.	
	53. Tamil Preacher's Magazine, Madras District.	Ditto.	
	54. Sasilekha, Madras District	Ditto.	
	55. Kurshid, Madras District	Ditto.	
	56. Vivakchintamani, Madras District	Ditto.	
	57. Indian National Missionary Sanga Deepika, Madras District.	Ditto.	
	58. Swadharmeprakasini, Madras District	Ditto.	
	59. Vysya, Madras District	Ditto.	
	60. Veerak-sari, Madras District	Ditto.	
	61. Sahardaya or Sanskrit journal, Madras District.	Ditto.	
	62. Journal of the Muhammedan Educational Association of Southern India, Madras District.	Ditto.	

STATEMENT IV.—*contd.*

Province.	Name of newspaper	Summary of reasons for exemption from security	REMARKS.
	1910—<i>contd.</i>		
Mudra <i>v—contd.</i>	63. Nizami, Madras District ..	Publisher of journal is registered keeper of press at which journal is printed.	
	64. Poornachandrodaiyam, Madura District.	Magazine dealing chiefly with religious and philosophical subjects. Publisher is the Government Pleader, Ramnad.	
	65. Keralapatrika, Malabar District ..	An old paper.	
	66. Keralasanchari, Malabar District ..	Ditto.	
	67. Nalloswara Vilasam, Malabar District	Ditto.	
	68. Vyavasaya Mitran, Malabar District ..	Confines itself to industrial and agricultural topics.	
	69. Mokshamargopadesini, Malabar District.	Merely translations of oriental classics.	
	70. The Nilgiri Fancier's Gazette ..	Deals solely with poultry.*	* Removed from the category of newspapers and included under "Books and pamphlets" during the year 1911.
	71. The Nilgiri Church News ..	A religious parish magazine.*	
	72. Agricultural pamphlet, Tanjore District	Deals with purely agricultural subjects.	
	73. Vaidyabodhini, Tanjore District ..	Purely a medical journal.	
	74. Children's Herald, Tinnevely District	Non-political.	
	75. Bahar Nesan, Tinnevely District ..		
	76. Friendly Instructor, Tinnevely District		
	77. Water of Life, Tinnevely District ..		
	78. Young Men's Friend, Tinnevely District.	Well reported on.	
	79. The Trichinopoly Magazine ..		
	80. The Morning Star, Trichinopoly District.		
	81. The Messenger of the Sacred Heart, .. Trichinopoly District		
	82. The Prayankulan, Trichinopoly District.	Deals with different branches of medical science	
	83. La Gerhedu Madure, Trichinopoly District.		
	84. The Ambrosia, Trichinopoly District		
	85. South Indian Railway Engineering Department Gazette, Trichinopoly District.	Contains only matter of interest to Railway Engineering Department.	
Bombay	86. Anglo-Indian Empire (new), Bombay	Well reported on.	
	87. Bombay News (Mumbai Vritt) (new), Bombay.	Not mentioned.	
	88. Bombay Vaibhav (old), Bombay ..	Well reported on.	
	89. Muslim Herald (old), Bombay ..	A Muhammadan newspaper of 26 years' standing.	
	90. Indu Prakash (old), Bombay ..	An old paper of long standing	
	91. Shri Venkateshwar Samachar (old), Bombay.	The paper has been in existence for 14 years past.	
	92. Subodh Patrika (old), Bombay ..	An organ of the Prarthana Samaj.	
	93. Hindustan and Desh Raj-ano Prajamat Garjana (old), Ahmedabad.	Not mentioned.	
	94. Jami Samachar (old), Ahmedabad ..	Ditto.	
	95. Bharuch Samachar (old), Broach ..	An old paper; present declaration d.s.e to change of locality.	

STATEMENT IV.—*contd.*

Province.	Name of newspaper.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security	REMARKS.
	1910—<i>contd.</i>		
<i>Hy—contd.</i> ..	96 Praja Pokar (old), Surat	An old paper..	
	97. Din Mitra (new), Ahmednagar	Not mentioned	
	98 Deshkalvartaman (new), East Khandesh.	Ditto.	
	99. Khandesh Vahav (old,) West Khan- desh.	Ditto.	
	100 Chitramaya Jagat, Poona	Ditto.	
	101. Bharatmata (old), Satara	Ditto.	
	102. Dharwar Vritt (old), Dharwar	An old paper.	
	103 Weekly Trade Review (new), Hydera- bad.	Not mentioned	
	104. Karachi Argus (old), Karachi	An old periodical, exempted from security as long as it remains well conducted.	
	105. Phoenix (new), Karachi	Not mentioned.	
	106. Khairkhoh-i-Sind (old), Larkana	An old paper well conducted in the past.	
	107. Trade Advertiser (new), Sukkur	Not mentioned.	
	108. Bala Bandhu, Calcutta	Ditto	
	109. Quarterly Paper, Calcutta	Ditto	
	110 Karmakar Bandu, Calcutta	Ditto.	
	111. Satya Saratan Dharma, Calcutta	Dit'o	
	112. Printer's Provider, Calcutta	Ditto.	
	113 Samana, Calcutta	An old paper.	
	114. Projapati, Calcutta	Not mentioned.	
	115. Projapati, Calcutta	An old paper, declaration necessary owing to change of the place of publication.	
	116. Scottish Churches College Magazine, Calcutta.	Not mentioned.	
	117. Railways, Calcutta	Ditto.	
	118. Co-operator, Calcutta	Ditto.	
	119. Indiana, Calcutta	Nothing known against declarant.	
	120. Indian Nation, Calcutta	Declarant an Honorary Magistrate	
	121. Sri Sanatan Dharma, Calcutta	Declaration necessary owing to change of the place of publication.	
	122. Comrade, Calcutta	Not mentioned	
	123 Indian Homeopathic Reporter, 24 Parganas.	A technical p.per.	
	124. Brajya Khatriya Bandhv, 24 Par- ganas.	A social paper dealing with the interests of the Pode caste.	
	125. Bharat M'ch'la, Dacca	} These papers published in the interests of the Dacca Orphanage	
	126. Sopan, Dacca		
	127. Sevak, Dacca		
	128. Dacca Prokash, Dacca	The paper was one of only local circulation and non-political	

STATEMENT IV.—*contd.*

Province.	Name of newspaper.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
	1910—<i>contd.</i>		
Bengal— <i>contd.</i>	129. Dacca Gazette, Dacca	The paper was one of only local circulation and non-political.	
	130. Krishi Samachar, Dacca	Ditto	
	131. Sikha Samachar, Toshi and Jagannath College Magazine", Dacca.	Ditto	
	132. Criminal Case Law, Dacca	Ditto	
	133. The East Dacca,	Ditto	
	134. Indian Church News, Dacca	Amold and purely religious magazine Declaration necessary owing to change of the place of publication.	
	135. Gauranga Patrika, Dacca	The paper was one of only local circulation and non-political.	
	136. East Bengal and Assam Era, Dacca ..	Ditto	
	137. East Bengal and Assam Era, Dacca ..	Ditto	
	138. Arya Jiban, Dacca	Ditto	
	139. Arya Jiban, Dacca	Ditto	
	140. Krishi Samachar, Dacca	Ditto	
	141. Rajshahi College Magazine, Dacca ..	Ditto	
	142. Bharat Mahila, Dacca	Ditto	
	143. Shevak, Dacca	Ditto	
	144. Krishi Samachar, Dacca	Ditto	
	145. Tih Bandhale Magazine, Howrah ..	Non-political.	
	146. Loyal Citizen, Howrah	Exempted, as the editor was well known for his loyalty.	
	147. Arati, Mymensingh	An old paper	
United Provinces ..	148. District Gazette	District Board publication.	
	149. Akhbar Tajur	Not mentioned.	
	150. Brahman Samachar	Mainly concerned with the social improvement and customs of Gaur Brahmans.	
	151. Kashatira	Being edited under the same auspices as the Jat Hitkari (a paper previously published) which was well reported on.	
	152. Akhbar Saudagar	Started for business purposes only.	
	153. Bal Hateshi	Exempted under proviso 1 to section 8.	
	154. Jami Nari Hitkari	Confined to domestic and religious topics ..	Discontinued.
	155. Kam Dhanu	Not mentioned	Discontinued.
	156. Safir-i-Jangalat	Undertaking given that no political matter would be published.	
	157. Al Hukm		
	158. Sir Sanatan Dharm	Security dispensed with on the recommendation of the Commissioner of Benares division.	Ceased publication from 1 cember 1912
	159. Bharat Dharm		
	160. Pandit	A publication of the Benares Sanskrit College, and edited by Dr. A. Vona.	
	161. Muslim Review	Not mentioned.	Ceased to exist.
	162. Mashawra	Ditto	

STATEMENT IV—*contd.*

Province.	Name of newspaper.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	Remarks.	
	1910—<i>contd.</i>			
United Provinces— <i>id.</i>	163 Adeeop	Not mentioned.	Ceased to exist	
	164. Lador	Ditto		
	165. Stri Darpan	Ditto		
	166 Allahabad I & V Journal	Ditto		
	167. Girah Lokshmi	Ditto		
	168. Shubb Chintak	Ditto		
	169. N. M. S ka Akhbar	A missionary publication,		
	170 Industrial Evangelistic Mission Herald.	Ditto		
	171. Gavah Mosh	Ditto		
	172. Khadim-i-Kalasiya	A church paper.		
	173 Sudha Nidha	A medical journal.		
	174. Aligarh Monthly Magazine	A college periodical.		
	175 Quarterly Bulletin	A literary school magazine.		
	176. Kanh Kubja	Well conducted.		
	177 Jan Gazette	The declarant being registered keeper of the press, security not considered necessary.		
	178. Provincial Times	An old paper.		
	179 Cawnpore Journal	Ditto		
	180 Cawnpore Journal	Ditto		
	181. Kan Kubj	An old paper dealing with religious and social matters.		
	Bihar	182. News of India, Simla	An independent paper of very small influence Subscribers are mostly officials	
		183. Cathedral Chronicle, Simla	A Roman Catholic religious paper.	
		184. On Guard, Simla	Royal Army Temperance Association Journal	
		185 Simla Courier, Simla	Simply a trade advertiser.	
		186 The War Cry, Simla	The paper is devoted solely to publishing and fur- thering the activities of the Salvation Army in India.	
		187 Punjab Review, Karmabad, Gujran- wala District.	The periodical was of a literary nature.	Ceased after a few issues.
		188 Otopus, Amritsar	Not mentioned	The paper did not start.
		189 Burhan, Lahore	Security inadmissible under section 8 (1) of the Act.	
190 Dharma, Lahore		Security waived on the condition that the paper will not print anything objectionable.	Ceased publica- tion in 1913.	
191 Lahore Mission News, Lahore		Is a religious publication.		
192 M Hat, Lahore	Security waived on the condition that the paper will not print anything objectionable.			
193 Punjab Review, Lahore	Security inadmissible under section 8 (1) of the Act.			
194 Qasad, Montgomery	Ditto			
195 Ahsanat, Lahore	Ditto			
196 Saraswati Bhandar, Lahore	No reasons recorded	Ceased publica- tion in 1913.		
197. Tandruati, Lahore	Ditto.			

STATEMENT IV.—*contd.*

Province,	Name of newspaper,	Summary of reasons for exemption from security,	REMARKS.
	1910—<i>contd.</i>		
Punjab— <i>contd.</i>	198 Sulah Kul, Montgomery	Not mentioned.	
	199 Teacher, Dings, Gujrat District ..	Deals solely with educational matters	Ceased publication in 1911.
	200. The Amrat Medical Journal, Rawalpindi	A medical journal	
	201. Hindustan Church Magazine, Rawalpindi.	A church of magazine.	
	202 Ruidad Anjuman-i-Islam, Ambala Cantonment.	Will contain only the proceedings of the Society	
	203 Rasala Gaushala Qaum Saiman of the Punjab, Ambala.	Religious paper	
	204. Sufi, Pindi Bahs-ud-Din, Gujrat District.	Purely a religious paper.	Printer rededicated in 1911 and 1912. Security waived on both occasions
Burma	205 The Pandian	Security furnished already for Pandian Press.	
	205. Chin Hwa Poo	Local Government did not think security necessary.	
	207. Upper Burma Gazette .. .	Well reported on.	
	208. Mandalay Times	Ditto	
	209 Monthly Review of Buddhism ..	Ditto	
Bihar and Orissa	210 Oriya and Navasambad, Balasore ..	An old paper and always well conducted.	
Central Provinces	211. Nirashrit Hindi Nagrik] .. .	Exempted so long as the proprietor continued to be also printer and publisher.	
	212. Jubbulpore Post	Publisher and printer was also registered as keeper of the press where newspaper was printed.	
	213. Hitkarni	Magazine is produced under the supervision of an officer of the Education Department approved by Government.	
	214. Arya Sewak	Purely a religious paper.	
Assam	215 Lurshai, Shillong	Purely religious and literary, and promoters were Government servants.	
	216. Paridarsak, Sylhet Sadr	As the conduct of this paper had been satisfactory, the publisher was exempted from furnishing security when a fresh declaration had to be made.	
	217. Times of Assam, Dibrugarh, Lakhimpur.	Not mentioned.	
North West Frontier Province.	NH.		
Coorg	NH.		
	1911.		
Madras	{1. The Illustrated Criminal Investigation and Law Digest, North Arcot District.	A quasi-official paper largely subscribed to by officials.	
	2. Voorhees College Kindergarten Magazine, North Arcot District.	Purely an educational journal.	
	3. Desabhumani, South Arcot District ..	Tone unobjectionable.	
	4. Balamtram South Canara District ..	An old periodical. Fresh registration due to change in manager.	

STATEMENT IV.—*contd.*

Province.	Name of newspaper	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS
	<i>1911—contd.</i>		
ras— <i>contd.</i> ..	5. Mangalore Magazine, South Canara District	An old periodical. Fresh registration entered as former was mislaid. Educational matters dealt with.	
	6. Satyadipika, South Canara District ..	An old periodical. Fresh registration due to change in manager. A religious paper.	
	7. Keralopakari, South Canara District	Ditto	
	8. Herald of the Star, Chingleput District	A theosophical publication.	Discontinued.
	9. Arogya Prabodhini, Gudavari District	Due to a change of press where the paper was to be printed	
	10. Manavaseva, Gudavari District ..	Deals with social, literary, religious and industrial subjects, only	
	11. Ravi, Gudavari District	Change of publication only. No reason to suppose alteration in character of paper.	
	12. Abhinavabharati, Guntur District ..	Deals with literary subjects.	
	13. Abhinavasaraswati, Guntur District.	Old paper.	
	14. Arya Vyasa Guntur District ..	Declarant is keeper of press where journal is printed.	
	15. Darbar, Guntur District	} Old papers.	
	16. Visishtadwata, Prakasini Guntur District		
	17. Suvarnalekha Tanuku, Kistna District	Publisher is keeper of Sowdamini Press.	
	18. Andhra Bharati, Masulipatam ..	Entirely non-political.	
	19. Prarambha Vidya, Ellore ..	Confined itself to education.	
	20. Coronation, Masulipatam	Contained nothing of a controversial nature.	} Do not now exist.
	21. Arogya Prabodhini, Ellore ..	Devoted solely to hygiene	
	22. Bhowtika Kalandha, Madras District	Proprietor of journal is keeper of press at which journal is printed.	
	23. Citator, Madras District .. .	Ditto	
	24. Catholic Register, Madras District ..	Ditto.	
	25. Commercial Advertiser, Madras District	Ditto.	
	26. Indian Interpreter, Madras District	Contains articles purely religious and ethical.	
	27. Indian Christian Endeavour, Madras District.	Printer and publisher the same. Printer is also keeper of press at which journal is printed.	
	28. The Light of Truth or the Sidhanta and the Agamic Review, Madras District.	Ditto	
	29. The Law Record, Madras District ..	Printer is also keeper of press at which journal is printed.	
	30. Mulakanadu Mandali, Madras District	Ditto.	
	31. Madras Law Times, Madras ..	Ditto	
	32. Madras District Wesleyan Methodist Church Record, Madras.	Ditto	
	33. New Monthly, Madras District ..	Ditto	
	34. Pictorial Portfolio, Madras District	Printer is also keeper of press at which journal is printed.	
	35. Progress, Madras District	Deals with religious and general news on Christianity.	
	36. Spencer's News, Madras District ..	Printer is also keeper of press at which journal is printed.	

STATEMENT IV.—*contd.*

Province.	Name of newspaper.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
	1911—<i>contd.</i>		
Madras— <i>contd.</i>	37. Stage Lover, Madras District	Deals with art, drama and music.	
	38. Student's Own Magazine, Madras District	Purely educational and well reported upon.	
	39. United India and Native States, Madras District.	Printer of journal is also keeper of press at which journal is printed.	
	40. Weekly Chronicle, Madras District ..	Ditto	
	41. Indian Railway Journal, Madras District.	Ditto	
	42. Islam Nesan, Madras District ..	Ditto	
	43. Lawyer, Madras District	Ditto.	
	44. Messenger of Truth (Tamil), Madras District.	Ditto.	
	45. The Indian National Missionary Sanga Deepika, Madras District.	Ditto.	
	46. Balyar Mitran or Children's Friend, Madras District.	Intended for children only.	
	47. Vedanta Deepika, Madras District ..	Printer of journal is also keeper of press at which journal is printed.	
	48. Vidyavahini, Madras District	Ditto.	
	49. Andradesaranjani, Madras District	Ditto	
	50. Messenger of Truth (Telugu), Madras District.	Printer of journal and keeper of press are the same.	
	51. Kameewari, Madras District	Ditto	
	52. Sasulekha, Madras District	Ditto.	
	53. Vivekavathi, Madras District	Contains moral and literary articles for women.	
	54. The Canara Evangelist, Madras District	Printer is also keeper of press at which journal is printed.	
	55. Veerakesari, Madras, District	Ditto	
	56. Taragin-i-Tajarat, Madras District	Ditto	
	57. Methodist Visitor, Madras District	Ditto	
	58. Sunday School lessons (Tamil and Telugu), Madras District.	Ditto	
	59. Tamil. Zenana Magazine, Madras District.	Ditto.	
	60. Eshathul Islam, Madras District ..	Ditto	
	61. Tamil Preacher's Magazine, Madras District.	Contains only religious subjects of interest to workers in charge of Native Christian congregations.	
	62. Materbodhum, Madras District ..	Ditto.	
	63. The Female Education, Madras District.	Deals with art, drama and music.	
	64. Modern World, Madras District ..	Printer of journal is keeper of press at which journal is printed.	
	65. Bhuloka Vyasam, Madras District ..	Ditto.	
	66. Sugadarabodhum, Madras District ..	Ditto.	
	67. Supplement to Shamsul Akhbar, Madras District.	Ditto.	
	68. Supplement to Mukbur-i-Deccan, Madras District.	Printer of journal is keeper of press at which journal is printed.	

STATEMENT IV.—*contd.*

Province.	Name of newspaper.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
	<i>1911—contd.</i>		
<i>as—contd</i> ..	69 Supplement to Jandati-Rozgar, Madras District.	Printer of journal is keeper of press, at which journal is printed	
	70. The United Church Herald, Madras District.	The recognised organ of a religious union.	
	71 Sentami, Madras District ..	Almost purely a literary journal, containing nothing of a political character	
	72. The Teacher or Gurubodhini, Malabar District.	A purely school magazine.	
	73 Sanatana Dharma, Malabar District..	Security dispensed with in view of status of promoters.	
	74 Vignana Chintamani, Malabar District	An old paper	
	75 Bharat, Malabar District ..	Deals only with the progress of female education.	
	76. Janmi, Malabar District . . .	Deals with economics and agriculture only.	
	77 The Vysya Mitram, Ramnad District	Proprietor of press of same name is editor, and has deposited security of Rs 500 for the press	
	78 The Dravidabhimani, Salem District	The printer, publisher and keeper of the press are the same	
	79 Arunodayam, Tanjore District ..	Case of re-registration.	
	80 Sunday Friend, Tanjore District ..	Ditto.	
	81 Turupany Tholan, Tanjore District ..	Ditto.	
	82 Children's Herald, Tinnevely District	Cases of re-registration	
	83 Friendly Instructor, Tinnevely Dist.		
	84 Young Men's Friend, Tinnevely Dist.		
	85 Indian Missionary News, Tinnevely District.	Non-political.	
	86 Magazine for students, teachers and children, Tinnevely District.	Ditto.	
	87 Kalpaka, Tinnevely District ..	Purely philosophical	
	88 The Sentami Selvan, Tinnevely District.	Contains topics of popular and scientific interest.	
	89 The Indian Missionary Intelligence, Trichinopoly District.	Non-political.	
	90 The Criminal Law Reporter, Vizagapatam District.	Printer and editor of magazine is also keeper of press at which it is printed.	
<i>ay</i> ..	91 Bombay Watchman (old), Bombay ..	A Portuguese Christian paper in existence for three years.	
	92. Echo (new), Bombay	A paper in English, Portuguese and Konkani. Proprietor well reported on.	
	93. English Mail (old), Bombay ..	An old paper, in existence since 1872.	
	94. Ealah (old), Bombay	A Persian paper of three years' standing.	
	95 Financial and Commercial Chronicle (new), Bombay.	Purely commercial.	
	96. Khoja Mitra (old), Bombay ..	The journal relates to the Khoja community.	
	97. Khan Bahadur Panch (new), } Bombay.	Non-political.	
	98. Sultan-ul-Akhbar (new), }		

STATEMENT IV.—*contd.*

Province.	Name of newspaper.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
	1911—<i>contd.</i>		
Bombay— <i>concl</i>	99. Koukab-e-Ahmedi (new), Bombay ..	Will confine itself to aspects of the Muhammandan religion and morals, will also give commercial news	
	100. Lohana Mitra (new), Bombay ..	Will relate only to caste questions.	
	101. Navsari Prakash (old), Bombay ..	The paper has been in existence for 15 years past Deals principally with matters pertaining to the Parsi community	
	102. India Advertiser (new), Bombay ..	A purely advertising paper; also contains information relating to health, industry and general instructions.	
	103. Ras Go'tar and the Satya Prakash (old), Bombay	Well conducted.	
	104. Lohana Samathar (old), Ahmedabad..	Not mentioned.	
	105. Shetkari (new), Ahmednagar ..	Ditto	
	106. Sandesh Prasar (new), Poona ..	Nothing against applicant or his paper.	
	107. Sudharak (old), Poona ..	Paper well reported on.	
	108. Bhalband (new), Hyderabad ..	Not mentioned	
	109. Praja Mitra (new), Karachi ..	Exempted so long as the periodical is well conducted	
Bengal	110. Calcutta Medical Journal, Calcutta .	Well reported on.	
	111. Bharat Mitra, Calcutta ? ..	Not mentioned.	
	112. Indian Photo News, Calcutta .	Paper dealt with photographic news.	
	113. Udbodhan, Calcutta ..	An old paper.	
	114. Bengali, Calcutta ..	Declaration necessary owing to change of the place of publication.	
	115. Handicap	A sporting paper.	
	116. Basumati, Calcutta	An old paper.	
	117. Indain Mirror, Calcutta ..	Ditto.	
	118. Kush Doha, Calcutta	Ditto.	
	119. Soma, Calcutta	Ditto.	
	120. Basumati, Calcutta	Ditto.	
	121. Sulabh Samaohar, Calcutta ..	Subsidised by Government.	
	122. Moslem Hitashi, Calcutta ..	Undertaking taken from declarant to print nothing objectionable.	
	123. Pataka, Calcutta	A commercial paper.	
	124. Society Illustrated, Calcutta ..	A society paper	
	125. Indian Mirror, Calcutta ? ..	An old paper.	
	126. Indian Nation, Calcutta ..	Ditto.	
	127. Bharat Chitra, Calcutta ..	Ditto.	
	128. Indian World, Calcutta ..	Ditto.	
	129. Aryan, Calcutta	Ditto.	
	130. Champion Gazette, Calcutta ..	} Not mentioned.	
	131. Mahisya Samaj, Calcutta ..		
	132. Probashi, Calcutta		

STATEMENT IV—*contd.*

Province.	Name of newspaper.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
	1911—<i>contd.</i>		
<i>al—contd.</i>	133 Empire, Calcutta .. .	} Not mentioned.	
	134. Commerce, Calcutta		
	135. Anglo India, Calcutta .. .		
	136. Durbar Gazette, Calcutta ..	Of the nature of a cataiogue	
	137. Bandhu, Calcutta	Nothing known against declarant	
	138 Bandhu (weekly), Calcutta ..	Ditto	
	139. Bandhu (daily), Calcutta ..	Ditto.	
	140 Calcutta Budget (daily) Calcutta .	Ditto.	
	141 Calcutta Budget (weekly), Calcutta ..	Ditto	
	142. Bijnan, Calcutta .. .	Exempted, as an undertaking was given that the paper would not deal with politics.	
	143 Bishop's College Magazine, Calcutta .	A journal of academic news	
	144 Durbar, Calcutta .. .	Intended for non-political news	
	145. Son in the East, Calcutta .. .	Not mentioned	
	146 Saraswat Hitishi, Calcutta	Intended to deal with religious and educational matters.	
	147 Balak, Calcutta .. .	A paper for boys only	
	148 Son in the East, Calcutta .	An old paper, object of which was to promote temperance.	
	149 Collegian, Calcutta . . .	An educational journal	
	150 Sahitya Prochar, Calcutta	An educational paper.	
	151 Hypnotism and Occultation, 24-Parganas	Merely a technical paper.	
	152 Pratibashi, 24 Parganas	A non-political monthly paper	
	153. Banga Bandhu, Dacca	Paper of only local circulation and well reported on	
	154. Sevak, Dacca	Ditto.	
	155 Dacca College Literary Association Magazine, Dacca.	Ditto.	
	156. Santikona, Dacca	Ditto.	
	157. Santikona, Dacca .. .	Ditto.	
	158 Biswabarta, Dacca	Ditto.	
	159 Dacca Review, Dacca	Ditto.	
	160 Dacca Review, Dacca	Ditto.	
	161. Protiva, Dacca	Ditto.	
	162 Divakar, Dacca	Ditto.	
	163. " Ayurveda Hitashini ", Dacca ..	Non-political.	
	164. Arya Jiban, Dacca	Ditto.	
	165 Krish Sampad, Dacca	Ditto.	
	166 Prativa, Dacca	Ditto.	
	167. Sevak, Dacca	Ditto.	
	168. Sevak, Dacca	Ditto.	
	169. Biswabarta, Dacca	Paper was one of local circulation and well reported on.	
	170. Samadaruhi, Dacca	Ditto.	

STATEMENT IV—*contd.*

Province.	Name of newspaper.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security	REMARKS.
	1911—<i>contd.</i>		
Bengal— <i>contd.</i>	171. Krishu Sampad, Dacca	Declaration necessary owing to change of the place of publication	
	172. Jagannath College Magazine, Dacca	A paper of only local circulation and well reported on.	
	173. Chhatra Surud, Dacca	Ditto.	
	174. Prativa, Dacca	Ditto.	
	175. Sanjoy, Faaidpur	Paper was in existence before the introduction of the Indian Press Act, 1910, and well reported on.	
	176. Tuppera Guide, Tuppera	No objectionable publications issued from the press at which paper was to be printed.	
	177. Bartabaha, Nadia	Well reported on.	
	178. Sahitya Samhad, Howrah	A purely literary paper	
	179. Loyal Citizen, Howrah	Object of paper was to promote loyalty.	
United Provinces ..	180. Sanadh Upkank	An old paper.	
	181. Darbar	The publisher was the keeper of the press at which the paper was printed and which was already exempt.	The paper has since ceased publication.
	182. Vinoshdi Parkash (Periodical)	A scientific treatise dealing chiefly with botany.	
	183. Monthly Magazine of Urdu poetry	Nothing against publisher.	
	184. Ittihad (weekly)	Nothing against publisher.	
	185. Kalam Ahbab	A more poetical work.	
	186. Alimashir (weekly)	The press at which the paper was proposed to be printed was of old standing.	
	187. Guldastai Amir (Urdu)	The paper when previously published was well reported on	
	188. The Garhwali	A security of Rs 500 had already been taken from the Garhwali Press at which the paper was printed.	
	189. Nagri Pravardhini Patrika	Purely literary in character.	
	190. Independant	The periodical remained the property of the same owner. Security not considered necessary.	
	191. Vaidic Sarvaswa	A purely religious paper.	
	192. Indian Christian Messenger	An old paper, mostly religious	Ceased to exist.
	193. Vaishya	Not mentioned.	Ditto.
	194. Anglo-Indian Empire		
	195. Indian Rachabite	A temperance journal.	
	196. Bhashker	The press is already registered and therefore the newspaper could be printed without further security	
	197. Garhwal Samachar	A security of Rs 500 had already been taken from the Stowel Press at which the paper was printed.	
	198. Al Qasim	An ordinary college paper.	
	199. Music Gazette	Devoted solely to musical topics	Discontinued.
	200. Bag-o-Bahar	Solely a gardening magazine	Ditto.

STATEMENT IV—*contd.*

Province.	Name of newspaper.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
	1911—<i>contd.</i>		
United Provinces— <i>contd.</i>	201 Ex-Soldier	Undertaking given that no political matter would be published.	
	202 Al Beyan		
	203 All-India Shia Gazette		
	204 Muslim Gazette	Well reported on	
	205 Maheshwari	A security of Rs 500 had already been taken from the Dharma Ashudaya Press at which the paper was printed	Ceased from July 1913.
	206 Jain Shasan	A security of Rs 1,000 had already been taken from the Lakshmi Narain Press at which the paper was printed.	
	207 Indu	Ditto	Ceased from 30th January 1912.
	208. Kulsar-i Hind	A non-political magazine.	
	209. Mahamandal Magazine	Not mentioned.	
	210. Abia Hitkari	Paper had been published at Allahabad for about 45 years, well reported on.	
	211. Makhzan-i Masih (the Christian Treasury) (a monthly journal).	Paper will contain only commercial notes and advertisements	
	212 Commercial Guide	A non-sectarian and non-political paper.	
	213 Jiwan	Will only contain ordinary news and notes	
	214. Cawnpore Journal	Nothing against proprietor.	
	215 Dharma Kusmakar	Ditto.	
	216 Edward	A purely religious magazine.	
	217 Lahore Diocesan Record, Delhi	A medical journal.	
	218 Garbett Medical Journal, Ludhiana ..	Contains Reuter's telegrams only.	
	219. Pioneer Daily Bulletin, Simla	Nothing against publisher.	
	220 Tahzibul Ikhlāq, Amritsar	Non-political.	
	221. Subh-i-Umid, Amritsar	Not mentioned.	
	222. Ittihad-i-Mazahab-i-Alam, Amritsar	Nothing against publisher	
	223. Granthi, Amritsar	Ditto.	
	224. Insan, Amritsar	Not mentioned.	
	225. Acharya, Lahore	Security inadmissible under section 8 (1) of the Act.	
	226. Fasans, Lahore	Ditto.	
	227. Islam, Lahore	Ditto.	
	228. Tamaddan, Delhi	For advertisements only.	
	229. The Punjab Advertiser, Delhi	Is a temporary offshoot of original paper	Ceased in January 1912, after the Delhi Darbar.
	230. Durbar Bulletin, Delhi	Security inadmissible under section 8 (1) of the Act.	
	231. Jynasu, Lahore	Ditto.	
	232. Kisan, Lahore	Ditto.	
	233. Perhasgar, Lahore	Ditto.	
234. Waqt, Lahore	Not mentioned.	Ceased publication in 1912.	
235. Loyal Gazette, Lahore	Ditto	Ceased publication in 1912.	
236. Vidya, Lahore			

STATEMENT IV—*contd.*

Province.	Name of newspaper.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
	1911—<i>contd.</i>		
Punjab— <i>contd.</i>	237 Zinda Dil Magazine, Lahore ..	Not mentioned.	
	238 Nara-i-Jang, Lahore	An organ of the Salvation Army.	
	239 Darbar, Sialkot	Not mentioned.	
	240. Mukhbar Punjab, Rawalpindi	Security inadmissible under section 8 (1) of the Act	
Burma .. .	241 Burma Review	Paper incorporated with the "Rangoon Advertiser", an old paper.	
	242 Burma Moslem News	Editor has furnished security for the "Akhbar-i-Burma".	
	243 Burma Mercantile Advertiser ..	Mainly for the mercantile community.	
	244. Vakaya	Well reported on	
	245 Min Tien Kung Pao .. .	Paper run by respectable Chinese gentlemen.	
	246 Sun	Burman commercial and local paper.	
	247 Myanmawadi .. .	A commercial paper.	
	248 Life Line	A temperance paper.	
	249 Saiful Islam	Well reported on.	
	250. Daily Telegraph	Publisher ran a press and paper previously for four years	
	251 The Upper Burma Gazette Weekly Advertiser	Influence unimportant and circulation small.	
	252 Mandalay Herald	Non-political	
	253 Salween Times	Tone good.	
Bihar and Orissa	254 Puruha Darpan, Puruha	An old established paper	
	255 Kshatri Samachar, Patna City	Exempted on the ground that the paper would not be used for objectionable purposes	
	256 Teli Samachar, Bankipore	Contents of paper were to be of social, religious and non-political nature.	
	257 Beharee, Bankipore	Not mentioned.	
Central Provinces	258 Hindi Master .. .	Non-political	
	259 The Salesian	A school magazine.	
	260 Sunday School ke Path ka Patra ..	Purely religious and non-political.	
	261. Christian Sahavak .. .	Dit o.	
Assam	262 Assam Herald, Nowgong Sadr	The publisher of the paper was registered as the keeper of the press where the newspaper was printed	
	263 Bijaya, Dhubri, Goalpara	Devoted to social and literary matters.	
North-West Frontier Province.	264. Edward Gazette, Hazara .. .	As security for the "Edward Gazette" Press had been given by the editor of the "Edward Gazette" paper, no security for the latter was necessary	
Coorg .. .	<i>Nil</i>		
	1912.		
Madras	1 The Illustrated Criminal Investigation and Law Digest, North Arcot District	Declaration due merely to change in place of printing	
	2 Konkani Darvan, South Arcot District	A religious paper for Roman Catholics.	
	3 The Young Citizen, Chingleput District	An educational publication.	

STATEMENT IV—*contd.*

Province.	Name of newspaper.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
	1912—<i>contd.</i>		
Madras— <i>contd.</i> ..	4. Quarterly Journal of the Madras Agricultural Students' Union, Coimbatore District,	Organ of the Agricultural Students' Union, Coimbatore. Devoted to Agricultural College and farm news	
	5. Manavadarsan, Godavari District ..	Non-political	
	6. Andhra, Guntur District .	Merely a change in name of publisher	
	7. Sudarsani, Narsapur	Publisher is also keeper of press "Sudarsani".	
	8. Gnanodaya, Masulipatam .	Publisher is also keeper of the "Setu Press".	
	9. The Telugu Law Journal, Masulipatam,	Contains only decisions of courts	
	10. Hithakarani, Ellore . . .	Publisher said he intended to devote paper to social and religious reforms	
	11. Madras Local and Municipal Journal, Masulipatam.	Publisher is keeper of the "Setu Press"	
	12. Vanjyamu, Kistna District ..	Publisher is keeper of the Andhra Pracharini printing works	
	13. Catholic Register, Madras District ..	Printer of journal is also keeper of press at which journal is printed.	
	14. Criminal Law Replenisher, Madras District.	Ditto	
	15. Contemporary Law Review, Madras District	Ditto	
	16. Catholic Watchman, Madras District	Ditto	
	17. Christian Patriot, Madras District	Ditto	
	18. Everybody's Weekly, Madras District	Ditto	
	19. Indian Christian, Madras District ..	Ditto	
	20. Indian Lutheran, Madras District .	Ditto	
	21. Indian Student Record, Madras District.	Ditto	
	22. Modern World, Madras District .	Ditto	
	23. Madras Law Times .. .	Printer of journal and keeper of press at which journal is printed are the same.	
	24. Madras Times	Deals with general news	
	25. Madras Law Journal .. .	Printer of journal is also keeper of press at which journal is printed	
	26. Madras Standard	Well reported on	
	27. The New Monthly, Madras District .	Printer of journal is also keeper of press at which journal is printed	
	28. Northwick Observer, Madras District .	Purely literary organ of United Free Church Mission School, Royapuram, intended for past and present students.	
	29. Prayer Circular, Madras District .	Printer of journal and keeper of press at which journal is printed are the same	
	30. Popular Scientific Journal, Madras District.	Ditto	
	31. Students' Own Magazine, Madras District.	Ditto.	
	32. St. Mary's Magazine, Madras District	Ditto.	
	33. South Indian Templar, Madras District	Ditto.	
	34. Then and Now, Madras District ..	Ditto.	

STATEMENT IV—*contd.*

Province.	Name of newspaper.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
	1912—<i>contd.</i>		
Madras— <i>contd.</i>	35 Vedanta Universal Messenger, Madras District.	Printer of journal and keeper of press at which journal is printed are the same.	
	36 Weekly Chronicle, Madras District ..	Ditto.	
	37 Wealth of India, Madras District	Ditto	
	38 Chakravarthin, Madras District .	Ditto.	
	39 Good Pastor, Madras District .	A religious journal	
	40 Indian Law Gazette, Madras District	Printer of journal is also keeper of press at which journal is printed	
	41 Kathamanjan, Madras District .	Ditto	
	42 Liva-ul-Islam, Madras District	Ditto.	
	43 Practical Life, Madras District	Ditto	
	44 Sangita Satsampradaya Deepika, Madras District	Ditto	
	45 Siddhantam, Madras District	Ditto.	
	46 South Indian Agriculture, Madras District.	Ditto	
	47 Swadesha Bandhu, Madras District	Ditto	
	48 Swadeshabhmani, Madras District	Ditto	
	49 Swadesa Mittan, Madras District	Ditto.	
	50 Vikataratnam, Madras District	Ditto.	
	51 Andhra Sahitya Parishat Patrika, Madras District.	Ditto	
	52 Hindu Gnana Samskarini or Hindu Reformer, Madras District.	Ditto.	
	53. Vyasa, Madras District .	Ditto.	
	54. Vidyaprabodhini, Madras District .	Ditto.	
	55. Al-Masnun, Madras District .	Ditto.	
	56 Mouvenk, Madras District	Ditto.	
	57. Urya-i-Khyal, Madras District .	Ditto.	
	58. Tamil Madura, Madura District ..	Intended purely for educational purposes	
	59. Theological journal relating to Ramayana, Madura District	A religious magazine	
	60. The South Indian Mail, Madura District.	Declaration rendered necessary only on account of change in printer,	
	61. West-Coast Reformer, Malabar District	An old paper.	
	62. Kerala Yuvava or Young Men of Malabar, Malabar District.	A religious paper.	
	63. The Students' Magazine, Nellore District	A students' magazine not dealing with politics.	
	64. The Present Truth, Trichinopoly District	Non-political.	
	65 The S P G. High School Magazine .. Trichinopoly District	Ditto.	
	66. The Andhra Advocate, Vizagapatam District.	Printer and editor of paper is also keeper of press in which it is printed.	
Bombay ..	67. Akhbar-i-Islam (old), Bombay ..	An old paper.	
	68. A Luz (old), Bombay ..	An old paper existing for 18 years.	
	69. Arya Sudhakar (new), Bombay ..	Relates to religious and social matters.	

STATEMENT IV—*contd.*

Province.	Name of newspaper.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security	REMARKS.
	1912—<i>contd.</i>		
ay— <i>contd.</i>	70. Bombay Chronicle (new), Bombay	The declarant of this periodical already registered as printer of the Madras Times.	
	71. Bombay Commercial Advertiser (new), Bombay	Contains commercial articles only	
	72. Bombay East Indian (old), Bombay	Deals with social subjects of interest to Roman Catholics.	
	73. Bombay Exchange Gazette and Daily Advertiser (new), Bombay.	Relates to financial and commercial matters purely.	
	74. Bombay Gazette (old), Bombay ..	An old daily.	
	75. Bombay Guardian (old), Bombay	Well reported on.	
	76. Briton (now), Bombay	Will deal with sports and matters of local interest.	
	77. Clerk's Gazette and Trade Advertiser (new), Bombay.	A financial paper.	
	78. Commerce and Co-operation (now), Bombay	Deals with trade and commerce.	
	79. Dnyanodaya (old), Bombay ..	A missionary paper.	
	80. Dnyan Prakash (old), Bombay	Paper has been in existence for 63 years.	
	81. Habibul Akhbar (old), Bombay ..	An old magazine	
	82. Indian Spectator (old), Bombay ..	Deals with social and religious matters.	
	83. Ikabal (new), Bombay ..	A paper intended for Muhammadans. Undertaking given that tone would be unexceptionable.	
	84. Mail (new), Bombay ..	Only change in name.	
	85. Muslim Times (old), Bombay ..	Declared before, and was exempted from security then	
	86. O Goano (old), Bombay ..	An old paper	
	87. Oriental Review (old), Bombay ..	Ditto.	
	88. Kathiwar Vartaman (old), Ahmedabad.	Not mentioned.	
	89. Yog (now), Ahmedabad ..	Ditto.	
	90. Satsang (old), Surat ..	An old paper.	
	91. Dnyan Chakshu (old), Poona	Not mentioned.	
	92. Dnyan Prakash (old), Poona	Deposit of security was dispensed with as the change in the personality of printer and publisher is merely a formal one.	
	93. Mumukshu (old), Poona ..	A religious paper.	
	94. Poona Mail (new), Poona ..	Non-political.	
	95. Maratha Vaidha (new), Poona ..	Not mentioned	
	96. Pancham George Vaidha (old), Belgaum	An old paper.	
	97. Vshem Samachar (new), Dharwar ..	Non-political	
	98. Dosh Mitra (old), Hyderabad	Not mentioned.	
	99. Sind Journal (old), Hyderabad, ..	Ditto.	
	100. Student (new), Hyderabad ..	Ditto.	
	101. Parsa Sansar (old), Karachi ..	An old periodical well conducted in the past.	

STATEMENT IV—*contd.*

Province.	Name of newspaper.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS
	1912—<i>contd.</i>		
Bombay— <i>contd.</i>	102 Star of India (new), Karachi	Exempted from security as long as the paper remains well conducted	
	103 Mirpurkhas Gazette (new)	Non-political.	
Bengal	104 Saraswat Hitaisi, Calcutta	Declaration necessary owing to change of the place of publication	
	105. Calcutta General Advertiser, Calcutta	Intended for publishing advertisements only	
	106 Ayurveda Patika, Calcutta	A medical journal	
	107. Babosayee, Calcutta	Deals with commercial matters, etc	
	108 Anglo Indian Empire, Calcutta	Undertaking taken that paper would be non-political.	
	109 Bengal Educational Journal, Calcutta	Intended for educational purposes	
	110 Oriental Traveller's Gazette, Calcutta	A journal dealing with travel	
	111 Samaj, Calcutta	Declaration necessary owing to change of the place of publication.	
	112 Helal, Calcutta	Intended for the purposes of improving the social and religious conditions of Muhammadans.	
	113 Current Indian Cases, Calcutta	Intended for legal matters	
	114 Dainik Varat Mitra, Calcutta	Declaration necessary owing to change of the place of publication	
	115 Sasthya Samachar, Calcutta	Not mentioned	
	116 World's Messenger, Calcutta	Intended for industrial, religious and social matters	
	117 Anglo-Indian Empire, Calcutta	Declaration necessary owing to change of the place of publication.	
	118 Srikrishna Chaitanya, Calcutta	A religious paper.	
	119 Birbharat, Calcutta	An old paper	
	120 Sebak, Calcutta	A journal of scientific and commercial education.	
	121 Saraswat Chattri Hitaisi, Calcutta	An old paper, declaration necessary owing to change of the place of publication.	
	122. Prakriti, Calcutta	Contained stories for school boys.	
	123 Journal of the Photographic Society, Calcutta.	Intended for questions of photography.	
	124. Review, Calcutta	Non-political.	
	125 Calcutta General Advertiser, Calcutta.	Declaration necessary owing to change of the place of publication.	
	126 Sat Chasi Surind, Calcutta	An old paper, declaration necessary owing to change of the place of publication.	
	127. Banhi, Calcutta	Non-political.	
	128 Aryan, Calcutta	Declaration necessary owing to change of the place of publication	
	129. Basumati (weekly), Calcutta	Ditto.	
	130. Sanmilani, Calcutta	Intended to deal with social questions affecting the barber caste.	
	131. Indian Express, Calcutta	Declaration necessary owing to change of the place of publication.	
	132. Review, Calcutta	Ditto	

STATEMENT IV—*contd.*

Province.	Name of newspaper.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
	1912—<i>contd.</i>		
<i>id—contd</i>	133 Loyal Citizen, Calcutta	An old paper, declaration necessary owing to change of the place of publication.	
	134 Kush Doha, Calcutta .. .	Ditto	
	135. Sannilani, Calcutta	A religious paper	
	136. Helal, Calcutta	Intended to deal with social and religious conditions of Muhammadans.	
	137 Jans Sthanantya Bhaskar, Calcutta ..	Intended to deal with social and religious matters.	
	138. Culture, Calcutta	Intended to publish biographies and educational matters.	
	139. Anglo-Indian Recorder, Calcutta . .	Non-political	
	140. Manmudi, Calcutta	Intended to publish medical news only.	
	141. World's Recorder, Calcutta	Declaration necessary owing to change of the place of publication.	
	142. Hindu Patriot, Calcutta	An old paper and non-political.	
	143 Arya Kayastha Prathava, Calcutta	Non-political	
	144. Archona, Calcutta .. .	Intended to deal with history and literature.	
	145. Hitaisi, Calcutta	An old paper; declaration necessary owing to change of its name	
	146 Brahman Soma, Calcutta	Non political	
	147. Atithi, Calcutta	Ditto	
	148. Indian Sporting and Dramatic News, Calcutta.	Ditto	
	149 Sudarsan, Calcutta	An old, religious paper and non-political	
	150. Hakim, Calcutta	Intended for advertising medicine	
	151. Bharat Mitra, Calcutta	Non-political	
	152. Mahushya Bandhab, 24-Parganas . .	Ditto	
	153 Gandhabanik Hitaisi, 24-Parganas . .	Ditto	
	154. Mahushya Surhid, 24 Parganas	Ditto	
	155. Rajshahi College Magazine, Dacca . .	Paper was one of only local circulation and non-political	
	156. Dacca College Magazine, Dacca	Ditto	
	157. "Chhatra Surhid," Dacca	Ditto	
	158 Dacca Review, Dacca	Non political.	
	159 Banga Bandhu, Dacca	Ditto	
	160 Homeopathic Samachar, Dacca	Ditto	
	161. Homeopathic Samachar, Dacca	Ditto.	
	162 Parijat, Dacca	Ditto.	
	163 Parijat, Dacca	Ditto.	
	164. Ayurved Hitaisini, Dacca	Ditto	
	165. Chhatra Surhid, Dacca	Ditto.	
	166. Sevak, Dacca	Paper was one of only local circulation and non political.	
	167. Prativa, Dacca	Ditto.	
	168. Snehamaya, Dacca	Ditto.	

STATEMENT IV—*contd*

Province.	Name of newspaper	Summary of reasons for exemption from security	REMARKS.
	1912—<i>contd.</i>		
Bengal— <i>concl.</i>	169 Snehamaye, Dacca	Paper was one of only local circulation and non-political	
	170 Jogi Sammlani Patrika, Tippera	The publisher was a Professor of the Comilla Victoria College, Tippera.	
	171 Shikhsak, and its supplement, Shenapati, Bakarganj.	An old paper published under a new name, dealt purely with religious matters.	
	172. Darjeeling Times, Darjeeling	Security had been taken from the press at which the paper was printed and the keeper was also the printer.	
	173. Laraki Khabar, Darjeeling	Intention was to circulate the news published in the current newspapers regarding the Balkan War.	
	174. Hamdard Islam	Nothing known against publisher	
United Provinces	175 Resalai Naqad	Ditto	
	176 Prem ..	The publisher was a Municipal Commissioner and a zamindar	
	177 Upanyas Prachar ..	Publishes translation of novels	
	178 Bareilly College Magazine ; ..	An educational periodical	
	170 Vaidya (a monthly magazine) ..	Non-political	
	180 Pat Prakash (to be published at Kunchn)	Permission to print this paper at the "Dharam Dwakar Press" without security was given on condition that it contained no political comments	
	181 Gau Hitkari (a monthly Hindi paper) printed at Narain Press	No security was required as no security was demanded in the Meerut district where a similar paper was published	
	182. Bareilly College Magazine ..	A college magazine.	
	183 Life and Light . .	A school magazine	
	184. Burning Bush	A religious paper	
	185 Sarju Parin .. .	A religious, social and moral paper	
	186 Stri Dharm Shikshak	An old established paper	
	187 - Star and Crescent .. .	Regimental magazines of the 17th Cavalry	
	188 Pash Magazine	Not mentioned.	
	189 Meerut College Magazine . .	Ditto	
	190 Baghban	Deals chiefly with gardening.	
	191 Pursharath	To publish no news or comment on news	Never started
	192 Jan Sidhant Prakashak	To deal with religious and social topics only	Not started
	193 Bahai-i-Bazm	Not mentioned	
	194 Jan Ratan Mela	Printer well reported on	
	195 Old Boy	To deal with interests special to the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College.	

STATEMENT IV—*contd.*

Province.	Name of newspaper.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
	1912—<i>contd.</i>		
ed Provinces— <i>contd.</i>	196 Jain Gazette	An almost exclusively religious paper to be supervised by the Government treasurer, Aligarh.	
	197. Sandhya	To be printed at Vallabh Press which was an old press.	
	198. Pandit Ashram Jyotish Vishyak Sachitra Masik Pustak	The periodical published articles on astronomy only	
	199 Vanijya Sukhdayak	An old newspaper	
	200 Andumbar	A security of Rs 1,000 had already been taken from the Lakshmi Narain Press at which the paper was printed	
	201 Madina	Not mentioned	
	202. Al Khahl	Ditto.	
	203 Sri Kan Kuj Hitkari	No security taken as paper has been in existence without security being taken	
	204 Herald of India	The title of "The Commercial Guide" was changed to "The Herald of India."	
	205 C. C. Magazine	} Religious papers	
	206. C C. College Magazine		
	207 The quarterly paper S P. G.		
	208. The Lucknow Diocesan Chronicle		
209. The Piplal Pati			
210. Chota Nagpur			
211. Provincial Times			
212. Azad	The declarer already edits the Zamana which is well reported on.		
213. Mulap, Lyallpur	Security inadmissible under proviso I, Section 8 (1)	Only two issues of the paper were printed at the George Machine Press, Lyallpur. The Editor then wanted to start his own Press under the name of Ralun Press. Rupees 500 security was demanded under section 3 (1), which was not furnished and the paper ceased publication.	
214. Phulwari, Lyallpur	Ditto	Rupees 500 were demanded as a security under section 3 (1) to start the "Phulwari Press" to print this paper. This, however, was not furnished and the paper did not appear	
215. Kam Dhenu, Ludhiana	An old paper.		
216. Laddell's Weekly, Simla	An advertising paper containing local news.		

STATEMENT IV—*contd.*

Province,	Name of newspaper.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.		
	1912—<i>contd.</i>				
Punjab— <i>contd.</i>	217. <i>Mashur-i-Government</i> , Multan	Under proviso I, section 8 (1), security is not admissible	Ceased publication in April 1913.		
	218. <i>Hikmat Sanyas</i> , Gujranwala	Intended to deal with medical subjects only.			
	219. <i>Alfakir</i> , Wazirabad, Gujranwala	Intended to deal with religious subjects only.			
	220. <i>Jami-i-Jahan Numa</i> , Khanke, Gujranwala District.	Non political			
	221. <i>Temperance Gazette</i> , Gujranwala	Paper to be devoted to temperance objects only.			
	222. <i>Sadhu</i> , Delhi	Security inadmissible under section 8 (1) of the Act.			
	223. <i>Practical Medicine</i> , Delhi	Devoted solely to information on medical subjects			
	224. <i>The King Advertiser</i> , Delhi	For advertisements only			
	225. <i>Ahli-Sunnat wal Jamaat</i> , Amritsar	Nothing against publisher			
	226. <i>Anwar ul-Quraish</i> , Amritsar	Ditto			
	227. <i>Nizam-ul-Mashakh</i> , Delhi	Security inadmissible under proviso I, section 8 (1) of the Act			
	228. <i>Khalsa Sewak</i> , Amritsar	Ditto			
	229. <i>All-India Law Journal</i> , Lahore	Ditto.			
	230. <i>Daibar</i> , Lahore	Ditto			
	231. <i>Mahandra College Magazine</i> , Delhi	A technical magazine.			
	232. <i>Himala</i> , Lahore	Security inadmissible under section 8 (1) of the Act			
	233. <i>Nam Dev Patar</i> , Lahore	Ditto			
	234. <i>Parbhat</i> , Lahore	Ditto			
	235. <i>Trades Advertiser</i> , Lahore	Ditto			
	236. <i>Vaid Rattan</i> , Lahore	Ditto.			
	237. <i>Union</i> , Lahore	Security waived as the paper will be of a purely educational nature.			
	238. <i>Bahman Gazette</i> , Rawalpindi	Security inadmissible under section 8 (1) of the Act.			
	239. <i>Tanwir</i> , Sadhaura, Ambala District	A purely religious paper			
	Burma	240. "Burma Critic"		Place of publication changed only.	Ceased publication in 1913.
		241. <i>Burma Nation</i>		Nothing against publisher	
		242. <i>The Light of Burma</i>		Ditto.	
		243. <i>The Watchman</i>		A religious paper.	
		244. <i>Forward</i>		Ditto	
245. <i>Burma Magazine</i>		An old paper			
246. <i>Burma Trades Journal</i>		Nothing against publisher			
247. <i>I C S Students' Association</i>		A magazine only			
248. <i>Burma Mail</i>		Nothing against editor			
249. <i>The Young Burman</i>		Published with a good object.			
250. <i>The Burman Magnet</i>		Small circulation and no influence.			
251. <i>Dasakalu News</i>	Well reported on.				

STATEMENT IV. *contd.*

Provincs.	Name of newspaper.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
	1912—contd.		
<i>a—contd.</i>	252. Sripaty Magazine	Change of place of publication from Mandalay to Rangoon.	
	253. The Burma Mercantile Times	Publisher well reported on.	
	254. Moulmein Budget	General news and advertisements.	
	255. Star of Burma	Well reported on.	
and Orissa	256. Mandala Bonmi	Ditto	
	257. Bihar Patrika, Chapra	Only social and religious matters are published in the paper	
	258. Sambad Bahika, Balasore	An old paper.	
	259. Ranchi Church Messenger, Ranchi ..	A religious paper.	
	260. Maarif, Patna City	Well reported on.	
	261. Patna Akhbar, Patna	Not mentioned	The paper has ceased publication.
	262. Rahnuma, Patna City (Formerly used to be printed in Ghazipur)	Exempted from depositing security in Gaya	The press at which the paper was printed has since closed.
	263. Boharoo, Patna City	The press at which the paper was to be printed had good record.	
nd Provinces	264. Sumata	The proprietor of the paper was registered as keeper of the press.	
	265. Jain Wagilas	Not mentioned.	
	266. Jubbulpore Post	The paper is unlikely to be used for more than fair comment.	
.. ..	267. Bengal and Assam Prayer Circular, Sylhet Sadr.	A religious publication.	
	268. Phring Phrang, Tura, Garo Hills ..	The paper was to deal chiefly with religious and educational matters.	
	269. Assam Banti, Tezpur, Darrang ..	The paper was in existence before the passing of the Press Act and had been well conducted	
West Frontier inoc.	N/A.		
.. ..	N/A.		
	1913		
.. ..	1. Santha Manollasa Sabha Magazine, North Arcot District.	Devoted to the advancement of vedantham, agriculture, industry and allied subjects.	
	2. Shri Krishna Sukti, South Canara District.	A religious paper.	
	3. Jain Randhu, South Canara District	Deals only with religious subjects of interest to Jains.	
	4. Swadeshablamani, South Canara District.	An old paper. Fresh registration due to change in premises.	
	5. The Disciple, Chingleput District ..	Deals with theosophical and philosophical speculations. Intended only for members of the theosophical society.	
	6. The Commonweal, Chingleput District	A theosophical and educational work with notes on foreign and local news.	

STATEMENT IV.—*contd.*

Province.	Name of newspaper.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
<i>Madras—contd.</i>	1913—<i>contd.</i>		
	7. The Sri Lakshmi Venkateswara Patrika, Tirupati.	Purely a religious magazine.	
	8. The Asha, Ganjam District ..	Printed at the Asha Press, security from which was demanded and furnished.	
	9 Andhra Samrakshani, Gudavari District	Non-political.	
	10 The Dharma, Gudavari District .	Ditto	
	11. Dharma Sadhani, Gudavari District	Ditto	
	12. Hindu Sundari, Gudavari District ..	Ditto.	
	13. Samachar, Gudavari District ..	A purely commercial paper.	
	14. The Ravi, Gudavari District	Merely a change of publisher.	
	15 Swadhrama Prakasika, Guntur District	An old paper dealing with literary and philosophical matters	
	16 The Industry, Ellore	Deals with industry.	
	17 The Grhalakshmi, Ellore . ..	Deals purely with female education.	
	18 The Agriculture, Kistna District	Declaration due to a change of the press.	
	19 Antiseptic, Madras District .	A medical periodical.	
	20 Anglo-Indian, Madras District .	Printer of journal is also keeper of press at which journal is printed.	
	21 Bystander of India, Madras District	Ditto	
	22 Bible Faith Mission Standard, Madras District.	Ditto	
	23 Criminal Law Review, Madras District	Well reported on	
	24 Contemporary Law Review, Madras District.	Printer and keeper of press at which journal is printed are the same.	
	25 The Digest of Indian Case Law, Madras District	Well reported on	
	26. The Indian Patriot, Madras District	Publisher and printer of journal are the same and printer is also keeper of press at which journal is printed.	
	27 The Indian Law Journal, Madras District	Ditto	
	28. The Indian Railway Journal, Madras District	Printer of journal is also keeper of press at which journal is printed.	
	29 The Law Weekly, Madras District	Ditto.	
	30 The Madras Law Journal . ..	Ditto.	
	31 Municipal News, Madras District .	Ditto.	
	32 Madras Law Times	Printer of journal is also keeper of press at which journal is printed	
	33 Madras Bulletin of Co-operation	Ditto	
	34 Madras	Ditto.	
	35 Madras Medical Journal	Ditto.	
	36. The New Reformer, Madras District	Ditto.	
	37 Newington School Magazine, Madras District.	Purely literary and intended primarily for Newington School, Teynampet.	
	38. Popular Scientific Journal, Madras District.	Publisher and printer of journal are the same and printer is also keeper of press at which journal is printed.	

STATEMENT IV.—*contd.*

Province,	Name of newspaper.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security	REMARKS.
	1913—<i>contd.</i>		
<i>Madras—contd.</i>	39 Presentation Annual, Madras District	Printer of journal is also keeper of press at which journal is printed.	
	40. Robert's Billiard Notes, Madras District	Ditto.	
	41. S P G High School Magazine, Madras District.	Deals with educational topics Intended chiefly for students of S P G Mission school, Trichinopoly.	
	42. Students' Own Magazine, Madras District.	Printer of journal is also keeper of press at which journal is printed.	
	43. St. Mary's Magazine, Madras District	Ditto	
	44 South Indian Trade Journal (English), Madras District.	Ditto.	
	45 Sangitasatsampradayadeepika, Madras District	Ditto.	
	46 Scientific Manuring, Madras District	Printer of journal is manager of the Ananda Press at which journal is printed Intended to improve knowledge of agriculture	
	47 Bhuloka Vyasan, Madras District ..	Printer and publisher of journal are the same and journal is printed at press, keeper of which is printer himself.	
	48 Chattabodhini, Madras District ..	Ditto.	
	49. Gnana Bhanu, Madras District ..	Printer of journal is keeper of press at which journal is printed.	
	50 Kathamanjari, Madras District	Ditto.	
	51. Kalyuga Vaitthamant, Madras District	Publisher and printer of journal are the same Printer is keeper of press at which journal is printed.	
	52 Liva-ul Islam, Madras District ..	Ditto.	
	53. Mohi-ul Islam, Madras District.	Ditto.	
	54. Swadesha Mitran, Madras District ..	Ditto	
	55 South Indian Trade Journal (Tamil), Madras District.	Printer of journal is also keeper of press at which journal is printed	
	56 Tamil Zonana Magazine, Madras District .	Ditto.	
	57 Vythia Kalanidhi, Madras District ..	Ditto	
	58 Viveka Bodhini, Madras District ..	Ditto.	
	59. Vythia Bhushani, Madras District ..	Ditto	
	60. Vavahara Chintamani, Madras District.	Ditto	
	61. Viswakarma Kulopakari, Madras District.	Publisher of journal is also printer and keeper of press at which journal is printed.	
	62. Viswakarma, Madras District ..	Ditto.	
	63 Vanniyakula Mitran, Madras District	Printer of journal is also keeper of press at which journal is printed.	
	64 Vithavan, Madras District ..	Ditto.	
	65. Andrasahitya Parishat Patuka, Madras District.	Ditto.	
	66 Veerakesari, Madras District ..	Ditto.	
	67 Vidyaprabodhan, Madras District ..	Ditto.	
	68. Al Therjuman, Madras District ..	Ditto.	

STATEMENT IV.—*contd.*

Province.	Name of newspaper.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS
	1913—<i>contd.</i>		
Madras— <i>contd.</i>	60 Allhami and its supplement, Madras District.	Publisher of journal is also printer and keeper of press at which it is printed	
	70 Aithab-i-Deccan, Madras District	Ditto	
	71 Al-Mazmun, Madras District	Ditto	
	72 Kurshid, Madras District	Ditto	
	73 Mouvenk, Madras District	Ditto	
	74. Qoumi report, Madras District	Ditto	
	75 Rafi-Kul-Azathurzh, Madras District	Printer of journal is also keeper of press at which journal is printed	
	76 Showkatul-Islam, Madras District	Ditto.	
	77 Basel Mission College Magazine, Malabar District.	A school magazine.	
	78. Kerala Kammala Mitran, Malabar District.	Deals with industrial and social topics.	
	79. Manavikraman, Malabar District	Non-political.	
	80. Mithavathi, Malabar District	Printer and publisher of journal is keeper of press at which it is printed	
	81 Parasparapakara Tatvabodhini, Madras District.	Non-political.	
	82. Indian Importers' Guide and Weekly Advertiser, Negapatam.	Security dispensed with so long as only advertisements are printed.	
	83. Vakil Gumastahs' journal, Madras District	Deals with legal acts and decisions of courts, agriculture, trade, industry and advertisements	
	84 Children's Herald, Tinnevely District	Cases of re-registration.	
	85. Bahar Nesan, Tinnevely District		
	86. Friendly Instructor, Tinnevely District		
	87 Indian Missionary News, Tinnevely District		
	88 Water of Life, Tinnevely District		
	89 Young Men's Friend, Tinnevely District		
	90 C M S College Magazine, Tinnevely	Non-political.	
	91. The Monthly Letter, Tinnevely District	Ditto.	
	92 The Loka Mitran, Tinnevely District	Ditto.	
	93 The South Indian Templar, Tinnevely District	Ditto.	
	94. Desseya Missionary Prabaska, Vizagapatam District	A religious magazine.	
	95 Teacher, Vizagapatam District	Discusses only teaching methods	
Bombay	96. Akhbar-i-Soudagar (old), Bombay	Deals with general topics only	
	97 Bombay Gujarati (new), Bombay	A weekly paper, treating in religious and social matters.	
	98 Byopar Samachar (new), Bombay	Contains quotations, statistics and market tons regarding cotton, grain and seeds, etc.	
	99 Catholic Sovostacar (old), Bombay	Religious paper	
	100 The Examiner (new), Bombay	Ditto.	
	101 Hindi Punch (old), Bombay	A comic paper.	
	102 Itchad (new), Bombay	Non-political.	

STATEMENT IV—*contd.*

Provinces.	Name of newspaper.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
	1913—<i>contd.</i>		
<i>—contd.</i>	103 Jain (old), Bombay	Non-political.	
	104 Khan Bahadur Punch (new), Bombay	A comic paper.	
	105 Parsi (old), Bombay	An old well conducted paper.	
	106 The Railway Times (old), Bombay	Deals purely with railway matters.	
	107 Reuter's Indian Journal (new), Bombay	A journal containing Reuter's news	
	108. Sayaji-Vijaya (old), Bombay	The paper is of long-standing	
	109 Truth India (new), Bombay	Nothing known against declarant.	
	110 The Urdu Punch (new), Bombay	Not mentioned.	
	111 Vinod, Bombay	A comic paper.	
	112 Ahmedabad Samachar (old), Ahmedabad.	Not mentioned	
	113. Gujarat Times (new), Ahmedabad	Ditto	
	114. Kathawar Samachar, (old) Ahmedabad.	Ditto	
	115 Rajya Mitra (new), Ahmedabad	Ditto	
	116 Shri Jain Advocate (new), Ahmedabad	Ditto	
	117 Aryabhenu (new), Ahmednagar	The paper aims at reforming the social religious and educational condition of the backward classes	
	118 Poona Observer (new), Poona	Not mentioned.	
	119 Sholapur Samachar (new), Sholapur	Ditto	
	120 Matheran Jottings (new), Kolaba	Ditto.	
	121 Bhatia Mitra (new), Hyderabad	Ditto	
	122 Prabhat (old), Hyderabad	Ditto.	
	123 Sind Bhasvar (Hindi Sindhi), Hyderabad	Ditto.	
	124 Sind Bhaskar, Hyderabad	Ditto	
	125 Star of India (new), Hyderabad	Ditto	
	126. Sind Observer (old), Karachi	The periodical is an existing one, exempted from security so long as his press is well conducted	
	127 Samachar (old), Karachi	The periodical is an existing one.	
	128. Sind Gazette (old), Karachi	Ditto	
	129 Hitechhehu (new), Karachi	Exempted from security so long as the paper is well conducted	
	130 Karachi Exchange Gazette and Advertiser (old), Karachi.	An existing periodical, exempted from security so long as it remains well conducted.	
	131 Trade Advertiser (new), Sukkur	The declarant undertakes to publish nothing objectionable	
	132. Nayak, Calcutta	Undertaking given that paper would be non political.	
	133. Calcutta	Undertaking given that paper would publish historical matter only	
	134. Indian World, Calcutta	An old paper	
	135. Indian Nation, Calcutta	Intended for educational purposes.	
	136 Jumuna, Calcutta	Undertaking given that paper would be non-political.	

STATEMENT IV—*contd.*

Province.	Name of newspapers.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security	REMARK
	1913—<i>contd.</i>		
Bengal— <i>contd.</i>	137 Calcutta Case Law, Calcutta	Intended for publication of legal matters.	
	138 All India Criminal Report, Calcutta	Intended for publication of judgments in criminal cases	
	139 Brahma Bidya, Calcutta	Intended for publication of scientific and theological matters	
	140 Freety, Calcutta	Non-political	
	141 Agarwala, Calcutta	Intended to deal with social matters.	
	142 Musical News, Calcutta	Paper published musical news only.	
	143 Natya Patrika, Calcutta	Undertaking given that paper would be non-political	
	144 Darsak, Calcutta	Ditto.	
	145 Projapati, Calcutta	Declaration necessary owing to change of the place of publication	
	146 Sudharak, Calcutta	Non-political.	
	147 Pancharak, Calcutta	Not mentioned.	
	148 Anglo-Indian Review, Calcutta	Intended to further the interests of the Anglo-Indian community.	
	149 Sangsar Surhit, Calcutta	Declaration necessary owing to change of the name of the paper.	
	150 Officers' Monthly Journal, Calcutta	Intended to publish the names of gazetted officers, their pay, etc.	
	151 Uchhas, Calcutta	Intended to publish stories and to deal with literary subjects.	
	152 Gramophone and Sports, Calcutta	Intended to advertise declarant's musical business.	
	153 Projapati, Calcutta	Declaration necessary owing to change of the place of publication.	
	154 Dharma Procharak, Calcutta	Intended to deal with religious subjects.	
	155. Tatwa Manjari, Calcutta	Intended to deal with religious matters only.	
	156 Spectator, Calcutta	Declaration necessary owing to change of the place of publication.	
	157 Sai, Calcutta	Intended to publish literary articles, stories, etc	
	158 Kalyani, Calcutta	Intended to publish literary, social and religious matters.	
	159 Al-Basayar, Calcutta	Intended to publish stories and fables and to deal with religious subjects	
	160 Al-Ellahad-ul-Islami, Calcutta	Ditto	
	161 Arghya, Calcutta	Intended to publish articles on religious and literary subjects	
	162 Dhruba, Calcutta	Intended to publish stories for children.	
	163. Manashu, Calcutta	Undertaking given that paper would be non-political.	
	164. Indian Military Records, Calcutta	Declaration necessary owing to change of the name of the paper.	
	165. Tundu Rasi, Calcutta	Exempted, as the declarant was the declared publisher of other papers.	
	166. Calcutta Weekly Notes, Calcutta	Nothing known against the declarant.	
	167. Bardik Sarbaswa, Calcutta	Nothing known against declarant and paper was intended to publish religious matters only.	

STATEMENT IV—contd.

Province.	Name of newspaper.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
	<i>1913—contd.</i>		
Bengal—contd.	168. Marwari Samachar, Calcutta ..	Declaration necessary owing to change of the name of paper.	
	169. Review, Calcutta	Declaration necessary owing to change of the place of publication	
	170. Paricharak, Calcutta .. .	Ditto.	
	171. Babosayee, Calcutta . . .	Ditto.	
	172. Sandesh, Calcutta	Nothing known against declarant.	
	173. Rajdoot, Calcutta	Intended to publish religious matters only.	
	174. Statesman, Calcutta	Nothing known against declarant.	
	175. Diamond Harbour Hitash, Calcutta.	Non-political	
	176. Sanmilani, 24-Parganas ..	Ditto.	
	177. Nigar-i-Begum, 24-Parganas ..	Exempted on the condition that the paper was non-political.	
	178. Gardiner's Magazine, 24-Parganas ..	A technical paper.	
	179. Banik, 24 Parganas. .. .	Dealt with social matters only.	
	180. Probahni, 24 Parganas .. .	Nothing known against printer and publisher.	
	181. Dacca Gazette, Dacca .. .	The paper was one of only local circulation and well reported on.	
	182. Chhatra Sakha, Dacca .. .	Ditto.	
	183. The East, Dacca	Ditto.	
	184. Shourobh, Dacca	Ditto.	
	185. Samaj Chitra, Dacca . . .	Ditto.	
	186. Islamava, Dacca	Ditto.	
	187. Krishi Sampad, Dacca . . .	Ditto.	
	188. Ayurbed Vikash, Dacca .. .	Ditto.	
	189. Arnybed Vikash, Dacca .. .	Ditto.	
	190. Sumati, Dacca	Ditto.	
	191. Prativa, Dacca	Ditto.	
	192. Snehamaye and Jagannath College Magazine, Dacca	The paper was one of only local circulation and well reported on.	
	193. Biswabarta, Shukha Samachar and Toani ", Dacca.	Ditto.	
	194. Bakhya Sanmilan, Dacca . .	Ditto.	
	195. Sachamaye, Dacca	Ditto.	
	196. Dacca Prokash, Dacca .. .	Declaration necessary owing to change of the publisher.	
	197. Prativa, Dacca	The paper was one of only local circulation and well reported on.	
	198. Serampore, Hooghly	Non-political	
	199. Faridpur Hitashini, Faridpur .	A well-conducted paper in existence before the Indian Press Act, 1910, was passed.	
	200. Yogi Sammilani, Tippera . . .	Exempted as he was exempted from depositing security when he declared himself as keeper of the press at which the newspaper was to be printed.	
	201. Burns' Monthly Magazine, Howrah ..	Dealt with matters concerning the iron and engineering trade.	

STATEMENT IV—*contd.*

Province.	Name of newspaper.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
	1913—<i>contd.</i>		
Bengal— <i>contd.</i>	202. Darjeeling Mail, Darjeeling	Exempted, as security has been taken from the press at which the paper was printed, and the keeper of the press was also printer and publisher.	
	203. Mission News, Darjeeling	.. A religious paper	
United Provinces	204. Tula Patra (Hindi paper)	.. Undertaking given that nothing objectionable would be published.	
	205. Budam District Gazette	.. Issued under the order of Government, and edited by a Deputy Collector	
	206. Farukhabad Gazette	.. The organ of the Board Managed and edited by members of the Provincial Civil Service	
	207. District Gazette (Urdu and Hindi)	.. An official paper under the direct control of the Chairman, District Board, and edited by a Deputy Collector	
	208. Sitapur District Gazette	.. Owned by the District Board and edited and published by a Deputy Collector	
	209. Efadah	.. On account of the publisher's status	
	210. The Egypt	.. An educational journal	
	211. The Bareilly College Magazine	.. Ditto	
	212. Musafir	.. The paper had been well conducted by the former publisher for three years.	
	213. Krishna Chaitanya Chandrika	.. An old periodical dealing with religious matters	
	214. Acharya	.. Non political	
	215. Rohlkhand Gazette	.. An old paper.	
	216. Meston News	.. Undertaking taken that nothing objectionable would be published	
	217. Colonel	.. This was an application for the renewal of an old well-conducted paper	
	218. Arya Sewak Bharatodaya	.. Undertaking taken that nothing objectionable would be published	
	219. Nizam-ul Mulk	.. Ditto.	
	220. Bharat Nam Hitkari (a monthly Hindi paper)	.. Nothing against editor	
	221. Nasir-ul-Akhtar	.. Ditto	
	222. Masawat	.. Well reported on.	
	223. Journal of the Permanent Way Institute of India.	.. A scientific journal.	
	224. Al Shahid (weekly)	.. Nothing against declaration.	
	225. The Innsikilliner	.. A regimental journal.	
	226. Kayastha Samsaohar	} Not mentioned.	
	227. Kanya Manoranjan		
	228. Kanya Sarnaswa	.. A girls' paper	
	229. Samindan Patricia	.. Not mentioned	
	230. Vidya-rathi	.. To be devoted to educational and moral subjects.	
	231. Home Works	.. A students' magazine.	

STATEMENT IV—*contd.*

Province.	Name of newspaper.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
	1913—<i>contd.</i>		
d Provinces— ii.	232 Shashu	A paper intended for the advancement of education	
	233 Kashatriya (Hindi edition)	A security of Rs 500 already taken from the Saraswati Press at which the paper was to be printed.	
	234 Bishakirti	Exempted as being published at the Badrikedar-shwar Press from which a security of Rs 500 had already been taken.	
	235 Indian Commercial Advertiser	} Undertaking given that nothing objectionable would be printed	
	236 Anwar-i-Qamar		
	237 Alamgr	The paper had been published before the Act came into force	
	238 Jat-i-Hitchintak	The "Dawadash Shreni Press" at which the paper was to be printed, had already furnished a security of Rs 500	
	239 Monthly Risala Usia	Not mentioned	
	240 Cawnpore Gazette	Nothing known against printer and publisher	
	241. Rozana Azad	Not mentioned	
	242. Jiwan	Ditto.	
	243 Cawnpore Gazette (Hindi edition) ..	A daily development of an existing weekly	
	244 Stri Siksha	Well reported on.	
	245 The Partap	The management of the paper is in the hands of a Board.	
b	246 Sullah Kul, Maghiana, Jhang	Intended to deal with medical and social subjects.	Publication of the newspaper ceased on 1st December 1913.
	247 Nur Afshan, Ludhiana	An old mission paper	
	248. The Simla Times, Simla	Devoted solely to the publishing of advertisements and social news.	
	249. Alfazal, Qadian, Gurdaspur District	As other publications issued from Qadian were without security	
	250 The Nur, Qadian, Gurdaspur District	This paper was formerly printed at the "Islamic Press", Lahore, and no security was taken in this district when the printing of it was transferred to the "Nur Press", Qadian.	
	251 Prom Belas, Gujranwala	Purely a religious paper	
	252. Miftah-ul-Israr, Jullundur Cantonment.	Undertaking given that paper would only publish matters on purely medical and sanitary subjects.	
	253. Darwesh, Jhelum	Well reported on.	
	254. The Darbar, Amritsar	Is published under the supervision of the Principal, Khalsa College, Amritsar	
	255 Alusa, Amritsar	Publisher well reported on.	Paper since ceased to exist.
	256. The Army Gazette, Rawalpindi ..	Not mentioned.	
	257. Nesam-i-Hind, Rawalpindi	Security inadmissible under section 8 (1) of the Act.	
	258. Quarterly Journal, Supply and Transport Corps, Mhow	Is a departmental journal.	

STATEMENT IV—*contd.*

Province.	Name of newspaper.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS
	1913—<i>contd.</i>		
Punjab— <i>contd.</i>	259. Adab, Lahore	Security inadmissible under section 8 (1) of the Act.	
	260. Alfanun, Lahore	Non-political.	
	261. All India Advertiser, Lahore ..	Security waived provided the publication is confined strictly to advertisements.	
	262. Ahl-i-Hadis, Amritsar	Security inadmissible under section 8 (1) of the Act.	
	263. Ayurved (English), Lahore	Security waived as the journal will be purely medical.	
	264. Brahman Rai Patrika, Lahore	Not mentioned.	
	265. Durbar (English), Amritsar	Security inadmissible under section 8 (1) of the Act.	
	266. District Gazette no 3, Lahore	Will deal only with Good Templar matters	
	267. Educational Gazette, Lahore	Will deal only with educational matters.	
	268. Forman Christian College Notes, Lahore.	Security inadmissible under section 8 (1) of the Act.	
	269. Ganga, Lahore	Not mentioned.	
	270. Higher Life, Lahore	Non-political.	
	271. Istri Sudar Patra, Lahore	Will be devoted to the uplifting of women.	
	272. Kalash, Lahore	Security inadmissible under section 8 (1) of the Act.	
	273. Labana Sikh Samachar, Lahore	Ditto.	
	274. Miftah-ul-Israr, Amritsar	Ditto.	
	275. Mahabir, Lahore	Ditto.	
	276. Mashih-i-Kosish, Lahore	A religious publication.	
	277. Philatelic Journal of India, Lahore ..	Security inadmissible under section 8 (1) of the Act.	
	278. Paigham-i-Sulah, Lahore	Ditto.	
	279. Rozgar, Lahore	Ditto.	
	280. Risala Vedic Dhanwantri, Lahore	A religious publication.	
	281. Shamshir-i-Qalam, Lahore	Security inadmissible under section 8 (1) of the Act.	
	282. Supply and Transport Corps Journal, Lahore.	Ditto.	
	283. Usha, Lahore	Ditto.	
	284. Urdu, Lahore	Ditto.	
	285. Uch Jiwan, Lahore	Will deal with scientific and religious subjects.	
	286. Vaidya Bhushan, Lahore	Merely a medical publication.	
	287. Vaid Amrit, Lahore	Ditto.	
	288. Within and Without, Lahore	Security inadmissible under section 8 (1) of the Act.	
	289. Zareef, Lahore	Ditto.	
	290. Pernami Samachar, Montgomery	A religious paper.	
Burma	291. The Burma Monthly	A semi-religious magazine.	
	292. The Burma Economist	An industrial paper.	
	293. The Evangelist	A religious paper.	

STATEMENT IV—*contd.*

Province.	Name of newspaper.	Summary of reasons for exemption from security.	REMARKS.
	1913—<i>contd.</i>		
Orissa— <i>contd.</i>	294. The Commercial Intelligence	.. Deals with trades, industry and general education.	
	295. The Burma Trade Review ..	.. A trade journal.	
	296. Aungmyingala Advertiser	.. Security has already been given for the Aungmyingala Press.	
	297. The Rangoon Diocesan Magazine	.. Paper connected with the work of the S. P. G. Mission.	
	298. Work amongst mountain men	.. Ditto.	
	299. The Sunrise .. ..	.. Ditto.	
	300. Kak Min Yit Pao .. ..	.. Press of the same name furnished security of Rs. 1,000.	
Orissa ..	301. Puribasi, Puri .. ..	.. Publisher well reported on.	
	302. Al Mudabir, Bankipore	.. Well known gentlemen are directors of the newspaper.	
	303. Atma Vidya, Bankipore,	.. Undertaking given that paper would be devoted entirely to the discussion of religious and moral subjects.	
Central Provinces ..	304. Nutan Pramod Sindhu ..	.. Nothing known against editor and printer.	
	305. Bharat .. .. .	.. Exempted from furnishing security as the character and behaviour of the proprietor have been satisfactory since his prosecution in 1908 as Editor of the "Kartavya".	
	306. Hitvada .. .	.. An unobjectionable paper.	
Assam ..	307. Assam Bandhab, Dibrugarh, Lakhimpur	.. Non-political.	
	308. Arjya Darpan, Jorhat, Sibsagar	.. A religious magazine.	
	309. Assam Bilashini, Jorhat, Sibsagar	.. Non-political.	
	310. Achikna Ripeng, Tura, Garo Hills	.. A religious and educational paper	
North-West Frontier Province.	<i>Nil.</i>		
Bengal ..	<i>Nil.</i>		
Bihar	311. Asmat .. .	.. Security for the Tamadun Press (at which the paper is printed) had been given.	
	312. Rafiq .. ..	.. Security had been given for the "Baitul Sharaf" Press at which the Rafiq is printed.	
	313. Comrade	} Security had been given for the "Comrade and Hamdard" Press at which the papers are printed.	
	314. Hamdard		
	315. Tabab .. ..	.. Security had been given for the "Darwish Press" at which the paper is printed.	
	316. Hindu Sahasak .. ..	.. Security had been given for the press.	
	317. Pioneer Delhi Supplement ..	.. A temporary offshoot of the original paper.	
	318. Photographic Times of India	.. A journal for photographic pictures.	

APPENDIX F.

[Referred to in the Answer to Question 1]

Statement showing the number of appointments in all grades of the service from Rs. 50 and upwards in the Post Office held by (1) Hindus (2) Mussalmans and (3) others, in the Presidency of Bengal.

Pay of grade	Total number of appointments in grade.	NUMBER OF PERSONS IN GRADE.		
		Hindus	Mussalmans	Others
Rs.				
3,500—4,000	1	...	...	1
2,250	2	...	...	2
1,750	1	...	...	1
1,200—1,400	1	...	...	1
1,000—1,200	1	...	...	1
1,000	2	1	...	1
800	2	...	...	2
500—600	4	3	...	1
400—600	1	1	...	...
400—500	8	8	...	...
300—400	10	10	...	9
200—300	11	5	...	6
250	7	5	2	...
200—250	1	...	...	1
200	3	3	...	...
150—200	30	17	2	11
150	3	2	...	1
100—150	58	49	4	5
125	2	1	...	1
100	116	95	3	8
80—100	9	8	...	1
80	141	132	6	3
60—80	15	12	1	2
75	5	3	1	1
70	163	153	4	6
60	327	295	23	9
50—80	16	16	...	...
50	539	480	47	12
Total	1,478	1,299	97	86

APPENDIX G.

[Referred to in the Answer to Question 1].

Statement showing the number of appointments in all grades of the Service from Rs 50 and upwards in the Telegraph Department held by (1) Hindus (2) Mussalmans and (3) others in the Presidency of Bengal.

Pay of grade.	Total number of appointments in grade.	NUMBER OF PERSONS IN GRADE.		
		Hindu.	Mussalmans.	Others
50	1	...	...	1
60	1	...	...	1
70	1	...	...	1
1,250	14	1	...	13
850	3	3	...	...
1,250	1	...	...	1
...	1	...	...	1
800	7	...	...	7
500	1	1	...	...
450	5	...	...	5
400	9	...	...	9
325	13	1	...	12
300	2	2	...	...
250	43	6	...	37
250	2	1	...	1
240	1	1	...	...
250	1	1	...	...
200	4	3	...	1
180	2	2	...	...
5-300	1	...	...	1
200	378	6	2	370
130	92	73	...	19
5-150	2	2	...	...
0-150	5	3	...	2
0-120	1	1	...	...
0	2	2	...	...
0	2	...	...	2
10	7	7	...	...
1	2	2	...	...
1-100	7	7	...	...
Carried over	611	125	2	484

Statement showing the No. of appointments in all grades of the Service from Rs. 50 and upwards in the Telegraph Department held by (1) Hindus (2) Mussalmans and (3) others in the Presidency of Bengal—contd.

Pay of grade.					Total number of appointments in grade.	NUMBER OF PERSONS IN GRADE.		
						Hindus.	Mussalmans	Others.
Brought forward ...					611	125	2	484
Rs.								
80	...	..	...	...	5	4	...	1
60—80	...	...	...	...	8	8	...	...
50—80	...	...	...	...	9	4	5	...
75	...	...	...	...	9	9	...	...
70	..	...	...	...	10	7	...	3
40—80	...	...	...	...	8	5	...	3
50—75	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...
85	...	...	...	...	5	5	...	...
60	...	...	...	...	4	3	...	1
50—80	...	...	...	...	11	11	...	...
55	...	...	..	...	12	9	1	2
50	...	...	...	...	49	44	...	5
35—60	...	...	...	...	2	..	...	2
Total ..					744	234	9	501

APPENDIX H.

[Referred to in the Answer to Question 2].

Year.	Number of no-interest account.	Balance.		Approximate interest which would have been earned for the year.	
		Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
1885-86	(Not available)	97,913	10 7	2,985	0 0
1886-87	(do)	1,52,497	10 6	5,092	0 0
1887-88	(do)	1,65,738	5 6	5,512	0 0
1893-94	4351	3,66,797	15 1	13,782	0 0
1894-95	4606	3,70,839	7 8	10,539	0 0
1895-96	5078	4,12,941	10 4	11,713	0 0
1896-97	5574	4,39,730	5 7	13,808	0 0
1897-98	5979	3,95,708	0 1	11,927	0 0
1898-99	5356	4,07,293	12 8	11,910	0 0
1899-00	5149	3,90,344	15 8	11,485	0 0
1900-01	5572	4,26,949	12 8	12,383	0 0
1901-02	5723	4,55,235	5 3	13,115	0 0
1902-03	6048	4,58,741	8 10	13,108	0 0
1903-04	6596	5,17,227	6 7	15,293	0 0
1904-05	6970	5,37,856	2 11	15,331	0 0
1905-06	7222	5,66,611	15 3	16,065	0 0
1906-07	7395	5,43,708	3 1	15,513	0 0
1907-08	7622	5,56,390	15 0	15,767	0 0
1908-09	8220	5,86,861	4 2	16,787	0 0
1909-10	8487	5,82,898	13 11	16,508	0 0
1910-11	8967	6,59,099	2 3	18,075	0 0
1911-12	9450	6,74,208	9 5	18,215	0 0
22 years.	...	...	...	Total 284,283	0 0
Average amount of interest that would have accrued on 'No-interest' accounts for each of the 22 years				12,922	0 0

Explanation.

The Director General of Posts and Telegraphs has been able to ascertain from his records and from those of the Accountant-General, Post Office and Telegraphs, the number of 'No-interest' accounts and the total balances of the same from 1891-4 to 1911-12, as well as the balance of such accounts for 1885-6 to 1887-8. Those for 1912-13 are not available.

A rough estimate of the interest which would have accrued on these 'No-interest' accounts, if it had been claimed, can be made by comparing these balances with the total Savings Bank balances at the end of each year. The interest on these accounts will approximately bear the same ratio to the total interest paid as the 'No-interest' balances bear to the total balances less 'No-interest' balances.

APPENDIX I.

[Referred to in the Answer to Question 5.]

Statement showing the number of pilgrims who went to the Hedjaz through Bombay from each province of India and Native States.

Names of Provinces in India and Native States.	Year 1903	Year 1908.	Year 1904	Year 1905.	Year 1906 *	Year 1907.*	Year 1908.	Year 1909	Year 1910	Year 1911.	Year 1912.
Bombay Presidency (exclusive of Sind).	757	2,114	1,719	2,754	..	..	713	1,091	615	986	679
Sind	97	1,118	1,031	..	..	..	1,947	1,023	1,346	1,995	667
Bengal Presidency (including Bihar and Orissa and Assam)	585	4,151	3,359	3,947	..	..	5,648	3,424	4,289	6,200	4,937
Madras Presidency (including Mysore).	290	3,717	317	489	..	..	826	771	747	1,248	611
United Provinces and Oudh ..	644	3,573	1,499	2,452	..	..	1,977	1,739	2,937	2,936	1,697
Punjab and North-West Frontier	272	1,436	1,736	2,608	..	..	1,779	2,374	2,376	2,320	1,667
Central Provinces	15	..	185	69	..	..	35	222	569	328	427
Burma .. ..	..	..	8	15	..	..	154	183	252	236	87
NATIVE STATES.											
Central India (including Bhopal and Indore States but excluding Gwalior).	232	976	419	406	..	..	125	79	221	160	147
Kathiawar .. ..	..	..	..	365	..	..	129	215	253	266	163
Hyderabad (Deccan) ..	208	..	..	473	..	..	251	416	241	228	267
Faroda .. ..	..	..	..	36	..	..	41	24	64	22	27
Gwalior .. ..	..	..	..	27	..	..	..	7	23	43	21
Palanpur .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..
Lasbela .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	25	15	..
Malhve Islands .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..
Dhar State .. ..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Darbhanga .. ..	..	..	..	18	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Patiala .. ..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Jaipur .. ..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	19	..	..	..
Jodhpur .. ..	..	..	..	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Udaipur .. ..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Other Rajputana States ..	..	235	..	140	..	..	72	82	209	56	..
Kashmir	24	..	..	14	..	..	25	12	23	..	..
Rampur States .. ..	..	..	..	132	..	..	..	97	50	122	..
Nepal .. ..	..	17	49	..	..	..	1	11	3	6	..
Bhutan .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..
Unclassified	371	198	..	163	..	..	839	1,306	1,110	811	1,147
TOTAL	3,490	15,532	10,773	16,226	..	..	13,269	13,066	15,619	13,613	12,777

* Classification for the two years is not available.

APPENDIX J.

[Referred to in the Answer to Question 6.]

CADRES ON 31st MARCH 1912.		PROVINCIAL CADRES ON 1st APRIL 1912. (c).		CADRES ON 1st APRIL 1912 AS FINALLY SANCTIONED BY SECRETARY OF STATE. (c).	
Bengal.	Eastern Bengal and Assam.	Bengal and Assam (a).	Bihar and Orissa.	Bengal and Assam (a).	Bihar and Orissa.
1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Subordinate Judges.</i>	<i>Subordinate Judges.</i>	<i>Subordinate Judges.</i>	<i>Subordinate Judges.</i>	<i>Subordinate Judges.</i>	<i>Subordinate Judges.</i>
Ra.	Ra.	Ra.	Ra.	Ra.	Ra.
5 on 1,000 . . .	3 on 1,000 . . .	6 on 1,000 . . .	2 on 1,000 . . .	7 on 1,000 . . .	2 on 1,000 . . .
10 on 800 . . .	8 on 800 . . .	12 on 800 . . .	6 on 800 . . .	14 on 800 . . .	6 on 800 . . .
23 on 600 . . .	13 on 600 . . .	24 on 600 . . .	12 on 600 (b) . . .	27 on 600 . . .	11 on 600 (b) . . .
tal 38 . . .	24 . . .	42 . . .	20 . . .	48 . . .	19 . . .
<i>Munsifs.</i>	<i>Munsifs.</i>	<i>Munsifs.</i>	<i>Munsifs.</i>	<i>Munsifs.</i>	<i>Munsifs.</i>
Ra.	Ra.	Ra.	Ra.	Ra.	Ra.
....	12 on 500 . . .	12 on 500 . . .	....	25 on 500 . . .	....
50 on 400 . . .	31 on 400 . . .	61 on 400 . . .	20 on 400 . . .	49 on 400 . . .	14 on 400 . . .
48 on 300 . . .	41 on 300 . . .	70 on 300 . . .	19 on 500 . . .	66 on 300 . . .	20 on 300 . . .
46 on 250 . . .	39 on 250 . . .	66 on 250 . . .	19 on 250 . . .	70 on 250 . . .	23 on 250 . . .
28 on 200 . . .	20 on 200 . . .	36 on 200 . . .	10 on 200 . . .	35 on 200 . . .	12 on 200 . . .
tal 170 . . .	143 . . .	245 . . .	68 . . .	245 . . .	68 . . .

(a) It has been decided to have a single cadre for Bengal and Assam.

(b) One subordinate judgeship was transferred from the Bihar and Orissa to the Bengal cadre on the creation of a separate district and sessions judgeship for Monghyr.

(c) The Secretary of State's sanction to the division of the cadres with effect from the 1st April 1912, and their constitution on the scales shown in columns 5 and 6 of the above statement was received on the 2nd November 1913. Meanwhile, however, vacancies had occurred, and on the 9th June 1913, the Government of India sanctioned the promotion of officers (1) in Bengal and Assam on the provisional cadre constituted for those provinces (column 3 of statement), and (2) in Bihar and Orissa on the scale shown in column 6 of the statement, on the understanding that where an excess already existed it should be gradually absorbed as vacancies were filled up in the higher grades. These orders were subsequently confirmed by the Secretary of State.

APPENDIX B.

[Referred to in the Answer to Question 8.]

Statement showing the excise revenue in the different Presidencies and Provinces of India from 1898-99 to 1912-13.

Year.	India General	Central Provinces and Berar.	Burma.	Bengal (d)	Assam. (d)	Eastern Bengal and Assam. (d)	Bihar and Orissa (d)	United Provinces of Agra and Oudh	Punjab (d)	North-West Frontier Province (d)	Madras	Bombay	Total	REMARKS.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
1898-99	11,54,310	19,45,960	45,14,800	1,34,27,050	28,83,790	..	..	56,94,850	25,98,200	..	1,16,78,510	1,14,40,260	5,74,27,750	(a) These figures exclude revenue realised in Berar.
1899-00	11,15,299	19,87,576	49,39,278	1,39,65,275	28,62,574	..	..	61,69,942	25,94,772	..	1,34,15,476	1,06,40,178	5,78,92,176	(b) These figures include revenue realised in Berar.
1900-01	11,26,252	17,88,325	53,29,888	1,46,48,357	29,33,821	..	..	69,00,211	26,01,184	..	1,35,99,312	1,01,33,493	5,90,51,843	(c) Includes revenue realised in Berar from 1st October 1902.
1901-02	9,76,126	19,51,205	54,24,494	1,50,25,698	28,33,031	..	..	74,10,028	26,08,363	72,743	1,43,11,082	1,05,37,444	6,11,50,214	(c) Includes revenue realised in Berar from 1st October 1902.
1902-03	10,96,410	31,68,287	57,64,960	1,57,87,914	29,20,974	..	..	83,23,741	26,75,242	1,02,782	1,56,17,434	1,08,52,885	6,61,99,629	(d) The figures in these columns relate to the provinces of Bengal, Assam, Eastern Bengal and Assam, Bihar and Orissa, the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province as constituted in each of the years to which the figures appertain.
1903-04	11,91,060	45,54,596	74,64,332	1,62,95,944	30,24,494	..	..	94,58,526	28,00,404	2,01,015	1,77,03,781	1,20,04,364	7,47,01,446	(d) The figures in these columns relate to the provinces of Bengal, Assam, Eastern Bengal and Assam, Bihar and Orissa, the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province as constituted in each of the years to which the figures appertain.
1904-05	12,46,491	36,22,237	72,81,670	1,67,90,284	30,54,075	..	..	1,02,25,122	31,62,955	1,06,028	1,87,53,824	1,30,66,682	8,03,01,368	(d) The figures in these columns relate to the provinces of Bengal, Assam, Eastern Bengal and Assam, Bihar and Orissa, the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province as constituted in each of the years to which the figures appertain.
1905-06	12,16,544	71,99,390	83,01,926	1,68,46,156	..	46,20,132	..	99,75,427	35,65,129	2,11,197	1,91,13,741	1,12,97,667	8,53,73,309	(e) Includes revenue realised in the Eastern Bengal districts up to 15th October 1905.
1906-07	12,11,785	83,24,568	76,64,986	1,60,81,392	..	63,71,582	..	92,05,779	39,89,919	2,24,797	2,05,60,146	1,48,36,335	8,84,73,289	(e) Includes revenue realised in the Eastern Bengal districts up to 15th October 1905.
1907-08	15,15,359	72,09,056	78,57,175	1,70,77,699	..	67,88,580	..	89,34,549	42,15,327	2,59,700	2,30,71,102	1,63,86,607	9,34,05,154	(e) Includes revenue realised in the Eastern Bengal districts up to 15th October 1905.
1908-09	15,76,540	69,15,846	77,18,814	1,70,01,004	..	70,35,670	..	85,62,248	47,59,938	2,86,348	2,54,42,443	1,68,45,360	9,58,44,411	(f) Includes revenue realised in the Eastern Bengal districts from the 16th October 1905.
1909-10	16,30,279	68,87,477	76,49,137	1,67,92,358	..	73,07,598	..	86,76,811	43,23,244	3,18,581	2,69,35,301	1,75,46,314	9,80,67,802	(f) Includes revenue realised in the Eastern Bengal districts from the 16th October 1905.
1910-11	18,20,543	75,88,655	72,01,227	1,79,74,186	..	78,71,330	..	1,02,79,365	56,94,676	2,78,194	2,77,73,643	1,89,72,896	10,54,56,715	(f) Includes revenue realised in the Eastern Bengal districts from the 16th October 1905.
1911-12	18,20,538	91,12,523	79,96,647	1,94,28,129	..	82,81,996	..	1,11,21,787	64,00,303	3,16,143	3,00,66,174	2,02,94,345	11,41,46,255	(f) Includes revenue realised in the Eastern Bengal districts from the 16th October 1905.
1912-13	20,26,646	1,06,04,485	81,15,918	1,37,59,045	48,52,038	..	1,01,85,670	1,25,95,005	70,11,862	4,04,055	3,31,86,931	2,12,27,132	12,41,68,789	(f) Includes revenue realised in the Eastern Bengal districts from the 16th October 1905.

* Finance and Revenue Accounts, 1898-99, pages 14, 16, 18 and 36.

† *Ibid.*, 1899-1900, pages 16, 20, 24 and 44.

‡ *Ibid.*, 1900-01, pages 18, 22, 26 and 48

§ Statistics compiled from the Finance and Revenue

Accounts, 1898-99, 1899-1900, 1900-01, 1901-02, 1902-03, 1903-04, 1904-05, 1905-06, 1906-07, 1907-08, 1908-09, 1909-10, 1910-11, 1911-12, 1912-13.

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83
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[Referred to in the Answer to Question 29]

[In thousands of Rupees]

	PUNJAB										BOMBAY				
	1908-09	1909-10	1910-11	1911-12	1912-13	1908-09	1909-10	1910-11	1911-12	1912-13	1908-09	1909-10	1910-11	1911-12	1912-13
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Non-recurring—															
Education	63	...	900	...	29,75	...	...	6,57	...	57,70	1,84	...	11,02	...	46,75
Sanitation	...	...	10,00	6,17	14,50	...	...	4,25	8,00	27,00	..	...	4,25	6,50	27,00
Other heads	1,24	26	11,92	14,18	12,08	2,62	6	18,56	86,84	18,64	1,73	10	50,12	21,34	12,31
Total	1,87	26	30,92	20,35	56,33	2,62	6	29,36	44,84	98,34	3,07	10	65,89	27,84	86,06
Recurring—															
Education	4,22	4,22	3,92	...	4,60	...	...	...	...	10,00	7,69	7,82	7,82	...	7,75
Sanitation	4,00	4,00	4,00	*...	12	3,50	3,50	3,50	...	16	4,50	4,50	4,50	*...	20
Other heads	22,00	22,00	22,00	...	2	28	76	3,76	...	78	25,89	28,89	28,89	3,25	3,25
Total	30,22	30,22	29,92	...	4,74	3,78	4,26	7,26	...	10,94	37,58	40,71	40,71	3,25	11,20

* Merged in the new Provincial Settlement of 1911-12.

APPENDIX M.

[Referred to in the Answer to Question 29]

[In thousands of Rupees.]

	EASTERN BENGAL AND ASSAM.				ASSAM.	OLD BENGAL.				NEW BENGAL.	BHAR AND ORISSA,
	1908-09	1909-10	1910-11.	1911-12.	1912-13.	1908-09.	1909-10 *	1910-11	1911-12	191-13	1912-13.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Non-recurring—											
Education ... ..	...	...	11,17	...	14,00	...	...	24,50	...	1,03,00	36,75
Sanitation ... ..	...	...	9,00	1,46	3,00	...	...	10,00	11,87	20,00	10,00
Other heads	17,09	37,18	25,71	54,58	28,05	18,54	30,85	6	90,54	12,18	12,09
Total ...	17,09	37,18	45,88	55,99	45,05	18,54	30,85	34,56	1,02,71	1,35,18	58,84
Recurring—											
Education	25	35	60	...	1,86	2,60	2,60	2,60	...	12,25	5,30
Sanitation	8,00	3,00	...	...	...	4,50	4,50	4,50	...	39	24
Other heads	3,75	5,25	37	4,68	...	14,76	17,55	21,02†	3,47	1,53	1
Total ...	7,00	8,60	97	4,68	1,86	21,86	24,65	28,12	3,47	14,17	5,55

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* Merged in the new Provincial Settlement of 1910-11.

† Merged in the new Provincial Settlement of 1911-12.

‡ A considerable portion of this was merged in the new Provincial Settlement of 1911-12.

[Referred to in the Answer to Question 29]

Statement showing the Non-recurring and Recurring Grants made to each Provincial Government under Education and Sanitation and all other heads from 1908-09 to 1912-13.

[In thousands of Rupees]

	CENTRAL PROVINCES					BURMA					UNITED PROVINCES				
	1908-09	1909-10.	1910-11.	1911-12.	1912-13.	1908-09.	1909-10.	1910-11.	1911-12.	1912-13.	1908-09.	1909-10.	1910-11.	1911-12.	1912-13.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Non-recurring—															
Education ...	...	...	4,00	...	19,25	...	...	8,00	...	25,75	...	...	15,93	...	48,75
Sanitation ...	...	...	2,00	4,00	10,50	...	...	7,00	4,00	10,50	...	...	10,50	8,00	27,50
Other heads ...	74	7,09	...	2,71	8,12	1,73	15,06	25,10	26,93	42,18	86,06	2,18	1,82	7,42	12,84
Total ...	74	7,09	6,00	6,71	37,87	1,73	15,06	40,10	30,93	78,38	86,06	2,18	28,25	15,42	89,09
Recurring—															
Education ...	34	84	34	...	2,95	...	...	...	...	3,00	...	...	...	...	8,25
Sanitation ...	2,00	2,00	2,00	*...	...	3,00	3,00	3,00	...	21	5,00	5,00	5,00	...	57
Other heads ...	5,00	5,50	5,50	81	81	4,00	4,00	...	3
Total ...	7,34	7,34	7,34	...	2,95	3,00	3,81	3,81	...	3,21	5,00	9,00	9,00	...	8,85

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*Merged in the new Provincial Settlement of 1911-12.

APPENDIX O.

[Referred to in the Answer to Question 37.]

Statement showing the number of Judicial Sentences of whipping awarded in India during 1912-13

	1912	1913.
Madras	684	*
Bombay	901	*
Bengal	†689	*
United Provinces	2,662	2,429
Punjab	1,140	*
Burma	2,205	*
Bihar and Orissa	256	*
Central Provinces	529	663
North West Frontier Province	120	*
Assam	126	139

* Reports not received.
 † Including Eastern Bengal.



GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.
LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COUNCIL OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA
ASSEMBLED FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING LAWS AND REGULATIONS
UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF THE INDIAN COUNCILS ACTS, 1861 to 1909
(24 & 25 Vict., c. 67, 55 & 56 Vict., c. 14, AND 9 Edw. VII, c. 4).

The Council met at the Council Chamber, Imperial Secretariat, Delhi, on
Tuesday, the 12th January, 1915.

PRESENT :

His Excellency BARON HARDINGE OF PENSHURST, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.
G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., I.S.O., Viceroy and Governor General, *presiding*,
and 56 Members, of whom 48 were Additional Members

**OATH OR AFFIRMATION OF ALLEGIANCE TO THE
CROWN.**

The following Additional Members made the prescribed oath or affirmation
of allegiance to the Crown :—

The Hon'ble Mr. Marshall Frederick Reid, C.I.E.
" " **Mr. James McNeill.**
" " **Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar.**
" " **Mr. Herbert John Maynard.**
" " **Mr. Robert Edward Vaughan Arbuthnot.**
" " **Lt.-Col. Philip Richard Thornhagh**
Gurdon, C.S.I.
" " **Colonel Benjamin Holloway.**
" " **Mr. Reginald Childers Culling Carr.**
" " **Mr. Walter Maude, C.S.I.**

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH.

His Excellency the President :—“ Since I last addressed you in September the British Empire, much to our general regret, has, through the intrigues and pressure of Germany and Austria, been plunged into a needless and useless war against Turkey. I believe that I am not wrong in saying that this is the first occasion in history that the British Empire has been at war with Turkey. As you are all aware, in the Crimean war England expended freely her blood and treasure to maintain the integrity of Turkey, while nearly 25 years later the disastrous Treaty of San Stefano, which would have destroyed Turkish power in Europe, was annulled solely by the threatened intervention of Great Britain. Since those days the policy of the British Government, as I am personally able to bear witness, has been to endeavour to strengthen the position of Turkey, and to induce her to seek safety from internal danger and external menace by the introduction of much-needed reforms into her administration. The advice of England, though frequently unpalatable, was at least disinterested

“ New evidence almost daily brought to light tends to prove the present war to have been a long premeditated and prepared aggression on the part of Germany and Austria, of which the infamous assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his consort was merely the pretext but not the cause. When it broke out England had no quarrel of any kind with Turkey, and the British Government simply expected of the Turkish Government their observance of the ordinary principles of international law and the elementary duties of a neutral Power. I need not repeat here the breaches of neutrality committed and the provocations given by Turkey culminating in the unprovoked attack upon Russian harbours in the Black Sea, the hostile infringement of Egyptian territory by armed Turkish forces and the sinking of a British merchant vessel while lying in a friendly port. From these incidents it was clear that our patience was misunderstood, that a powerful party in Turkey, dominated by German influence, was bent on war, and that they meant to go on from outrage to outrage till war was provoked. These incidents finally led up to a declaration of war; but although they occurred on the 28th October, Sir Edward Grey, with that exceptional patience which has characterised the attitude of the Foreign Office in its relations with Turkey, informed Tewfik Pasha on the 4th November, when the British Ambassador had already three days earlier been recalled from Constantinople that, if his Government wished hostilities between the two countries to cease, the only chance was to dismiss the German naval and military missions and especially the officers of the *Goeben* and *Breslau*. It is clear from events that have since taken place in Constantinople, that the Turkish Government as a whole were not at all anxious for war, but according to information recently published in an official White Book, Enver Pasha told the Austrian Ambassador on the 22nd October that he was determined to have war whatever his colleagues might desire, that the Turkish fleet would be sent into the Black Sea, and that he could easily arrange with the German Admiral in command of the Turkish fleet to provoke hostilities. This cynical forecast is what actually took place six days later.

“ I am well aware that many of the leading Moslem bodies in India have most loyally done their utmost to avert war with Turkey, and that the authorities in Constantinople have turned a deaf ear to their repeated representations. The fact remains that there is absolutely no reason for Turkish intervention in the war. The Allies have more than once given solemn assurances to respect the independence and integrity of Turkey and there is no menace to Islam. On the contrary the Allies have made a declaration of the immunity of the holy places of Arabia and Mesopotamia from attack, while the British Government have even declared that they are prepared, if any such need should arise, to defend them against all foreign invaders and to maintain them inviolate. The most striking commentary on the unnatural combination of

[12TH JANUARY, 1915]

[*The President.*]

Germany and Turkey is the fact that, while there are many thousands of Moslems fighting in the ranks of the British, French and Russian armies against Germany, not a single Moslem is to be found in the German ranks. It is no exaggeration to say that the military clique of Enver Pasha, under Germany's compulsion, has betrayed the interests of Islam, and that the Turkish Government, in submitting to it, has abdicated its sovereignty and delivered the independence of a Mahomedan Empire into the hands of Germany. It will now rest with Turkey to face the consequences of those actions for which she is responsible; but however the tide of events may shape its course, there can be no doubt that the holy places will remain inviolate, and that Islam will still be one of the great world forces.

"From the very moment that the intervention of Turkey in the war appeared probable, it was clear that it was not to be expected that amongst Indian Moslems there would not be a natural sentiment of sympathy with a great Mahomedan Power. But when the character and motives of this war became fully known to, and realised by, the Moslems of India, whatever might have been the sympathy with which their religious instincts might under other circumstances have inspired them, any such sentiment was absolutely swept aside by their feeling of unswerving loyalty to the King-Emperor and to the British Empire, whose cause in this war they recognised to be that of freedom, honour and justice. The other great Indian communities have not been behind-hand in their demonstrations of attachment to the Throne and Empire, and a towering wave of patriotism and loyalty has swept over India from shore to shore. It has been a source of gratification to me, but not of surprise, to witness the universal demonstrations of loyalty of all classes and creeds of the people of India. This has been yet one more of Germany's miscalculations which will bring about her ruin.

"As to the progress of the war I know no more than you. I give all the information that I receive to the press. It is clear, however, that German strategy has failed, and that the Allies are holding their own and gradually gaining ground, while German shipping and commerce have disappeared from the seas and the main German fleet has not dared to appear outside its harbours. What is particularly satisfactory to us all has been the splendid behaviour of the Indian troops at the front. No troops could have behaved more gallantly. This is recognised by all. We knew it could not be otherwise. It has also been a source of pride to us all that, in accordance with the boon announced at the King-Emperor's Durbar, two Victoria Crosses have already been awarded to our brave Indian soldiers, this much-coveted decoration having, in one case, been bestowed by the hand of the King-Emperor himself.

"In my speech to this Council on the 8th September, I mentioned that it was a source of legitimate pride and satisfaction to India as a whole that we had been in a position to send a military force of over 70,000 combatants to fight for the Empire across the seas. Since I used those words we have done much more than that; thanks to the energy and powers of organisation of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the military authorities. British and Indian troops have been fighting side by side in no less than five theatres of war, in France, Egypt, East Africa, the Persian Gulf and in China. We have despatched or are despatching nearly 200,000 men overseas to fight for the Empire of which we are proud to be a living and virile unit. These have been relieved by a certain number of fresh troops from England. At the same time we have maintained our military forces on the frontier unimpaired to protect our line and to be ready, as a defensive force, to meet any emergency that may arise in that direction. We are all proud of our military forces and of their gallantry in the field, and I can only repeat what I have said before, namely, that the fact that the Government of India are in a position to help the mother country by the despatch of such a large proportion of our armed forces is a supreme mark of my absolute confidence in the fidelity and gallantry of our troops and in the loyalty of the Indian people. That confidence is being every day more and more justified.

[*The President*] [12TH JANUARY, 1915.]

" We may have days of depression and even reverses before us in the future, but we need feel no doubt as to the ultimate triumph of right over might and of civilisation over mediæval barbarism, and let us take to heart in such circumstances as these the noblest statement ever made of a nation's duty which English-speaking peoples owe to Abraham Lincoln, the great President of the United States. These are his words—

' With malice towards none; with charity to all; with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in * * * to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace '

" Amongst the many drawbacks to which war on such a large scale must necessarily give rise the upward trend in the price of wheat has given me cause for anxiety. There seemed reason to believe that stocks were being held up in the expectation of a further rise in prices either in the foreign or the Indian market, and in view of the hardship involved to the consuming classes, I have issued an ordinance giving power to Government and to Local Governments to investigate the existence and amount of stocks, and if necessary to take over such as in their opinion are being unreasonably withheld. The question of further remedial measures has also been thoroughly examined at a Conference in Delhi with representatives of the wheat trade, who have co-operated readily with my Government in this matter. We were reluctant in the interests of agriculture and of commerce to prohibit altogether the export of wheat and flour from this country, and the information before us did not appear to indicate that there was sufficient actual shortage to justify this step. It has been decided therefore to restrict to a definite quantity, exports up to the end of the cold weather, by which time the new crop will be beginning to come in. The measures which have been taken have already checked any further rise in prices, and in view of the excellent promise of the new harvest, I hope that the situation may improve.

" The cotton situation also, as you are aware, has been a matter of some anxiety, though I am glad to learn that it has recently shown some signs of improvement. The announcement which we made the other day has already informed you of the steps which we are prepared to take. We propose to advise a general restriction of cotton cultivation next season, and I hope that the expectation of such restriction will do something to assist the disposal of existing stocks. We are also prepared, by loans through the Presidency Banks, to help in securing the continuance of reasonable financial facilities not only for the cotton trade but also for other special trade interests which may be somewhat similarly affected. We have been very glad to intervene in this manner and so give evidence of our real desire to assist agriculture, trade and credit when we can legitimately and expediently do so. You will readily recognise, however, as the Conference of provincial and banking authorities which advised us in the matter also recognised, that we cannot embark on speculative and indefinite commitments. Our resources are very limited in comparison, for example, with those at the command of His Majesty's Government, and in these difficult times and with a most uncertain future ahead of us, we have to tread very warily.

" I should like to take this opportunity of paying a tribute to the manner in which the Press, both Indian and Anglo-Indian, has been conducted in the face of considerable difficulties during the past few months. It is common knowledge that in England and I may add in America, there has been a good deal of recrimination about the vagaries of the censorship, and I have reason to know that in India too there has been some irritation against that much abused person, the Censor. But the Press has to a large extent recognised that his task is a hard one and have exercised moderation and patience. Similarly these months have been a time when rumour has been busy with every kind of false report, and when it would have been easy to have done great mischief by giving wide publicity to idle tales in the columns of the daily papers. With a very few exceptions, to which I need not refer in detail, the Press of India has exercised wisdom, restraint and moderation, and I feel that we all owe to it an expression of gratitude.

[12TH JANUARY, 1915] [*The President*]

" It has been suggested that the exceptions to which I have referred are sufficiently serious to demand a more drastic Press Law during this time of war, for at present no action can be taken against an offending paper until the mischief has been done ; we are, however, opposed to taking any further powers in this direction unless the necessity is absolutely forced upon us, for the exceptions in the good conduct of the Press as a whole have not so far been sufficient to justify anything of the nature of a pre-censorship, and I for one should regard it as a grave misfortune if the errors of a few should bring a stigma upon the Press of India, which speaking generally has been wisely and loyally conducted during these difficult times.

" I now desire to invite the attention of Members of this Council to a matter of importance which immediately concerns the business of the present session. It is the desire of the Government of India that, so far as may be possible, the discussion of all controversial questions should be avoided during the continuance of the war. The present emergency necessitates the enactment of a particular measure to which I will refer later, and for obvious reasons the introduction of this Bill cannot be postponed. In regard, however, to legislation not immediately necessary to meet the requirements of the present situation, I and my Government consider that it would be most inadvisable at this juncture, when the minds of all are concentrated on one object, the protection of the Empire against a ruthless and powerful enemy, to undertake any legislation which might provoke anything approaching controversy and friction. The one feeling now prominent in the mind of every loyal citizen is the necessity for united action to vanquish the common enemy, and no part of the Empire has come forward more readily and enthusiastically than India to render assistance to His Majesty's Government. We may have different points of view as to methods of administration and as to details of domestic legislation, but in a time of common danger we should present an united front and it is clearly our duty to sink all minor differences and to seek and pursue but one object, the successful conduct of the war against the enemies of the British Empire. It is not that I think that the differences to which I have alluded are likely to be of a serious character, but I feel, and I hope you will agree with me, that this is a time when all appearance of division should be avoided, as such differences might be misconstrued by those who are strangers to Indian conditions. In this view we have decided to defer the consideration of a number of measures already introduced in Council, and to postpone the introduction of other Bills. Amongst these I may mention the Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Bill, the Bill for the further protection of Minors, the Bill dealing with Contempts of Courts, and the Universities Bill. We recognise the fact that, important as these Bills are, they are necessarily to some extent controversial, and in view of the present position, we have decided that it would be better not to proceed further with them during this session.

" I feel confident that the Council will approve of this decision, and I hope that you will support us in attaining the object in view by abstaining from moving any resolutions which might provoke controversy or bitterness, or embarrass the Government. In adopting this course, you will be following the example of the British Parliament where all political controversy has been suspended during the war, and where the leaders of the Opposition have refrained from any action which might embarrass the Government or add to the labours of Ministers already overburdened with work and responsibility. It has been felt in England, to use the words of Mr. Bonar Law in a speech delivered on 10th August, that controversial debate at such a time would be a national calamity. Although the position of Members of this Council is not in many ways analogous to that of Members of Parliament, yet I hope that, in this respect, they will treat the Government with like consideration. My Council has on various occasions been congratulated on the excellent traditions that it is building up for the future, and I hope and believe that this opportunity of adding to those traditions will not be lost.

236 THE VICEROY'S OPENING SPEECH; STATEMENT LAID ON THE TABLE; QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

[The President; Sir Reginald Craddock; Mr. Banerji.] [12TH JANUARY, 1915]

"In connection with this question I think that I ought to mention one legislative measure which will come up for consideration to-day. This is the measure to which I referred in an earlier passage of my speech and is a Bill for prolonging the period of emergent provisions of the law now contained in certain ordinances recently passed. The Council is aware of the authority vested in the Governor-General personally to promulgate in times of emergency ordinances which have for a period of six months the force of laws passed in this Council. These powers have been infrequently exercised in the past. Indeed, I believe I am correct in saying that in all only seven ordinances were promulgated between the years 1861 and 1913, but the present emergency has shown how valuable these powers are, and since the outbreak of war, I have found it necessary to utilise them in respect of various matters of the gravest urgency. You will to-day be asked to co-operate with me by enacting a law which will render the provisions of these ordinances effective so long as the war lasts and for a certain period thereafter, as the cessation of conditions created by war will not synchronise with the declaration of peace I trust that I shall receive the full and unanimous support of this Council in the enactment of this measure. Military and political considerations make it imperative that these emergent measures should continue to be in force and it is impossible for the Government to publish or discuss in detail the reasons underlying them without divulging facts of a confidential nature, the publication of which would not only embarrass the authorities in this country, but might also assist our enemies. In these circumstances I ask the Council to give practical proof of their loyalty and of their confidence in the Government by accepting the Bill as it stands without entering into a prolonged discussion of its merits."

STATEMENT LAID ON THE TABLE.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock :—"My Lord, I beg to lay on the table a statement* showing province by province, for the years 1912 and 1913, the number of persons charged with murder, the number of capital sentences passed, the number of persons acquitted of the charge of murder, the number of appeals by Local Governments against such acquittals and the number of persons sentenced to death as a result of such appeals, which was promised in the reply given by me to the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy's question on the subject asked at the meeting of the Legislative Council held on the 16th September, 1914."

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

The Hon'ble Mr. Banerji asked :—

1. "(a) Has any memorial been addressed to the Government of India by Maulvi Muharram Ali Chishti, a legal practitioner in the Punjab, on the subject of the rejection of his application to the Punjab Chief Court to be admitted as a pleader of the second grade ?
- (b) Will the Government be pleased to say whether they propose to make an inquiry into the statements made in that memorial and, if so, to lay on the table the result of such inquiry together with the papers in the case ?"

Memorial by Maulvi Muharram Ali Chishti re rejection of his application to the Punjab Chief Court for admission as a pleader.

* Vide Appendix A, page 249 post.

[12TH JANUARY, 1915] [Sir Reginald Craddock; Mr. Banerji; Mr. Clark; Sir Harcourt Butler.]

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

"(a) The reply is in the affirmative.

(b) The matter is entirely within the discretion of the Judges of the Chief Court and the memorialist has been informed that the Government of India are unable to interfere on his behalf "

The Hon'ble Mr. Banerji asked :—

2. "(a) Has the attention of the Government been drawn to a report which has appeared in the newspapers to the effect that the Government at home have offered to guarantee interest on £1,500,000 debenture Capital for the manufacture of synthetic dyes ? Peonuary help from Government for industrial undertakings.

(b) Is it a fact that the Government at home have offered substantial pecuniary help to some other industrial enterprises ?

(c) Will the Government be pleased to state if they are prepared to follow the example of the Home Government in regard to selected industrial undertakings in this country ? If so, will the Government be pleased to state what they propose to do ?

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark replied :—

"The answer to the first part of the question is in the affirmative. An official statement recently issued by the Board of Trade indicates that His Majesty's Government have taken action firstly, in order to make good the immediate shortage of dyes which, owing to the cessation of supplies from Germany, has been causing great apprehension in the textile trades and in other important British industries, and secondly, in order to guard against any recurrence of the same difficulty in future.

As regards the second part of the question, Government are not aware that the British Government have offered financial assistance for other industrial enterprises.

As regards the third part of the question, the Government of India have received no information which would suggest that His Majesty's Government have adopted a policy of affording financial assistance to industries, except in the special case and for the special reasons referred to above, and I have to point out that a similar situation has not arisen in India."

Supplementary question.

The Hon'ble Mr. Banerji asked :—

"Will the Hon'ble Member be good enough to obtain the information which he says is not available in certain matters ? "

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark replied :—

"I said,—'The Government of India have received no information which would suggest that His Majesty's Government have adopted a policy of affording financial assistance to industries' I think no further inquiry would produce that information."

The Hon'ble Mr. Banerji asked :—

3. "Will the Government be pleased to state when they will issue their promised Resolution on Local Self-Government ? Local Self-Government Resolutions.

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied :—

"The Government of India hope that the Resolution may shortly be published."

[*Mr. Banerji; Sir Harcourt Butler; Mr Malaviya; Sir Reginald Craddock; Raja Kushalpal Singh*] [12TH JANUARY, 1915.]

The Hon'ble Mr. Banerji asked :—

Appoint-
ments to
Indian Edu-
cational
Service.

4. “(a) Will the Government be pleased to state if it is the case that fourteen appointments have been made to the Indian Educational Service in nine months of 1914?

(b) If so, will the Government be pleased to state the reasons for making so many appointments?”

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied :—

“(a) The names of 14 officers who have been appointed to the Indian Educational Service during 1914 are shown in the Civil Lists. As a matter of fact a larger number of officers has been appointed to this service during the year. The names of those who have recently joined have not yet been included in the Civil Lists.

(b) The reasons for making these appointments are educational expansion and the occurrence of vacancies in previously sanctioned posts.”

The Hon'ble Mr. Malaviya asked :—

Memorial by
Maulvi
Muharram
Ali Chishti
rejection
of his
application
by the
Punjab
Chief Court
for
admission as
a pleader.

5. “Will the Government be pleased to state :—

(a) If a memorial has been submitted to the Government of India by Maulvi Muharram Ali Chishti, a legal practitioner of Lahore, complaining of the rejection of his applications to the Punjab Chief Court to be admitted as a pleader of the second grade?

(b) If it is a fact that between the years 1900 and 1908 the Punjab Chief Court encouraged Mr. Chishti to qualify himself as a pleader?

(c) If it is a fact that since the beginning of 1909, when Mr. Chishti had qualified himself for it, the Chief Court has rejected repeated applications made by him to be admitted as a pleader of the second grade?

(d) If it is also a fact that Mr. Chishti's licence to practise as a mukhtar has, at the same time, been renewed year after year without any objection?”

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

“The Hon'ble Member is referred to the answer given to-day to a similar question by the Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji

It appears from the papers attached to Mr. Muharram Ali Chishti's memorial that he was given certain concessions in connection with his law examinations and that his applications to be recognised as a pleader of the second grade were rejected on more than one occasion.

The Government of India have no information as regards the renewal of his licence as a mukhtar.”

The Hon'ble Raja Kushalpal Singh asked :—

More practi-
cal educa-
tion.

6. “Has the attention of Government been drawn to the article headed “More practical education,” which is published on page 10 of the *Pioneer* of the 8th October, 1914? Will the Government be pleased to state what sums have been allotted by the Governments of various major provinces for experimenting with school gardens and with the organizations of excursions?”

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied :—

“The Government of India have observed the article mentioned. Reports and statistics do not ordinarily show the amounts allotted by Governments of various major provinces for experimenting with school gardens and for the

[12TH JANUARY, 1915.] [Sir Harcourt Butler; Raja Kushalpal Singh; Sir Reginald Craddock.]

organization of excursions. The following facts, however, may prove of interest to the Hon'ble Member :—

(i) The Government of India are anxious to encourage practical and visual instruction. Attention is invited to the Government of India Resolution No. 801-C. D., dated the 21st February, 1913, paragraphs 8 (2), 11 (iv), 22 (e) and 34.

(ii) The Government of India have at various times addressed Local Governments regarding the provision of lanterns and slides, and in 1907 they provided sets of slides. A reference may be made to paragraph 234 of No. 1 of the Occasional Reports published by the office of the Director-General of Education in India, called *Rural Schools in the Central Provinces*. It is understood that there is now considerable activity in provinces in this matter. Attention is invited to paragraph 688 of the Sixth Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, to paragraphs 31, 44 and 49 of the report of Director of Public Instruction in Bombay for 1913-14, and to paragraph 28 of the report for Bengal.

"In some provinces, schools are provided with gardens wherever possible. An account of the nature and intention of such gardens is to be found in section X of *Rural Schools in the Central Provinces*. Attention is also invited to paragraphs 55 and 28 and page 12 of the reports of the Directors for 1913-14 in Bombay, Bengal and the United Provinces, respectively. Gardens were included as one of the objects for which the Government of India recently gave a non-recurring grant of Rs. 25,00,000."

"There are numerous allusions to excursions made by schools in the report of the Director of Public Instruction in Bombay for 1913-14. Paragraph 38 of the report speaks of grants of Rs. 500 each to high schools for this purpose. The Indian Museum in Calcutta is being used for educational purposes."

"The Government of India made in 1913 grants for manual training totalling 7 lakhs of rupees capital and 1 lakh recurring. Attention is invited to the following passages in the reports of Directors of Public Instruction for 1913-14, in various provinces :—Madras, paragraph 2 of the report; Bombay, paragraph 129; Bengal, paragraph 32; United Provinces, page 8; and Burma, page 24."

The Hon'ble Raja Kushalpal Singh asked :—

7. "Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement giving the salaries of munsifs and subordinate judges in all major provinces of India?"

Salaries of munsifs and sub-judges in all major provinces of India.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

"A statement* giving the desired information is laid on the table."

The Hon'ble Raja Kushalpal Singh asked :—

8. "Has the attention of Government been drawn to letter which Mr Abdulla bin Yusuf Ali has written on the subject of "Indian Soldiers and Indian Usurers," and which is published in the *Pioneer* of the 9th November, 1914? Will the Government be pleased to consider the desirability of making the concessions suggested therein?"

Indian soldiers and Indian usurers.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

"The whole question is at present under the consideration of the Government of India who hope to be in a position to take action shortly."

[*Raja Kushalpal Singh; Mr. Clark; Sir [12TH JANUARY, 1915.]
Harcourt Butler; Sir Reginald Craddock;
Maharaja Ranajit Sinha of Nashipur.*]

The Hon'ble Raja Kushalpal Singh asked :—

Proceedings
of Cotton
and Wheat
Conferences
held at
Delhi.

9. "Will the Government be pleased to say whether they propose to place on the table a copy of the proceedings of the Cotton and Wheat Conferences held at Delhi?"

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark replied :—

"Government regret that they are unable to lay reports of these Conferences on the table, as the proceedings were of a confidential nature. The decision arrived at by Government as a result of the discussion at the Wheat Conference formed the subject of a press communiqué issued on the 28th December last. As regards the Cotton Conference, a communiqué was also issued to the Press a few days ago indicating broadly the views in regard to the cotton question which were elicited at the Conference and publishing the decisions at which the Government of India have arrived."

The Hon'ble Raja Kushalpal Singh asked :—

Study of
vernacular
languages
into colleges

10. "(a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the Resolution No IV passed at the meeting of the fifth Hindi Literary Conference held at Lucknow?"

(b) Will the Government be pleased to say whether they propose to draw the attention of the Universities of Allahabad and the Punjab to the desirability of introducing the study of the vernacular languages into colleges as soon as practicable?"

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied :—

"(a) The Government of India have not seen the Resolution referred to.

(b) The matter would be more appropriately referred to the Local Governments concerned than to the Government of India."

The Hon'ble Maharaja Ranajit Sinha of Nashipur asked :—

Modification
of the Elec-
tion Rules
in regard to
date of
general
election.

11. "Is it a fact that some inconvenience might result from holding a general election for the return of members to the Local and the Imperial Councils in the middle of the winter sessions? If so, do Government propose to change the rules so as to provide that the date fixed for general election shall be after the close of the sessions?"

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

"The Government of India are aware that the present date for the expiry of the three-years' term of the elected members of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils may cause inconvenience, and are at present considering, in consultation with Local Governments and Administrations, how the difficulty can best be met"

The Hon'ble Maharaja Ranajit Sinha of Nashipur asked :—

Payment of
travelling
and halting
expenses to
members of
Municipal
and Local
Boards at-
tending
meetings to
vote for
their repre-
sentatives
on Local
councils.

12. "Is it a fact that the Government invited the opinion of the Local Governments as to the desirability of prohibiting the payment of travelling and halting expenses of members of Municipalities and Local and District Boards attending meetings of voters for the purpose of electing their representatives on the Local Legislative Councils? If so, will the Government be pleased to state their final decision in the matter?"

[12TH JANUARY, 1915.] [*Sir Reginald Craddock; Maharaja Ranajit Sinha; Sir Robert Carlyle*]

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

"The Government of India addressed the Local Governments and Administrations concerned on the question whether the payment or offer of payment of the travelling expenses of voters by candidates for election to the various Provincial Legislative Councils should be definitely prohibited. Their replies have been received and the matter is under the consideration of the Government of India"

The Hon'ble Maharaja Ranajit Sinha of Nashipur asked :—

13. "Is it a fact that the river Jumna does not remain navigable throughout the year? If so, do Government propose to dredge it so as to keep it navigable from Delhi to Allahabad all the year round?" Dredging of the river Jumna.

The Hon'ble Sir Robert Carlyle replied :—

"(a) The answer to the first part of the question is in the affirmative.

(b) In regard to the second part of the question, Government do not propose to undertake dredging operations in order to maintain a navigable channel in the river Jumna throughout the year between Delhi and Allahabad. Dredging alone would be ineffective for the purpose and the extensive works which would be necessary would involve expenditure out of all proportion to the resulting benefits"

The Hon'ble Maharaja Ranajit Sinha of Nashipur asked :—

14. "(a) Have the Government of India received information that cattle in British India have deteriorated in recent years?" Grazing grounds for cattle in each village.

(b) If so, is it a fact that want of grazing grounds is one of the causes of the deterioration of cattle?

(c) If so, do the Government propose to arrange for common grazing grounds in each village?"

The Hon'ble Sir Robert Carlyle replied :—

"On the reports received from Local Governments, it is impossible to decide whether taken as a whole Indian cattle have deteriorated of recent years. In some localities deterioration is believed to have taken place and one of the causes to which this has been attributed is the want of sufficient pasturage. On the other hand, in one province at least, it is stated that with any system of communal grazing the quality of the stock cannot be maintained.

"The improvement of the fodder supply whether by the provision of additional grazing grounds or in any other manner is a matter for Local Governments; but I may mention that the whole question was considered by the Board of Agriculture at its last meeting. Stress was laid on the fact that as the problems to be attacked were essentially of a local character which must be worked out from the point of view of particular localities, nothing more than very general recommendations could be made. Among the recommendations it was suggested that in each province investigations should be made regarding the existing sources of fodder supply and their utilization to the best advantage. Local Governments have accordingly been requested by the Government of India to institute such inquiries in order that the subject may further be considered by the Board of Agriculture at its next meeting. When the final recommendations of the Board are received they will receive careful attention as the Government of India are fully alive to the great importance of this question. It must, however, be realized that the provision of additional pasturage is only one aspect of a problem which is essentially local in character and which each Local Government must endeavour to solve with due regard to local conditions"

[*Raja Abu Jafar; Sir Harcourt Butler; Sir Reginald Craddock; Mr. Clark; Mr. Asad Ali*] [12TH JANUARY, 1915.]

The Hon'ble Raja Abu Jafar asked :—

Appoint-
ment of
moderators
by Univer-
sities.

15. " Would the Government be pleased—

- (a) to state which of the Indian Universities appoint moderators for the examination papers, and
(b) to state whether they propose to recommend the adoption of a similar system to such Universities as have no moderators ? "

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied :—

- "(a) The Regulations of all the Indian Universities except the University of Madras make provision for the appointment of Moderators
(b) The reply is in the negative "

The Hon'ble Raja Abu Jafar asked :—

Agra
Estates
and Agra
Settled
Estates
Bills.

16. " Has the Government finally allowed the Agra Estates Bill and the Agra Settled Estates Bill to be laid before the United Provinces Legislative Council ? Are these Bills to be consolidated ? When are they likely to be introduced in the United Provinces Legislative Council ? "

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

"Correspondence relative to the Agra Estates and the Agra Settled Estates Bills has passed between the Government of India and the Local Government, and an expression of the final views of the latter is awaited Pending the consideration of it no more definite statement can be made "

The Hon'ble Raja Abu Jafar asked :—

Prohibition
of rise in
price of
edibles.

17. " Have the Home Government and other European States strictly prohibited any abnormal rise in the price of edibles, and, if so, what steps have been taken by such countries to enforce such prohibition ? "

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark replied :—

"So far as the Government of India are aware His Majesty's Government have not prohibited increase of prices of foodstuffs but they have taken powers by Act of Parliament enabling the Board of Trade to take possession, subject to compensation, of such articles of commerce as they consider to be unreasonably withheld from the market. It is not known whether any action has been taken in pursuance of these powers.

"The Government of India have no official information regarding action taken by other European States with a view to prevent an abnormal rise in the price of food-stuffs It has, however, been stated in the Press that the German Government have fixed maximum prices in respect of certain articles of consumption."

The Hon'ble Mr. Asad Ali asked :—

Free ele-
mentary
education
amongst
poorer
classes.

18. " Will Government be pleased to state what steps have been taken during the last two years in each of the Indian provinces to promote free elementary education amongst the poorer classes in general and Mussalmans in particular ? "

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied :—

"The Hon'ble Member is referred to the Provincial reports on Public Instruction. With a view to supplementing the information contained in these reports, inquiries will be made from Local Governments and the result will be laid on the table."

[12TH JANUARY, 1915.] [Mr Asad Ali; Sir Harcourt Butler; Raja Kushalpal Singh; Mr. Clark; Raja Abu Jafar; Sir Robert Carlyle]

The Hon'ble Mr. Asad Ali asked :—

19. "With reference to my question (8-9-14) regarding the provincial educational grants to Muhammadan education, have the Government obtained information on the subject, and, if so, will they please lay it on the table?" Provincial educational grants to Muhammadan education.

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied :—

"The Government of India have not yet received replies from all Local Governments."

The Hon'ble Raja Kushalpal Singh asked :—

20. "Has the attention of Government been drawn to the letter headed "The Case of Indian Cotton," which is published on page 9 of the *Pioneer* of the 1st October, 1914? Will the Government be pleased to state what action, if any, they propose to take in the matter?" Indian cotton.

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark replied :—

"The attention of Government has been drawn to the letter referred to. The action which Government propose to take with reference to the cotton situation is summarised in the Press Communiqué* of the 5th instant, a copy of which is laid on the table."

The Hon'ble Raja Abu Jafar asked :—

21. "Will the Government be pleased to state how much (if any) grain has, since the promulgation of the recent Articles of Commerce Ordinance, 1914, been brought into the open market as the result of the exercise of powers conferred on Government by the Ordinance?" Purchase of grains since the promulgation of Articles of Commerce Ordinance.

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark replied :—

"So far as the Government of India are aware, no grain has as yet been brought into the open market as a result of the exercise of powers conferred by the Articles of Commerce Ordinance. Local Governments are, however, fully aware of their powers under the Ordinance and will doubtless exercise them should necessity arise. It is understood that returns under the Ordinance have already been called for in certain districts."

The Hon'ble Raja Abu Jafar asked :—

22. "(a) Is it a fact that the indigo industry in India has been nearly destroyed by the free importation of German chemical dyes?" Indigo industry.

(b) Would the Government be pleased to state whether they propose to afford some protection or encouragement to the indigo industry?"

The Hon'ble Sir Robert Carlyle replied :—

"Natural indigo has undoubtedly suffered severely from competition with the synthetic product and the Government of India are at present considering to what extent and in what manner assistance can be rendered to growers of indigo. To enable them to come to a decision it has been arranged to hold a conference shortly in Delhi."

The Hon'ble Raja Abu Jafar asked :—

23. "(a) Is it a fact that the present war or false rumours connected with the war have caused an abnormal rise in the price of grains?" Steps to be taken in connection with the rise in price of grains.

(b) If so, what steps (if any) do the Government propose to take with respect to such abnormal rise?"

* Not published.

[*Mr. Clark; Raja Abu Jafar; Sir Reginald Craddock.*] [12TH JANUARY, 1915.]

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark replied :—

“(a) The price of grains has risen in parts of India as a result of tendencies connected with the outbreak of war.

“(b) On the analogy of measures taken in the United Kingdom, the Governor-General promulgated the Articles of Commerce Ordinance, IX of 1914, on the 30th of November last. The Ordinance empowers the Governor-General in Council, for the whole or any part of British India, and each Local Government for the whole or any part of the Province, to require any owner or owners of any article of commerce to give full information regarding stocks in his or their possession. The Governor General in Council and Local Governments are further empowered to notify any article of commerce which appears to be unreasonably withheld from the market and to take possession, on payment of compensation, of stocks of any article unreasonably withheld. The Government of India have not yet exercised their powers under the Articles of Commerce Ordinance. Local Governments will doubtless exercise their powers under the Ordinance should necessity arise, and it is understood that action has already been taken in certain districts

“A supplementary measure calculated to prevent an abnormal rise in the price of wheat has been the issue of a statutory notification restricting the export of wheat and wheat flour from British India before 1st April to a total amount of 78,000 tons. By this means it is hoped to ensure an approximation of the Indian supply to the Indian demand, and to guard against the danger of any reduction in the local price of wheat merely leading to increased exports”

The Hon'ble Raja Abu Jafar asked :—

Exports since August 1914 to December 1914.

24. “Will the Government be pleased to state whether the exports since August 1914 to the end of December 1914 have increased or decreased in comparison with the corresponding five months of 1913, and with the five months preceding the present war, *i.e.*, from March 1914 to the end of July 1914?”

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark replied :—

“A statement* giving the information desired by the Hon'ble Member is laid on the table. It will be observed that the value of exports during the five months, August to December 1914, is less than that recorded for the corresponding months of 1913 and less also than that of exports during the five months, March to July 1914.”

The Hon'ble Raja Abu Jafar asked :—

Appointments in the Executive Departments for land-owning classes

25. “Have any of the different local administrations reserved for the land-owning class any specified number of appointments in the executive departments, and if so, will the Government be pleased to state which Local Governments have reserved such posts and in what proportion?”

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

“The rules current in the United Provinces for the selection of members of the Provincial Executive Service make mention, among other qualifications, of that of being connected with the important land-owning classes, and it is understood that ordinarily a certain proportion of the appointments made are of candidates of this description. A similar reservation does not appear to be made elsewhere in the cases of other Provincial Executive Services”

* Not published.

FOREIGNERS (AMENDMENT) BILL; SIR SASSOON DAVID 245
BARONETCY BILL; SIR JAMSETJEE- JEEJEEBHOY
BARONETCY BILL

[12TH JANUARY, 1915.] [Sir Reginald Craddock; Sir Ali Imam.]

THE FOREIGNERS (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1914.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock :—“ My Lord, I beg to move that the Bill to amend the Foreigners Act, 1864, be referred to a Select Committee consisting of the Hon'ble Sir Ali Imam, the Hon'ble Sir William Vincent, the Hon'ble Mr Wheeler, the Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, the Hon'ble Mr. Rayaningar, the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy and myself ”

The motion was put and agreed to.

THE SIR SASSOON DAVID BARONETCY BILL.

The Hon'ble Sir Ali Imam :—“ My Lord, the object of the Bill I move for leave to introduce is to settle the endowment of the Baronetcy conferred on Sir Sassoon Jacob David. To maintain the dignity of a hereditary title like this, the creation of a trust of the character conveyed in the Bill is necessary. It has been framed on the lines of previous enactments of a similar kind and has been settled in concert with Sir Sassoon David and the Government of Bombay. Consistent with the object of the Bill, care has been taken to trench as little as possible on the ordinary law of perpetuity. It is a private Bill and has no element of contention. I feel confident that the Council will give its support to it. The Baronet is a distinguished citizen of India, who has rendered valuable services to the country generally and to the City of Bombay in particular. Not many years ago he served as a Member of this Council, in which he has many personal friends. I am sure it will be a source of pleasure to my colleagues, as it is to me, to be associated with this Bill, which is intended to uphold the dignity of a title which has been earned with so much credit.

“ My Lord, I move for leave to introduce the Bill.”

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Sir Ali Imam :—“ My Lord, I beg to introduce the Bill and also move that the Bill, together with the Statement of Objects and Reasons relating thereto, be published in English in the *Gazette of India* and in the *Bombay Government Gazette*.”

The motion was put and agreed to

**THE SIR JAMSETJEE JEEJEEBHOY BARONETCY
BILL.**

The Hon'ble Sir Ali Imam :—“ My Lord, I move for leave to introduce a Bill to repeal Act XX of 1860 and to re-enact it with certain modifications. This is also a private Bill which has been settled, by the legal advisers of Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy in consultation with the Government of Bombay. Act XX of 1860, which was passed to endow the Baronetcy conferred on the first Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, has been found to be too rigid for certain purposes which may legitimately improve the control and management of the Trust. The Bill is intended to secure in the main two objects. One is to empower the Baronet for the time being to sell, with the approval and the Trustees, Mazagon Castle and purchase a new residence in a more healthy and convenient locality in Bombay. The other is to confer on the Trustees and the Baronet for the time being jointly more extensive powers to invest the endowment funds on the lines of section 20 of the Indian Trusts Act of 1882.

[*Sir Ali Imam*] [12TH JANUARY, 1915.]

"These provisions being unobjectionable, I have reason to believe that the Council will treat the Bill as a non-contentious measure

"My Lord, I move for leave to introduce the Bill."

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Sir Ali Imam :—"My Lord, I beg to introduce the Bill and also to move that the Bill, together with the *Statement of Objects and Reasons* relating thereto, be published in English in the *Gazette of India* and in the *Bombay Government Gazette*."

The motion was put and agreed to.

THE EMERGENCY LEGISLATION CONTINUANCE BILL, 1915.

The Hon'ble Sir Ali Imam :—"My Lord, I beg to move for leave to introduce the Emergency Legislation Continuance Bill. I do not propose to take up the time of the Council for any considerable period in explaining its provisions, which are very brief. Your Excellency has already informed the Council that since the outbreak of the war you have found it necessary to exercise the powers conferred on you by section 23 of the Indian Councils Act of 1861 and to issue Ordinances conferring the necessary powers on the Government to deal with an emergency which is almost unparalleled in the history of the Empire. For the first time for a hundred years the great British Empire is involved in a war of world magnitude and it is obvious that the provisions of our ordinary legislation must necessarily require to be supplemented in order to meet such a situation. That situation still continues, and with it the necessity for special emergency legislation. We have, therefore, to find means for prolonging the duration of the provisions of that legislation. As the Council is aware, ordinances promulgated under section 23 of the Indian Councils Act of 1861, although they have the same force as Acts of this Council, are limited in point of time to a duration of six months. The question, therefore, came before me in what way this duration should be extended. It is possible that it might be done in several ways, but in my judgment, and I hope Council will agree with me, it has been rightly thought better on this occasion to proceed by inviting the co-operation of the Council in securing that end. This it is sought to secure by the Bill for which I am asking leave to introduce. It is very short and merely gives the effect of a law made by this Council to the provisions of the ordinances specified in the Schedule. We have limited its duration to the period of the present war and six months thereafter. It is clear that on the actual termination of hostilities it will be necessary to review our legal position, and subsidiary action may in several instances be necessary before we terminate the condition of affairs created by this emergency legislation. Apart from legal questions, some prolongation will also be necessary on administrative grounds. We have, however, taken power in the Bill for the Governor General in Council to withdraw at any earlier date any of the provisions which the changing fortunes of war may render possible. The provisions I am asking Council to continue in our law are far less drastic than those conferred on the authorities in England who have obtained the most extensive and wide reaching powers from Parliament, powers which have been granted with a free hand and without a murmur. Regard being had to the grave emergency with which the Government of India were confronted on the 4th of August, 1914, it is to me a great satisfaction, speaking purely as a lawyer, that so far it has been found possible to protect the peace and tranquillity of this great country with so little disturbance to the rights and liberties of individual citizens. When war was raging at our very door (for the German Navy brought it there on

[12TH JANUARY, 1915.] [Sir Ali Imam; The President.]

one occasion, happily not likely to occur again) the maxim *inter arma leges silent* might well have been applied, and I must congratulate my colleagues of the Executive Council in that under the wise, beneficent and statesmanlike guidance of Your Excellency they have found it possible to carry on the great burden of responsibility which rested on them with the addition of comparatively little to our statute-book to show the magnitude of the crisis. I must also congratulate my countrymen on their whole-hearted co-operation in making this course possible, and I hope and trust that we may reach the end of a victorious war with no deviation from the same course. I do not propose to deal with the provisions of the ordinances themselves. They have been published in the Gazettes and are well known in the country. It is not for me to speak of the policy which lies behind them, but a Government which in war time has been able to carry on its normal administration with the addition of a few regulations as to military censorship, impressment of vessels, control of foreigners, restriction on alien enemies, control and supervision of persons entering India after the outbreak of the war, financial dealings with aliens, and powers as to stocks of articles of commerce cannot be criticised as having selected its weapons from the ample armoury of possible enactments either rashly or unnecessarily. My Lord, I now beg to move for leave to introduce the Bill."

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Sir Ali Imam :—"I beg to introduce the Bill to continue in force the provisions of certain Ordinances.

"I also pray that Your Excellency be pleased to suspend the Rules of Business to admit of the Bill being taken into consideration."

The President :—"I declare the Rules suspended."

The Hon'ble Sir Ali Imam :—"I move that the Bill to continue in force the provisions of certain Ordinances be taken into consideration."

The motion was put and agreed to

The Hon'ble Sir Ali Imam :—"I move that the Bill to continue in force the provisions of certain Ordinances be passed"

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Council adjourned to Tuesday, the 23rd February, 1915

W. H. VINCENT,

*Secretary to the Government of India,
Legislative Department*

DELHI :

The 21st January, 1915.

APPENDIX A.

(Referred to by the Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock on page 236 ante.)

Statement showing for the years 1912 and 1913 the number of persons charged with murder, the number of capital sentences passed, the number of persons acquitted of the charge of murder, the number of appeals by local Governments against such acquittals and the number of persons sentenced to death as a result of such appeals.

I PROVINCE	II		III		IV		V.		VI.¶	
	No. of persons against whom charges for murder were framed under sections 302 and 306, Indian Penal Code.		No. of persons sentenced to death by Courts of Sessions		No. of persons acquitted of the charge of murder by Courts of Sessions		No. of persons against whose acquittal the local Government preferred an appeal		No. of persons on whom the death penalty was inflicted as a result of appeals under V.	
	1912	1913	1912	1913.	1912	1913	1912.	1913	1912.	1913.
(1) Madras	640	684	80*	78*	429	445	2*	11*	Nil	Nil.
(2) Bombay	500	474	93	113	220	172	15	Nil.	2	Nil.
(3) Bengal	413	445	25	29	202	223	Nil	Nil.	Nil.	Nil.
(4) United Provinces	568	786	185	223	191	379	10	4	6	Nil.
(5) Punjab	683	806	161	249	376	444	6	8	Nil	Nil.
(6) Burma	604	464†	166	155	240	206	1‡	1	Nil.	Nil.
(7) Bihar and Orissa	705	233	20	19	137	176	17	1	Nil	Nil.
(8) Central Provinces	204	309	53	56	77	113	6	4	Nil	Nil.
(9) Assam	79	74	10	3	19	41	Nil.	Nil	Nil.	Nil.
(10) Coorg	6	5	1	1	1	1	Nil	Nil	Nil.	Nil.
(11) Delhi	83	18	1	2	20	9	Nil	Nil.	Nil.	Nil.
(12) North-West Frontier Province	199	186	33	43	34	29	Nil.	Nil	Nil.	Nil.

NOTE—(1) The figures marked thus (*) represent the total number of persons dealt with in each year, irrespective of the date of charge

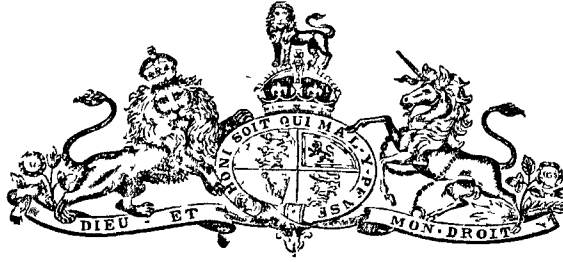
(4) † includes one person committed in 1911 and sentenced to transportation in 1913

‡ Appeal against an acquittal in 1912 preferred in 1913.

(8) § Committed to transportation for life by Chief Commissioner.

¶ The figures in column IV include persons convicted of offences other than murder.

‡‡ The figures in column VI must not be construed as implying that, in cases where the extreme penalty was not inflicted, no minor punishment was imposed.



GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.
LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COUNCIL OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA
ASSEMBLED FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING LAWS AND REGULATIONS
UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF THE INDIAN COUNCILS ACTS, 1861 to 1907
(24 & 25 Vict., c. 67, 55 & 56 Vict., c. 14, AND 9 Edw. VII, c. 4).

The Council met at the Council Chamber, Imperial Secretariat, Delhi, on
Tuesday, the 23rd February, 1915

PRESENT :

His Excellency BARON HARDINGE OF PENSHURST, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.,
G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., I.S.O., Viceroy and Governor General, *presiding*,
and 54 Members, of whom 46 were Additional Members.

**DEATH OF THE HON'BLE MR. GOPAL KRISHNA
GOKHALE, C.I.E.**

His Excellency the President:—"It was with deep regret that on the morning of the 20th I received the sad news of the premature death during the previous night of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, Member of this Council. I had heard that he had been compelled by indisposition to delay his arrival in Delhi, his intention having been to come in time for the meeting of Council today, and it was a great shock to me, as it must have been to us all, to learn that he had quietly passed away.

"The Hon'ble Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale was born at Kolhapur in the year 1866. I need not go into the details of his earlier life beyond mentioning that Mr. Gokhale took his degree as Bachelor of Arts in 1884, in the University of Bombay, of which university he subsequently became a fellow. Almost immediately afterwards he began to devote himself to the cause of education. For 20 years he served as a lecturer at the Fergusson College, Poona, specialising particularly in History and Economics, a subject into which he threw himself with so much fervour and zeal that he became an acknowledged authority; and at the same time giving much of his time to establishing the college on a sound financial basis. During this period of his life, he began to take a

[*His Excellency the President*] [23RD FEBRUARY, 1915]

prominent part in public life and was for four years Secretary to the Provincial Congress of Bombay; in 1895 he was one of the Joint Secretaries of the Indian National Congress and continued for many years to labour in that capacity. In 1897 he went to England as one of the witnesses before the Royal Commission on Indian expenditure and gave evidence which was of great importance and value. In 1900 he was elected a Member of the Bombay Legislative Council and in 1902 he was elected as a representative of the Bombay Council on the Imperial Legislative Council. This office he continued to hold until the date of his death.

"In 1904 he was made a Companion of the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire. In 1905 he was President of the Indian National Congress and in the same year founded the Ranade Economic Institute and the Society of the Servants of India. Later on he paid several visits to England and toiled ceaselessly for the various causes he had so much at heart, and I have always understood that he took a quiet but active part in the conversations that led up to the reform of this and other Indian Councils. Finally in 1912 he was appointed a member of the Royal Commission on Public Services in India.

"Such are some of the very distinguished services of the Hon'ble Mr Gokhale but not all, for in Council he was well-known as a speaker of conspicuous ability and wonderful eloquence, while his earnest enthusiasm and sound judgment secured for him a commanding position among the public men of this country. He was a loyal supporter of British rule in India, but nevertheless was also on many occasions a fearless critic of the administrative methods and policy of Government and never hesitated to draw attention to any measure or action which, in his opinion, was improper or open to censure. In regard to financial and educational questions in particular his attacks were frequently most forcible and incisive, so much so indeed that the abilities of his opponents were frequently taxed to the utmost to meet his arguments. Though, however, a severe critic of those who opposed him, he was always dignified and courteous in debate, and even when unsuccessful in securing his object impressed all who heard him not only with his skill, but with his intense earnestness and desire to do what was in his opinion right. He took a prominent part in all debates of importance during his period of office in Council, especially in those relating to financial, educational and administrative questions.

"During my period of office the most important measure in which Mr. Gokhale was interested was the Bill to make better provision for the extension of primary education. Though he failed in inducing the Council to accept the Bill, all those who heard him will remember the extraordinary force and ability with which he pressed his views.

"It is also right that on this occasion I should refer to the important part taken by Mr Gokhale in emigration questions, and in particular that relating to Indian immigration into South Africa. In this question, as in all other political questions, Mr Gokhale strove ceaselessly for the amelioration of the condition of Indians and for the promotion of their welfare, and in my opinion it was largely due to him and his tactful and statesmanlike attitude during his visit to South Africa that this thorny question eventually received a satisfactory solution.

"In my personal relations with Mr Gokhale I have always regarded him not merely as an important Member of my Council but also as a friend. On more than one occasion he has given me advice which I found to be both sound and useful, and I may mention that in the South African Immigration question he rendered me most loyal and helpful assistance. It was only six months ago that I recommended to His Majesty the King Emperor the appointment of Mr. Gokhale as Knight Commander of the Indian Empire as a mark of recognition of his valuable services, but Mr. Gokhale, with that simplicity of nature which characterised him, gratefully acknowledged the intention, but asked to remain as he was.

"He has now left us and we shall feel the void he has created, for one may truly say that it will be almost impossible to fill his place in Indian public

life I understand that the Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis desires to say a few words on behalf of non-official Members of my Council and after that I propose to adjourn Council till tomorrow as a mark of sorrowful respect towards our late friend and Member, the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale. May he rest in peace "

The Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis :—" My Lord, the occasion is painful. As the spokesman on behalf of the Hon'ble Members of this Council I must express our profound sorrow at the death of Mr. Gokhale. Every word that has fallen from Your Excellency strikes a sympathetic chord in our hearts ; indeed, it is difficult to convey in suitable language the depth of our feeling on this sad occasion.

" My Lord, to me personally, as to many others on this Council, the loss is very great and very painful. Mr. Gokhale was a friend with whom my relations were always cordial and intimate, and the friendship formed in our youth was cemented and strengthened by years of close association in public work both on this Council and outside. His death has on this account been a great blow to me.

" But the removal by death from the scene of his activities of a man like Mr. Gokhale is far more than a personal loss to his friends. It will be difficult to fill up the void created by it in Indian public life. The " Pioneer " has well said that the death of such a man is a national misfortune. Mr. Gokhale combined under an unassuming exterior so many rare qualities of head and heart. It was remarked sometime ago that Mr. Gokhale was sacrificing his life on the altar of the Motherland. This description is absolutely true, not only with reference to any particular period of his life, but also to the whole of his life. There was hardly a moment when he was not doing something or other with the sole object of helping in the amelioration of the Indian people. And he always applied himself to his work with characteristic zeal, earnestness and tenacity. If he had been less hardworking in the public cause and more careful of his health, he would, I am sure, have been spared long to cheer us with his genial presence. His splendid talent and unsparing industry were alike applied to the service of his country, the country he loved most and the political advancement of which he so capably advocated. When the future history of a progressive India comes to be written Mr. Gokhale will stand out in bold relief as a strong advocate of political measures to which a good deal of that progress is due. Mr. Gokhale's deep study of public affairs made his services invaluable, and his tactful handling of them saved many a difficult situation. His participation in the settlement of the South African Indian question has been acknowledged by all to have been productive of solid results with Your Excellency's whole-hearted and sympathetic support ; and his later services in the cause of Indian education shed lustre on a life begun as a philanthropic and self-sacrificing worker in that cause. My Lord, if Mr. Gokhale is remembered for his varied and unwearied public activity, his work in this Council will form a brilliant page in its history. Those among the non-official members who had the privilege to be his colleagues here cannot fail to miss him very much, especially for the acumen he always displayed in the discussion of the various subjects and his splendid powers of debate. But, my Lord, his brilliant example will be with us to inspire us in our humble work. Mr. Gokhale had quite a passionate fondness for Council work, and even in the last days of his serious illness he was anxious to join us here. Indeed, he was only prevented from making the attempt by his medical advisers. We owe it to our departed and worthy friend to pay this humble tribute to his memory.

" I will here, with Your Excellency's kind permission, read a telegram which has been received from Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar associating himself with this resolution of sympathy.

254 DEATH OF THE HON'BLE MR. G. K. GOKHALE, C.I.E

[*Sr Gangadhar Chitnavis*] [23RD FEBRUARY, 1915.]

Telegram from the Hon'ble Mr C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR, Salem, to the Hon'ble Sir WILLIAM VINCENT, Delhi, dated 22nd February, 1915.

'Honourable Mr Gokhale's sad untimely death has naturally caused deep universal sorrow. Loss to both Council and country, great, irreparable Desiring to associate myself with resolution of sympathy in Council tomorrow'

"I have also received a telegram of sympathy from the Hon'ble Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, our late Finance Member, in connection with Mr. Gokhale's death."

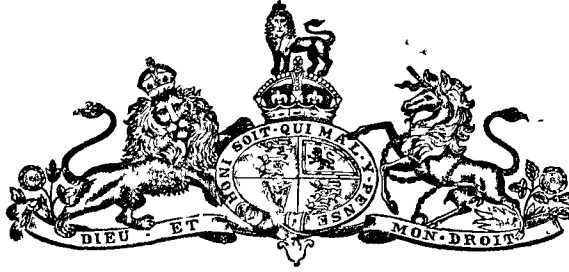
The Council adjourned to Wednesday, the 24th February, 1915.

W. H. VINCENT,

*Secretary to the Government of India,
Legislative Department.*

DELHI :

The 26th February, 1915.



GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.
LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COUNCIL OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA
ASSEMBLED FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING LAWS AND REGULATIONS
UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF THE INDIAN COUNCILS ACTS, 1861 to 1909
(24 & 25 Vict., c. 67, 55 & 56 Vict., c. 14, AND 9 Edw. VII, c. 4).

The Council met at the Council Chamber, Imperial Secretariat, Delhi, on
Wednesday, the 24th February, 1915

PRESENT :

His Excellency BARON HARDINGE OF PENSHURST, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.,
G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., I.S.O., Viceroy and Governor General, *presiding*,
and 56 Members, of whom 48 were Additional Members.

AFFIRMATION OF ALLEGIANCE TO THE CROWN.

The Hon'ble Mr. C. E. Low, C.I.E., made the prescribed affirmation
of allegiance to the Crown.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi asked :—

1. " Will the Government be pleased to state—

(a) the number and the religious denomination of all British Indian
subjects who are now in the different colonies, and how many in
each colony and their profession, and

(b) the number of colonials who are now in British India, the different
colonies to which they belong, and their profession."

Statistical
information
relating to
British
Indian
subjects in
British
Colonies,
and
Colonials in
British
India.

[*Sir Harcourt Butler; Raja Abu Jafar; Mr. Clark; Mir Asad Ali.*] [24TH FEBRUARY, 1915]

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied :—

"A statement* containing such information as is available is laid on the table. It is incomplete"

The Hon'ble Raja Abu Jafar asked :—

Prices of wheat, peas, barley and gram in various Provinces.

2. "Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the prices of wheat, peas, barley and gram prevailing in the various provinces on the 15th of each month, during the months of April to December, 1914?"

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark replied :—

"Statements † giving the information asked for by the Hon'ble Member are laid on the table.

Figures for January are now available and have been added. The price of peas is not reported from the Provinces, and the price of *arhar dal*, the nearest species of pulse to that mentioned in the Hon'ble Member's question, has been substituted for that of peas."

The Hon'ble Raja Abu Jafar asked :—

Rise in the price of inferior grains.

3. "Is it a fact that the rise in the price of wheat, etc., has resulted in a proportionate rise in the price of inferior grains, and that even the poorest classes in India, who use such grains, are suffering in consequence?"

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark replied :—

"A statement† is laid on the table showing the wholesale prices of rice and wheat and of the inferior food grains in representative Indian markets during the first half of each of the months August and December, 1914. It will be observed that although there has been a rise in the price of wheat, the price of rice has either fallen or remained stationary and that the prices of inferior food grains show either a small rise or, in most instances, a decrease. The answer to the question is therefore in the negative"

The Hon'ble Raja Abu Jafar asked :—

Rise in price of rabi crops.

4. "Is it a fact that from the time the last *rabi* crops were gathered in 1914 to the commencement of the present European War, the rise in the prices of grains was normal, but that after the war was declared the prices have risen by about 60 per cent or more?"

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark replied :—

"A statement† is laid on the table which shows the prices of wheat, barley, gram and pulse in representative Indian markets during the first half of each of the months April, 1914, to January, 1915. It will be observed that the prices during August, which has been taken as the basis period, show no abnormal fluctuations compared with those of April; that the first distinct signs of a rise occurred during November; and that the January prices are highest in the case of wheat, which was during that month roughly 30 per cent more expensive than it was in August."

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali asked :—

Expenditure on temporary and permanent capital at Delhi.

5. "Will Government be pleased to state :—

- (a) (1) how much money has been sanctioned till now for the construction of the new capital at Delhi?
- (2) how much money has already been spent on (a) the temporary works, and (b) the permanent works?

* *Vide Appendix A, page 807, post.*
† Not printed with these Proceedings.

[24TH FEBRUARY, 1915.] [*Mir Asad Ali; Sir Robert Carlyle; Sir Reginald Craddock; Sir Harcourt Butler.*]

- (3) whether any more money is required for the temporary works, and if so, how much ?
- (b) whether in view of the present crisis the Government propose to suspend the permanent works for a year or more, and stay further expenditure on the scheme ? ”

The Hon'ble Sir Robert Carlyle replied :—

- “A. (1) The total of the estimates for the New Capital, sanctioned by the Secretary of State, is Rs. 9,17,04,300 including Rs. 1,50,00,000 for unforeseen requirements as stated by His Excellency the Viceroy in his speech at the Council meeting of 24th March, 1914.
- (2) (a) The total expenditure against the estimates for the temporary works, which were closed on the 30th June, 1914, was Rs. 59,33,889. Since that date any expenditure in connection with Temporary Works is merged in the ordinary expenditure chargeable against the head ‘ Civil Works ’ Delhi Province.
- (b) The expenditure on the new city to the 31st December, 1914, amounts approximately to Rs. 1,18,00,667.
- (3) The Government of India have no present intention to incur on the Temporary Works any further capital expenditure of importance.
- B. The Government of India do not consider it expedient at this stage to make any pronouncement on their budget intentions and consequently cannot now state the extent to which it may be necessary to suspend operations in connection with the construction of the New Capital.”

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali asked :—

6. “ Will Government be pleased to state whether they have collected the necessary information as regards the number of Hindu and Muhammadan orphanages in each of the major provinces of India, and if so, to state their respective numbers as well as the number of orphans in each institution ? ”

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

“ A statement* containing the information asked for by the Hon'ble Member has been compiled from the latest reports available and is laid on the table.”

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali asked :—

7. “ Will Government be pleased to state :—

- (a) the number of village punchayats, both official and non-official, in each of the Indian provinces ?
- (b) whether Government propose to issue orders for the establishment of rural boards ? ”

Village punchayats and Rural Boards.

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied :—

“ (a) The Government of India have no information regarding the number of village punchayats in India.

“ (b) By rural boards it is presumed that sub-district boards are meant. If so, these already exist throughout the greater part of India. In certain provinces, e. g., the United Provinces and Punjab, where they do not exist, either measures of decentralization such as the establishment of sub-divisional committees have been or are being adopted. ”

* Vide Appendix B, page 308, post.

[*Mir Asad Ali; Mr Clark; Mr Dadabhoy; Sir Reginald Craddock; Sir William Meyer.*] [24TH FEBRUARY, 1915]

The Hon'ble Mr. Asad Ali asked :—

Provision of third and inter class carriages in mail trains between Manmad and Delhi.

8. "Will Government be pleased to state whether they propose to consider the advisability of including third and intermediate classes of carriages in the mail trains between Manmad and Delhi, or of running fast passenger trains between these stations soon after or before the mail trains for the convenience of third and intermediate class passengers?"

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark replied :—

"The Railway Board will refer the proposals to the Railway Administration concerned."

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy asked :—

Reconstitution of High and Chief Courts and creation of an Imperial Court of Appeal.

9. "(a) Has any despatch been submitted to the Secretary of State for India by this Government about the reconstitution of the existing High Courts and Chief Courts and the creation of an Imperial Court of Appeal for all India, and, generally, for a thorough overhaul of the existing judicial machinery?"

(b) If so, will it be laid on the table together with any reply it may have elicited from the Secretary of State?"

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

"The reply to the first part of the question is in the negative. The latter part of the question therefore requires no answer."

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy asked :—

Hardship of persons on fixed incomes and professional classes.

10. "With reference to the following remark in the Government Resolution on Mr. K. L. Datta's Report on prices :—

"Persons on fixed incomes have certainly suffered, and it is Mr. Datta's opinion that the professional classes, too, have been adversely affected, but the circumstances of this section of the community do not appear to have been made the subject of detailed statistical investigation."

(a) Will Government be pleased to state whether they propose to undertake at an early date the statistical examination which is referred to?"

(b) With reference to the alleged hardship to persons on fixed incomes and the professional classes, will the Government be pleased to state if the question of special measures for the relief of these sections of the community will be considered by Government?"

The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer replied :—

"(a) The Government of India do not propose to institute any such inquiry into the circumstances of the professional classes.

(b) Nor do they propose to consider the question of affording the professional classes or persons on fixed incomes any special measures of relief

As regards employes of Government much has already been done, as observed in paragraph 30 of the Resolution referred to in the question in the direction of increasing pay. As regards other classes, my Hon'ble friend will perhaps refer to paragraph 442 of Mr Datta's Report where he describes the sections of the community whom he regards as having been adversely affected by the rise in prices. Apart from certain classes who are outside the scope of this question the list includes holders of Government and other securities and debentures carrying fixed rates of interest; lawyers, medical practitioners and other professional classes whose income depends on customary fees; private employes (as well as Government servants to whom I have already referred) on

[24TH FEBRUARY, 1915] [*Sir William Meyer; Mr Dadabhoj; Rai Bahadur Sita Nath Ray; Mr. Clark*]

fixed salaries; and some priestly castes and scions of old families I do not think that Government could expect much support if they were to select these classes as objects of their special benevolence, at the expense, of course, of the general taxpayer."

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoj asked:—

11. (a) Will Government be pleased to state the present average annual income per head of population in India? Average annual income per head of population in India.
- (b) Should no estimate of such income be ready, will Government be pleased to say whether they propose to prepare one and lay it on the table?
- (c) Is it a fact that Sir David Barbour and Lord Curzon estimated it at different periods?
- (d) If so, will Government be pleased to lay on the table the papers, if any, connected therewith?"

The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer replied:—

"I would refer my Hon'ble friend to the answer which I gave on the 24th February, 1914, to an almost precisely similar inquiry by the Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoj. A copy of this answer* will be placed on the table

For the reasons then stated the Government do not at present contemplate the preparation of such an estimate as the Hon'ble Member suggests."

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Sita Nath Ray asked:—

12. (a) Is it a fact, as published in the newspapers, that the Home Government have agreed to take a considerable portion of the shares and also to guarantee the interest on the capital of a company about to be floated at Home for the manufacture of synthetic dyes? Floating in the United Kingdom of a company for the manufacture of synthetic dyes. Promotion of industries in India.
- (b) If so, have the Government detailed information about the proposed undertaking? If no such information is in the possession of Government, will they be pleased to state whether they propose to obtain full information on the matter in question and to place such information on the table of this Council?
- (c) Will the Government be pleased to state whether they propose to appoint an expert committee composed of officials and European and Indian gentlemen of the mercantile community, with a view thoroughly to inquire into the subject of the special industries which can be successfully carried on in the country at the present juncture and how, and whether, State-aid, and to what extent, should be given for the promotion of suitable and special industries?
- (d) Will the Government be pleased to state whether any measures are likely to be adopted for the promotion of industries in India to manufacture goods which are now imported from Germany?"

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark replied:—

"(a) and (b) The attention of the Hon'ble Member is invited to a communiqué* of the 11th instant, which summarises the latest information at the disposal of the Government of India on the subject of the National Dye scheme. A copy of the communiqué* has been laid on the table.

As regards (c) and (d), the question of the promotion of industries during the war, having in view the cessation of imports from enemy countries, forms the subject of a resolution which is to be discussed to-day, and if the Hon'ble Member sees no objection, it would be more convenient that the matter should be dealt with then than in reply to a question."

* Not printed with these Proceedings.

[*Rai Bahadur Sita Nath Ray* : *Mr. Clark*]

[24TH FEBRUARY, 1915]

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Sita Nath Ray asked :—Sugar
imports
and industry
in India.

13 “(a) Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the quantity of sugar imported into India in the months of September, October, November and December, 1914, and for the corresponding period in 1913 and also the average annual outturn in India ?

(b) Do the Government propose to take any steps by way of State-aid or otherwise to assist the sugar industry in this country ?”

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark replied :—

“ (a) The statement * asked for is laid on the table.

“ (b) The Government of India are fully alive to the importance of assisting the sugar industry in this country, and for some years past have been endeavouring to effect improvements which will enable Indian sugar to compete with imported sugar. Efforts are being made, first, to secure an increased yield by the selection of improved varieties of cane and better cultivation and, secondly, to improve the processes of manufacture. Full details of the work now being done by the various Provincial Departments of Agriculture will be found in the proceedings* of the last two meetings of the Board of Agriculture, copies of which are placed on the table ; but I may mention that an important acclimatization and cane-breeding station was established at Coimbatore in 1912 under Dr. Barber, that a sugarcane farm is being started in the Kamrup district in Assam and that the Bihar and Orissa Government are contemplating the establishment of a similar farm in Tirhoot. In 1913 Mr Keatinge, the Bombay Director of Agriculture, visited America, Hawaii, Japan, Formosa and Java to study the sugar industries of those countries and his report has recently been published. As regards manufacture, a Sugar Engineer Expert was in 1912 appointed to the United Provinces for three seasons. Valuable results have been obtained, and the appointment has been recently extended for a further period of two seasons. A small plant for making high class *gur* from which sugar can readily be manufactured, has been constructed and is now being exhibited in the United Provinces. In addition to these measures, a grant in one case and a loan in another have been made by the United Provinces Government in order to encourage the development of Central Factories.

“ Generally speaking the chief difficulty is the exceedingly low yield of Indian cane compared with the average of other cane-growing countries. Much work has been done already in this connection, but further prolonged and detailed efforts will be required before the yield is raised to a satisfactory figure ”

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Sita Nath Ray asked :—Declaration
in respect of
emigration
to certain
labour-
districts of
Assam.

14. “ Will the Government be pleased to state whether, and if so when, it is proposed to declare, under the powers conferred by the Assam Labour and Emigration Act, 1901 (VI of 1901), that the labour-districts of Lakhimpur, Sibsagar, Nowgong and Darrang shall cease to be subject to the special provisions of the Act relating to labour-districts and to the consequential provisions relating to penalties and procedure ? ”

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark replied :—

“ The Government of India have decided that the labour districts of Sibsagar, Lakhimpur, Nowgong and Darrang should cease to be subject to the provisions referred to by the Hon'ble Member. It has been decided, however, that the issue of a Notification under section 221 of the Assam Labour and Emigration Act, which is necessary to give effect to the decision, may be more conveniently made after the orders of the Secretary of State have been received on the Bill providing for certain matters relating to recruitment of labourers for Assam.”

* Not printed with these Proceedings.

[24TH FEBRUARY, 1915.] [*Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar; Sir Robert Carlyle; Sardar Daljit Singh; Maharaja Ranajit Sinha of Nashipur; Sir Reginald Craddock; Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoj; Sir William Meyer*]

The Hon'ble Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar asked :—

15. “ (a) Have Government received a memorial from Raja Mukund Deb of Puri in Orissa ?”

Memorial from Raja Mukund Deb of Puri.

“ (b) Has the attention of Government been drawn to an article headed “The Raja of Puri” published in the *Bengali* on 23rd October, 1914 ?”

“ (c) Is it a fact that since 9th September, 1913, no pension has been paid to the Raja by Government ?”

The Hon'ble Sir Robert Carlyle replied :—

“The answer to (a) and (b) is in the affirmative. Inquiries will be made regarding (c).”

The Hon'ble Sardar Daljit Singh asked :—

16. “ Has the attention of Government been drawn to an article headed “Political Pension” which was published in the *Express* on 11th November, 1914 ?”

Political Pension to Raja Mukund Deb of Puri.

The Hon'ble Sir Robert Carlyle replied :—

“ The answer is in the affirmative ”

The Hon'ble Maharaja Ranajit Sinha of Nashipur asked :—

17. “ Will the Government be pleased to furnish a comparative statement showing the quantity of exports of wheat, rice and gram from India since the outbreak of war, and the quantity exported during the corresponding period of the last year ?”

Export of wheat, rice and gram from India.

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark replied :—

“The comparative statement * asked for by the Hon'ble Member has been laid on the table.”

The Hon'ble Maharaja Ranajit Sinha of Nashipur asked :—

18. “ Will the Government be pleased to state whether they propose to issue orders for granting licences for fire-arms more freely than hitherto ?”

Grant of licence for fire-arms.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

“The issue of licences under the Arms Act is managed by Local Governments; the Government of India do not consider that any orders on their part are at present called for”

The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoj asked :—

19. “ (a) Have replies been received from Local Governments and public bodies to this Government's circular letter inviting their opinions about the recommendations of the Currency Committee ?”

Opinions of Local Government and public bodies on the recommendations of the Currency Committee.

“ (b) Will the opinions be laid on the table when received ?”

The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer replied :—

“ (a) In view of the outbreak of war, it was represented by several of the authorities consulted that it would be better that they should defer the submission of their opinions until normal conditions had been re-established; and

[*Sir William Meyer; Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoj; Mr. Clark; Sir Robert Carlyle.*] [24TH FEBRUARY, 1915.]

the Government of India intimated their concurrence in this view. Thus only a few replies have yet been received, and the Government do not anticipate that the complete body of opinions will be before them for some time to come.

(b) They are therefore not yet in a position to say whether the correspondence can eventually be made public"

The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoj asked :—

Acquisition of unworked coal-fields by Government.

20. "(a) Is the question of the acquisition of unworked coal-fields by Government under consideration of this Government, and has any correspondence passed between this Government and the Local Governments on the subject?"

(b) Will the papers, if any, relating to this subject be laid on the table?"

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark replied :—

"The question of the acquisition by Government of unworked coal-fields is not under the consideration of the Government of India and there is therefore no correspondence on the subject to be laid on the table."

The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoj asked :—

Establishment of a model cotton plantation in the Lower Bari Doab Canal Colony.

21. "Will Government be pleased to state what progress has been made in the scheme for the establishment, by the International Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Associations, of a model cotton plantation in the Lower Bari Doab Canal Colony of the Punjab?"

The Hon'ble Sir Robert Carlyle replied :—

"The Government of India are not aware what progress has been made with the scheme for the establishment of a model cotton plantation in the Lower Bari Doab Colony, but they will inquire."

The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoj asked :—

Collisions and accidents on Indian railways. Inquiry into the case of fire in a train near Poona.

22. "(a) Will Government be pleased to give the number and details of collisions and other accidents on Indian railways during the current financial year?"

(b) Has there been any inquiry into the recent case of fire in a moving train near Poona?"

(c) If so, will the report be published?"

(d) Is it a fact that because of the absence of a communication cord in the train, the Guard could not get timely information, and the fire could not be promptly extinguished?"

(e) Are not railway authorities bound to provide communication cords on all trains?"

(f) If not, will Government be pleased to issue stringent orders in that behalf?"

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark replied :—

"(a) Complete figures relating to all accidents which occurred during the current financial year are not available at present, as the Railway Board's annual report on accidents is prepared from reports submitted by railways at the end of each financial year, reports of serious accidents only being sent to the Board by telegram when they occur. The Board also receive reports of the results of inquiries held into serious accidents as soon as they have been completed. I can state here only the number of accidents which have been reported to the Railway Board since 1st April, 1914. This number is 26, of which 13 were collisions between trains, 10 were derailments and 3 were due to other causes.

[24TH FEBRUARY, 1915.] [*Mr. Clark; Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy; Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola.*]

(b) If the Hon'ble Member refers to a case which occurred on the 21st May, 1914, the reply to his question is that an inquiry was held at Miraj station on the 25th May.

(c) The report of the inquiry was published on the 7th November

(d) The train in question was a mixed train, that is, one consisting of both coaching and goods vehicles, and as the latter were not fitted with the vacuum brake, the inter-communication apparatus could not be worked on the train. The evidence recorded at the inquiry shows that only a very few minutes elapsed between the outbreak of fire and the pulling up of the train, but owing to the dryness of the timber of which the carriage was built, and to the fact that a strong wind was blowing, the fire could not have been prevented from spreading

(e) and (f) The last returns available show that only about one-half of the goods vehicles running on railways have been fitted with the vacuum brake apparatus upon which the provision of communication between passengers, guard and driver is contingent, so that there are still practical difficulties in the way of arranging on mixed trains for a means of through communication between passengers, guard and driver. The position is improving yearly, the proportion of goods stock fitted with the vacuum brake having risen from 10.73 to 48.70 per cent in the last seven years, but considering that the speed of these trains is comparatively slow and that they usually stop at all stations, the Railway Board have not yet made it obligatory on railways to provide inter-communication on such trains."

The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy asked:—

23. "Is the question of the introduction of electric traction on Indian railways under consideration of Government?"

Introduction of electric traction on Indian railways.

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark replied:—

"No proposal for the general introduction of electric traction on Indian Railways is under the consideration of the Government. Reports have, however, been prepared regarding the introduction of electric traction on suburban lines in the neighbourhood of Calcutta and Bombay, but no decision has been yet arrived at in the matter."

The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy asked:—

24. "Will Government be pleased to lay on the table the papers, if any, relating to the policy of this Government regarding concessions in respect of oil-fields?"

Policy of Government regarding concessions in respect of oil-fields.

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark replied:—

"The papers relating to the policy of Government regarding concessions in respect of oil-fields are confidential and I regret that they cannot therefore be laid on the table. Oil-winning concessions are granted under the Mining Rules of India, but petroleum is included in what is known as the reserved list of minerals, concessions for which, as being resources of national importance, are only granted to British subjects and to companies mainly British in constitution."

The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola asked:—

25. "(a) Will Government be pleased to state whether instruction in Electro-Therapeutics and Massage is given at present in any of the Government medical schools and colleges in India.

Instruction in Electro-Therapeutics and Massage.

(b) If the answer to the above question is in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to furnish a list of such schools and colleges?"

[Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola; Sir Reginald Craddock; Mr. Rayaningar; Sir Robert Carlyle] [24TH FEBRUARY, 1915.]

(c) If the answer to question (a) is in the negative, will Government be pleased to state whether they intend gradually to introduce such instruction in all medical institutions in India? "

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

"(a), (b), and (c). Instruction in Electro-Therapeutics is given at Dehra Dun and in the Calcutta and Lucknow Medical Colleges and will, it is understood, be shortly provided also at Madras and Lahore. While the Government of India are prepared to encourage the growth of facilities for instruction in this field, they regard instruction in massage as appropriate to the curriculum of nursing institutes rather than of medical colleges and are not inclined to favour its introduction into the latter class of institution."

The Hon'ble Mr. Rayaningar asked :—

Loan to cultivators of improved machinery for cultivation.

26. "(a) Is it a fact that the Department of Agriculture does not lend improved ploughs to cultivators for experimental purposes? "

(b) If so, do Government propose to take steps to popularise the use of improved machinery for cultivation by the free loans of such machinery to cultivators on their furnishing sufficient security? "

The Hon'ble Sir Robert Carlyle replied :—

"It is believed that improved agricultural implements are lent to cultivators some provinces and especially in the Punjab.

The question whether this is the best method of popularizing improved implements is one for Local Governments and Administrations to decide, but the Hon'ble Member's suggestion will be brought to their notice."

The Hon'ble Mr. Rayaningar asked :—

Grant of loans to bond fide agriculturists.

27. "Do Government propose to consider the desirability of widening the scope of the Agricultural Loans Act, 1894, so as to facilitate the grant of loans to *bonâ fide* agriculturists to carry on industries subsidiary to agriculture? "

The Hon'ble Sir Robert Carlyle replied :—

"The Government of India will consider the question "

The Hon'ble Mr. Rayaningar asked :—

Manufacture of natural indigo.

28. "Do Government propose to offer special rewards for improved methods of manufacturing natural indigo? "

The Hon'ble Sir Robert Carlyle replied :—

"The whole question of the possibility of encouraging the natural indigo industry was considered at a representative conference which met the day before yesterday. The recommendations made are now being considered."

The Hon'ble Mr. Rayaningar asked :—

Employment of Belgian farmers for promoting farming and other industries in India.

29. "(a) Is it a fact that now, on account of the German occupation of Belgium, many of the Belgian farmers and other expert workmen are thrown out of employment? "

(b) If so, do the Government intend to take such steps as may be possible to secure the services of some of them for promoting profitable farming and other possible industries in India? "

The Hon'ble Sir Robert Carlyle replied :—

"So far as the Government of India are aware the answer to the first part of the question is in the affirmative

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS; SIR SASSOON JACOB DAVID 265
BARONETCY BILL; SIR JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY
BARONETCY BILL.

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William Meyer; Sir Reginald Craddock;
Sir Ali Imam; The President.]

As Belgian and Indian conditions differ so greatly it is very doubtful whether any action on the lines suggested could usefully be taken "

The Hon'ble Mr. Rayaningar asked :—

30. "(a) Is it a fact that difficulty is experienced by illiterate and ignorant people in rural areas in readily distinguishing currency notes of fifty rupees from those of ten rupees on account of the sameness of size and colour? If so, has the attention of Government been drawn to such difficulty? Issue of currency notes in different colours.

(b) Do the Government propose to consider the expediency of issuing these notes on materials of different colours? "

The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer replied :—

"The difficulty mentioned in the Hon'ble Member's question was brought to the notice of the Government of India some time ago, and prior to the outbreak of the war they had taken up the general question of improving the form and design of their currency notes in this and other respects, and the consideration of it was well advanced. Under present conditions it is not considered expedient to proceed further with the matter at once; but the question will be resumed as soon as normal conditions are re-established

The question of colour printing has also been under consideration in connection with the general examination of the subject to which I have just referred."

The Hon'ble Mr. Rayaningar asked :—

31. "Has Government received any report about the Salvation Army's new settlement for released criminals at Perambore? If so, will it be laid on the table? Settlement for released prisoners at Perambore.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

"The Government of India have no information regarding a settlement established by the Salvation Army at Perambore for released criminals."

SIR SASSOON JACOB DAVID BARONETCY BILL.

The Hon'ble Sir Ali Imam moved that the Bill to settle the endowment of the Baronetcy conferred on Sir Sassoon Jacob David be taken into consideration

The motion was put and agreed to

The Hon'ble Sir Ali Imam also moved that the Bill be passed.

The motion was put and agreed to.

SIR JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY BARONETCY BILL.

The Hon'ble Sir Ali Imam :—“ My Lord, since the introduction of the Bill relating to the Baronetcy conferred on Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy a communication has been received from the Bombay Government suggesting certain modifications, and as those modifications have got to be considered, I pray that Your Excellency be pleased to allow items Nos. 3 and 4* on the list of business to stand over.”

His Excellency the President agreed to this course

* Relating to the consideration and passing of the Bill.

[*Mr. Clark; Sir Reginald Craddock.*] [24TH FEBRUARY, 1915.]

INDIAN PATENTS AND DESIGNS (TEMPORARY RULES) BILL.

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark :—"I move for leave to introduce a Bill to extend the powers of the Governor General in Council during the continuance of the present war to make rules under the Indian Patents and Designs Act, 1911. The occasion for this legislation arises solely from the war. Government consider it desirable that during the present hostilities power should be taken to refuse to receive applications for the grant of patents or registration of designs from persons who are subjects of a State at war with His Majesty. To allow such applications—or in other words to allow enemy subjects to acquire rights in India—would clearly be at variance with Government's general policy in regard to hostile trading, and legislation is necessary since the contingency of war was not contemplated when the Patents Act of 1911 was framed, and is not covered by it. The Bill also provides for the avoidance or suspension of patents or designs held or registered by or for the benefit of enemy subjects, and for the grant of compulsory licences to persons other than such subjects. Unless some such powers are taken, the continuance in force of patents held by enemy subjects would interfere with the production or importation of articles now covered by such patents, which may be urgently required in India. We are also taking powers—following the example of the United Kingdom—to issue the licences not merely for the duration of the war but for the whole unexpired period of the patent, since it would clearly not be for the interest of manufacturers or others to take out such a licence unless assured of the enjoyment of its privileges for a reasonable and definite time, and there would otherwise be some risk that the object of the provision would be defeated. At the same time I wish to make it quite clear that our aim is not the confiscation of enemy rights. Licences will only be granted when it can be shown that it is in the general interests of the country, or of a section of the community, or of a trade, that a supply of the article in question should be secured.

"The provisions of the Bill follow closely the provisions of the similar legislation which has been passed by His Majesty's Government since the outbreak of the war "

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark also introduced the Bill and moved that the Bill, together with the Statement of Objects and Reasons relating thereto, be published in the *Gazette of India* in English, and in the local official Gazettes in English and in such other languages as the Local Governments think fit.

The motion was put and agreed to.

FOREIGNERS (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Hon'ble Sir R. Craddock moved that the Hon'ble Mr. G. H. B. Kenrick be added to the Select Committee appointed to report on the Bill to amend the Foreigners Act, 1864

The motion was put and agreed to.

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[24TH FEBRUARY, 1915.] [*Mr Das.*]

RESOLUTION *re* INDIA'S GRATITUDE, DEVOTION AND LOYALTY TO HIS MAJESTY THE KING.

The Hon'ble Mr. Das:—"His Majesty's visit to India opened a new era in the political life of Indians. It seemed as if the gates of heaven had been suddenly opened and a flood of light broke upon the immense population. They had believed that their sovereign was God's Vicegerent on earth. They saw the object of their faith and realized the truth of it.

"On several occasions when the crowd eager to feast their eyes on the royal personage were held back by the police, His Majesty responded to the wishes of the crowd. Most likely His Majesty expressed his sympathy in words like these 'suffer those men to come unto me and forbid them not, for they are the children of my Empire'. This sympathy reminds one of a memorable instance in the life of one who was greater than all earthly kings.

"Owing to these and other incidents of a similar nature, proving His Majesty's sympathy for the people, their abstract notions of loyalty developed into attachment and devotion to the Royal personage.

"These sentiments in their turn developed the responsibilities of the subjects to preserve the glory of the Crown, to support the dignity, honour and prestige of the sovereign.

"In the *discharge* of these obligations the millions of India are ready to give their life, limb and property.

"A *river* runs its course over miles and miles to meet the ocean, to be merged in the ocean and form a part of the mighty ocean. But when the river reaches the sea, the sea for a time refuses to absorb the *muddy* waters of the river.

"During this period there is a boundary line showing the difference in colour of the two waters.

"Such is the position of India in the British Empire. India occupies a place in the outskirts of the British Empire.

"As the river longs to merge in the sea and lose its distinctive identity, so had India looked forward to the day when she would form an integral part of the British Empire, when she would be allowed in the privileges of the Empire and bear the burden of the Empire in times of trouble and danger. This long cherished hope of Indians was fulfilled when Your Excellency sent Indians to the theatre of war. We consider this an invaluable boon. The theatre of war is the altar where sacrifices to the honour of the Empire are being offered. It is the stage where the history of the Empire is being acted and its glorious future foreshadowed.

"How our countrymen have acquitted themselves in the discharge of their respective duties, it is not for us to recount. We are grateful to His Majesty for having recognised the services of some of them in a manner of which any soldier in Europe would be proud.

"The words which His Majesty addressed to the Indian soldiers at the front constitute a *commitment* of the honour, prestige, and the righteous principles of British administration to his millions of subjects in India.

"This *Royal Commission* comes to us through our brethren at the front, who are shedding their life blood to earn for us the privilege of being reckoned as worthy citizens of the British Empire. Hence it comes to us as a heritage with a sacred duty attached thereto. The heart of the nation has been moved, and the nation's resolution to spare neither life, limb nor property to secure success in the war stands firm and unswerving.

"The *sympathy* shown by His Majesty to the wounded soldiers has put a tongue in every wound, which exhorts the Nation to persist and persevere in their *resolution to uphold* the prestige of the Empire.

"*Having put* our hand to the plough, we cannot turn back till the furrows are deep enough to serve as graves for the enemy.

[*Mr. Das.* [24TH FEBRUARY, 1915.]

"The British Empire, like the mighty ocean, has been roused to fury. All the streams in the British Empire over which the sun never sets are pouring their waters to swell its volume. Its mighty waves with Britannia riding over them will soon sweep away all opposition, and then the British Empire, like the calm sea, will once more pursue its benevolent objects to give peace and prosperity to mankind.

"It is believed that Germany expected that India would support her in this war. If Germany harboured such an absurd belief it only shows how the West is often mistaken in its reading of the *Indian character*. It is all the more remarkable that this mistake should have been made by a *Nation* which claims to have made a special study of ancient Indian literature.

"What is this war? Is it not a war between the moral forces of humanity and brute power? The object of the war is to establish the supremacy of brute power over all that is good and noble and virtuous in man.

"Germany made remarkable progress in the cultivation of science and literature. Science and literature are monuments testifying to the victories of humanity over brute power.

"Who ever thought Germany concealed an assassin's knife under an academical costume, with which she wishes to stab humanity in the head and heart.

"The great national epic, *Ramayana*, describes a war just like the present. It was a war between an exiled prince, spending his days in the jungles, on the one side, and—his antagonist was a ten-headed monster—a reigning king with an enormous army composed of trained stalwart soldiers. But the forlorn prince had a *righteous cause* and *the moral forces of a saintly personal character*. When the exiled prince decided to punish the monster king for his unrighteous and impudent conduct towards a virtuous, helpless lady, his righteous cause and his moral character attracted an immense army to support his cause.

"The poet says even the animals rendered voluntary service.

"The result was the ignominious death of the monster king.

"The present war resembles the one between Rama and Ravana. It is the *Ramayana* of Europe.

"How intense was the sympathy of the Indians for the virtuous prince, and how intense their hatred of the monster king, may be judged from the fact that, though centuries have elapsed since the epic was written, even at the present day, in the most remote villages, this war is reproduced *annually* in *Jatras* (a primitive form of the stage), and the people rejoice to see the defeat and ignominious death of Ravana.

"It is absurd to suppose that a country whose millions worship the virtuous hero of *Ramayana* and *anathematise* his opponent, would sympathise with Germany in her ambition to subject humanity to brute power. We Indians do not believe in the power of the sword to rule over mankind. The sword may slaughter and make massacre, but the sword can never displace the sceptre which it is meant to guard.

"In the past, in the primitive stage of society, the sword was used to kill animals which were the enemies of man, and now it is used to kill Germans, who are cousins-german of beasts.

"I am confident I am giving expression to the feelings of my countrymen, inside this chamber and outside its walls, when I say that India is resolved to risk all she possesses to secure the defeat of this enemy of humanity.

"Though at present we do not bear arms, but our bare arms will bear arms at the first call of duty.

"We know that this war will cripple our means, which would otherwise have been available for the improvement of the condition of the people and the administrative machinery, but this means only a postponement of the needed reforms for a future time; whereas the success of the enemy means the

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LOYALTY TO HIS MAJESTY THE KING

[24TH FEBRUARY, 1915.] [*Mr. Das ; Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis ; Mr Barua.*]

replacement of justice, morality and the principles of civilized administration to brute power. Our success in this war will mean a century's peace and prosperity to the World, and no price is too high in such a bargain.

"With these remarks, I move the following resolution :—

'This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council the communication to His Gracious Majesty the feelings of sincere gratitude, devotion and loyalty with which the immense population of India have been drawn towards the throne by His Majesty's personal attention to Indian soldiers in the theatre of war and in hospitals, and the consequent unswerving resolution of the Indians to support the honour, dignity and prestige of the Empire regardless of the sacrifice it may entail on them'

The Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis :—"My Lord, the resolution has my cordial support. His Majesty has always been a friend of India, and all his acts beginning with his visit to India as Prince of Wales have had for their object the contentment and the progress of the people of this country. His Majesty's last act is quite in keeping with his past kind attitude towards India. It was only to be expected that such a good and benevolent Emperor would take the earliest opportunity to make his Indian soldiers feel that they are under his special care. Almost the very first thing, therefore, that His Majesty did on reaching the front was to visit the Indian trenches, and to cheer the soldiers with kind words of Royal encouragement. In England, too, His Majesty has been attentive to the wounded Indian soldiers. His Majesty's visits to the hospitals have had a very encouraging effect not only upon the soldiers themselves, but upon the whole Indian people. His Majesty has placed us under a gratitude which India will cherish for years to come, and which has confirmed the people in their resolution to help the successful termination of the war in any way within their power. My Lord, the Government of India should convey to His Majesty these feelings of the people.

"With these words, I beg to support the resolution."

The Hon'ble Mr. Barua :—"I have no doubt that the resolution will have the cordial support of this Council. His Majesty, while visiting this Empire, captivated the Indian people by his graceful message to his Indian subjects, and that was a great step in the advancement of the loyal feelings of the population of this vast empire; they are bound to His Majesty by a tie that will never break or get loose. My Lord, I venture to point out, however, that the resolution as it stands seems to indicate that it is only as a consequence of His Majesty's personal attention to the Indian soldiers at the front that the resolution of the Indians to support the honour, dignity and prestige of the Empire remains confirmed and unswerving; it is certainly far from our intention to say so; and although I have not put forward any formal amendment, I beg to ask Your Excellency's permission to allow me to submit to the consideration of this Council whether the resolution would not read better by adding after the word 'consequent' the words 'enhancement of the', and whether the words 'consequent enhancement of the unswerving resolution' will not more thoroughly represent the real sentiments of His Majesty's subjects in India. It would be unjust, even inadvertently, to commit to a wording which may imply that the vast Indian population had ever wavered or would but for His Majesty's attention to the soldiers have wavered an iota in their resolution to stand by the throne and the interests of the Empire in this great struggle. That pledge has already been given; India has resolved from the beginning and will continue to be resolved to the end, to play her part bravely and cheerfully in helping the Empire in coming gloriously out of the struggle in which it is involved. That His Majesty's personal sympathy and contact with the Indian soldiers have greatly enhanced the existing loyal feelings of his dear Indian subjects, there is no doubt; and that is, I think, the real point the resolution aims at making. I therefore crave Your Excellency's permission to submit that the Council may consider whether in the wording of the resolution some alteration of the sort I suggest could not be made to make our feelings more clear and expressive.

"With these few words, I beg to support the resolution."

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LOYALTY TO HIS MAJESTY THE KING.[*Mr. Dadabhoy; Mr. Banerjee.*] [24TH FEBRUARY, 1915.]

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy :—“ My Lord, I rise to say that this important resolution has my whole-hearted support and that I associate myself with all that has been said on the subject by the Hon'ble Mover and the Hon'ble Members who have preceded me. I wish to emphasize the fact that this is not a formal or conventional resolution and is not the result of mere ‘sentimentality and flabby emotion,’ but it emanates from a deep-rooted affection for the person of His Majesty and an undeviating attachment to His Throne. His Majesty, since his accession to the Throne, has closely identified himself with the hopes and aspirations of the citizens of this Empire. With the intuition of genius His Majesty has found ways and means to reconcile the hopes of the people and the interests of Government. Probably no other Monarch has ever had so deep a knowledge of the history of the great nation he is called upon to mould and govern.

“ My Lord, the resolution is self-explanatory, and gives a true estimate of the feelings of the people. His Majesty has always been popular in India. His many expressions of Imperial favour have made a deep impression on the people here. His Royal messages of sympathy for us his Indian subjects and his exhortations to us to look forward to the future with hope have encouraged us and have given us new visions of our position in the Empire. The news again that His Majesty has visited the Indian soldiers in France and in England and is taking a personal interest in them, both wounded and unwounded, has been hailed with joy and gratitude in this country. Our loyal feelings have been deepened and strengthened, and it is meet that His Majesty should have an official communication on the subject from the Government of Your Excellency. India will never forget that to His Majesty we owe the admission of Indian soldiers into the noble and exalted order of the Victoria Cross.

“ With these expressions, I warmly support the resolution before the Council.”

The Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee :—“ My Lord, I feel myself in complete sympathy with the observations which have been made by my Hon'ble friend over there with regard to the terminology of this resolution. What I feel is this, that if we are in substantial agreement with the sentiments contained in the resolution we need not, having regard to its importance, quarrel about the wording. I am sure, My Lord, that this resolution will commend itself to the unstinted support and the enthusiastic acceptance of this Council. It concerns our gracious Sovereign His Majesty the King-Emperor, who by his sympathy and beneficence has enthroned himself in the hearts of his Indian subjects. My Lord, I may observe that sympathy is the traditional possession of the Royal House of England and the proclamations of Her late Majesty Queen Victoria, which we regard as our Magna Charta, and the proclamations of His late Majesty King Edward VII testify to the settled attitude of affection which the Royal House of England has always felt for the people of India. My Lord, His Majesty, when Prince of Wales, after his return to England on the occasion of the presentation of an address by the Lord Mayor of London, observed that sympathy is the dominating principle of British rule in India, and this note resounds in every sentence of the many speeches which His Majesty made on the occasion of the royal visit.

“ My Lord, the resolution refers to the achievements of the Indian soldiers; and surely we are all proud of them. I am sure that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, who organised them and sent them abroad, must be very proud of what they have done. They have worthily maintained the traditions of the Indian soldiery, traditions of courage, resourcefulness and initiative and also those higher traditions of humanity in which the enemies of England are so conspicuously wanting. My Lord, His Majesty has felt the deepest interest in the welfare of the Indian soldiers, has visited them, talked to them and has felt a personal interest in their well being; on one of them he has conferred the

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[24TH FEBRUARY, 1915.] [*Mr Banerjee; Rai Bahadur Sita Nath Ray;*
Maharaja Ranajit Sinha of Nashipur.]

Victoria Cross; three of our soldiers have won this coveted distinction. We hope and trust that this is the inauguration of a policy which will throw open the gates of the commissioned ranks to Indian soldiers. My Lord, I understand there are at this moment about 200,000 Indian soldiers at the seat of war. If it was needed ten times that number could be recruited in India, for the Indian continent presents a vast and limitless field of recruitment and behind the soldiers stands the vast population united as one man in defending the glory and the integrity of the Empire. My Lord, our lives, our properties, our resources are all consecrated to the service of the great Empire to which we are all so proud to belong, and which for us and for all those who have the privilege to live under the British flag means never-failing justice and expanding progress and freedom.

"With these words, My Lord, I support whole-heartedly the resolution that has been moved."

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Sita Nath Ray:—"My Lord, it may seem superfluous to make repeated declarations of our unswerving loyalty and devotion to the Throne and Person of His Gracious Majesty, but I beg leave to deny it. Since we first came into contact with the English, our feelings have never been so keenly moved; and, whether individually or collectively, we have never been more intensely actuated to serve His Majesty and the righteous cause which His Majesty has so appropriately espoused. There never has been a greater enthusiasm or a more genuine aspiration amongst the divergent races, creeds, and sects to render themselves useful to His Majesty's Government in some shape or other. I have never seen a greater alacrity to go through any form of sacrifice for helping the cause which His Majesty's Government has fittingly taken in hand; and why is this so, and what is the root cause of this universal out-burst of loyalty and devotion? There can be only one answer and it is this, that the emergency which has given rise to the present situation is indeed extraordinary and unique, and we all know that our lives, fortunes and worldly prospects are indissolubly linked up with the British Government; and I may say that the prosperity of our country depends on the successful termination of this struggle, which is indeed a struggle for the very existence. It is on account of this that our Indian soldiers have cheerfully responded to the call of duty and gone to the theatre of war to fight for the Empire, and it is fitting that the multitudinous races and creeds of this empire have risen as one man, with a degree of spontaneity unknown before, to support the cause of the British Government. My Lord, this is only one aspect of the question, but there is another which is only personal, but none-the-less to be lost sight of. We are proud to say that His Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor is no longer an impersonal abstract and an unknown factor to us. We all have had the proud privilege and satisfaction of gratifying our eyes with the sight of His Majesty in person in all the splendour, dignity, glory, show and pomp of His exalted position. We were fascinated as it were with the grace and charm of His manners. We remember well and with genuine satisfaction how His Majesty tried to impress upon one and all connected with the Government of this country the great fact that the keynote of the administration should be sympathy, and sympathy alone. If any further proof of this were needed it has been once more furnished by His Majesty's recent action in personally going to the front and visiting the wounded Indian soldiers in the hospitals, which shows His Majesty's anxious solicitude for the welfare and comforts of His brave Indian troops. It is therefore fitting that we, as the representatives of the people of this country, should acknowledge our appreciation of the acts which prompted His Majesty to these acts of mercy and grace.

"With these few words, I beg to support the resolution."

The Hon'ble Maharaja Ranajit Sinha of Nashipur:—"My Lord, I associate myself with the resolution which has just now been moved by

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[*Maharaja Ranajit Sinha of Nashipur; Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy; Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi.*] [24TH FEBRUARY, 1915.]

my Hon'ble friend Mr Das My Lord, in the Autumn session of the Council, when my Hon'ble friend Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis moved a resolution, regarding war, we gave vent to our genuine feelings of unswerving loyalty and devotion to the Throne and Person of His Imperial Majesty and our eagerness to sacrifice all that we would possess to help the Empire to bring about the successful termination of the war My Lord, His Majesty's visit to the Indian troops in France and his kind inquiries about their comforts have enhanced, and deepened, the feelings of our gratitude and loyalty and devotion to His Majesty's throne and person In this country there is not a single soul who is not ready to offer his life and property for the sake of the Empire until the militarism of Germany is smashed.

"It is, My Lord, with these few words, I beg to support the resolution which has just been moved"

The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy:—"My Lord, I support the resolution, knowing as I do the feelings of my countrymen The whole of India is grateful to His Majesty for His gracious visit to the Indian soldiers at the front and in the hospitals This is highly complimentary and highly encouraging, and it is satisfactory to note that the Imperial favour is fully deserved by the troops.

"My Lord, the war has already evoked in India an outburst of loyalty to the Throne and the British Government, unique in the annals of the British Empire, or for the matter of that, in the annals of the World, and to-day we are as determined as ever in our resolution to render all assistance in our power to enable the British Government to prosecute the war to a finish There is nowhere any desire to spare either men or money in the Cause The fact that our Indian soldiers have distinguished themselves in the war, and have maintained the best traditions of the Indian Army, is inspiring. The high distinction of the Victoria Cross won by two of them is one of which we are all intensely proud It is a matter of special satisfaction to us on this Council that two of our Colleagues are taking an active part in the war with credit to themselves and the country We feel elated that the gallant Malik Umar Hyat Khan and the Maharaj Kumar of Tikari have attracted the notice of Field Marshal Sir John French, and have been mentioned in despatches Such examples are highly inspiring The one predominant idea in India is to help in the successful prosecution of the war in every way possible. There is no other thought in our minds at present.

"My Lord, I wish to take this occasion to acknowledge on behalf of the public our warm appreciation also of Your Excellency's kindness to the wounded Indian soldiers, both at Bombay and at Basrah Your Excellency's act in visiting each wounded soldier detained in the Lady Hardinge War Hospital at Bombay and making personal inquiries about his needs and comforts, has made a favourable impression in India, which will have an abiding influence on the loyalty of both the Army and the people."

∴ "With these few words, I support the resolution."

The Hon'ble Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi:—"My Lord, it may be truly said that every day of the war has brought India nearer England in closer bonds of loyalty and union. His Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor's visit to the front and the kindly visits paid by Their Imperial Majesties the King-Emperor and the Queen-Empress to the Indian soldiers in hospital have produced a wave of enthusiasm which is being felt throughout India, and we hope that our gratitude will be communicated to His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor.

"I desire cordially to support this resolution. It expresses the sense of the Nation, and we, as representatives, should all support this resolution."

RESOLUTION *re* INDIA'S GRATITUDE, DEVOTION AND 273
LOYALTY TO HIS MAJESTY THE KING.

[24TH FEBRUARY, 1915.] [*Mr. Rayanigar; Mir Asad Ali; Raja Kushalpal Singh; Mr. Ghuznavi.*]

The Hon'ble Mr. Rayanigar :—“ My Lord, I heartily support the motion before the Council. We are loyal, devoted and beholden to His Majesty our beloved King-Emperor, as much for His Majesty's personal attention to the Indian soldiers at the theatre of war, as for many other instances of His Majesty's, as well as of His worthy representative's, Your Excellency's, gracious solicitude for the welfare of the Indians. My Lord, it is our most valued privilege to be the subjects of His Majesty and to be the citizens of the great British Empire. It is our duty to stand by the Empire, and we are proud to know that our brethren in the front are discharging their duties in a manner worthy of them and of the cause for which they are fighting. How I wish more of us had the requisite training and opportunity to join His Majesty's Army. Speaking as the representative of the zamindars and landholders of Madras, I have the greatest pleasure to assure you, My Lord, that we are resolved, firmly resolved, to make whatever sacrifices that may be expected of us, for maintaining the honour, dignity and prestige of the Empire ”

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali :—“ My Lord, in supporting heartily the resolution before the Council, I may be permitted to say that loyalty is often expressed better by deeds than by words. That India continues to assist materially in the mighty defence of the Empire is ample evidence of her genuine and abiding loyalty to the British Throne. Both in their own interests and in the larger interests of the Empire, Indians are prepared to uphold and maintain the best traditions of the Empire.

“ Our King-Emperor's good-will towards His Majesty's Indian subjects is too well-known to need reiteration. We are indeed deeply grateful to our August Sovereign for His Majesty's personal attention to and kind solicitude for the Indian soldiers who have gone to the front. No Sovereign, My Lord, has evinced such a deep interest in the welfare of his subjects as His Majesty the King-Emperor. Therein lies the secret of the people's attachment and devotion to the person of His Majesty. His Majesty's trust and confidence in the subject population of His vast Indian dominions is now being amply repaid, and a never-ending stream of offers of help continues to flow from India.”

The Hon'ble Raja Kushalpal Singh :—“ My Lord, India cannot but acknowledge with a deep sense of gratitude His Majesty's gracious solicitude for Indian soldiers in the theatre of war and in the hospitals. His Majesty has, by a series of acts of kindness to Indians, especially to Indian soldiers, bound to himself with the bonds of loving loyalty, unequalled in the history of India for its strength and intensity, the hearts of all classes of Indian people, but none are more grateful to him than the large landholders of Agra. Their loyalty is traditional, and they are firm in their resolve to stand by the Empire at all hazards, and at all costs.

“ With these few words, I associate myself with the resolution ”

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi :—“ My Lord, I rise to give my heartiest support to the resolution which has been moved by my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Madhu Sudan Das and to endorse every word that he has said as well as those uttered by the speakers who have preceded me. Ever since that memorable day when the news was flashed of the declaration of war, every Indian heart has been stirred to its utmost depths and India has risen to claim an honourable place in the front rank of battle, and under Your Excellency's initiative has been able to pour forth her troops across the seas; and her sons, standing shoulder to shoulder with the sons of Great Britain and the Colonies, have been able to fight the common foe of peace and tranquillity. Her princes and peasants have equally buckled their swords and are shedding their life's blood in defence of the Empire, of which they have recognized themselves to be an integral part. Ever since that moment a spontaneous and

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[*Mr. Ghuznavi*] [24TH FEBRUARY, 1915.]

generous competition amongst the princes, chiefs and people of all classes has risen as to who can the more readily place himself and his resources at the service of the Empire. Rich and prodigal offers have been made by princes and rulers, whereas those humbler than them have offered all their resources and all they possessed. A surging acclamation of her common faith and loyalty has gone forth from the Hindu Kush to Cape Comorin and India has rallied spontaneously to the call of the Empire. When the Kaiser, the disciple of Fredrick Nietzsche, the apostle of brute force, threw down his gauntlet in defiance of the peace of the world, to the law of nations and to the rights of humanity, he little dreamt from what distant shores its sons would pour forth in defence of peace and justice—he little dreamt that the Himalayas would march to the avenging of the Ardennes.

“Now, My Lord, I ask, what is the cause of this general manifestation of Indian loyalty which seems to have touched the imagination and stirred the hearts of the people of England and has been a source of the most pleasant surprise to the stay-at-home Londoner, as we gather from the English papers? The main cause no doubt is that *Pax Britannica*, which has assured to upwards of three hundred millions of Indians peace and tranquillity at home, settled government, even-handed justice, and absolute religious toleration. Secondly, it is due to that reasoned sentiment inspired by powerful considerations of enlightened self-interest, because the India of to-day is the creation of England; her destiny is entwined with that of England; and her educated classes that represent the masses are the products of English training and English thought. Thirdly, My Lord, India's ready participation in the war is due to her recognition of the absolute necessity and justice which have impelled England to unsheathe her sword in defence of the liberties and the integrity of a weaker State. But, My Lord, if we were only to search the hearts of the millions of this country, we would find that there is one reason more for this spontaneous outburst of loyalty, and that is our allegiance and devotion to the person of His Gracious Majesty, Our King-Emperor. Ever since His visit to our shores, when His Gracious Majesty delivered to His Indian subjects His message of ‘Good-will and Hope’, He has been enshrined in our hearts and we have been drawn nearer to Him. In Him, we have recognised not an alien king, ruling with however great a sympathy for his subjects, but an Emperor of Hindustan itself, crowned in this historic City of Past Glories and in this truly Imperial Delhi of our future hopes. A further proof, if that were needed, which His Majesty has given of His love towards His Indian subjects, is the personal attention and care which His Majesty paid to the Indian soldiers, both in the field of battle and in the hospitals. This has stirred our hearts afresh and has evoked feelings of our sincere gratitude. The personal interest which Their Majesties displayed, while recently visiting the Brighton pavilion, now turned into a hospital, caused the Indian soldiers, some of whom were dangerously wounded, to lustily cheer their King and many to wave their disabled hands. This has certainly given an additional stimulus to Indian loyalty and it has made us all the more determined to uphold the dignity and prestige of our Empire *coûte que coûte*.

“My Lord, one word more and I have done. From my place in this Council in September last, I ventured to answer the question as to what would be the attitude of Indian Mussalmans if Turkey were involved in this war. Now that Turkey, against her best interests and against the advice of the entire Moslem community of India, has followed a suicidal policy in going to war against England, the words I ventured to utter on that occasion have been more than amply justified. Mussalmans under British rule have rallied to a man to the cause of the Empire and have not gone a hair's breadth astray from their traditional path of loyalty and devotion to the British Throne, as they knew full well that in this war no religious question is involved. The Holy Koran inculcates obedience to Constituted Authority; and so long as Mussalmans are in full enjoyment of their religious rights and liberties, they are bound to act up to their Islamic precept. On behalf of the Mussalmans therefore I beg of Your Excellency to convey to His

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Majesty the King-Emperor an expression of our unflinching and unalterable loyalty and determination to stand by the Empire under all circumstances, come what may

"With these words, My Lord, I beg to support the resolution "

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—"My Lord, I have much pleasure in supporting the resolution which is before the Council. It is perfectly true, My Lord, that the news that His Gracious Majesty had been pleased to go to the theatre of war and to visit the Indian soldiers there, did cause immense satisfaction throughout the country, and it is only right and proper that we should request Your Excellency kindly to convey our feeling of gratitude to His Majesty. We are sure, My Lord, that it will be a matter of satisfaction to His Majesty to know that His gracious acts are so closely noted and so deeply appreciated by the people whom He loves. For the rest, I do not think many words are needed at this moment to assure His Majesty of the unswerving loyalty of the Indians'. My Lord, deeds far more eloquent than any words that we can employ have, day after day, during the last many months, proclaimed on the battle-field the devotion and determination of India's sons to stand by England. It is pleasing to think that such deeds are even at this moment being performed at the theatre of the war, and there is equally gratifying evidence of the determination of the general population in this country to supply whatever of men or money may be needed to keep up the war until victory shall have crowned the efforts of our King-Emperor.

"My Lord, India's loyalty to England rests not on hopes alone, but on the more solid foundations of faith. I cannot better express the attitude of India towards England at this juncture than by adopting the words of a great English poet, and a woman too, who has said :

'Hopes have precarious life.
They are oft blighted, withered, snapped sheer off
But faithfulness can feed on suffering.
And knows no disappointment. Trust in me!
If it were needed, this poor trembling hand
Should grasp the torch — Strive not to let it fall
Though it were burning down close to my flesh.
No beacon lighted yet.
England, I will be true. Be thou also true unto me'

"And true to each other, bound in indissoluble ties of union and friendship, the might of England supported and strengthened by the might of India, we will present an invincible front to the War-Lord of Germany and every other Power, great or small, that might wish to measure its strength with the British Empire. We are identified each with the other. We rise or fall together. But we shall rise, and not fall, as sure as the sun rises after the night. May God bless our efforts and our prayers !

"I heartily support the resolution "

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief :—"The gracious message addressed by His Majesty the King-Emperor to the Princes and Peoples of India, which your Excellency read to Council at the opening of the Simla Session in September last, is still fresh in our recollection. In that message His Majesty referred in moving terms to the magnificent offers made by the Princes and People of India to place their lives and resources at the disposal of the Empire, and to the ties of love and devotion which bound his Indian subjects to himself. These offers have since taken practical shape; the ties of affection have been put to practical proof; and India has, I think, good reason to be proud of the results achieved.

"Your Excellency at that same Council Meeting referred to the strength of the Force then being despatched from India to the front. Since that date, further calls have been made upon us, and the numbers then indicated have

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been largely exceeded. There is no better proof of the anxiety of the people of India to take their share in the war than the circumstance that at no time in the history of the Indian Army has recruiting been so good as at present. Many of the sick and wounded invalided back to India from the War are also loud in the expression of their desire to be sent again to the front.

"The Hon'ble Mover of the resolution before us refers to the feelings of gratitude and loyalty which have been elicited by His Majesty's personal attention to Indian soldiers in the theatre of war and in our hospitals. As evidence from another source of the deep and lasting impression made by His Majesty's gracious personality upon the troops in the field, I may here quote from Field-Marshal Sir J. French's last despatch, that of the 2nd February, as summarised by Reuter. Sir John French says the salient feature of the operations since the middle of November was the presence of His Majesty in the field, which was the greatest help and encouragement to the troops after the long and arduous battle of Ypres-Armentieres.

"Sir John, in the course of his remarks on the operations, says that though the troops have been subjected to the most severe strain, their spirit has remained high and confident, and that the Indian troops have fought with the utmost steadfastness and gallantry whenever called upon.

"Sir John French goes on to speak of the splendid work of the Medical Corps, and this leads me back to the Hon'ble Member's allusion to Indian soldiers in hospitals. It may interest Hon'ble Members if I give a few details showing how complete are the arrangements for tending the sick and wounded—a matter in which we may claim to be far ahead of our enemies. We have provided with the various Expeditionary Forces sent from India:—

32 Field Ambulances capable of dealing with 3,000 casualties at one time,

23 Hospitals equipped with the most up-to-date appliances, capable of accommodating 7,450 patients;

About 580 Medical Officers, 230 Assistant Surgeons, 600 Sub-Assistant Surgeons and approximately 7,600 other personnel, including hospital establishments, Army Hospital Corps and Army Bearer Corps

8 Hospital Ships have been equipped in England and two in India

Three ambulance railway trains have been equipped in India, and the personnel of five ambulance trains have been despatched to France and Egypt.

The Imperial Relief Fund has placed at our disposal over £10,000, with which to supplement our resources, and which is being expended in the provision of additional comforts for the sick and wounded.

In addition to all this, there are a number of hospitals and convalescent homes in England for the accommodation of Indian soldiers, equipped by voluntary effort and managed by various Home institutions.

"Your Excellency, in your speech at the opening of the Simla Session expressed your confidence that the people of India would shrink from no sacrifice and would loyally co-operate with Government in maintaining internal order and in doing all in their power to secure the triumph of the arms of the King-Emperor. I think that the present loyal resolution goes far to show how correct was Your Excellency's judgment of the feelings of the people of India, and I would ask Your Excellency to accept it on behalf of Government and arrange for its transmission to His Majesty the King-Emperor. But since some criticism of the wording of the resolution has been forthcoming, I would suggest to the Hon'ble Mover that such amendments might be made as would cause it to read as follows:—

'This Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that His Excellency in Council may be pleased to communicate to His Gracious Majesty the feelings of sincere gratitude, devotion and loyalty with which the immense population of India have heard of His Majesty's gracious personal attention to Indian soldiers in the theatre of war and in hospitals, and the unswerving resolution of Indians to support the honour, dignity and prestige of the Empire, regardless of the sacrifice it may entail on them.'

RESOLUTION re INDIA'S GRATITUDE, DEVOTION AND 277
LOYALTY TO HIS MAJESTY THE KING.

[24TH FEBRUARY, 1915] [*Mr. Das; Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola; The President; Raja Sir Muhammad Ali Muhammad Khan; Raja Abu Jafar.*]

The Hon'ble Mr. Das.—"I am very thankful to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief for his suggestion, and I most thankfully accept the resolution as amended by His Excellency"

The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola:—"Will Your Excellency permit some of us to address the meeting on the resolution as amended? We wish to take part in the debate on the resolution that is now before us."

His Excellency the President:—"You did not get up in your seat to give any indication that you wished to speak"

The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola:—"Each member was getting up one after another, and we waited till we had a chance. Will Your Excellency be pleased, before the Mover is called upon to reply, to allow me to say a few words."

His Excellency the President:—"Very well"

The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola:—"I am much obliged to Your Excellency. I think that on an occasion like this it is necessary that representative Indians who are called here to serve on the Imperial Legislative Council should give expression to the sentiments of the people of India on a question of such importance, and I therefore rise, Sir, to associate myself with the expression of the feeling of unswerving loyalty and whole-hearted devotion to the Crown which the present resolution seeks to do. I hope Your Excellency is satisfied that India, throughout its length and breadth, is unswervingly loyal and fully determined to do the best it can to help the cause of the Empire. It is no news to say that ever since Your Excellency has taken charge of the office of Viceroy, you have shown great confidence in the loyal devotion of this country towards the Crown, and I think that the mark of confidence which Your Excellency has shown towards the people of India has been more than amply justified by the manner in which the whole country has stood by Great Britain at this hour of grave crisis. I need hardly assure Your Excellency, and, through you, His Imperial Majesty, that the hearts of the people of India have been deeply touched by the kindness and consideration which Their Majesties have personally shown towards the Indian soldiers on the battlefield and in the hospitals. I wish to reiterate the firm determination of the people of India, not by words but by deeds, to stand shoulder to shoulder in sharing the burdens of the Empire and to shrink from no sacrifices which may be entailed thereby. I trust that India's attitude on the present occasion will be properly appreciated and that any small lingering doubt which may have existed against the whole-hearted devotion and loyalty of this country towards the British Crown will now be entirely effaced.

"With these words, My Lord, I support the resolution."

The Hon'ble Raja Sir Muhammad Ali Muhammad Khan:—"My Lord, the graciousness of the personal interest taken by Their Majesties in the Indian soldier who is upholding the honour of the Empire in the present war has deeply touched the peoples of India and drawn them in closer bonds of loyal devotion to their Sovereign

"With these few words, I humbly and respectfully support the resolution as amended."

The Hon'ble Raja Abu Jafar:—"My Lord, I have great pleasure in associating myself with the Hon'ble Mover's resolution. Nothing has more deeply touched the hearts of the Indian people than the gracious kindness and personal attention of His Imperial Majesty

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towards the Indian soldiers and those who are sick and wounded. This war, with all its horrors and miseries, has a most satisfactory aspect for us, Indians, namely, that it has realised a long-cherished desire of India to be of real assistance and service to the Empire, and, it is a matter of supreme pride to her, that she has stood the test loyally and honourably at this critical moment, and has justified the confidence which her rulers have always placed in her. It is a time when we should not lose any opportunity of expressing our genuine feelings of loyalty and devotion to the Throne, whenever there be any occasion of giving vent to it. The Hon'ble Mover has chosen the best opportunity of asking Your Excellency to communicate the unswerving loyalty of the people of this country and their desire to make any sacrifices which they may be required to do, and I heartily support this resolution "

The Hon'ble Mr. Huda :—" My Lord, to say that we are grateful to His Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor for all the care he is taking of the soldiers in the fighting line and in the war hospitals will be much less than half the truth. It will be hiding our true feelings. Our hearts are so full of gratefulness and gratitude that we can hardly find words to express correctly our heartfelt genuine and true feelings of thankfulness. Language has always been found lacking in words when we come to depict precisely our inward feelings. The perfidious German Emperor may rule over his blood-thirsty army and subjects, but we have sufficient reports to convince us that he does not rule over their hearts. Our beloved Sovereign by his kind deeds has won the heart of his meanest subject, and is ruling over the hearts of each and all of this vast population of India. Why shall we not be devoted to such a kind-hearted and benevolent Sovereign ? From the lips of the brave Indian wounded soldiers who returned to their homes only the other day we got the reports of our beloved King's visits to the war hospitals for Indians in France and England. His Majesty's keen inquiries after the wants of the soldiers and his anxiety to provide them touched the heart of each of his Indian subjects. These were the words of a wounded soldier returned home, that through the kindness of His Majesty each wounded soldier in the hospital got what he wanted or desired. How thankfully and gladly he related that his life in the hospital was not only comfortable but a luxury. He further added that as soon as a wounded soldier entered a war hospital he quite forgot the terrible life in the trenches, and with it his bodily pain and agony. Each and every wounded soldier knew that all the boons in the hospitals were the result of the anxious and keen personal interest taken by Their Majesties in the welfare of the soldiers. Their Majesties are doing for a common soldier all that parents could possibly have done for their sons. One would like to know whether the stone-hearted German Emperor had done anything more for his wounded son, Prince Joachim. What we knew of the German Emperor was this, that while his son was restless with the agony of his wounds, the Emperor was busy with his self-imposed task of human slaughter. For all the paternal kindness of our benevolent King-Emperor we are not only loyal to him but we worship him. To every Indian to fight for such a sympathetic and benign Sovereign will be a pleasure.

" My Lord, by His Majesty's wise and kind policy India has been drawn much closer to the Throne than it geographically appears to be. We are so proud of our beloved Sovereign as any of His Majesty's subjects among whom he lives

" With these few remarks I heartily support the resolution "

The resolution as amended was put and accepted

His Excellency the President :—" It is with great pleasure that I accept this loyal resolution, which has been accepted unanimously by my Council, and I shall have very great pleasure in conveying its terms to His Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor. "

[24TH FEBRUARY, 1915.] [Raja Kushalpal Singh.]

RESOLUTION *RE* PROMOTION OF INDUSTRIES.

The Hon'ble Raja Kushalpal Singh :—" My Lord, I beg to move—

' That this Council recommends that, in view of the cessation of imports from hostile countries, the Government be pleased to invite the opinions of the Local Governments and Administrations as to the desirability of promoting industrial enterprise by loans on the lines of *takari* advances.'

" My Lord, of the countries with which England is now at war two—Germany and Austria-Hungary, more especially Germany—have recently developed their manufactures to an extent which is the subject of universal comment, with the result that the imports into India of manufactured articles from those countries have grown rapidly both in value and volume. According to the official report—

' The value of Indian trade with Germany has increased, costly British goods being largely displaced in India by German cheap manufactures. German manufacturers have secured special advantages by the application of technical skill, chemical science, or a combination of both, in the supply of certain goods.'

" Austrian sugar and glassware imported into India have likewise steadily advanced in value. The figures for 1913-14 were Rs. 1,38,37,000 and Rs. 87,38,000 as against Rs. 83,78,000 and Rs. 53,08,000 of 1909-10. Turkey has similarly maintained a steady trade with India, but manufactured articles form a minor portion of the imports therefrom. In 1912-13, of our trade with foreign countries, 47.5 per cent of the total, 11.8 per cent fell to the share of these countries, and, in 1913-14, although there was a slight drop in percentage as compared to the whole, the value of the trade with each country singly showed an increase. In the course of five years imports from Germany nearly doubled (Rs. 12,66,58,000 in 1913-14 against Rs. 6,46,11,000 in 1909-10) while those from Austria-Hungary showed almost the same rate of progress (Rs. 4,29,04,000 in 1913-14 against Rs. 2,57,07,000 in 1909-10). These imports comprised mainly of manufactured articles. The European war has of course put a stop to all this large trade between India and Germany and Austria-Hungary. Such a sudden stoppage of supply must necessarily cause serious inconvenience to the Indian public. Now, with the United Kingdom and France engaged in war and Belgium devastated, it would be impossible to replace German and Austrian exports by imports from other European countries. The only two countries which might possibly capture the Indian market, the United States of America and Japan, although wide awake to the possibilities of development, are as yet a long way down in the list. Apart therefore from other considerations, to prevent public inconvenience at least, serious and earnest efforts should be made to produce in India itself articles similar to those hitherto imported from Germany and Austria-Hungary. That is a matter of necessity, and not of choice, with us in this crisis. Besides, economic and political reasons, it is eminently desirable that as many articles as possible should be manufactured within the country, and that imports of manufactures should be restricted to the irreducible minimum. This idea has no doubt been always present in the minds of both the Government and the people, but never before have its importance and urgency been so manifest. Our present freedom from the commercial and industrial domination of Germany and Austria-Hungary is a temporary relief. Unless we ourselves by supreme effort can fill the void caused by their elimination from the market, it will be small solace to us if the place of Germany and Austria-Hungary is ultimately taken by some other country, the United States of America and Japan for instance. Transfer of commercial and industrial supremacy in India from one foreign country to another spells no gain to us.)

" My Lord, now is the opportunity for us, and we would do well to bear in mind that the chance seldom comes twice. Unless we can forthwith develop our manufactures and put them on a sound and stable basis and make the best

of the present situation, the odds are the United States of America and Japan will swamp the Indian market with their goods. Without the war, Japan was becoming a powerful rival of Germany in the Indian Trade. Between 1909-10 and 1913-14 the value of the imports from Japan nearly doubled (Rs. 4,78,01,000 in 1913-14 against Rs. 2,52,12,000 in 1909-10), and the most interesting and instructive point about these imports is that the classes of goods are to a large extent identical with those imported from Germany and Austria-Hungary. In cotton hosiery Japan always occupies a pre-eminent and firm position, and in matches she is far ahead of Germany and Austria-Hungary, and even of Sweden. It is extremely unlikely that in the new situation Japan would be slow to exploit the Indian market more fully. It is estimated that even within the first two months of the European war Japanese exports to this country advanced about 10 per cent. We may be sure the increase has been maintained during the subsequent period. The United States of America, it is true, has not so firm a grip of the Indian market, but her industrial activity and the excellence of her manufactures are unquestionable. She can, if she will, appropriate a very much larger share of the Indian trade. The fact that she has deputed an expert for a special survey of the Indian commercial situation affords unmistakable evidence of her anxiety to take full advantage of her present opportunities. The position thus is that, with a supine or hesitating India, the war will bring us no economic advantage. The gratifying feature, however, is that India has become self-conscious, and with the people the Government are alive to the need of industrial expansion. But in the present extraordinary situation the question which demands immediate consideration relates to the method by which the rate of progress might be accelerated. In ordinary circumstances active participation by Government in manufacturing industry is a matter about which expert opinion is divided. It has been remarked with great force that industrial development is more or less a question of scientific education, and in this view Government would perhaps be justified in maintaining an attitude of complete isolation—after adequate provision has been made for this education. The utmost Government could be expected to do further is to adopt a protective tariff or even to pioneer industries. But the desired economic results of all these measures are slow of attainment. But in the present crisis, speed, as observed above, is all-important, and the best thought of the country, official and non-official, should be devoted to the solution of this problem.

“ My Lord, I claim consideration for the resolution before the Council for its main suggestions of a *modus operandi*. The history of industrially progressive countries supports the view that the State may with profit render substantial aid to industries. The extraordinary industrial development of Japan is a recent growth. 58 years ago, in the beginning of the Meiji era, there was hardly any manufacturing industry on western lines there, but by 1906 the number of Joint-Stock companies reached the imposing figure of 9,329 with a total paid-up capital of 107 million pounds sterling and a total reserve of 26 million pounds sterling. The figures to-day are larger. And yet private capital was at first as shy in Japan as it is in India. But the State led the way with pioneer work and active assistance with the present remarkable results. In Germany the progress has been accelerated not only by a system of bounties, but by placing through the banks the financial resources of the State at the disposal of manufacturers. The growth of beet sugar demonstrates forcibly how with State aid industries can be developed. After detection of sugar in beet-root in 1747, the industry remained negligible for 63 years, until in 1810 the Great Napoleon made a free grant of 100,000 acres of land for the cultivation of the root. By 1829 France produced 5,000 tons of sugar from its 100 factories; by 1836 she had 436 factories, with a producing capacity of 49,000 tons. In 1870 the French production amounted to 290,000 tons, while Germany produced only 180,000 tons. By 1906 Germany out-stripped France in the race, and the German production was 2,300,000 tons against 1,150,000 tons of France. Austria-Hungary has attained similar development by similar sponsorial action on the part of Government. On a review of the industrial history of

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these countries, which have shown the greatest activity and progress, and fact stands out in bold relief, and that is that an industrially backward country may be led to a high state of development with liberal State aid. *The Indian Daily News* has in a recent issue, observed :—

‘The real fact is that the secret of the success of German industry is that the manufacturers obtain longer credit and give longer credit The German banks have treated their trade as a national affair and supported it whole-heartedly, and the enormous development of that trade is entirely due to the support of the great German banks, who liberally lend to industrial enterprises showing good prospects of successful working. In 1907 when there was a great financial crisis German Banking stood the strain with little difficulty ; for they had the German Government behind it.’

“ It behoves us now to lay the lesson to heart, and to adopt at least partially the method that has yielded such excellent results elsewhere. Appeal to the Imperial policy of Free Trade in justification of official detachment will not avail in the extraordinary situation we have to face now. Even the Imperial Government have considerably modified their accustomed policy, and have offered to guarantee interest on £1,500,000 debenture capital for the manufacture of synthetic dyes. There is thus no reason why this Government should not adopt similar lines in India. The question of course remains as to how far financial assistance is needed by our manufacturers at this juncture.

“ My Lord, it is admitted on all hands that capital is badly needed in India for the development of her resources. The general complaint is that money does not flow here into industrial channels as freely as in other countries. Our present industrial expansion has been principally due to the investment of British capital. Some idea may be had of our financial obligations to England from the fact that, as shown by Sir George Paish in the papers he read before the Royal Statistical Society in 1909-10, so much as £365,399,000 of British capital was invested in India in 1910. There seems to be unlimited scope here for the employment of cheap capital, but the great want is cheap capital. It is not only the big concerns which suffer in consequence, and our industrial progress on western lines is retarded, but even our cottage and village industries suffer more or less from stagnation for this dearth of capital. Freer supply of cheap capital would revivify some of these industries with solid economic and political results. British capital could not be employed in these small industries. Moreover, in the present extraordinary times an adequate supply cannot be counted upon. Co-operative banks are as yet in their infancy, and it would be too much to expect that they would be able to find all the capital wanted. Besides, our big concerns too want money. With larger capital they could produce more. And this capital Co-operative Societies, whether rural or urban, cannot possibly find. And, according to the accepted dogmas of British banking, our ordinary banks should not risk their money in loans to industrial concerns. Indeed, one of the principal causes of the failure of the People's Bank of India is supposed to be the financing of manufacturing industry which the Directors did. It is essentially necessary therefore that Government should, as a matter both of principle and policy, finance such among our concerns as hold out the best prospects of success. Thanks to the initiative of the Hon'ble Sir William Meyer, a large amount of Government cash has been placed at the disposal of the Presidency Banks for the benefit of trade, but this does not benefit industry at the preliminary stage of manufacture. Unless the ideas of sound banking undergo a material change, it would be unreasonable, and perhaps wrong, to suggest that the Banks should finance industrial enterprise. The only feasible alternative is that Government should advance money to manufacturers direct in the same way as *takavi* loans.

“ My Lord, in a recent note the Director of Industries of Madras, although combating the idea of protection, appears to think there is scope for financial assistance by the State. One of the conclusions of the Ootacamund Conference of 1907 was that grants or presents or loans of machinery should be given for the support of particular industries. The Madras Government, as pointed out by Mr. Chatterton in his paper on ‘Industrial Work in India,’ read at the

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Indian Industrial Conference of 1905, have already initiated a policy of making advances to cultivators under the Land Improvement Loans Act of 1883, for the purchase of mechanical appliances for irrigation. In 1908, in the official report of an industrial survey of the United Provinces, it was recommended in paragraph 44 that advances should be made to weavers for the purchase of improved appliances in the same way as *takavi* loans are given to cultivators. The Hon'ble Mr. Low, in his report on the industrial survey of the Central Provinces and Berar of 1908-09, saw 'no reason why some measure of help' should not be given through co-operative societies 'in the form of a Government loan' for the support of weaving. The potter, too, according to him, deserves financial help through banks for the purchase of improved appliances. Mr Low's general recommendation in paragraph 140 of the report is that 'Government should give substantial assistance' to co-operative societies to whose activity he looks for industrial development. In 1908 in paragraph 315 of the official report of an industrial survey of Eastern Bengal and Assam 'rendering pecuniary assistance' by Government 'to firms or persons who are willing to engage in any profitable industry' was recommended. All this recommendation gains point in the present crisis. *The Indian Daily News*, in the course of the article referred to above, made a similar suggestion :—

'The war has shown how necessary Government financial assistance is to our affairs. The Germans have recognized this for the last twenty years and so have the Japanese.'

There is thus, My Lord, a strong body of opinion in the country in favour of some scheme of financial assistance by the State to manufacturers. It is meet that the question should be considered in all its bearings with special reference to local conditions. The Madras Government has set an example in this line, which might be followed with profit by other local administrations, but the policy of that Government too is halting in existing circumstances, and urgently requires expansion. The chief point, however, is that the Central Government should finally sanction the policy of financial aid. Money would of course be actually paid to the manufacturers through the Local Administrations, but it is in every way desirable that the policy should receive the *imprimatur* of the Supreme Government. For the policy, besides, to be successful, special funds for application to this object must be placed by that Government at the disposal of Local Governments and Local Administrations. Hence the necessity of action on the part of this Government. And once this policy of partially financing industry with State funds is adopted by the Government of India, the first condition for the initiation of a comprehensive and uniform scheme throughout India will have been fulfilled. While I advocate the application of Government money to manufacturing industries through private firms and persons, I think the safest course will be to advance the money in the same way as *takavi* loans. The Land Improvement Loans Act provides certain checks and safeguards which it will be imprudent to throw away.

"But, My Lord, the resolution I press for adoption by this Council strikes much humbler note, in that it only suggests to Government the desirability of focussing official opinion upon this subject of advances to manufacturers. To this course I do not apprehend any difficulty. There is also no room for serious objection, in view of the narrow scope of the resolution. No body loses by the suggested collection of opinions. I confidently hope the Council will now unanimously adopt the resolution.

The Hon'ble Mr. Abbott :—" My Lord, I give this resolution my whole-hearted support "

The Council here adjourned for lunch, and after lunch THE HON'BLE SIR HARCOURT BUTLER, THE VICE-PRESIDENT, TOOK THE CHAIR.

The Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis :—" Sir, my humble experience, limited as it is to the Central Provinces, has satisfied me that,

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for our industrial development, some scheme of financial assistance to our industrial concerns is eminently desirable. Failure is in many cases due to scarcity of liquid capital at a time when it is most needed. This is a country of small capital and when a manufacture is started it frequently happens that the bulk of the capital is used up in the initial stages, leaving only a small margin to serve as working capital. The result is that with the concern in full swing, want of capital is acutely felt at almost every step. Individual owners might perhaps with difficulty raise on personal credit some amount, but it is generally not enough. Joint-stock concerns are at an even greater disadvantage. Banks will not advance money to them, and individual directors cannot be expected to risk their personal credit for the benefit of the business. In the Central Provinces I know of a number of concerns which would have flourished had there been proper arrangements for financing them. There are at the present moment some concerns which can be saved from ruin by timely financial help. This help people might legitimately ask Government to give, especially in view of the new situation created by the war. And Government, too, will ultimately find it to its advantage to render the necessary financial assistance. With the growth of civilisation, the withdrawal of large numbers of people from their hereditary callings, the subdivision of property and the difficulty of the middle classes on account of high prices, the question of the increase of the resources of the people promises to assume serious proportions day by day. The most effective solution of the problem lies perhaps in the revival of the industries, the rural industries in particular. And this Government might well encourage by lending financial support to the industries. Rather than relieve the distress of the unemployed by schemes of old age pensions and insurance and parochial help, the problem should be attacked at the root, and efforts should be made to increase the resources of the people. And State aid to Indian industries is a right step in this direction.

“The time has gone by when the preservation of law and order was the only function of Government. The ideas of the civilised world in this respect have undergone a radical change, and it is now admitted on all hands that the support of indigenous industries is one of the legitimate functions of the Administration. It must be acknowledged that the Government of India and the Local Governments have recognised their duty in this respect, and much has already been done to encourage the industries. The Hon'ble Mr. Low, whom I am glad to see here to-day, for instance, has made earnest efforts in the Central Provinces to place the rural industries on a sound footing. A great deal more, however, remains to be done. But the point is as to how the assistance is to be given. According to some authorities, it is legitimately the function of the co-operative credit societies; according to others, Government should initiate a scheme of direct help. In my humble opinion, the aid to be effective should come from Government. The co-operative movement, though full of potentialities, is in its infancy now, and is hopelessly unequal to the task of coping with the exigencies of the situation. We must therefore fall back upon Government for the necessary relief. And in this contingency, the suggestion embodied in the resolution that the money should be distributed in the same way as *takavi* advances, would seem to have certain undoubted merits, and must appeal to many. At the same time it must be one of the conditions of assistance that the concern sought to be helped must submit to official audit and expert guidance. Government money cannot certainly be advanced to industrialists who would object to profit by the expert advice of Government and to place the finances of the concerns on a sound basis by submitting to the corrective of official examination of the accounts. These necessary conditions premised, Government help should be forthcoming. Of course, practical effect can be given to such a policy on a large scale in case the resolution is accepted, only at the termination of the war. It would be unwise to expect Government to launch into such expensive schemes while the war is in progress. There could, however, be no serious objection to the collection of opinion on the subject on the lines indicated in the resolution, and that is the recommendation before the Council.

“I therefore beg to support this resolution.”

[*Mr. Dadabhoj*] [24TH FEBRUARY, 1915.]

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoj:—"Sir, in discussing the resolution Hon'ble Members will be pleased to bear in mind the action the Imperial Government has recently taken to help forward new industries. The Patents Act has been revised with a view to protect indigenous industry; facilities for loans to prospective industries have been arranged; and, in order to ultimately capture the German trade in synthetic dyes, the Imperial Government has decided to advance a large sum of money on easy terms to a new company to be started for the manufacture of dyes and chemicals. According to the Government of India communiqué of 11th February current, out of the sanctioned capital of the company of 20 million pounds sterling, shares of the value of £10,000,000 will be issued in the first instance, and His Majesty's Government will make a loan to the company of a sum equal to the subscribed capital up to a total of £10,000,000 and thereafter in the proportion of £1 to every £4 of subscribed capital. Interest will be charged on the loan at 4 per cent payable out of the net profit, the term of the loan to be limited to a period of 25 years. It is proposed that His Majesty's Government should also make a grant for 10 years for the encouragement of research work of a sum not exceeding an aggregate of £1,000,000. Two directors of the company will be nominated by Government' And all this when every penny of public money is valuable and can be ill spared. If England with all her Free Trade principles has adopted this policy of fostering industries with pecuniary help, this Government will require very special reasons to justify a policy of benevolent detachment from manufacturing industry

"Sir, there is an insistent and growing demand in the country for pecuniary help to Indian industries. It has become more and more apparent that the problem of Indian industrial development is mainly a question of cheap capital. The history of the failures of promising Indian concerns worked on western lines is replete with instances of a deadlock for want of capital. Official report after report has noticed this feature of Indian manufacturing industry. Mr. Chatterji, in his Report on the Industries of the United Provinces, has attributed, for instance, the failure of the glass factories of the province to want of fluid capital. The Amballa Glass Works, the Rajpur Factory and the Sikandra Rao Factory—all collapsed because there was not sufficient working capital. Mr. G. N. Gupta, in his report, has referred to the same difficulty in Eastern Bengal and Assam. The Boolbool Soap Factory of Dacca, for an instance, could not be worked successfully for want of funds, and in another promising company, the Indian Soap Factory of Nimtoli, the expert manager could not purchase even the necessary plant for want of capital! Mr. N. B. Wagle, the Bombay glass expert, is of opinion that failures of glass factories in various parts of the country have been due to preventable causes, and one of these is lack of capital. Mr. Dobb has come to practically the same conclusion in his monograph. And what has been said of glass manufacture and soap manufacture may be said to be more or less true of other manufactures.

"My friend the Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis has referred to the need of financial backing for other industries of the Central Provinces. My experience is similar to his, and I endorse his observation. On a general review of the industrial conditions of the country, the outstanding fact is that, with greater facilities for raising money, the chief impediment to our industrial development would be removed. And the point which has gained enormous importance in consequence of the economic pressure of the war, and which demands immediate consideration, is how best to secure cheap capital at once. If the present novel economic conditions are to be utilised and the war is to be turned to our economic advantage, we must ensure forthwith a free flow of capital to industrial enterprise. We have, as pointed out above, failed to find capital in the past, and now, with the demoralisation consequent upon the bank smashes and the circulation of all sorts of bazar rumours about the progress of the war, the financial difficulty has become extraordinarily severe. The solution of the problem can no longer be left to individual initiative, and it is absolutely necessary that Government should step in."

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"Now the question is, in what way can financial help be given to the industries of the country? Such help can either be direct or through the banks. But the banks cannot do much in this line, as their investments are limited in range, and past experience has established the fact that, for the successful working of our banks, the one point essential is that the advances should be against securities that are easily convertible. Industrial concerns are from their nature incapable of complying with this condition. Loans from ordinary banks are accordingly out of the question. Special banks for the support of industries, organised on co-operative principle, can, it is true, do something to supply the necessary capital to industrial concerns, but the pity is, such banks are at present non-existent. The time may indeed come when we shall have them in fairly sufficient number, but it is a long way off yet. And meanwhile, the concerns will be left to themselves to find the money required for successful management as best they may. This policy, as an incentive to enterprise, has failed in the past, and the ground is absolutely wanting for the hope that the future will belie the past. The idea which the Hon'ble Mover has in view in common with educated Indians,—the speedy revivae of indigenous industries, especially when German and Austrian goods have been withdrawn from the Indian market,—will thus be frustrated. Through force of circumstances, therefore, India must expectantly look to direct Government assistance in money. It is a matter of necessity with the Indian industrialist. The Hon'ble Mover has shown from the official reports that this necessity was felt years ago. The economic situation created by the War has only emphasised it. And that fact by itself ought to commend the resolution to the acceptance of this Council.

"Sir, it is a point in favour of the proposal in the resolution that the advances are recommended to be made in the same way as *takavi* loans, inasmuch as such loans are given on ample security. There is not much difficulty in recovering the money, and the debtor does not feel the burden. The interest charged is small, and repayment is in easy instalments. That advances to manufacturers on the principle of *takavi* loans are quite feasible, will not be seriously questioned. In the case of *takavi* loans the agriculturist gives his land as security, and the amount of each individual loan is settled after careful inquiry on the spot, of the applicant's financial strength, position and necessities. There is nothing to prevent a similar course being followed in the case of the manufacturing industries. The security supplied will in most cases be the plant or the mechanical appliance itself for which the loan is taken, plus the personal credit and other property of the debtor. Government will thus be amply secured against loss, while ample funds will be available to the needy and deserving manufacturer to get improved machinery for the benefit of the particular industry. And the gain to the manufacturers will be a gain to the country.

"My Lord, the adoption of the economic policy suggested in the resolution will likewise have far-reaching political results. It will knock out the bottom of the complaint that a rigid and unsympathetic economic policy is pursued by Government here with a view to help the British manufacturer, and will, by increasing the resources of the people, by organising the village industries on a sound basis and strengthening them, and by finding new careers for enterprising educated Indians, ensure greater contentment and greater peace and greater devotion and loyalty in the country. Any solution of the economic difficulty, however partial, as is evident, is welcome.

"In my opinion the Hon'ble Mover's proposal will remove a real want and will in the end relieve distress to some extent; but I would submit for the consideration of the Council and the Government that, instead of waiting for the opinions of Local Governments and Local Administrations on a point in favour of which there is at least a solid body of opinion both official and non-official, this Government would be well advised to lay out a reasonable amount of money for the support of the indigenous manufacturing industry in the same way as *takavi* advances are made for the support of the agricultural industry. But this is by the way. And whether Government sees its way to accept this larger suggestion of mine or not, no valid objection could

[*Mr. Dadabhoy; Mr. Ghuznavi.*] [24TH FEBRUARY, 1915]

be raised to make a special reference to the country on the whole subject of financial assistance to Indian manufacturers. And that is all that the Hon'ble Mover wants the Council to recommend to Government "

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi :—“ Sir, I have much pleasure in supporting the resolution which has been moved by my friend the Hon'ble Raja Kushalpal Singh but if my friend will permit me to say so, in my humble opinion, his resolution does not go far enough, for the stern fact must be recognised that it is almost impossible for our people to revive their old industries, much less to start new ones, without immediate substantial help from the State. Therefore, Government should be not only requested to invite opinions from the Local Administrations as to the desirability of promoting industrial enterprise by loans on the lines of *takavi* advances, but they should be requested to invite the opinions of their subordinate Governments as to the best means of reviving and promoting industrial enterprise, either by loans on the lines suggested or on any other lines that may be found suitable, and having obtained the local opinions, they should be acted upon without the least possible delay.

“ Time was when the industries, arts and products of fair Hindustan were far-famed throughout the world. If peoples across the seas had not heard of Dacca as a city, they had at least heard of her muslins, of her embroidery, of her filigree and shell work and a hundred other wares that she produced. But, alas! the race of our weavers is fast dying away. The *charka* or the spinning-wheel is being gradually stilled. The sugar manufactories with which all important villages were studded are gone. The *Melangas* or the salt manufacturers have totally disappeared and the number of braziers in the whole Presidency of Bengal—to mention only one Province of India—can be counted on one's fingers' ends. Even 70 years ago we made our own clothes, spun our own thread, prepared our own sugar and salt and our own utensils. But now, machinery and foreign-made goods have been the death blow of our indigenous industries, as articles turned out here cannot compete with cheaper foreign-made goods, and that is the real reason why Indian trade is being strangled to death. But, Sir, 'there is a silver lining to every cloud' and the horrors of the war, which we all so much deplore, can yet be a blessing in disguise in more senses than one. While Providence will help us to crush out forever German militarism, the German menace, Providence can also help us to stimulate our arts and industries if we would only help ourselves, if we would only now seize the opportunity that has been thrown in our way.

“ The total import trade of India for the year 1913-14 has been valued at 122 millions, of which Germany and Austria-Hungary are responsible for 11 millions and odd, *i e.*, more than 10 per cent. Amongst the chief articles imported from Germany are cotton manufactures, silk manufactures, woollens, dyes, paper and pasteboard and hardware, and those from Austria-Hungary are sugar, glass and glassware. Now, all these can be made in this country if we had sufficient organization and sufficient capital. To deal a crushing blow to Germany, as it behoves us to do, we should lose no time in utilising the present occasion for the destruction of the Austro-Germanic trade in the East, and this can only be done by developing our indigenous arts and industries and promoting new ones. In doing so, there are certain circumstances which we must keep in mind. How did Italy and other Continental countries, including one or two of the Balkan States, resuscitate their arts and industries? The main reason is the manufacturers of these countries secured certain special advantages not only by the application of technical skill and chemical science, or a combination of both, but also by the aid in money they received from their Governments. It is the same story in Japan. But here we have none of these advantages. We have no capital, we have no skill or expert knowledge; but one thing we have, and that is, genuine sympathy of Government, and the time is now come when

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that sympathy should take a substantial form. In our corner of the country it is a pleasure to testify to the sympathy which Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Carmichael have evinced in our industries and arts. I myself had the pleasure of first introducing them to the Dacca muslin and to the yet wonderful relics of Dacca's ancient arts and industries. Soon after the outbreak of the war, the Government of Bengal deputed Mr. Swan to make inquiries in this direction, and we are waiting eagerly for his report. But what is needed is capital, what is needed is State aid judiciously given; and loans on the lines of *takavi* advances will certainly be one of the ways in which Government could help us. Otherwise, mere sympathetic advice and official statistics and papers, I am afraid, will not go a long way to bring about the desired end.

"Sir, if we do not seize this golden opportunity, if we do not strike the iron while it is hot, I am afraid another such opportunity will not soon occur. For if Germany and Austria lose their market in India, perhaps Japan and America will occupy their position; and so far as poor India is concerned, it will be all the same to us whether we buy German or Japanese articles, barring the only satisfaction that we will be filling the pockets of our friends to the exclusion of our foes, a process which, however, will leave us poorer all the same. If, therefore, we must oust German and Austrian goods from amongst us, we must at least have some of the special advantages which made all the Western Nations, as well as Japan, commercially so great.

"The time has therefore come to make a beginning, however small. We need not worry ourselves with large concerns which require lakhs and crores of rupees. Such undertakings, unfortunately, are yet beyond our capacity. It is the small industries to begin with which would suit our people best, such as weaving, spinning, sugar manufacture, manufacture of salt, brass or other metallic articles; and all these can be fostered under judicious guidance if capital were forthcoming. A commercially great India, a rich India, would be an immense source of strength to the Empire.

"Sir, I have implicit faith in Providence, and implicit faith in the destiny of my country. Let us hope that the time is not distant when, under the ægis of Great Britain, India will yet be able to take her place in the valhalla of commerce, and that, when the next call comes to her for the cause of the Empire, she may find herself in a position to contribute not merely a paltry million or two of sterling, but tens and hundreds of millions and that, along with her contribution to the war chest, her sons, under the guidance of Great Britain, would be so trained that she will be able to pour forth her teeming millions, who will march into any quarter of the globe, West or East, North or South, to do battle with the foes of our glorious Empire."

The Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee:—"I do hope that the Government will be able to see their way to accept the resolution which has been placed before the Council by my Hon'ble friend. Looking at the matter from an administrative point of view, it seems to me, though I am not an administrator, that Government lose nothing by the acceptance of this resolution. The resolution merely calls for information, for inquiry and report. If the information supports the principle which my friend has advocated in his speech the matter will be considered and action may be taken. If, on the other hand, the information which is collected by Government does not support that principle, it will not be given effect to. Therefore it seems to me that the resolution is one which ought to commend itself to the acceptance of the Government. Sir, it is very obvious from the speeches which we have heard round this table, very obvious from the utterances of newspapers representing all shades of opinion, Indian and Anglo-Indian, moderate and extreme, that there is a universal feeling that the time has now arrived when the Government should come to the rescue of our vanishing industries and when it should enter the industrial field. The English Government, wedded to the traditions of Free Trade, as my friend has pointed out, has done so. There has been a change, if I may be permitted to say so, in the fiscal policy of the Liberal Government in this matter in view of the war and the contingencies of the war. There is no reason why the Indian Government should

not follow suit. I will admit, and gratefully admit, that the attitude of the Government of India in regard to our indigenous industries is sympathetic; I would go a step further and add that the Government has done something to foster and encourage indigenous industries, but, Sir, there is a universal feeling, a strong conviction in the minds of my countrymen, that a great deal more remains to be done. In Bengal as my friend on my left has pointed out Mr. Swan has been appointed as a special officer, an admirable selection. Mr Swan has been making inquiries, holding conferences and consultations, and we await his report with interest and expectancy; but, Sir, conferences and consultations, commissions and reports, are all good in their way, but what we want is a little modicum of action, we want that these conferences should lead to specific practical efforts, which would help forward the development of our indigenous industries. Has anything been done since the outbreak of the war, anything tangible, anything definite, any measure to which my Hon'ble friend the Member in charge of the Department could point as showing definite action by the Government for helping forward our indigenous industries? I am afraid the question must be answered in the negative. In Bengal we have a mournful tale to disclose. I will mention two or three industries within my own province in respect of which Government help was solicited, but in respect of which Government help has not been obtained. My friend over there has referred to the dying glass factories, in different parts of India. We have a glass factory at Sodepur, it is a most promising concern. Mr Swan visited the factory, he encouraged the men working at the factory and the proprietor. But capital was wanted, capital is still wanted; I believe the proprietor applied for capital subject to such guarantees as may be necessary. He has not got it, the banks would not supply the capital. Here we have a complaint to urge, and I lay it before the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Commerce Department. In respect of indigenous industries the banks are very slow to advance capital. I will mention one concrete case, because an ounce of fact is worth more than a ton of theory. The Banga Luxmi Cotton Mill, a very large concern with a capital of over 18 lakhs, applied for a loan to the Bank of Bengal, if I am not mistaken. The loan was not given upon the securities that would have more than covered the loan and it was only given when the Directors offered their personal securities. That is not encouraging our indigenous industries. And these banks, for instance, the Bank of Bengal, the Madras Bank and the Bombay Bank, are largely indebted to the State for their financial resources, and yet when a struggling industry comes forward with ample security for the purpose of obtaining a loan, it is refused. I should like to have an explanation from my Hon'ble friend in charge of the Department of this sort of procedure which has characterised the banks supported by the Government.

"Then, Sir, let me take another industry, a match factory in Bengal. It is a promising industry; I cannot say it is prosperous. It wanted some Government help; it applied to the Government to afford facilities for the supply of wood. There is plenty of wood in the Kurseong Hills. A lot of correspondence followed. What is the result? *Nil*. I inquired of the proprietor the other day. He said the correspondence has ended in nothing.

"Take again another promising project which was brought forward by a friend of mine, Babu Nibaran Chunder Dutt, in which he formulated a scheme for the establishment of a sugar factory in the Jessore District. Jessore is a great district for growing cane. The capital was 10 lakhs of rupees. The memorandum was submitted to the Government (I had the honour of submitting it.) The projector wanted that the Government should afford him facilities in respect of land whereon sugarcane might be grown. He also wanted Government to offer him facilities in respect of capital. I believe nothing came of this application. Here are instances in which, although Government was approached with a view to financial and other kinds of help in regard to industries, no such help was forthcoming. I think, Sir, the time has come when an absolute change of policy in this direction is required. Public opinion wants it. We have heard strong opinions expressed by non-official Members

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in this Council Chamber to-day, and the Newspapers re-echo that feeling. In view of all these circumstances, in view of our waning industries, in view of our growing poverty, it is the supreme duty of the Government, I venture to urge with all the emphasis that I can command, to inaugurate a new policy with regard to our indigenous industries, to help them by active participation by giving them money and affording them other facilities. Sir, we hear a lot about the question of unrest. There are dacoities, the tale of dacoities is repeated from day to day. I hold that the root cause of these dacoities is not political, but economical. Remove the industrial and economic conditions which have contributed to the poverty of the *bhadralog* and other classes, and these dacoities will cease. Therefore, in dealing with this question, Government should bear in mind that it is not merely an economic consideration, but that it is a political matter of the gravest importance. All the unrest, all the excitement, all the uneasiness that prevails in this country, have their roots in economic conditions which, I venture to submit, it is the supreme duty of Government to remove, and my friend's resolution, which is an exceedingly modest one—I wish it was much stronger and more comprehensive—is the beginning of that pressure which, from this side of the house, we mean to exert upon the Government for the purpose of encouraging and stimulating our industries. We feel, Sir, with all the depth of conviction we possess, we feel that the future of this country largely depends upon our industrial projects. We talk of political regeneration, self-government and so on, but in our heart of hearts we feel that political regeneration can only come in the track of industrial growth and emancipation. We have the history of Japan before us; we have the history of Germany before us. In those countries Government has come to the rescue of their industries, and why should not the Government of India, the trustees of the people of India, the custodian of their purses, why should not the Government of India come to the rescue of our decaying industries? I make this appeal with all the earnestness that I possess, and I trust that I do not appeal in vain."

The Hon'ble Mr. Carr :—"Sir, the resolution before the Council deals with the encouragement of industrial enterprise in this country, more particularly in view of the great dislocation of trade which has resulted from the present abnormal conditions, and the Hon'ble Mover proposes that the opinions of Local Governments and Administrations should be taken as to the best methods of encouraging these industries. I propose therefore to tell the Council, with your permission, Sir, what has been done so far in Madras, and I am encouraged to speak by the challenge which the Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee has just cast down, in which he asks, has anything been done to help forward indigenous industries in this country? The Hon'ble Member answered that question for himself in the negative, and it will be my duty to explain as briefly as I can what the Madras Government has done, and I hope the Council will then say that the answer should be in the affirmative. Soon after the outbreak of war, the Madras Government issued a *Press communiqué* dealing expressly with the subject which is now before the Council. This dealt with industries for the production of articles the importation of which had been interrupted by the outbreak of war, and it was pointed out that there were certain inherent difficulties naturally connected with the starting of new industries. These difficulties are the employment of experts, the building of factories, the erection of machinery and the provision of capital; and it was said that in the general dislocation of the financial and industrial world it would be hard to find—probably there would be difficulty at any rate in finding—either the capital, the machinery or the men necessary. The *Press communiqué* however, went on to express the Government's firm desire to give all possible assistance by way of advice and information to any private capitalist or manufacturer who wished to take up business on new ventures for the supply of these imports which were interrupted by the war. A few days later another paper was placed on the Editor's table, which dealt in full with the economic situation. It is fortunate that in Madras we have now a department of Industries which has recently been reconstituted, and the communica-

tion to which I refer contained notes from the Director, Mr. Tressler, and from various experts,—there are two experts at the present moment, the dyeing expert and the leather expert,—dealing with the subjects with which they are connected. Since then, however, the Madras Government has gone a good deal further, and has advanced a sum of nearly two lakhs of rupees for the starting of special work in connection with industries in which the economic situation appeared to justify the hope that something new might be done. The principal imports to Madras are textiles, yarn and sugar, and these, together with the industries in connection with cement, gunnies and manure, absorb practically five-sixths of the total imports to that Presidency. In regard to these industries there is, however, a considerable amount of home production, that is, production in this country, and it is obvious that the manufacturers of these existing industries may be trusted to look after their own interests. There are, however, certain minor industries, minor imports in which there is at present no production in this country, at least none in Madras, and the money which has been allotted by the Madras Government is now being spent on demonstrations in connection with these industries to show the possibility of manufacturing the articles in this country.

“The Director of Industries informs me that he has already started work on a pencil factory at Coconada, on the revival of a glass factory in Madras, on oil-pressing experiments, on oil-refining experiments and on soap-making experiments. Work has gone so far already in the pencil factory that I have been able this morning to lay on the table of the Hon’ble Member in charge of the Department of Commerce and Industry a packet of pencils produced by the factory

“As regards glass, the total imports to the Madras Presidency amount in value to something like 17 lakhs a year, and out of this 14½ lakhs come from hostile countries, 2½ lakhs coming from friendly countries, while no glass at all is put down as being manufactured in Madras. There are certain kinds of glass, which are of too high a grade to be produced in this country, but the returns show that there is a large amount of glass of lower grades, such as bangles, bottles, false beads and false pearls, which together absorb 11 lakhs out of the 17 in the manufacture of which it is possible that local industry might be successful. The glass factory in Madras, I may say, was at one time a going concern. It had been started, and the Director has merely taken up the work in order, by expert assistance, to show that work in the above direction is possible. Then again there is soap, which is a minor article, but is very important; because it is connected with the oil-refining and oil-pressing experiments which are going on. Oil-pressing is extremely important, because it refers to ground-nut oil entirely at the present moment, and there is a large area under ground-nuts in the Madras Presidency. The total exports of ground-nuts from Madras amount during the year to about 220,000 tons, and practically the whole of this goes in the form of seed to Marseilles, where it is converted into oil. What is being done now in Madras by this special work is to try and demonstrate that oil can be expressed on a commercial scale in this country, and we shall be able possibly to start an oil-pressing business here for export. The Madras Government have allotted one lakh of rupees for this oil-pressing business, and they say that it is ‘for the further investigation of the possibilities of extracting oil on a wholesale basis in this country, both for the purposes of supplying the local market and also with a view to testing whether the export of oil can be undertaken with any chance of financial success.’

“Well, Sir, the Hon’ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee said that what was asked for was a little modicum of action, and I think the allotment of this two lakhs of rupees for several industries certainly shows that a small modicum of action has been taken in the Presidency to which I have the honour to belong. In addition to this the Madras Government has been in correspondence with the Secretary of State, as regards the trade in ground-nut, coir and cocconut with a view to find new markets for these products. The Board of Trade and the American Consul were addressed in regard to the finding of markets in England and America, and in consequence of these

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conversations, I am told that three firms in England have already been put into communication with some firms out here.

"Then again there was recently an informal conference in Madras for the purpose of bringing the heads of the Agricultural and Industrial Departments into closer touch with the leading growers and dealers in commercial crops. The Hon'ble Mover was good enough to say that in this matter he hoped that we should follow the example of Madras, and it is necessary for me in some way to disabuse his mind as to advances for industries, because in Madras these advances are not given for industries pure and simple. Advances are given, as the Council knows, under two Acts which deal entirely with agricultural improvements, and I think that the grant of loans to industries is distinctly foreign to the spirit of *takavi*, which deals with agricultural objects. The term agricultural improvements is an elastic one and has been held to include such purposes as the erection of appliances for dealing with raw agricultural produce and of contrivances for raising water, and even for experiments in boring to find if water is available. But the two Acts which govern these loans presuppose that the money is to be devoted to agricultural objects, for the improvement of land, and although money has been advanced in Madras to some considerable extent for these machines for dealing with raw agricultural produce, and also for pumps and for boring apparatus, no money has been given, no loans at all have been given, for industries pure and simple.

"It may interest the Council to hear that there was a discussion in the Madras Council on practically the same lines in the month of November last, and His Excellency the Governor summed up the position in the following words:—He said: 'I do not believe that there is any difference upon this whole question, but I think there is some confusion between steps which are tempting, if not practicable, during the abnormal conditions of war, and, on the other hand, the normal development of the Department of Industries, which we all wish to see.' The three aspects of the question were pointed out, the first, the seeking of a special remedy for any special emergency or any special distress. Under that head I might put the experiments and special work which are now being done for oil-pressing and oil-refinement in Madras. There is undoubtedly a chance of special distress in regard to this immense crop of ground-nuts, which is coming on the market, and for which there is no outlet owing to the suspension of shipments. The second aspect of the question is to utilise the war for the capture of the enemies' trade or for the capture of trade which has been suspended owing to the want of ships. Under this head I think we may class the special work which is being done on the glass factory, the pencil factory and for the soap work. And the third idea is the permanent development of the Department of Industries. As regards that, I submit that the consideration of the Department of Industries is hardly relevant to the present debate. I think, Sir, that we must all be in sympathy with the Hon'ble Mover in desiring in every way to encourage industries in this country, and it has been my endeavour to show that the Government of Madras has already given practical expression to that sympathy by the methods which have been already adopted."

The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola:—"Mr President, I welcome the resolution which the Hon'ble Mover has brought forward, expressly for this reason that it has brought pointedly to the notice of Government how keen the Indian feeling universally is in the matter of the growth and development of industries in India. It is not my intention to deal at any length with the subject-matter that is under consideration at present, because I have given notice of a resolution which embraces the entire question, and, as it is coming up for discussion shortly, I would rather reserve my observations for that occasion.

"I will therefore confine myself to only a few remarks on the issues that are before the Council to-day. This resolution deals with the question of making advances to industrial enterprises on the basis of *takavi* loans, and the object with which it has been brought forward appears to be the peculiar circumstances prevailing at present in consequence of the war.

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"Dealing first with the question of *takavi* advances, it appears to me that unless Government are prepared to support the Indian sentiment of widespread progress and development in industrial concerns, this small measure, however beneficial it might prove in a limited sphere of usefulness, will not satisfy the sentiments of the people of India. The present suggestion has been put forward on the lines of the action which the British Government has taken in the matter of promoting the synthetic dye industry. This is a new industry which has become necessary in consequence of the dislocation of trade conditions due to the war and Government have offered to contribute half the capital as a loan. The Hon'ble Mover has adopted the same principle and wants moneys to be advanced to Indian industries on the same lines by Government. *Takavi* advances, or loans of any kind to be made by Government or private parties, presuppose a substantial margin as security for the due recovery of the loans with interest. *Takavi* loans are given to agriculturists for agricultural improvements including the sinking of wells, the purchase of cattle and various other things, on the security of land owned by the debtor. These advances carry interest, I think, at 6 or 6½ per cent and the principal is recoverable in instalments extending over a sufficiently long period. On the debtor failing to pay interest or the instalments of principal, legal power vests in Government to proceed to distrain and to recover the moneys by the sale of the land irrespective of any reference to the Courts. I should like to know what will be the effect of loans to industrial concerns on the lines of *takavi*. It appears to me problematical whether sufficient capital will be forthcoming from the investing public to provide the margin between the amount which Government will lend and the amount which is actually required for a given enterprise. The investing public will necessarily take into consideration the contingency that the amount of the margin may be lost entirely if the industry proves unsuccessful and Government exercise their powers to recover their advances.

"The present proposal is tantamount to asking Government to start the business of lending money on the mortgage of industrial concerns with more stringent powers of recovery of interest and principal than are possessed by ordinary mortgagees who advance money on such security. I am pointing this out merely to show that the question is of such widespread importance that it ought to be tackled as a whole and not in this piecemeal manner. If this Council so desires, I will have no objection to the resolution being passed, as it merely wants to ascertain the views of Local Governments and Administrations

"Having dealt with the question of loans to industries on the basis of *takavi* and their probable effect, I will say a few words in regard to the other point, namely, the prevailing conditions due to the war. Now I will ask Hon'ble Members to remember that you may do a great deal at present to foster industries in India consequent upon the diminution of imports, from enemy countries, and for want of adequate tonnage from neutral and allied countries; and that there may be an immediate prospect of success to certain new industries. But I want this Council to realise what will happen immediately after the war is over. Then all these countries will be free to compete with the newly started industries. If they competed with India and Indian industries on the principles of fair trade, I would have very little objection; but we know that they will compete with these new industries by giving bounties, by subsidising steamship companies to carry their manufactured goods at less than commercial rates of freight; that other important concessions will also be given till the fetish of free trade which is imposed upon India by England leads to the failure of these new industries. Once these new industries have failed in competition with subsidised and bounty-fed imports from foreign countries, and we are obliged to abandon the manufacture of the articles, prices will rise, foreign industries will prosper at our expense and the people will have to pay higher rates. Your industries will have been killed in the meantime—killed, 'not in fair competition,' killed, not on fair trade principles, but killed on principles of subvention, on principles of bounties and subsidies. When therefore this Council is discussing the question, it is

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necessary that the practical aspect of it should be clearly realised. The time occupied in consulting Provincial Governments and Administrations will be about a year. Considerable time must also elapse before the necessary capital is obtained, the required machinery is ordered out from England and is received in India under present conditions, the selection of the site and the erection of the new factories. It therefore follows that it will take about two or three years before these new industrial concerns are ready to produce manufactured goods. By that time there can hardly be any doubt that the same competition which has been operating against the success of Indian industries in the past, will be revived, and then, what will become of these new ventures? Is it under these conditions that you expect capital to come forward? We have heard a great deal, Mr President, about capital being shy in India—not that we have not got fairly sufficient capital for the commencement of the required industrial development in India, but that it is shy of investment in new industries, which are rarely successful in consequence of the unfair competition which India has to meet with. People have in the past invested their money and have lost it, and have therefore got frightened of putting any more into industrial concerns. Government and the local public bodies annually float large loans at comparatively low rates of interest. My Hon'ble friend the Finance Minister informed us last year in his Budget speech that he was raising the maximum of the amount which can be deposited in Post Office Savings Banks, and that he expected as a result thereof considerably increased deposits. What does that show? That there is capital seeking sound investment. It may be that India being a poor country has not got sufficient amount of capital for the full industrial development which we desire; but that there is enough capital for the needs of the immediate future there can be no doubt. The only thing is that people do not find sufficient scope for the investment of that capital in industries which have a fair chance of success. I am confident that there would be not only a fair but a good chance of success for new industries if India was allowed to work on principles of fair trade.

“ Let us now consider the question of the new enterprise in England—the production of synthetic dyes. I was very much surprised that England, which is the only country in the world that is a staunch worshipper at the shrine of free trade, that England has come forward now to encourage a new industry by giving loans and other assistance. It is interesting to examine how the offer of such help has been received by the English people. England is one of the richest countries in the world, and the English people cannot be in want of any State aid so far as capital is concerned for the purpose of developing promising industries. They have therefore not been much enamoured with this offer. The prevailing sentiment in connection with this offer is reported on good authority to be as follows:—‘ It is all very well for Government to come forward with this loan of 10 millions against a capital of 20 millions; but what will happen after the war when Germany begins to manufacture synthetic dyes and with the help of subsidies and bounties competes with us in English markets; England being committed to free trade, where will this industry be? ’ But what is most gratifying to those of us who have strongly advocated the principle of protection in India, is that people in England itself now demand that instead of giving them this capital Government ought to provide protection against imports of German made synthetic dyes into England for a period of 15, 20 or 25 years by the imposition of protective tariffs.

“ It is this new aspect, this new spirit, that has arisen in England which forms the beacon of our hope for the future development of Indian industries. India wants protection for its industries during their infancy and I am more than hopeful that we will get it. After all what we desire is not measures merely to meet a temporary contingency, such as that created by the war, but permanent measures of far-reaching importance which will ensure the growth and development of industries in India, making it one of the foremost manufacturing countries in the world. That, Sir, is the Indian ambition which we propose to press vigorously to the notice of Government.”

“ I was very pleased to hear the reply which my Hon'ble friend Mr Carr gave to the criticism of my friend Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, and I was parti-

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cularly amused at one part of it I quite recognise that the Government of India and the Local Governments are anxious, within the powers that are conceded to them, to do their best to promote Indian industries. I am glad that in this matter the views of the Government in India and those of the Indian public largely coincide. But there are certain limitations imposed upon them beyond which the Government of India cannot go, and I know that though they fully sympathise with us, they are powerless to go far enough. I readily recognise that they are trying to do what little they can within the limitations imposed upon them from higher quarters. It appears that the utmost they have been able to do so far, according to Mr Carr, is that they have given their *advice* and that they have furnished *information*. They have also arranged some demonstrations. We are very thankful for what they have done, but advice and information is one thing. What we want is tangible and substantial help and assistance in the efforts which the country is making for the promotion of industries in India. That is what we want. These demonstrations are good in their way, but what is the value of these demonstrations, what is the value of reviving the glass industry which was once killed by foreign competition? Now that the war has brought about certain temporary contingencies, you can revive the glass industry, but immediately the war is over—and the war is not going to last for ever—those countries which once did so will again flood the markets in competition with the local made glass, and will again kill the industry. What is then the gain? I wish therefore to press on the attention of Government that when the whole question comes up shortly for the consideration of this Council on my resolution, the Government of India will extend to us their whole-hearted support in fighting for the industrial regeneration of this country against all the obstacles which stand in our way and to give us that substantial, powerful and sincere help which they, as representatives of the community of India, are bound to render to us.”

The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoj :—“ Sir, the Hon'ble Mover would appear to have made out a strong *prima facie* case for the investigation of the need, the scope and the lines of financial help to Indian industry, and I do not think that Government will stand to lose anything by accepting the resolution. On the other hand, weighty political considerations would justify the course. There can be no doubt a strong feeling exists in the country that the Government should do more for our industrial development than it has hitherto done, and that that development in a large measure depends upon the fiscal and economic policy of the Government, as my Hon'ble friend, Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, has observed; because, unless the new industries are protected, they can never thrive at their start. For example, when the Member in charge of Commerce visited the Indian Chamber of Commerce in Bombay, of which I have the honour to be the Chairman, we directly pointed it out to him, that there were capitalists who were ready to put in their money, even millions, for the development of industries, if Government could assure them that they would protect the industries. After the war ends, Germany, by giving bounties and other things, will again compete with us, and we shall not be able to maintain our position without some sort of Government protection. Without this, capital will be always shy, and new industries will be started with difficulty. Sir, unless the Government wants these enemy countries to prosper and again to become strong and make war, they must ruin their industries, and not allow them to make our country the dumping-ground for their goods; and this can only be done by Government giving protection to the indigenous industries from the very start. I do not say that the protection ought to be for a very very long time; but in the beginning, for a few years, until the new industries are firmly established, the Government should protect them. These inquiries by Government and by other officials and commercial bodies are by themselves of little practical value. Unless Government definitely decides upon the suggested economic policy, nothing can be done. In the case of the smaller industries, which are now ruined by the war in stations up-country, not in a city like Bombay or Calcutta, they can be given immediate help. I can give an example on the Bombay side. In

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the western Khandesh there were hand-loom workers who could not sell their cloth and other things, and the industry was going to be wiped off, and the people were in a very bad condition. They appealed to the Bombay branch of the Imperial War Relief Fund, and we gave them some help, and so protected their industry. In the same way, if the Government could protect our industries by timely financial assistance, they would be doing a lot of good. This resolution would thus be good.

"It would, of course, be wrong to ignore Government action in the past in this direction. Last year when trade suffered for want of funds, as a result of the banking crisis, the Hon'ble Sir William Meyer initiated a policy of financial assistance through the Presidency banks and placed a larger amount of Government cash at their disposal. This year that policy has been developed and, as a result of the recent cotton conference here, Government have agreed to help the financing of cotton through the agency of the Presidency banks. So far good. But it must be frankly admitted that all this activity has had for its object the support of industries directly connected with international trade, and the influence of which upon India's balance of trade is evident. The Hon'ble Mover now draws attention to the need for direct help in an equally important direction. The small industries of the country are as valuable an asset as any we can think of. They are scattered all over India, and affect the domestic economy of innumerable families and the rural economy of all areas accessible or inaccessible by railways. Their value is officially admitted, and it is further admitted that they are in a more or less helpless condition. Help on the principle of *takavi* loans would certainly go some way to meet the exigencies of the situation. It is, of course, a question how far Government can go. The war has greatly increased its financial responsibilities. Any recommendation of increased expenditure must therefore be scrutinised. The Hon'ble Mover has himself recognised this fact, and has only demanded a scrutiny in his resolution. There is thus little room for controversy. The financial advances he recommends have, besides, the merit of being safe and profitable investments.

"The only point about which there is ground for any apprehension is that the preliminary process of collection of official opinion might, and would, involve a delay which will materially discount the value of the policy as an emergent measure. The opinions would undoubtedly form a sound basis for the permanent industrial policy of Government, but for the immediate development of our industries in view of the abnormal conditions introduced by the war, we must rely upon more expeditious measures. I would, therefore, submit for the consideration of Government that *takavi* advances, for the support of our village and cottage industries that have been most seriously affected by the war, be at once made on a moderate scale on the recommendation of District Officers, and, for the formulation of a permanent policy, a reference be made to Local Governments and Local Administrations for their opinions.

"The policy I suggest can be given effect to immediately by placing in the hands of Local Governments and Local Administrations some cash, with instructions to utilise it at their discretion for the support of small industries within their charge by making advances on the principles underlying the Land Improvement Loans Act.

"If the opinions of Local Governments and Administrations be adverse, the advances will not be made. Time will thus be gained, and time is everything.

"With these remarks, Sir, I support the resolution."

The Hon'ble Mr. Rayaningar :—"Sir, the Hon'ble Raja Kushalpal Singh's appeal to Government for financial help in furtherance of the industrial development of the country is most opportune. The economic effect of the great war has already been badly felt in industrially poor India. It is desirable to have the resources of the country placed on a firm footing not only by reviving our decadent industries, but also by introducing such new industries as may be found suitable to the present condition of the country. Among

such industries may be mentioned the manufacture of cotton goods, of leather, of sugar, of dairy products, of manures, of oils, soaps and perfumes, of dyes, of matches, of brass, and bell-metal articles, of glass bangles, beads, and even bottles. Many of these manufactures can be, and were in fact formerly carried on as village industries, sometimes subsidiary to agriculture. Sir, these village industries stand in urgent need of State help. It is really gratifying to note that the Government of Madras is trying to encourage some of these manufactures by giving expert advice to manufacturers, in some cases even by demonstrating the successful working of the industries. I am afraid the Hon'ble Surendranath Banerjee is not right when he said these demonstrations are no good. The development of the Madras chrome-tanning and aluminium industries is due to Government departmental demonstrations.

"No doubt, lack of capital is the general complaint and that the offer of financial help from Government will go a great way to induce industrial enterprise in the country. At any rate, in the case of small industries financial aid on the principle of *takavi* loans are a desideratum. Sir, it may be said that it is the co-operative societies that must come to the help of the village artisan and rural manufacturer. For my part I have great faith in the future of the co-operative movement; but the movement, as has been rightly observed by Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis, is still in its infancy. In many places co-operative societies do not exist. We cannot therefore always depend upon co-operative societies for the required help. Wherever co-operative societies exist, capable of rendering financial help to the artisans and small manufacturers, Government may take advantage of their existence and place to their credit reasonably large sums for advancing to manufacturers the required money at a moderate rate of interest. Where, however, such societies do not exist we expect Government to initiate a policy of direct financial assistance. A great deal can be done in that way.

"Sir, as the Hon'ble Mr Carr has remarked, our Presidency has been hard hit by the war in respect of her trade in oil-seeds. We had a large export trade in ground-nuts which were in great demand for the continental oil mills of Europe. The war has deprived us of this trade and nuts are rotting in the land. The best course to relieve the distress of the producer would be to start mills at once for the expression of oil which may be utilised in the manufacture of soaps, varnishes, etc., while the cake may be used as cattle food and field manure. But lack of capital, and undoubtedly of enterprise also, stand in the way. If along with advice the village manufacturers get from Government *takavi* loans too, they will certainly go in for the installation of efficient oil-expressers, which alone will enable them to successfully carry on the oil-pressing industry.

"The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola has pointed out the importance of the policy of protection. Is not the grant of *takavi* loans to manufacturers at a cheap rate of interest a sort of protection?"

"He has also warned us against protected foreign competition after the war. In the case of the oil industry if we have efficient oil mills it would not be possible for Germans or any other foreigners to compete with us, even after the war is over. We produce the oil-seeds. We can express the oil out of the seeds and make our soaps while we utilise the cake as cattle food and manure. Whereas Germans or other foreigners would have to import seeds from outside and manufacture oil from out of the imported seeds. Thus there is no fear of foreign competition in the case of the oil industry. There are also other indigenous industries where the investment will, in spite of protected foreign competition, give us good returns. But where is the money for the investment? Borrowing from Indian money-lenders is ruinous. They often take advantage of circumstances and charge exorbitant rates of interest. *Takavi* loans for manufacturers are therefore necessary. Then there remains the question of security for the loans. Plant, for the purchase of which loans are required, is itself the security, the depreciation in its value being provided against by the additional security of buildings, lands, etc.

"Sir, with these observations, I support the resolution."

[24TH FEBRUARY, 1915.] [Maharaja Ranajit Sinha of Nashipur; Raja Abu Jafar.]

The Hon'ble Maharaja Ranajit Sinha of Nashipur:—

"Sir, I have much pleasure in associating myself with the resolution that has been moved by my Hon'ble friend, Raja Kushalpal Singh. There is no doubt that local industries are fast dying out. In my own district of Murshidabad I know at one time *bedri*, ivory and silk industries were flourishing, but now, these things are fast decaying. This question is a very important and difficult one. I am afraid loans in the way of *takavi* advance will not be of great help to the big industries, but of course they may help small industries as has been suggested by my hon'ble friend on my right. I agree with my Hon'ble friend Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola that unless new industries are supported by Government help or are protected at least for some time, they will be killed. It is also true that there is no lack of capital in this country, because we find that there are persons who can advance millions and millions; but the difficulty is that no person is prepared to help the new enterprises for fear of their being failures, and the reason of these failures is that Indian produce goods cannot compete with foreign articles. However, for the present, we are concerned with the resolution which is brought before this Council. My friend only asks that Local Governments may be consulted as to the desirability of granting loans on the lines of *takavi* advances. I do not find there is anything objectionable in it. Local Governments might be consulted and their reports may be considered on their merits. Undoubtedly, owing to the war, there has been a new field to start some industries, but a question may arise how these industries could flourish by encouragement in the way of *takavi* advances; but this is a matter which cannot be dealt with unless the Local Governments are consulted; and when their opinions are received, the Government of India will be able to judge how to proceed in this matter. I hope that the resolution which has been moved by my hon'ble friend will commend itself to this Council and to the Government."

The Hon'ble Raja Abu Jafar:—"Sir, the resolution so ably moved by the Hon'ble Raja Saheb, is so necessary and so reasonable that it requires no lengthy arguments to recommend it to the Government.

"Indeed, I think my friend might have been safely more venturesome if he had directly asked the Imperial Government for the help instead of asking for the opinion of the Local Governments.

"At this stage of our history, I believe every one would admit that time has come that the Government should help the struggling industries of this country by advancing money to safe concerns and by giving other help through experts specially appointed for this purpose. It is no doubt true that, while State aid was being regularly, and even persistently, afforded by most of the continental States of Europe, England had long been silent, and it was left for private enterprise to develop the industries of the country.

"Although the wisdom of even that policy might be doubted, but still England did not suffer much by this neutrality of the State, for after all England has had for a century the highest skill and the largest capital in the world, and it could meet the market of the world steadily even though many States aided their industries by handsome gratuities.

"But while this war has been the cause of numberless miseries and evils, we in India would have to admit the truth of the time-honoured dictum, 'out of evil cometh good', if the Government of India and the Secretary of State were pleased to take up earnestly the question of the industrial development of India. If this desired result were achieved, not only extensive means of livelihood would be afforded to the millions of this country, but in time of need any amount of manufactured goods that England might need for itself or for others, would be forthcoming. The trembling anxiety of our people and the Government upon the course of the monsoon would be materially lessened, for a purely agricultural continent like India is apt to be reduced by bad rains from

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a state of thriving prosperity to that of the worst poverty and misery. For countries situate as India is, even the most orthodox economists would recommend some State aid, and even State gratuity. Of course the distribution of money should be judiciously effected by means of a provincial board of official and non-official members. But that would come later on. What the Government has to do now is to remove such artificial barriers as are met with in India on account of lack of capital and lack of expert knowledge, due to most of our industries having been ruined by competition with machinery of the West.

"It is a matter of great pleasure that the Secretary of State in the House of Commons and the Viceroy in the last meeting of this Council have announced the intention of the Government to give pecuniary assistance for the development of the industries of this country. Before I conclude I would respectfully ask the Government to initiate this suggested reform as soon as may be practicable, so that we in India may make some modest start before some Continental Powers are in a position to beat us by their superior machinery and bounty-fed manufactures. In India the sugar, the indigo, the cotton, the iron and the jute industries can be developed to an extent yet undreamt of

"For these reasons, I support this resolution"

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark:—"Sir, the subject which the Hon'ble Member has brought before Council to-day is one which has aroused very general interest in many quarters in India. It has already been raised in at least one Provincial Council, and has received much attention in the press and in commercial circles. It is very desirable that this should be so, since in a great war like this no factor which can be turned to our advantage in the smallest degree should be neglected, whether in the sphere of military operations or of trade. The effect of war on such an immense scale as we are experiencing to-day, is generally adverse to commerce. It involves an enormous destruction of wealth, and consequently an unprecedented degree of uncertainty as to the value of the ordinary titles to wealth—of stocks and shares and other securities on which in ordinary times funds can be raised for industrial purposes. It causes an enormous diminution in consuming power and in the demand for commodities. Hence, with the exception of certain food-stuffs and of munitions and materials of war, it has tended generally to cause low prices and to depress industries. We have seen the operation of these influences in the diminished volume of India's export trade. Germany and Austria are both large customers of ours, and the cessation of all trade with them, together with the general depression of business on the continent of Europe, has injuriously affected the demand for Indian produce. On the other hand, the same causes have given to Indian manufacturing industries the opportunity, which is the subject of the discussion to-day. If these countries can no longer take our goods, they can also no longer send us theirs. There is a gap to be filled, and it is very natural that those who are interested in the development of Indian industries, are asking themselves whether Indian manufacturers might not seize this opportunity and embark on the manufacture of articles which have hitherto been imported from the countries with which we are at war. The possibility of this in days such as these has a special attraction about it. Commerce and warfare have not a few characteristics in common. The enterprising trader is constantly invading a rival's territory; being repulsed from time to time and again returning to the charge; sometimes accepting defeat, at others pushing on to victory; and this spirit of pugnacity takes on an additional zest to-day if the rival is a German or an Austrian enemy. This impulse in its larger aspect means, if pushed to a successful issue, that channels of trade will be opened, which will bring gains to compensate in part for the losses due to those closed by the war. In all this Government is most deeply interested; and since the outbreak of war has given the most careful consideration to the means by which any such efforts may be best aided. I welcome therefore the discussion which has taken place to-day, both because it has enabled us to obtain the views of Hon'ble Members in this Council, many of whom have close practical

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knowledge of the potentialities of Indian industry, and because it enables Government to explain the point of view from which they have looked upon the question and the policy which they have followed in regard to it; and in view of some remarks that have been made, I am very glad to have that opportunity.

“ I am sure the Hon'ble Member who moved this resolution will wish that the suggestion which he has put before Council should be regarded as a business proposition and examined accordingly on its commercial and financial merits. Now from this standpoint there are two main difficulties in the way of advantage being taken of the present situation to secure on a large scale the extension of Indian industries; and it would be foolish to minimise their importance or to refuse to look them in the face. The first of these is that industries cannot be developed without capital, and that capital is particularly difficult to obtain for such purposes during a war; and the second is the impermanence of the war conditions out of which the present opportunity arises. As to the first, the Hon'ble Member who moved this resolution is, I think, conscious of this difficulty, since he has proposed that Government, the universal provider, should furnish the necessary funds on the lines of *takavi* advances. In other words, he has assumed, I gather, that money will not be forthcoming from the ordinary sources from which a commercial enterprise is financed. In making this assumption I think there can be little doubt but that he is right. Indian capital, always shy of industrial ventures, has shown itself particularly so since the financial troubles of last year and naturally has been still further discouraged by the war. Mr. Purshotamdas Thakurdas, the Chairman of the Bombay Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, dealt with this point in an interesting speech which he delivered recently at the annual general meeting of the Chamber. He referred to the possibility of Indian capital venturing into fields of new enterprise during the war, but expressed the view that owing to the financial nervousness which had been felt in the Indian commercial community since the disturbances to credit culminating in the Bank failures of last cold weather, the prospects of Indian capital coming forth for such purposes were the reverse of hopeful. There is every evidence that this is the case. But when the Hon'ble Member who has moved this resolution proposes that in the absence of private enterprise Government should provide the necessary capital for these ventures, he has overlooked the fact that just as it is difficult for private persons and private concerns to raise capital during a great war, so it is difficult for Government; and Government suffers under the further disability that a war not merely affects its sources of revenue, but also imposes upon it unusual demands for expenditure. It is not for me to anticipate the statement which my Hon'ble Colleague the Finance Member will lay before Council in a few days of Government's financial position and of the obligations resting upon us; but I am sure Council will readily appreciate that it would be impossible for me to press upon him at such a juncture that he should permit large sums of Government money to be locked up in industrial undertakings. Whatever their eventual success might be, they are bound to be unproductive and speculative at the start. The type of assistance which the Hon'ble Mover of this resolution has suggested is *takavi* loans. The essence of *takavi* loans, as some other members have pointed out, is that they rest on certain security, the security of the land. It is a security on which Government can always realise. But the position is very different in regard to such items as manufacturing plant and industrial good-will. The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola called particular attention to that. I can cite him on my side on that point and also on another point, namely the impermanence of the present situation with which I shall deal presently. Government do, as a matter of fact, provide a not inconsiderable amount of financial assistance to industries and to agriculture. The question whether they should do more is an important one, on which much no doubt might be said, but it is not one I think which we should discuss to-day. As the Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim has mentioned, he has a resolution on the paper dealing with the more general question; and what I would wish Council to do to-day is to concentrate rather on the special question of whether it would be

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wise for Government to lock up money at the present moment, and in the financial conditions of the war, in industrial enterprises such as the Hon'ble Mover's resolution contemplates

"Then there is the second difficulty to which I referred just now,—and this also I am inclined to think was in the Hon'ble Member's mind when he suggested that Government rather than private enterprise should provide the necessary loans for these undertakings,—namely, that no one can say how long the war, and the economic situation arising out of the war, is likely to last. On every other ground we must hope and pray that the end may come as soon as possible, but from the point of view of the question we are discussing to-day, the uncertainty of its duration can scarcely fail to be a discouragement to those who might otherwise be ready to risk their money in new industrial concerns in India on the strength of the cessation of German and Austrian competition. Such persons probably fear that there may be a rapid economic recovery in Germany and Austria when the war is at an end, followed by a revival of their export trade in manufactured articles, with the result that the new industries which had been started to produce these articles, would be exposed again to severe competition from Europe. In these circumstances private capital is not unnaturally shy of coming forward, but just as private capital is shy, so Government also must be careful. The same considerations must be a deterrent to the State. We are the trustees for the taxpayers and we too must look forward to the situation which might arise after the war, and to the liability which might fall upon us if we were pressed to put up more and more money in support of such industries against their foreign competitors. I have received strong support on this aspect of the case from the Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola in the speech to which we listened just now. He also drew from it certain inferences into which I do not propose to follow him. We must remember that we have decided to avoid, as far as possible, the discussion of all matters likely to arouse political controversy during this cold weather, and I can imagine no subject which is more likely to stir up political controversy than the question of the rival merits of free trade and protection.

"The example of what is being done in England has been cited on the other side more than once in the course of this debate. I doubt however whether it really supports the present motion. It is quite true that private enterprise in the United Kingdom has in many directions taken advantage of the interference with German and Austrian export trade in order to develop lines of manufacture in which competition by those countries has previously been formidable. But it must be remembered that in these matters England stands on a very different footing to India. England has a long history of successful commercial enterprise behind her; her people are accustomed to risk their capital in industrial undertakings; and British manufacturers have been able to take up new lines of production with the use of their existing skilled labour staffs and with only comparatively small modifications in plant. Nor does the action which has been taken by the British Government support the course which is being advocated by Hon'ble Members to-day. With one important exception, the British Government's action has been restricted to the dissemination of information and to efforts through sample-exhibitions and conferences to bring together merchants who have previously dealt in imported goods from Germany and Austria, and manufacturers who might now be able to meet their needs. The exception to which I have just referred is of course the national dye scheme, which has aroused a great deal of interest in this country. So far as the latest official information goes, which we have received at present, it is proposed that a company should be formed with a capital of two millions sterling, and that His Majesty's Government should make a loan equalling the capital subscribed up to one million, and thereafter provide a loan at the rate of £1 sterling for every £4 of capital subscribed. In addition to this His Majesty's Government is to make a grant for 10 years for the encouragement of research. It has been urged that the Government of India should follow this example. As I have already said, our financial position is very different to that of the Imperial Government's at home. They have resources behind them altogether incom-

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mensurate with those at our disposal ; they can raise, and have raised, enormous sums for the prosecution of the war and of objects connected with the war . they have vast supplies of wealth to draw upon, and a large taxable margin from which to increase their revenue . What would be easy for them, would be impossible for us . But the point I wish to emphasize more particularly to Council about this scheme is that it is not a case of financial assistance being given merely for the sake of starting a new industry in the United Kingdom . So far as we know, in no case have the British Government supplied funds for such an object . They have even gone some way in the opposite direction . The Treasury, with a view to conserving the national resources, have recently laid down that fresh issues of capital are to be approved of by them before they are made and will only be allowed where it is shown to them that they are advisable in the national interest . The national dye scheme stands on a very special basis . In past years Germany has held an immense predominance in the manufacture of aniline dyes . It is an industry peculiarly suited to the German genius, which has brought to a pitch of success hitherto unattained in England the combination of scientific chemical research with commercial enterprise . The result of this predominance has been that when war put an end to trade between Germany and the United Kingdom, the British textile industries were threatened with a very serious shortage of dyes, a shortage which if allowed to persist, might have seriously imperilled these great industries, which involve millions of pounds of capital and which produce materials required for our military and naval forces . An urgent necessity of this kind puts the case quite outside the category of promotion of industries in the ordinary sense of the term . It will be observed also that the lion's share of the capital is to be put up by private enterprise, so that the scheme is very far from being entirely dependent on financial assistance from Government . Yet another special feature in this case deserves notice . It is of the essence of a scheme of the kind that its results should be immediate, as the whole basis of the scheme is the necessity for the supply during the war of articles whose normal sources have been interfered with by the war . It would take, I believe, probably not less than a couple of years to start a dye industry on a large scale from the very beginning, and if Government in India were to attempt an analogous enterprise, we should probably see no results until after the war was over . I understand that the new company which is to be formed in England is to take over existing works which they will develop and extend . Skilled chemists and workmen are readily available . It will be a matter of expansion rather than of making a beginning, and results will very rapidly be seen . These preliminary conditions do not exist in India . Nor does the motive which has inspired the British Government in initiating this scheme, apply with anything like the same force in this country . It is not essential for us to make ourselves self-supporting so long as England is able to produce and supply to us the articles which we require . Our textile manufacturers can participate in the advantages of this scheme which has been specifically thrown open to them . For this as for much else we have to thank the overwhelming power of the British Navy, which has enabled our trade with the United Kingdom to go on uninterrupted, although the greater part of the civilized world is at war .

" While in these considerations which I have put before Council I have been compelled — and I trust Hon'ble Members will believe very unwillingly — to pour some sprinklings of cold water on the aspirations which are represented by the Resolution, I hope I have not given the impression that I regard the present situation as one out of which no advantage can be reaped for Indian trade . To my mind it is simply a question of proportion — of what is practicable, and of what is less practicable, or altogether impracticable . It is on this point that I join issue with the Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee . He has told us that Indian industries are waning and that now is the opportunity for their reconstruction . I should dispute the accuracy of both these statements . I do not consider that they are waning . If you look back 5, 10 or 15 years, you will see that there has been a steady development . If they

were waning, if they were really in danger of extinction, it would be impossible to reconstruct them at such a time as the present. New industries cannot under the stimulus of a few months' accidental shelter from competition, spring fully developed into existence. Such forced growths would be liable to wither like hot-house flowers at the first cold blast of adversity. But there is a very practical field for effort where Indian manufacturers are already producing goods of a similar type to those now imported from countries with which we are at war. These industries have proved themselves hardy enough to weather the stress of competition, and for them the opportunity is obvious. They have the chance now of pushing their goods; of establishing connections which it is to be hoped they will be able to preserve after the war; and of increasing their production: thus becoming able to reduce their prices and so to be much more formidable competitors, should they again have to compete with cheap German and Austrian goods. Expansion of this kind does not necessarily require large expenditure of capital. Such a programme may sound dull and unambitious as compared with the larger visions, which the Hon'ble Mover has adumbrated, of new industries springing into life throughout India, but all the same it is a very sure and useful line of development. It must be remembered that there is a very considerable number of articles now imported from Germany and Austria, which are also produced in this country, such as certain classes of woollens and cottons; certain types of glass-ware, including such special Indian articles as bangles and personal ornaments, and fancy goods generally; various kinds of earthenware and celluloid manufactures, pencils, matches, articles of aluminium and so on. To the producers of all these the present situation affords a very real opportunity. The Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee threw down a challenge to the Government. He said—I think I have got his words fairly accurately—he said 'We are tired of all these conferences and so on: what we want is a modicum of action.' He added in one of his most eloquent periods 'Has anything been done since the outbreak of war—anything tangible, anything definite, to help industries in India?' and he went on to say 'I think the answer must be in the negative.' Now, Sir, I am quite prepared to take up that challenge. Government from the very beginning of the war have had a very definite policy in this matter. Holding as we do the view that it is in the direction of development of existing industries that the greatest commercial advantage can be secured from the war, we have shaped our policy accordingly. Our special-endeavour has been to give every assistance in bringing together Indian manufacturers and buyers who hitherto have been importers of German and Austrian goods. With this end in view the Commercial Intelligence Department have issued a number of pamphlets dealing with the different industries concerned, and have instituted an exhibition of samples of imported German and Austrian goods and of Indian manufactures which compete with them, and could now take their place. This exhibition was opened at Calcutta and has since been transferred successively to Madras and Cawnpore. It is now at Delhi, and I can assure Hon'ble Members who have shown so much interest in this question, that they would find it well worth a visit. From here it will be transferred to Lahore and possibly later on to other commercial centres. The exhibition has met with a most gratifying success. The Commercial Intelligence Department opened it originally at Calcutta as something of an experiment, and that its usefulness has been appreciated by the commercial community is evidenced by the readiness of manufacturers to send in exhibits, by the number of visitors, and by the requests which we promptly received to pass it on to the other places which I have mentioned. It has also shown, I think, that Government has been working on the right lines. One of the obstacles which stand in the way of the development of Indian industries is lack of enterprise on the part of manufacturers in pushing their goods. Their tendency is to hide their light under a bushel, while their European competitor places his on a hill-top, and, so far as his conscience permits, surrounds it with magnifying lenses. We have had confirmation of this in certain cases where firms who have been short of articles which they used to import from Germany or Austria, have discovered for the first time

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through the exhibition that these articles are being produced in India, and in one case even in the same town, without their knowing it. In that particular instance and in some others, orders have already been placed, and there is good reason to hope that more business will yet result from the exhibition. I am very glad to have this opportunity of paying a tribute to the energy and ability with which the exhibition has been organised by Mr Ley, the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence, and the officers working under him, to whom much of its success has been due. Local Governments have also been active in similar directions. They have held conferences and have instructed their officers to make special inquiries into the possible expansion of existing industries or the revival of those which have suffered from German and Austrian competition in the past. They have set aside funds for these inquiries and for experiments in manufacture. The Hon'ble Mr Carr has explained to Council what, for instance, is being done in Madras, where the Director of Industries has been carrying on demonstrations in the manufacture of pencils, glass, limebricks and in oil-pressing—this latter to meet the economic difficulty caused by the falling off in demand for oil-nuts on the Continent. In the United Provinces and in other Provinces similar assistance has been given. The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola asked: 'What is the use of these demonstrations?' I put it to Council, surely if you can show by the actual working of an industry that an industry can be worked at a profit, then the State has gone as far as it can reasonably be expected to go. If you can show that a thing can be worked at a profit, it should not be very difficult for private enterprise then to step in and take advantage of the knowledge it has thus acquired. The Government of India also have not been neglectful of the aspect of the war to which I have just referred in connection with Madras, namely, the question of how the markets for our exported produce which have been lost through it, can be made good. This is an extremely difficult matter, and from the nature of the case is one in which the possible scope for Government assistance is limited. What we have done is to appoint an Indian Trade Commissioner in London to work in close touch with the British Board of Trade. His special duty is to endeavour to place with British manufacturers those raw products which have hitherto found markets in Germany and Austria or in other parts of Europe where manufactures are now in abeyance owing to the war. For this purpose we have selected a particularly able officer, Mr. Gubbay, the Collector of Customs in Bombay, who is thoroughly conversant with Indian commerce and industry. It is too early yet to say what results can be obtained and the post must for the present be regarded as an experiment.

"I have already explained that in our present financial circumstances Government cannot contemplate a policy of locking up large sums in the initiation of industrial enterprises. At the same time we have given very full consideration to the question of whether—and, if so, in what form—we could help trade in the special circumstances of the war, and we took the opportunity of discussing the matter with financial and commercial opinion in connection with the question of whether any special support was required for the cotton trade last autumn. The conclusion we came to was that Government could most usefully intervene in the direction of making good to some extent the curtailment of credit and the withdrawal of financial facilities by which trade in general is hampered during a war. In pursuance of this policy, the Finance Department announced at the beginning of the year, as Hon'ble Members will remember, that Government were prepared to make loans to the Presidency Banks to a reasonable extent for the general assistance of trade, and in order to secure funds for this purpose, as for other emergencies which may arise, Government have taken power to obtain funds from the Paper Currency Reserve up to £4 millions for loans to Presidency Banks. By this means Government hope to have removed the apprehension of any ultimate shortage of banking funds, since we are thus enabling the Presidency Banks to make re-advances, if necessary, to other banks, who in their turn will be in a position to finance industry more freely than would have been otherwise possible. Banking facilities are the life-blood of the body economic and our

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aim has been to stimulate the flow through its veins. We are in effect by these measures, strengthening the whole industrial and financial system of the country, and I would put it to Council that this is a more practical measure in a critical period such as that through which we are now passing, than if we were to lock up large sums in undertakings which might or might not succeed, but which could not, in any case, be reproductive for a long time to come. The Hon'ble Mr Banerjee in connection with this part of the subject attacked the Banks for refusing to lend sums to various businesses which he cited ; but he must remember that the Banks may have good reasons for such refusal. It does not follow, as he seemed inclined to suggest, that they are bad patriots—"

The Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee:—" I did not suggest bad faith at all."

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark :—" I did not say bad faith, I said bad patriots. If there were cases where good security had been offered, and where in his opinion, Banks were asking unreasonable rates of interest or refused to lend altogether, Government will be very glad to look into the matter."

The Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee :—" May I intervene for a moment ? What I wanted to suggest was that in the case of Indian concerns these Banks were timid and shy in making advances upon security. That was the whole inference that I wanted to draw."

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark :—" In any case, Sir, we have no evidence of such cases having occurred ; but if the Hon'ble Member cares to supply me with details, I shall be very glad to look into the matter."

The Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee :—" Certainly, I will."

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark :—" I hope I have said sufficient to show that while Government cannot for the reasons given agree to the precise proposals put forward by the Hon'ble Raja, they are fully in sympathy with the object which he has in view and have not been neglectful of means to attain it or ungenerous in the help they have given to trade. I am very loath to reject a resolution when, as in this case, it is abundantly clear that Government and the supporters of the Resolution are to so large an extent at one. Perhaps I may make a suggestion to the Hon'ble Member. If he would be willing to modify the wording of his motion so that it might become a general recommendation in favour of Government continuing, in view of the present situation, to afford such assistance and co-operation as might be practicable in the promotion of industrial enterprise in India, I should be very glad to accept it."

The Hon'ble Raja Kushalpal Singh :—" Sir, it affords me the highest gratification to find my resolution so favourably received by the non-official members of the Council. In the course of his reply the Hon'ble Mr. Clark has given the reasons why he cannot accept the resolution as it stands, but he expresses his willingness to accept the resolution on behalf of the Government if it be put in a somewhat amended form. The form he suggests is 'That the Council recommends that in view of the opportunity offered by the cessation of imports from hostile countries, Government should afford such assistance and co-operation as may be practicable in the promotion of industrial enterprise in India.' I gladly and gratefully accept the suggestion, and beg leave to withdraw the resolution moved by me, and to substitute the resolution suggested by the Hon'ble Mr Clark, to whom I tender my grateful thanks"

RESOLUTION *re* PROMOTION OF INDUSTRIES. 305
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The following resolution was then put and accepted :—

‘That this Council recommends that in view of the opportunity afforded by the cessation of imports from hostile countries, Government should afford such assistance and co-operation as may be practicable in the promotion of industrial enterprise in India’

The Council adjourned to Tuesday, the 2nd March, 1915.

W. H. VINCENT,
*Secretary to the Government of India,
Legislative Department.*

DELHI :
The 5th March, 1915.

APPENDIX A.*(Referred to in the Answer to Question 1, page 256, ante.)*

Statement showing approximately the number of British Indian subjects in the various Colonies.

Trinidad	117,100
British Guiana	129,389
Jamaica	20,000
Fiji	44,220
Surinam	26,919
Reunion	3,012
Mauritius	257,697
Federated Malay States	210,000
Straits Settlements	Figures not available
Cape Colony	6,806
Natal	133,031
Transvaal	10,048
Orange Free State	106
Southern Rhodesia	Figures not available
Australia	Ditto.
New Zealand	Ditto.
Canada	2,500 or 4,500 (the number is uncertain)

APPENDIX B.

(Referred to in the Answer to Question 6, page 257, ante.)

List of Hindu and Muhammadan Orphanages

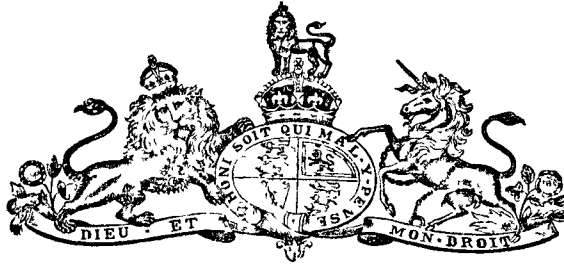
Serial No	Name of Orphanage	Name of Province	Where situated	NUMBER OF INMATES IN EACH INSTITUTION	
				Boys.	Girls
1	Hindu (Brahmo) Orphanage	Madras Presidency	Cocanada . . .	43	15
2	P T Chengalvaroy Naicker's (Hindu) Orphanage	Ditto . . .	Rundall's Road, Vepery, Madras.	146	...
3	Ramakrishna (Hindu) Students' Home.	Ditto . . .	Car Street, Mylapur, Madras.	24	...
1	Muhammadan Orphanage	Ditto . . .	Arcoot	30	...
2	Muhammadan Orphanage	Ditto . . .	Amburpet, Vaniyambadi, North Arcot District.	30	...
3	Boarding House attached to Melamul Uloom (Muhammadan Orphanage)	Ditto . . .	Fort Vaniyambadi, North Arcot District	About 30	...
4	Boarding House attached to Madras-i-Islemiah High school (Muhammadan Orphanage)	Ditto . . .	New Town, Vaniyambadi, North Arcot District.	23	...
5	Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islem (Muhammadan Orphanage)	Ditto . . .	Big Mosque, Triplicane High Road, Madras	23	..
1	Sheth Jannadas Lalubhai Kapole (Hindu) Orphanage	Bombay Presidency	83, Narayan Dhuru Street, Bombay.	23	...
2	Kapole (Hindu) Orphanage	Ditto . . .	Dandy's Gully, Bhulshwar Road, Bombay.	15	...
3	Ranchhoddas Chatoorbhuj Cutchi Lohana (Hindu) Orphanage.	Ditto . . .	Kandawady Road, Bombay.	110	...
4	Banawatwala and Sukhadwala Lohana (Hindu) Orphanage.	Ditto . . .	Ditto . . .	50	...
5	Halal Lohana (Hindu) Orphanage.	Ditto . . .	Ditto . . .	50	...
6	Lady Northcote (Hindu) Orphanage.	Ditto . . .	93, Farel Road, Bombay .	177	16
7	Shree Gujarat Vashya (Hindu) Sabha.	Ditto . . .	Ahmedabad . . .	87	...
8	Hindu Anath Ashram . . .	Ditto . . .	Nadiad, Kaira District .	61	4
9	Hind Anath Ashram . . .	Ditto . . .	Brosch City . . .	13	...
10	The (Hindu) Mahajan Home for Destitute Children.	Ditto . . .	Surat	53	21
11	Jasraj Walji (Hindu) Halal Lohana Orphanage.	Ditto . . .	Karachi	80	...
12	Laxmibai (Hindu) Lohana Orphanage.	Ditto . . .	Do.	24	...
13	Cutchi (Hindu) Lohana Orphanage.	Ditto . . .	Do.	20	...
14	The Khalsa Orphanage (Hindu—Sikh)	Ditto . . .	Shikarpur, Sukkur District.	20	1
1	The Poor Sunni Muhammadan Orphanage	Ditto . . .	328, Jackeria Masjid Street, Bombay.	26	...
2	The Madras Hasahi (Muhammadan) Orphanage.	Ditto . . .	Jackeria Masjid, Bombay.	50	...
3	Haji Jackeria Haji Ahmed Patel (Muhammadan) Orphanage.	Ditto . . .	197, Dontad Street, Bombay.	63	...

List of Hindu and Muhammadan Orphanages—contd

Serial No	Name of Orphanage	Name of Province	Where situated	NUMBER OF INMATES IN EACH INSTITUTION	
				Boys	Girls
4	Sir Currambhoy Ebrahim Khoja (Muhammadan) Orphanage	Bombay Presidency	Dongri Street, Bombay	75	.
5	Dhanjibhai Karamali Khoja (Muhammadan) Orphanage	Ditto	Samuel Street, Bombay	38	
6	Ladha Ebrahi (Muhammadan) Orphanage	Ditto	Ditto	30	
7	Jumma Masjid (Muhammadan) Orphanage.	Ditto	In the compound of the Jumma Masjid, Bombay.	50	..
8	Abdulla Haji Dawood Bowla Muhammadan Female Orphanage	Ditto	Chinchpookli, Bombay	...	37
9	Institution (Muhammadan) managed by Mr Haji Saleh Mahomed and Committee	Ditto	Centre Street, Poona City	50	
1	Calcutta Orphanage for Hindu children	Bengal Presidency	12-1, Balaaram Ghose's Street, Calcutta	68	46
2	Orphanage established by a committee of Hindus	Ditto	Navadvipa, Nadia District	5	
3	Saragachi Anath Asram (Hindu) Orphanage	Ditto	Saragachi, Beldanga, Murshidabad District.	10	...
1	Muhammadan Orphanage	Ditto	8, Eyed Salle's Lane, Calcutta.	165	
2	Ditto ditto	Ditto	13, Ram Mohan Bose's Lane, Calcutta	.	16
3	Muhammadan Orphanage	Ditto	Daoca Town	48	...
4	Muhammadan Orphanage	Ditto	Noakhali Town	2	1
1	Seth Leobhmi Chand (Hindu) Orphanage.	United Provinces	Village Kasauli, District Dehra Dun.	28	5
2	Valshya (Hindu) Orphanage	Ditto	Eastern Kutohery Road, Meerut City	82	24
3	Amolak (Hindu) Orphanage	Ditto	Khurja, Bulandshahr District.	20	9
4	Hindu Orphanage	Ditto	Brindaban, Muttra District.	6	4
5	Dayanand (Hindu) Orphanage	Ditto	Agra	48	30 and 3 widows.
6	Arya Samaj (Hindu) Orphanage	Ditto	Civil Lines, Bareilly	34	28
7	Hindu Orphanage	Ditto	La Touche Road, Cawnpore.	60	32
8	Hindu Orphanage	Ditto	Allahabad	15	15
9	Bundelkhand (Hindu) Orphanage	Ditto	Banda City	26	8
10	Arya Samaj (Hindu) Orphanage	Ditto	Jaunpur	2	2
11	MacDonnel (Hindu) Orphanage (for Hindu and Muhammadan Orphans of all castes)	Ditto	Balrampur	11	5
1	Muslim Orphanage	Ditto	Muhalla Dhamawala, Dehra Dun.	3	...
2	Qasari Islamic Orphanage	Ditto	Agra	7	6
3	Islamic Orphanage	Ditto	Bareilly City	35	3
4	Sunn-i-Muhammadan Orphanage	Ditto	Jahanabad City, East Bareilly District.	6	...
5	Anjuman Yateem Khana Rasheed Hasan (Muhammadan Orphanage)	Ditto	Muhalla Moghalpura, Muradabad.	37	..

List of Hindu and Muhammadan Orphanages—concl'd.

Serial No	Name of Orphanage	Name of Province	Where situated	NUMBER OF INFANTS IN EACH INSTITUTION	
				Boys	Girls
6	Hivzul Quran Yateem Khana Musalmanan.	United Provinces . . .	Bazar Faizganj, near Sitankat Bagh, Moradabad	12	
7	Yateem Khana Hivzi-Quran (Muhammadan) Orphanage	Ditto . . .	Mohalla Asalatpura, Moradabad.	6	4
8	Anjuman Maawan-ul-Islam (Muhammadan) Orphanage	Ditto . . .	Mohalla Nakhasa Sambhal, District Moradabad	6	..
9	Islamic Orphanage . . .	Ditto . . .	Colonalganj, Cawnpore . . .	26	7
10	Islamic Orphanage . . .	Ditto . . .	Allahabad . . .	34	3
11	Anjuman Islamic Orphanage	Ditto . . .	Ghaziपुर . . .	9	..
12	Sunni Muhammadan Orphanage . . .	Ditto . . .	Amnabad, Lucknow . . .	44	1
13	Shia Muhammadan Orphanage	Ditto . . .	Gali Shah Chora, Thana Chauk, Lucknow	144	..
1	Hindu Orphanage . . .	Punjab . . .	Muzaffargarh . . .	38	..
2	Hindu Orphanage . . .	Ditto . . .	Dera Ghazi Khan City . . .	12	..
3	Hindu Orphanage . . .	Ditto . . .	Bahon . . .	15	..
4	Hindu Orphanage . . .	Ditto . . .	Jullundur City . . .	..	19
5	Hindu Orphanage . . .	Ditto . . .	Ferozepore Cantonment . . .	99	78
6	Hindu Girls' Orphanage . . .	Ditto . . .	Ferozepore . . .	..	56
7	Hindu Orphanage . . .	Ditto . . .	Bhawan (Hissar District)	25	3
8	Khalsa Orphanage (Hindu—Sikh)	Ditto . . .	Gujranwala . . .	60	..
9	Arya Orphanage (Hindu) . . .	Ditto . . .	Ditto . . .	23	..
10	Khalsa Orphanage (Hindu—Sikh).	Ditto . . .	Amritsar . . .	119	3
11	Hindu Orphanage . . .	Ditto . . .	Ditto . . .	8	2
12	Hindu Orphanage . . .	Ditto . . .	Lahore . . .	31	..
1	Muhammadan Orphanage . . .	Ditto . . .	Kot Abdul Khaliq . . .	48	..
2	Islamic Orphanage . . .	Ditto . . .	Sialkot . . .	42	..
3	Muhammadan Orphanage . . .	Ditto . . .	Near Baghbanpur, Lahore . . .	100	..
4	Muhammadan Orphanage . . .	Ditto . . .	Lahore . . .	32	..
5	Islamic Orphanage . . .	Ditto . . .	Ditto . . .	3	15
6	Muhammadan Orphanage . . .	Ditto . . .	Ditto . . .	225	15
7	Talim-ul-Quran (Muhammadan) Orphanage	Ditto . . .	Ditto . . .	12	1
1	Hindu Orphanage . . .	Bihar and Orissa . . .	Dinspore . . .	11	..
2	Hindu Orphanage . . .	Ditto . . .	Madhupur . . .	13	9
1	Muhammadan Orphanage . . .	Ditto . . .	Dalwarpur . . .	29	..
1	Dharmadaya Sabha (Hindu) Orphanage	Central Provinces and Berar	Saugor town . . .	2	1
2	Doctor Ramprasad's Memorial (Hindu) Orphanage	Ditto . . .	Narsinghpur . . .	5	6
3	Boys' (Hindu) Orphanage . . .	Ditto . . .	Tajnaspeth, Berar . . .	2	..
1	Anjuman Islamic Orphanage . . .	Ditto . . .	Jubbulpore . . .	5	2
2	The Tayabi (Muhammadan) Orphanage for Bohra Orphanage	Ditto . . .	Burbanpur, Nimar . . .	44	..
1	Sheva-Aeram (Hindu-Brahmo) Orphanage	Assam . . .	Laban, Shillong . . .	18	..



GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COUNCIL OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA
ASSEMBLED FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING LAWS AND REGULATIONS
UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF THE INDIAN COUNCILS ACTS, 1861 to 1909
(24 & 25 Vict., c. 67, 55 & 56 Vict., c. 14, AND 9 Edw. VII, c. 4).

The Council met at the Council Chamber, Imperial Secretariat, Delhi, on
Tuesday, the 2nd March, 1915

PRESENT :

His Excellency BARON HARDINGE OF PENSHURST, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.,
G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., I.S.O., Viceroy and Governor General, *presiding*,
and 45 Members, of whom 37 were Additional Members.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

The Hon'ble Raja Jai Chand asked :—

1. "(a) Will the Government kindly issue a list specifying the regimental numbers assigned to those Indian soldiers in France and Belgium who are reported to be missing, if no such list has been published by Government in India up to date?

Indian soldiers reported to be missing in France and Belgium, and grant of pension to their families.

(b) Will the Government kindly state whether the existing regulations for the grant of pension to widows and children of Indian soldiers killed in the battle-field apply also in the case of those soldiers who are reported to be missing?

(c) If the answer be in the negative, will the Government kindly state whether any proposals have been taken into consideration to make some provision for the maintenance of families of such Indian soldiers?

[*Raja Jai Chand; The Commander-in-Chief; Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis; Mr Clark.*] [2ND MARCH, 1915.]

(d) If the answer be in the affirmative, will the Government kindly state whether the date from which the soldier is reported missing or any other date will be taken into consideration for the purpose of fixing the maintenance in question?

(e) Will the Government also kindly state if there are any provisions for the grant of maintenance to families of Indian soldiers pensioned for total disablement?

(f) Will the Government also kindly state what is the maximum and minimum disablement pension hitherto allowed to Indian soldiers?

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief replied :—

(a) List of Indian soldiers reported to be missing are sent to depôts for communication to the families concerned. In view of the liability to changes in reports I do not consider it desirable to publish the list suggested by the Hon'ble Raja Jai Chand.

(b), (c) and (d). Under section 136, Chapters VII to XVI, Field Service Regulations, and a special India Army Order issued by me on the 4th December a court of enquiry is held whenever officers and soldiers are reported missing to collect all evidence of the circumstance of each case. Pending the opinion of the Court the pay and allowances and family remittances of officers and soldiers are continued until it is proved that the persons concerned have been taken prisoners through neglect or misconduct, or until such time as it is reasonable to suppose that they are dead. In the latter case, family pensions commence from a date subsequent to that on which the family remittances have been made.

(e) An Indian officer or soldier who is totally disabled receives special pension. The amount varies according to the rank of the pensioner. Government does not provide an additional pension for families during the lifetime of the pensioner himself.

(f) The maximum and minimum disablement pensions are :—

For an Indian Officer	maximum Rs. 140 per mensem.
	minimum Rs. 80 per mensem.
For a Sepoy	maximum Rs. 15 per mensem.
	minimum Rs. 5 per mensem.

The Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis asked :—

2. "Has the attention of Government been drawn to an article regarding rise of prices of wheat in India in the *Statesman* of 19th February, 1915? Do Government propose to take any steps in the matter of such rise?"

Rise in
Price of
Wheat.

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark replied :—

"The answer to the first part of the question is in the affirmative.

As regards the second part, I would refer the Hon'ble Member to the press communiqué* of the 26th February, a copy of which has been laid on the table."

* Not printed with these Proceedings

[2ND MARCH, 1915.]

[*Sir William Meyer*]**FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1915-16.****Introductory.****General effects of the War on trade and finance.**

The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer:—"My Lord, I rise to present the Financial Statement for 1915-16. Our procedure will be the same as on previous occasions: that is, there will be no debate today, but from the 8th March onwards time will be allotted for the examination and discussion of the budget proposals. The figures in the Financial Statement will then undergo such amendments as may be required by our later information or suggested by the discussions in Council. The Budget in its final form will be presented on the 22nd March, the usual closing debate taking place on the 25th.

"2. Since I last addressed the Council on financial matters, India has been, and is still, passing through a crisis which has subjected her financial and economic system to a supreme test. It is true that, save for some vivid but happily transient experiences in the autumn, she has not felt the direct impact of war. But she has not been able to escape the consequences of that economic solidarity which binds her closely to the outside world. All her recent development has been on lines of diminished isolation. Her currency system connects her with the money markets of London and the world. She relies for internal development largely upon borrowings in London. Her prosperity is increasingly bound up from year to year with her rapidly growing foreign trade. Her internal financial arrangements, and above all her system of credit, in many respects follow Western models. Finally she is a part of a mighty Empire which is one of the foremost belligerents in this general war. It is inevitable therefore that India should feel the effects of the war from top to bottom of her economic system; they are written large over the Statement which I have to present to the Council today, and are affecting still more deeply the trade and production of the entire country. From the general financial and economic point of view—both to those of us who have studied the working of our fiscal system from the inside, and to Honourable Members here who represent India's agricultural and industrial activities of every kind—the history of the last few months is thus a matter of compelling interest; and I feel that the Council will look to me in the first place for some account of this period of crisis. I propose, then, at the outset to bring together some of the main financial incidents of the last seven months, to narrate how we have got through this difficult period, and then to take up the recital of those facts regarding our revenue and expenditure which in normal conditions it is the first object of this Statement to present.

"3. Before doing this, however, I must premise that, as the Council must have anticipated, the task of preparing revised estimates of our financial position at the end of 1914-15 and a budget for the coming year has been one of very special difficulty. Ordinarily we have a large mass of data of past years to go upon; and, although budgeting must always be to a certain extent what one may term scientific guesswork, we have merely to consider how far the experience gained during the portion of the current year for which figures are available when our forecast is made, and the circumstances prevailing at the time with reference to commercial or agricultural prosperity or depression, the position in regard to railways and so forth, warrant us in departing from the standards of normal development which can be deduced from past actuals. This year we are in an entirely different position. The sudden outbreak of war and the dislocation of trade that has followed it, the vague and unwarranted sense of insecurity which has led, for instance, to large withdrawals from our savings banks, are all (on this scale) totally new features, and it is most difficult to prognosticate how far there will be a recovery and in what specific directions. We have also the fact that nobody knows how long the war will endure, but we must at present budget on the supposition that it will last through 1915-16. All things considered, I have thought it necessary, in framing forecasts, to adopt an attitude of caution. We must not be too pessimistic, but at the same time, with all the surprises that the war and its economic results may yet have

for us, sanguine estimating is entirely out of place. We are really groping in the dark and can only go as carefully as possible.

"4. When the war came upon us we were fortunately in a very satisfactory financial position. Our total Treasury balances on 1st April in England and India had been found to exceed by about £1½ million the anticipation we had been able to make on the figures available when preparing this year's budget. Our large 5-crore loan had been a brilliant success, thanks largely to the patriotic enterprise of the Bank of Bengal, and the south-west monsoon gave full promise of agricultural prosperity. There was, therefore, reason to anticipate that, had circumstances continued normal, our Imperial surplus for this year would have been larger than the £1½ million which we provided in the budget, being then obliged to estimate cautiously by reason of the agricultural situation in Northern India. Trade, it is true, had been somewhat dull owing to the preceding agricultural depression, to the after-effects of the banking crisis of 1913-14 and to the glut of piece-goods; and the consequent weakness of exchange had made the Secretary of State's council drawings much lower than is usual during the first four months of the official year, a circumstance which proved later on to be a fortunate one for us on this side. But at the end of July there was every reason to anticipate that the trade depression which I have mentioned would clear off and that we should have a really good year.

"Owing to the conditions I have mentioned, our Treasury balances in India were very high, while the amount of gold held by or for the Government in London and in India taken together stood at £23½ million, of which nearly £5 million was in the Gold Standard Reserve and the rest mostly in our Paper Currency balances. In addition, the Secretary of State held in the Gold Standard Reserve, besides the ordinary Reserve investments, a considerable amount in special short-term securities, some of which were about to mature.

"The Presidency Banks, too, were in an exceptionally strong position with regard to their balances, after allowing for the fact that a portion of these consisted of Government deposits.

"5. The first effect of the European war, which began to operate even before Great Britain had actually been drawn in, was a threatened break in exchange. The Government of India took immediate steps to deal with this aspect of the general situation, and were able to make a preliminary reassuring announcement on the 1st August. On the 3rd August we publicly formulated, with the approval of the Secretary of State, the measures which we had decided to adopt. In the first place, we formally undertook to support exchange by all the means in our power. This was a policy which the Royal Commission on Indian Finance and Currency had recommended in their recently published Report: it fell to us to declare our adhesion to it at the outset of a crisis of unprecedented magnitude and totally uncertain duration.

"In the second place, we announced our intention, in pursuance of this object, to sell sterling bills on London, or "reverse bills" as they may conveniently be termed, up to a maximum limit of £1 million a week until further notice. This, too, was an innovation on previous policy. In the exchange crisis of 1907 and 1908 the amount sold had usually been £½ million a week, and occasionally £1 million, but the exact amount was settled afresh just before each successive weekly sale. The present was the first occasion on which the Government of India undertook beforehand to maintain sales on an ample scale. Again, to adapt the system still more fully to trade requirements, we combined with the sale of bills the practice of selling telegraphic transfers also, thus providing a guarantee of immediate remittance when required. A few days later, too, we arranged that bills should be payable in London 16 days after the departure of the weekly mail, thus eliminating the uncertainty due to possible delay in the arrival of the bills by mail steamer.

"The object, and, as events have shown, the actual effect of these arrangements was to promote confidence by assuring the banking and commercial public of adequate and continuous facilities for remittance, secured by the whole resources of Government. Incidentally, also, it prevented purely speculative competition for reverse bills and transfers by removing the possible apprehension that Government might at any moment reduce the amount available. Only in the first week following the declaration of this policy did the applications exceed the £1 million limit. Thereafter the volume of weekly tenders was gradually reduced; and after the first demand

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for remittance had thus been met, it rose and fell, within moderate limits, in correspondence with the fluctuating requirements of the time, until eventually the demand sank to a quite small amount, and has latterly disappeared altogether, at any rate for the time being.

"In all we expect, by the end of this year, to have sold bills and transfers to the total extent of about £3½ million. The sums thus received have been credited to the Gold Standard Reserve in India *pari passu* with the Secretary of State's withdrawals from the Reserve in England in order to meet the bills and transfers falling due for payment by him from week to week. The net result has, of course, been a great strengthening of the Gold Standard Reserve on this side.

"Lastly, in the early days of the crisis, we strengthened that Reserve by exchanging £4 million of silver held therein on this side for an equivalent quantity of gold previously held by us in the Paper Currency Reserve

"6. At the same time as we first notified the selling of reverse bills and transfers, we took steps to restrict the dissipation of our gold in India by laying down that no gold should be issued to any one person or firm to a less extent than £10,000. The object of this was to secure what we thought would be a rough test as between applications for gold for eventual remittance purposes and those which were merely for hoarding or for local requirements. This limitation, however, was defeated by various individuals and firms clubbing together so as to make between them a demand which conformed to our minimum. Between the 1st and the 4th August we had already lost about £1,800,000 of our gold; and on the 5th August, when it was announced that Great Britain was actually at war with Germany, we took the further step, for which we had previously obtained the Secretary of State's approval in anticipation of that contingency, of refusing the issue of gold altogether to private persons.

"We had then a stock of about £10 million of gold on this side in the Paper Currency and Gold Standard Reserves taken together, and that aggregate figure still remains practically unaltered. I may mention here, as regards the local rates of exchange as between sovereigns and rupees, that the Calcutta figures show that a sovereign exchanged for R15-6 instead of the normal R15 by the end of August, and that the rate varied between R15-5 and R15-8 until November. In December, however, it fell steadily and it now fluctuates from R15-1 to R15-3 only.

"7. The next grave difficulty that the outbreak of war brought upon us was in regard to our savings banks deposits and currency notes. The general trade and credit position which the war set up was most serious in Bombay, mainly as a result of the banking and commercial crisis of the preceding year which had been more severe there than elsewhere. There was also considerable uneasiness in the Punjab, which had likewise suffered from the late banking crisis, but it was in Bombay that the difficulties I have mentioned arose in the most acute form. The deposits in our Post Office savings banks amounted in all to somewhat over 23 crores at the beginning of this year and by the 31st of July had risen to 24½ crores, the increase being due mainly to the more liberal conditions announced in paragraph 58 of my speech introducing the last Financial Statement. From the second week of August there was a heavy and excited run by savings banks depositors upon their funds, and in August and September together there was a net withdrawal of about 6 crores (£4 million) of these deposits, due to misguided apprehension in regard to the effects of the war upon the stability of the Government of India, which was every now and then fanned by wild stories of imaginary reverses sustained by our allies or ourselves, and by the untoward incidents connected with the career of the late *Emden*. Since then the drain has materially slackened, but in all we calculate that by the end of this year we shall have lost about £7 million of savings banks deposits which we have had to pay out from our general balances. I may say here that we did what we could to promote confidence by putting the Post Offices in adequate funds and enjoining the prompt payment of all claims; and it is perhaps a welcome indication of the way in which the strength of our financial position is really viewed by our enemies that a number of German prisoners at Ahmednagar have themselves opened accounts with the Government savings banks.

"8. The demand for the encashment of currency notes was most serious in Bombay, and the total abnormal encashment in that Presidency as a result of the crisis has been estimated at about 2½ crores in August and September out of 4½ crores

in respect of India as a whole Outside Bombay the largest encashment occurred in Burma, and in the Punjab too it was considerably larger than in ordinary years; but in these cases the increase appears to be due as much to the special trade conditions of the year as to uneasiness arising directly from the crisis.

"The Government at once took steps to check any panic by issuing instructions that every endeavour should be made to meet promptly all demands for encashment at district treasuries, whereas ordinarily, it will be remembered, a note is only encashable as of right at a Currency centre. A very large number of notes were cashed in this way in the districts, especially in Bombay and the Punjab, and it may be hoped that when the crisis passes away, the measures we took will have the effect of ensuring a permanent increase in the popularity of currency notes and consequent extension in their use. It must be borne in mind, however, that the very fact that we were obliged to strengthen the cash resources of district treasuries and of the savings banks, besides adding to our deposits with *muffasai* branches of Presidency Banks, imposed an extra strain on our balances by preventing the economy which we usually obtain by their concentration, so far as possible, at the Presidency towns and other important commercial centres.

"The abnormal run on our notes was of relatively short duration. Nevertheless, owing to depressed trade conditions resulting from the war, our net note circulation, excluding the holdings by Reserve Treasuries and by the Presidency Banks at their head offices, remained nearly 7 crores (£4½ million) less at the end of January than on the corresponding date in 1914.

"9. Having regard to the present abnormal trade conditions and to the extraordinary strain on our credit generally, I consider that the position of our paper money calls for full satisfaction. Our notes circulate freely, and apart from very minor temporary local incidents, there has never been any question of their being depreciated as compared with coin. We may also regard with pleasure the present position, in quite exceptional conditions, of our Government paper, as well as of the somewhat analogous securities of our great Municipal Corporations and Port Trusts. Our 3½ per cent. rupee paper was quoted at Rs 95-14 this time last year, and it now stands at only some Rs 3½ less—a striking testimony, surely, to the strength and stability of our financial position.

"10. As I have already said, the Secretary of State's council drawings had been relatively small before the war began, and owing to the fall in exchange caused mainly by the dislocation of our export trade, they have been since then, and until quite lately, at a very low level. In all, we estimate that during the current year he will have obtained £6.9 million* by ordinary council bills and telegraphic transfers, against £20 million which we estimated in the Budget as being the extent of his requirements for Ways and Means purposes. In the earlier stages of the crisis he also transferred to his treasury £1 million of the gold held in London on account of the Paper Currency Reserve, an opposite payment to that Reserve being made in India; and he has been helped by gold remittances from India to the extent of about £600,000. Also we have had to spend here, in connection with the war, sums largely in excess of the amount which India contributes as an equivalent of what she would have spent in normal times on the expeditionary forces she has sent in aid of the Home Government. This excess outlay is recoverable from His Majesty's Government, and is periodically realised from them by the Secretary of State. To that extent, he is in the same position as if he had actually drawn money on council bills, as we meet the expenditure and he gets the equivalent.

"Taking his ordinary council drawings together with these other sources of supply, we estimate that in the current year he will, in all, have obtained about £17 million against the Budget estimate of £20 million above referred to.

"The Secretary of State has thus been far more fully financed than might at first have seemed possible in view of the weakness of exchange in the earlier part of the year and the reversal of the remittance current as soon as the war broke out.

"11. I now turn to the effects of the war on the commercial and credit position in India, which of course materially influences our revenue receipts, especially under Customs and Railways. In the first place, internal credit was seriously prejudiced

* Exclusive of £800,000 which he will appropriate to the Gold Standard Reserve from his sales towards the close of the year.

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[*Sir William Meyer.*]

by the attitude of a large part of the Marwari community, who play such an important rôle in conducting and financing the trade of the country. Speaking generally, instead of conforming to the excellent British maxim of 'business as usual,' they departed to their homes, taking with them as much of their capital as they could readily lay hold of, and thus materially hampering the working of the credit machinery with which they are so intimately connected. As regards the banks, the position of the Presidency Banks was, as I have already said, very strong before the crisis, and in order to promote public confidence the large Government deposits which they already held were further increased at the outset of the war, and have since been kept at as high a level as our resources permitted. We have preferred, in fact, to borrow somewhat more freely from the Gold Standard Reserve—a matter to which I shall refer later—rather than curtail unduly the resources placed at the disposal of trade.

"The bank rate was low when the war commenced, as is usual at that season of the year, being 3 per cent. in Calcutta, 3 per cent. in Bombay, and 4 per cent. in Madras. As a measure of protection, the Bank of Bengal raised its rate to 5 per cent. on the 6th August, and the Bank of Bombay to 4 per cent. on the same day, and to 5 per cent. on the 13th; while later on the rate was increased, at somewhat different dates, to 6 per cent. for all three banks, at which figure it now stands. It is understood that the Indian branches of the Exchange Banks were also in a strong position at the commencement of the crisis.

"As regards other banks, the previous year saw the collapse of a large number of (generally speaking) recklessly managed banking institutions. In the light of subsequent events, however, we may reckon it as fortunate that the disappearance of these banks occurred before the present crisis. Though the want of confidence engendered by their failure tended to accentuate the difficulties in Bombay and the Punjab, the situation would have been far more acute had the banks in question been still in existence and then collapsed as they must have done. As it was, two banks which had been badly shaken by the previous crisis, though they survived it, now fell. One of these, the Punjab Co-operative Bank, established in 1905, was compelled to close its doors on the 14th September. Another, the Bank of Upper India, established as far back as 1862, suspended payment on the 8th October. It is probable, however, that these events had been largely discounted beforehand, for they did not produce any widespread panic.

"12. I now pass on to the direct effects of the war upon our foreign and internal trade and production. As I have previously said, there had already been a period of depression, though we had every reason to assume that, ordinarily, this would presently have passed away. The first result of the war was naturally to stop our considerable trade with Germany and Austria. India's total import trade in private merchandise was in 1913-14 valued at £122 million, and of this £8.4 million (nearly 7 per cent.) was with Germany, and £2.9 million (or 2.3 per cent.) with Austria-Hungary. Of the exports from India, valued in 1913-14 at £166 million, £17.6 million (10.6 per cent.) represented trade with Germany and £6.7 million (4 per cent.) with Austria-Hungary, the chief items being food-grains, raw cotton and jute, and seeds and hides and skins.

"The shutting-off of the export trade to these countries was of course even more serious than the closure of the import trade, both by reason of its greater value and because, while the imports were largely capable of replacement from other sources, the removal of these two customers for exported Indian goods, concurrently with dislocation of trade in other directions, resulted in a reduction in the demand for, and in the price of, certain important commodities, so that in some cases values have been seriously affected as well as volume. Moreover the much higher loss of trade on the export side has, of course, special significance from the point of view of exchange.

"The war has likewise produced a complete stoppage of our trade with Belgium, and a very large diminution of that with France, and here again the principal items of export are those just mentioned. Since November, too, we have been at war with Turkey, but our trade with her is much less important. Its chief item is the export of rice to Turkey-in-Asia.

"There have also been necessary restrictions in regard to the export of certain articles, dictated in some cases by direct military requirements and in others by the necessity of preventing supplies reaching our enemies through neutral countries.

Hides and skins, jute (raw and manufactured), wool, and wheat are among the articles in respect of which the free course of trade has thus been interfered with.

"13. The dislocation which resulted from the war was not, however, limited to the shutting down or curtailment of particular elements of India's trade, but extended to her sea-borne commerce as a whole, and especially to the export portion. The main difficulties were not only those of finance, which I have already touched on, and which were aggravated by a general disturbance of the world's exchanges, but also a serious shortage of shipping arising primarily from the necessity for taking up vessels for military transport purposes.

"14. The most immediate problems which arose were those connected with jute. Very high prices had been realised for this commodity in the preceding year, and these had actually touched ₹90 per bale of raw jute. With the consequent large sowings in the current year, accompanied by favourable agricultural conditions, a record crop was grown which would in any case have resulted in a very substantial drop in prices. Apart from this, as a consequence (due to the war) of the inability of buyers to take delivery under existing contracts, the jute mills were naturally not prepared to buy largely or except at very low rates. The reluctance of buyers of jute to come into the market at first caused apprehension that the cultivator would decline to sell at the prices offered and would prefer to allow a substantial portion of the crop to remain uncut. This fortunately proved not to be the case, though the price of raw jute necessarily showed a great drop from the record figure obtained in the preceding year, falling as low at one time as ₹31 a bale. The difficulties of the mills were subsequently to some extent removed, as tonnage for the shipment of their goods became more readily available, and this caused some rise in jute prices. But the initial paralysis of the internal trade is clearly indicated by the fact that whereas between August and October 1913 the issue of rupees from the Calcutta Currency Office in connection with the financing of the jute crop, amounted to some 13 crores of rupees, the issue in the corresponding period of 1914 was about 56 lakhs only.

"As regards the ryots, although the sudden change from abnormally high to abnormally low prices has gravely affected, for the time being, the general prosperity and well-being of the jute districts, the winter harvest in these tracts has fortunately been quite fair; and we may well hope that, with the better prospects of the jute trade which now seem probable, there will be economic recovery in the supplying areas.

"15. While Bengal was thus affected in regard to jute, there were also grave difficulties, mainly on the Bombay side, in respect of another great staple—cotton. The position when the war broke out was itself unsatisfactory, since previous over-trading, and the depression caused by the banking crisis of 1913-14, had led to the accumulation of stocks of piece-goods and the lock-up of capital in connection therewith. Then came the war, and with it the cutting off of large markets and a concomitant world-slump in the price of raw cotton, which in India was further threatened by the fact that the incoming crop promised to be a good one. Moreover, traders who ordinarily take a large part in the internal financing of the cotton crop had, as already stated, left for their homes. The position, and its possible consequences both to traders and ryots, naturally excited grave apprehension in Bombay, and towards the close of November the Government of India called a representative conference, over which I had the honour to preside, to consider the situation, and how far it might be feasible and legitimate for Government to intervene. The action taken as the result of that conference has already been made public by a Government *communiqué* and was further explained a few days later in the speech made by Your Excellency in opening the present Legislative Session. It will suffice to say here that we came to the conclusion that the best method by which we could afford financial assistance—one which would, moreover, be also applicable in the case of other branches of trade that might be threatened by similar disturbance—was to facilitate an extension of credit which would assist the holding up of existing stocks where occasion required, without prejudicing the supply of capital required for fresh undertakings. The Presidency Banks undertook to give liberal advances for this purpose, while the Government agreed to place them in funds where necessary by loans of public money, which would not be called up till the special circumstances requiring them had passed away. In order to provide us with the necessary resources for doing this, and also to assist us in meeting our other liabilities in the event of unexpected emergency, we obtained the sanction of the Secretary of State to the temporary

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[*Sir William Meyer.*]

adoption of a measure which had been recommended by the Royal Commission on Indian Finance and Currency, *viz.*, a further investment of £4 million from the Paper Currency Reserve, which the Government could thus draw upon for these purposes by creating a special loan *ad hoc* when they needed to do so.

"I may observe here, as an instance of the way in which depression in one branch of trade reacts on another, that a decline in prices of commodities such as jute and raw cotton necessarily restricts the purchasing power of the cultivators and their demand for imported commodities, such as piece-goods.

"16. Another staple which has been adversely affected by the war is the ground-nut crop of Madras, which is largely exported to France for the purpose of being made into table oil there. Difficulties were also experienced in connection with tea. After the United Kingdom, India's largest customer for this commodity is Russia, and the disturbance to finance which accompanied the war rendered it impossible at first for the Russian buyers to make their usual purchases. This difficulty was, however, subsequently surmounted, in part, by financial arrangements made between His Majesty's Government and that of Russia which supplied funds in London towards exchange facilities for Russo-British trade.

"17. The Council are also aware that a heavy rise in local prices has compelled us to take drastic measures to restrict the export of wheat, and although this action is, we consider, amply justified in the interests of our own people, it necessarily prejudices our export trade.

"18. I have said enough to show how seriously and how variously our outward and inward trade has been affected by the conditions arising out of the general war. It is too soon yet to hope for any decisive turn of the tide; but the situation has been eased to some extent by the recovered security of Indian waters, and there are welcome indications, too, of increased confidence and trade activity in India itself. In this connection the following figures, which I owe to the department of Statistics, will be of interest. They show month by month since the war began the falling off in trade as compared with 1913-14, and also compare the totals for the first 9 months of the year with those of the corresponding period in each of the two preceding years.

	IMPORTS.			EXPORTS (INDIAN MERCHANDISE).		
	1914 R (lakhs).	Decrease R (lakhs) as compared with 1913	Percentage decrease.	1914 R (lakhs).	Decrease R (lakhs) as compared with 1913.	Percentage decrease.
August	12,98	3,20	20	9,68	7,61	44
September	7,40	9,26	56	7,58	11,91	61
October	12,36	4,19	25	9,97	11,71	54
November	11,94	4,52	27	15,80	3,24	17
December	10,20	4,23	29	12,80	6,08	32
Total for five months	54,83	25,39	32	55,76	40,55	42
Total for April—December 1914.	1,09,00	..	...	1,37,80	...	...
Do. 1913.	1,36,28	...	...	1,74,45	...	...
Do. 1912	1,17,13	...	..	1,74,68	...	...

"19. I have now concluded my general review of the financial events of the war period up to the present date. We have in truth been much buffeted, but the inherent strength of our financial and economic position has been demonstrated at every turn. Our loans and our paper money stand practically unimpaired in public estimation. An unprecedented drain on our savings banks has been met, and though

withdrawals still continue they are now on quite a small scale. So far as India is concerned, there has been no crash in exchange such as pessimists sometimes threatened us with in a world-crisis: on the contrary, the measures taken to maintain the stability of the rupee have met with full success. As regards both foreign and internal trade, after some natural bewilderment and dislocation at the outset, readjustment is already taking place, and at no time has it been necessary to give serious consideration to the expedient of a *moratorium*—the panacea found necessary in so many other countries. Above all, while India has steadily faced all her obligations, she has not had to fall back on outside resources for any extraordinary measure of help. She has borrowed of course more freely, but without prejudicing her credit; and, to a large extent, her additional borrowings have been taken from her own reserves. We cannot say what the future has in store for us, but we are entitled, in the light of our recent searching experience, to look forward to it with sober confidence. That confidence is materially strengthened by the agricultural situation, which affords a most welcome contrast to the conditions prevailing when I presented my last Financial Statement. The south-west monsoon and the winter rains have alike been abundant, and we can now look forward to exceptionally bountiful crops.

Changes in forms of account.

"20 I now pass on to the task of laying before Council our estimates of the present and coming years. To enable me to do this, however, I must first explain certain changes which we have adopted, with the approval of the Secretary of State, in Statements A, B and D of the Financial Statement, and which will, I hope, be found to make these more clear.

"In the first place, we have got rid of the confusing accounts expedient described as a 'transfer through the Land Revenue head.' At present, as Honourable Members are aware, if the Land Revenue of a province is divided, say, in equal shares between Imperial and Provincial, it is not shown as so divided in our Budget statements and accounts, because any contributions which we may happen to be making to the province are treated as diminishing the Imperial half share and enhancing the Provincial half share, and conversely with any adjustments at the expense of a province in favour of the Government of India. Contributions of the former character are numerous and, in the aggregate, important, especially those which are made under the terms of the Provincial settlements and subsequent allotments in respect of education and sanitation. The method hitherto in force is confusing and, as I have always thought, unscientific. It tends to obscure the real share of Imperial and Provincial Land Revenue according to the settlement and, as brought out in paragraph 23 of my speech last year, it prevents our explaining variations in Land Revenue in the concise way which we can adopt in regard to other heads. There is also the disadvantage that, if new Budget proposals involve further grants to Provincial Governments, the effect of these has to be explained in connection with Land Revenue transactions, whereas they could more conveniently be dealt with by themselves or along with other proposals.

"We are accordingly going to confine the Land Revenue transactions to their proper scope, and to show all the adjustments above referred to under a new head entitled 'Transfers between Imperial and Provincial Revenues,' which will be found at the foot of Statement A of the accounts which I am now presenting. All such assignments to Provincial revenues will appear as *deduct* items in the Imperial columns and as *add* entries in the Provincial, the signs being reversed in those relatively infrequent instances in which, for some special reason, a net assignment has to be made from Provincial to Imperial.

"21 Secondly, we have eliminated rupee figures from Statements A and B, and have so made it possible, without adding to their size, to arrange them in a form which brings out at once, for both revenue and expenditure, the two main lines of distinction, *viz.*, (a) the distribution as between India and England, and (b) the distribution as between Imperial and Provincial. I may add that we have not made any change as regards the figures contained in the Financial Secretary's Explanatory Memorandum, which are primarily expressed in rupee currency.

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" 22 Thirdly, we have somewhat amplified Statement D, which shows the transactions of Provincial Governments, following generally the lines adopted in the appendix to the Financial Secretary's Memorandum explaining the Budget estimates for the current year—*vide* page 262 of the Financial Statement for 1914-15. The information now given in the amended statement will, I hope, be of assistance to Honourable Members who are interested in the course of Provincial finance.

" 23. I have also to draw attention to two further changes which we have made in Statements A and B. The heads of account numbered XXI and 26 used to deal with 'Scientific and other minor Departments' and have hitherto included Agriculture. But in view of the importance of agricultural development and the desirability of readily tracing the progress of outlay thereon, we have now placed agricultural expenditure under a separate head, 26-A, while the other expenditure, hitherto brought together under head 26, now figures under '26-B, Scientific and Miscellaneous Departments.' The same sub-division has been made in the corresponding Receipt head (XXI) of Statement A.

" The second of the two changes above mentioned is the amalgamation of the hitherto separate heads of Post Office and Telegraph, following on the amalgamation of the administration of these two Departments.

Forecast of Financial Conditions in 1914-15 and 1915-16.

Revised Estimate of Revenue and Expenditure for 1914-15.

" 24. The general position, as far as we can now forecast it, is brought out in the following table which compares the current year's Budget and the Revised estimate now put forward.

[In millions of £.]

	Budget, 1914-15.			Revised, 1914-15.		
	Imperial.	Provincial.	Total.	Imperial.	Provincial.	Total.
Revenue	54·237	80·842	85·079	49·927	80·229	80·156
Expenditure	52·981	84·048	87·029	52·669	82·446	85·115
Surplus + or deficit —	+ 1 256	—3·206	—1·950	—2·742	—2·217	—4·959

Revenue—Imperial

" 25. We budgeted this year for a total Imperial revenue of about £54½ million. The Revised estimate shows only about £50 million, or a total decrease of £4½ million, a result which is, speaking generally, entirely attributable to the war, and more especially to the decrease in the two large sources of revenue which have been most severely affected by the consequent dislocation and depression of trade, *viz.*, Railways and Customs.

" 26. The largest decline in revenue is that expected under State Railways. The Budget estimate of gross receipts for the current year, £37·7 million, was taken at practically the same figure as the actuals of 1913-14. In the first four months of the year, *i.e.*, prior to the outbreak of war, the Railway revenue was some £260,000 in advance of the corresponding period of the preceding year; but in the six months following the outbreak of war there has been a decline of £1,490,000. The Railway revenue has also been affected by the fact that the closing months of 1913-14 and the earlier months of 1914-15 were depressed by the crop failures in Northern India and the commercial and banking crisis in the north and west. Having regard to the continued depression of trade, we estimate that the total gross receipts this year will be £35·6 million, or about £2 million less than the Budget.

"Under working expenses, on the other hand, there is a reduction, as compared with Budget anticipations, of £73,000 only. With a large and sudden drop in a previously established standard of receipts, it is impossible to effect forthwith a proportionate reduction in working expenses. The railways are equipped to carry a certain amount of traffic and, as much of the expenditure is of a fixed character, there are obvious difficulties in reducing its scale, especially when the decline in traffic is temporary, as we expect it to be on the present occasion. Secondly, a large amount of comparatively unremunerative military traffic has been carried in recent months, a fact which evidently tends to raise the general average of working expenses to gross receipts.

"Allowing for a small increase in the payment of surplus profits to companies based on the traffic of 1913-14, the actual profits earned in that year being higher than had been anticipated, we take the total decline in net Railway receipts at £2,063,000.

"27 Under Customs, we now estimate our total revenue at £6,320,000, which is £917,000 less than the Budget anticipation. The most important decreases occur under manufactured articles, sugar, export duty on rice, cotton manufactures, and metals (other than silver) and manufactures thereof, while on the other hand we expect some considerable increase under silver and petroleum.

"28 There is also a large fall, amounting to £361,000, in the Interest receipts. About a third of this is due to the depletion of balances in London on which, in normal times, the Secretary of State would have been earning money, pending their eventual employment. The rest of the decrease is nominal and is practically counterbalanced by a like reduction under expenditure. It arises from a technical change in the treatment of advances to, and overdrafts of capital by, the Bengal-Nagpur Railway Company in accordance with the provisions of the new contract with them.

"29 Under Opium, there is a loss of £283,000, which is due, in large measure, to the war and the consequent disturbance of foreign trade. This led to a heavy fall in prices, which we had to meet by fixing a substantial upset price (₹1,600 per chest) below which we refused to sell. The result is that out of the 13,200 chests which we originally expected to sell at an average price of ₹1,700 a chest, we now expect that about 1,500 chests will remain unsold, and that the average price realized by the remainder will amount to ₹1,589 only.

"Stagnation of business, and interference with telegraphic communication entailed by war conditions, also account for a fall of £213,000 in the gross receipts of Posts and Telegraphs

"30. Economic depression has likewise left its mark on other heads, though in their cases the loss is shared with Provincial. Our Excise revenue has naturally fallen much below budget anticipations. The same is true of Stamps; and under Land Revenue too there is a considerable decline, to which other circumstances have also contributed. Scarcity conditions at the outset of the war, and economic depression afterwards, have caused a return of small coin from circulation, with a corresponding diminution of our anticipated profits on coinage. The only head of revenue in which an important betterment on budget anticipations has occurred is Salt; and here, I regret to say, the improvement is almost wholly illusory, as it represents advance payments of duty effected in the expectation of increased salt taxation.

Revenue—Provincial.

"31. The aggregate Provincial revenue was estimated in the current year's budget at £30 8 million, and is now taken at £30 2 million. As I have just mentioned in connection with the Imperial figures, there has been a heavy fall under Excise (£266,000), Land Revenue (£255,000) and Stamps (£167,000). The Forest revenue, too, falls short of expectations by £271,000, the decrease occurring mainly in Burma, where war conditions have affected the teak market, and the United Provinces, where a scheme for the supply of railway sleepers has been delayed, with a consequent reduction on both the revenue and expenditure sides. The Irrigation revenue, owing partly to last year's deficient rainfall, has improved.

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Expenditure—Imperial.

"32. We budgeted for a total Imperial expenditure of almost £53 million, which is now reduced to about £52·7 million. Of this decrease, £200,000 under "Interest on capital deposited by companies" follows automatically on the revised procedure in respect of interest charges referred to in paragraph 28. The estimates for Military Services have naturally been much disturbed by the war, but owing to the operation of several counterbalancing factors, the total figures show relatively little divergence from the Budget, a saving being now anticipated of £64,000 in the gross expenditure and of £13,000 in the net. I may also mention incidentally, with reference to paragraph 16 of my speech of last year, that the present estimate provides for the completion of the payment to the Mysore Durbar in respect of the surplus revenues of the Bangalore Assigned Tract.

Expenditure—Provincial.

"33 The aggregate Provincial expenditure was taken in the Budget at £34 million. It is now estimated at £1½ million less, *viz.*, about £32½ million. The principal reductions occur under Education (£738,000), Medical (£352,000) and Civil Works (£380,000), and are due to the Local Governments not having spent in full the grants placed at their disposal for the development of education and sanitation and for other purposes. As I suggested in paragraph 28 of my speech last year, I was a little sceptical then as to their ability to spend all that they hoped; and it may be that some lapse would have occurred in any case. But it is only fair to add that, in view of the present financial situation and after reference to the Secretary of State, we issued orders that expenditure not specifically provided for in the Budget should not, save in very special circumstances, be embarked on this year, so that outlay of this description, which would in ordinary years have been found by reappropriation from items where savings were anticipated, has not been incurred.

General Results—Imperial and Provincial.

"34. I can now sum up the final position of our revenue account for the current year. As I have shown, the greater portion of the loss of revenue resulting from the war has fallen against the Imperial side, Imperial revenues being more dependent on those resources which are specially responsive to trade conditions; and our expected surplus of £1½ million has thus been converted into a deficit of £2½ million. In the case of the Local Governments the total loss of revenue, though widely diffused, has been much less, and the scope for retrenchment was greater, owing to the specially heavy provision made in this year's budget for new outlay. The Provincial account has thus improved, the deficit, *i.e.*, drafts on provincial balances, being reduced from the total of nearly £3½ million allowed in the Budget, estimate to about £2½ million only. Doubtless those Honourable Members who have followed our Railway and Customs returns since the war broke out will be already fully prepared for some such broad results as those which I have just stated, and I think they will agree with me in not being unduly perturbed at this inevitable outcome of war conditions. On the whole account, that is combining the Imperial and Provincial sides, and taking into account retrenchment of expenditure in relief of loss of revenue, the net deterioration, as compared with our expectations when the budget of the year was framed in peace conditions, is just about £3 million.

Revised Estimate, 1914-15. Ways and Means position.

"35. Next as regards the Ways and Means position. Honourable Members will recollect that our main task in preparing our financial programme for the current year was to find means of financing a railway programme of £12 million, in addition to heavy expenditure, amounting to nearly £3½ million, by Local Governments in excess of the provincial revenues of the year. For these and other less important commitments falling outside the revenue account, we had a satisfactory opening balance to look to, and the promise of a normal surplus in the current year, and of a substantial amount

of new deposits in our savings banks which we hoped would be increased by the more elastic rules referred to in paragraph 58 of my last year's speech. For the rest, we proposed to rely, in the main, on a scale of borrowing which had not hitherto been customary. Until the advent of the war, our anticipations promised, as indicated in paragraph 4 above, to be amply fulfilled. There was thus every prospect of our financing the programme of capital outlay which we had laid down for the current year, and of being left with a helpful margin of funds to assist in meeting the requirements of 1915-16. The whole position has, however, been entirely modified by the war. As already stated, our budgeted Imperial surplus of £1½ million is turned into a deficit of £ 2½ million, *i.e.*, a total worseness of £4 million. Under Unfunded Debt, the head into which the savings banks transactions referred to in paragraph 7 enter, the net addition to our resources of over £1½ million which we assumed in the budget is turned into a net drain amounting to more than £5 million, that is a further worseness of nearly £7 million. In these two ways alone the war has therefore taken from us nearly £11 million of the resources on which we relied for capital outlay on railways and irrigation, for the construction of Delhi, for the financing of the expenditure of Local Governments from the large balances to their credit, and a variety of other requirements; and we have lost a further sum of somewhat less than £1 million owing to a larger withdrawal from our treasuries of funds deposited therein by local bodies and other parties which are allowed to bank with us.

" 36 This aggregate loss of approximately £12 million was partly counterbalanced, as I have said in paragraph 4, by an improvement of about £1½ million in the opening balance of the current year, while Local Governments have curtailed their drawings on our balances by £1 million. There has also been a lapse of £303,000 on the grant for the construction of New Delhi, to which I shall refer at a later stage, and one of £370,000 in the capital grant for railways. These improvements, however, still left a large gap to be filled, as will be seen from the statement below which shows in a concise form how the situation has been met:—

[In millions of £.]						
Outlay.	Budget Estimate, 1914-15.	Revised Estimate, 1914-15.	Assets.	Budget Estimate, 1914-15.	Revised Estimate, 1914-15.	
(1) Capital outlay on—			(1) From balances	49	49	2·6
(a) Railways	120	11·6	(2) Imperial surplus or deficit of 1914-15	13	—2·7	
(b) Irrigation	12	1·2	(3) Rupee borrowing	33	10·6	
(c) Delhi	7	·4	(4) Sterling borrowing	59	10·9	
(2) Repayment of India Bonds, etc.	7	·6	(5) Unfunded debt	18	—5·1	
(3) Outlay from Provincial balances	32	2·2	(6) Famine insurance allotment and minor items	7	—·2	
(4) Local loans account, Imperial and Provincial	·1	·1				
Total	27·9	16·1	Total	179	161	

" 37. Special reference is invited to items (3) and (4) under 'Assets,' which show that our total borrowings at home and in India have amounted to £12½ million more than our budget provided for. This completely covers the shortage of funds which we had to meet, and leaves us, for the time being, as I show directly, with very strong cash balances.

" In England, the Secretary of State has raised £7 million by India bills in lieu of obtaining about £4½ million by a permanent issue of stock as provided for in the Budget; and has increased by over £2½ million the borrowings through companies which he originally contemplated. In India, besides raising our five-crore loan before the war broke out, we have taken advantage of a spontaneous offer by His Highness the Maharaja Scindia to place 50 lakhs (£½ million) at our disposal, and for the rest of our borrowings, namely £7 million, have fallen back upon the Gold Standard Reserve, in which we now hold a large and otherwise unemployed sum of money through the sale of reverse bills and telegraphic transfers, to which I have already referred. Our advances from this source at one time reached a maximum of £8 million. Subsequently £1 million has been paid back, and a further repayment could have been made had we only the requirements of the current year in view.

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"38. In any case, however, we have many reasons, in conditions like the present to maintain our balances at a high level. Our resources have to be widely dispersed in order to keep treasuries and savings banks well supplied with funds, so as to meet the claims of depositors or demands for encashment of currency notes, without delay or embarrassment. We desire, too, as I have already said, to avoid as far as possible curtailment of our deposits with the Presidency Banks in view of possible trade conditions. We have also been obliged to spend large sums on account of His Majesty's Government in connection with the expeditionary forces, and war requirements generally, sometime before the outlay could be recovered. Our aggregate cash balances in India and England are consequently now expected to stand at about £21 million on 31st March 1915, as against the budget anticipation of £17½ million and the £16½ million which is usually accepted as our normal requirement. As I shall show later on, the excess of some £4¼ million over the latter sum will be fully required next year.

Budget Estimate of Revenue and Expenditure for 1915-16.

"39 I now turn to the Budget figures for 1915-16. The general results are exhibited in the statement below:—

[In millions of £.]

	Revised, 1914-15.			Budget, 1915-16.		
	Imperial.	Provincial.	Total.	Imperial.	Provincial.	Total.
Revenue	49-927	30 229	80-156	49-655	30-692	80-347
Expenditure	52-669	32-446	85-115	52-425	31-755	84-180
Deficit (—)	—2-742	—2-217	—4-959	—2-770	—1 063	—3 833

"40. It will be seen that we estimate for a deficit on the Imperial side amounting to about £2 8 million, and that Local Governments are being permitted to draw on their balances to the extent of £1 million. The aggregate excess of expenditure over revenue on the combined Imperial and Provincial account is thus about £3 8 million, against £5 million in the current year. As already stated, our Budget is based on the assumption that war will continue throughout the year, and on this hypothesis, we must allow for a deterioration of revenue extending over twelve months, as compared with the eight months of war conditions experienced in the current year. On the other hand, we may fairly assume that there will be some recovery—of which indeed there are already signs—from the general dislocation of trade which was specially acute in the opening stages of the war; and also, in view of present agricultural prospects, that, apart from the war, the position under such heads as Land Revenue will be better in certain provinces than it has been in the present year. On the whole, therefore, so far as present indications point, we need not anticipate that the eventual general results will differ widely from those of 1914-15.

Revenue—Imperial.

"41. Thus, we budget for a total Imperial revenue of about £49½ million against nearly £50 million taken in the Revised estimate for the current year. The principal further decreases occur under Customs, Salt and Railways, to which heads I shall presently refer more fully. Military receipts too will naturally suffer from the absence of so many troops. On the other hand, according to present prospects, we look, as already stated, for a large improvement under Land Revenue, of which the Imperial share will be £428,000. Under Opium, we expect a betterment of £242,000, in the anticipation of somewhat improved prices. Our transactions will include a certain amount to be sold direct to the Government of the Straits Settlements, on

terms which have now been settled by agreement for a series of years. There is no other important betterment under the principal heads of revenue, which have continued, up to a late stage of estimating, to show the effects of the depression resulting from the war. But some saving (£138,000) will be obtained on the Imperial side by the absence or diminution of certain assignments to Local Governments which appear in the Revised.

" 42. Under Salt, the advance payments of duty in anticipation of enhanced taxation, which have inflated the revenue of the current year as explained in paragraph 30, will tend to depress it in 1915-16, and we have taken the Budget at £315,000 less than the Revised estimate.

" 43. Under Customs, we anticipate a further decline of £377,000. We have, in this case, to allow definitely for the probable effect of the war on our import trade during 12 months in 1915-16, as against 8 months of the current year. The goods available for import into India are likely to be materially less than in the present year, owing to the stoppage of trade with enemy countries throughout 1915-16 and other restrictions, and also to the partial withdrawal of the industrial population in the other belligerent countries either to the fighting line or to the manufacture of stores and materiel for war purposes. The set-back to economic prosperity in India itself must also result in some reduction in the demand for imported commodities. On the other hand, the trade routes, it may be anticipated, will continue to be safe throughout 1915-16, and we may look for an appreciable revival of credit and confidence. We have not, therefore, considered it necessary to write down our revenue very heavily as compared with the Revised, except in the two special cases of silver and cotton manufactures. Under the former sub-head, we expect this year a revenue of close on £1 million. This is abnormally high even under peace conditions, and for the coming year we have assumed a yield of £ $\frac{3}{4}$ million only. Under cotton manufactures, again, we have provided for a decrease of £100,000 owing to the congestion which has prevailed in the market for some time, which will probably be accentuated in present conditions. On the other hand, in the case of the export duty on rice, we have felt able to assume a substantial improvement (£170,000) on this year's revenue. The export of Indian rice to foreign countries has been specially low this year owing partly to the cessation of supplies to enemy countries, and also to the diversion of shipments to India proper in the early months of 1914-15 as a result of the shortage of crops in Northern India. With the present favourable agricultural outlook, we may expect that this latter factor will be no longer operative.

" 44. Under Railways, we take the net receipts at £260,000 less than the Revised estimate, and the gross receipts at £35.3 million, or £298,000 less. Here, too, the favourable agricultural outlook, and some degree of general trade recovery, may be expected to go far to counterbalance the loss of revenue in the extra four months during which war conditions are assumed to be operative.

" Working expenses are taken at £19.9 million or £159,000 more than the Revised. As I have already explained, we could not in any case have hoped that the temporary decline of our railway revenue would be accompanied by a proportionate fall in the cost of carrying the reduced traffic. But apart from that, we have found it necessary to make considerable additional provision for the improvement of the equipment of the railway lines, which was represented to us to have fallen somewhat behindhand in recent years, and to have become a pressing requirement.

" With the reduced traffic, the profits payable to companies will also be less and we have provided £197,000 less on this account, thus arriving at the net reduction given above.

Revenue—Provincial

" 45. The aggregate Provincial revenue is estimated at £463,000 more than the Revised. Almost the whole of this improvement is contributed by the Provincial share—£379,000—of the increase under Land Revenue to which I have already referred. Apart from this, we cannot look, under continued war conditions, to any strong recovery from the position which the revenue returns for the later months of the present year have disclosed.

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[*Sir William Meyer.*]*Expenditure—Imperial.*

"46 The total Imperial expenditure for 1915-16 is estimated at about £58.4 million, being £244,000 less than the Revised. Our chief economy occurs under the Military services where we are budgeting for a reduction of £582,000. I shall revert to this branch of expenditure in a separate section of my speech, and need only say here that in the present situation we have thought it incumbent upon us to postpone all military expenditure of an ordinary kind which is not immediately required. We shall be faced with some difficult and pressing problems under this head when the war is over, but the present is not the time and occasion when they can suitably be taken up. Apart from the Military charges, the circumstances of Imperial expenditure do not offer great scope for any drastic reduction of grants. We have, however, curtailed the provision for Imperial Civil Works by some £127,000. We also save automatically (to the extent of £272,000) by the recall of officers from leave. That of course implies an additional charge in India under salaries, but this is chiefly borne by the Provincial Governments. Against these economies, we have to provide an additional £520,000 to meet the interest charges on the borrowing programme which I shall shortly lay before Council; and Opium expenditure shows a considerable increase, arising from the necessity of supplementing our supply of 'Bengal opium,' which we obtain from the Gangetic valley, by special purchases in Malwa.

"The relief from Famine expenditure in 1915-16, while it eases our Budget under one head, adds to it under another, as it requires us to make a larger provision under the Famine Insurance Grant for reduction or avoidance of debt

Expenditure—Provincial.

"47. We estimate this at £31,755,000, or £691,000 less than the Revised and £2,293,000 less than the current year's Budget. As Honourable Members are aware, the fluctuations in the scale of outlay of the Provincial Governments are at present largely dependent, under the conditions established by the special grants of recent years, on the extent to which it is found possible for them to draw upon their large accumulated balances. When this year's Budget was framed, we authorised such overdrawals to the extent of £3.2 million, which has come down in the Revised, as I have already explained, to £2.2 million. We propose in the current year to allow Local Governments to draw on their balances to the extent of about £1 million only.

"In present financial circumstances we might *prima facie* have been expected to require Local Governments not to draw on their balances next year at all, *i.e.*, to restrict their total expenditure to the revenue raised within the year. But as I have previously mentioned, Provincial revenues too are being affected by the war, and a restriction such as that suggested would have involved a drastic curtailment of normal standards of expenditure, besides arresting all further immediate development on education and sanitation, and interfering with the *quasi*-commitments into which Local Governments have entered in carrying out a programme of special expenditure on these objects which they had every reason to expect to be able to maintain. We find ourselves obliged therefore to recognise the practical need of some relief in this direction. The curtailment of total outlay which will still be necessary, and in regard to which we have received the most loyal co-operation from Local Governments, has resulted, as is natural, in a large reduction (£1,070,000) in the grants for expenditure on public works. Provision is made, however, for some additional outlay under Land Revenue, Police, and some other heads.

"48. We expect that with this restricted programme the aggregate Provincial balances on the 31st March 1916 will amount to £6.3 million. Of this, £2.5 million may be taken as accruing from special grants, mainly non-recurring, which have been made by the Government of India, mostly for expenditure in connection with education and sanitation.

General Results—Imperial and Provincial.

"49 Reverting to the table in paragraph 39, we estimate that in 1915-16 the total revenue, Imperial and Provincial, will be £90,347,000, and the total expenditure £84,180,000, resulting in an Imperial deficit of £2,770,000 and a Provincial deficit of £1,063,000, the latter to be met by drawing on the balances to the credit of Local Governments.

Ways and Means Estimate for 1915-16.

“50 This brings me to the question of the financing of our requirements in the second year of war. I will first give the main figures in millions of pounds, and then explain what they imply:—

<i>Outlay.</i>		<i>Assets.</i>	
Imperial deficit	2·8	From balances	4·5
Provincial deficit	1·0	Rupee borrowing	3·0
Capital outlay—		Sterling borrowing	6·5
Railways	8·0	Famine Insurance and miscellaneous items	·4
Irrigation	1·1	Total	14·4
Delhi	·8		
	— 9·4		
Discharge of debt	1·0		
Unfunded debt	·2		
	— Total		
	14·4		
<i>Add</i> —Discharge of temporary debt raised in 1914-15	14·0	<i>Add</i> —Renewal of temporary debt raised in 1914-15	14·0
	— Grand total		— Grand total
	28·4		28·4

“51. We have to find funds from which to meet the Imperial deficit of the coming year and the expenditure by Local Governments in excess of the revenue which they expect to raise in the same period. £1 million of debt, mainly in connection with the purchase of the Indian Midland Railway some years ago, is also due for discharge. By way of precaution, too, we are assuming the possibility of a withdrawal of £1 million more of savings banks deposits during the coming year. This counts as a liability against Unfunded Debt. We still get, however, as in normal years, some credits under this head, more particularly the substantial deposits annually paid into the State Provident funds, so that there is a considerable set-off to the withdrawals from the savings banks for which this estimate makes provision. There remains the head of Capital outlay, under which alone it is optional to us to curtail our commitments. We are very reluctant to do this in the case of Irrigation, and are accordingly providing the entire amount (£1,100,000) which our Public Works advisers consider they can spend. In the case of Railways, however, it is inevitable that some considerable reduction should be made, and in any case, even if funds had been available, it is unlikely that, in the present circumstances of manufacturing establishments at home, anything like the £12 million provided in the current year could again be spent. We have accordingly taken the next year's programme at £8 million. In considering the adequacy of this figure—and I regard it myself as the outside sum which it would be justifiable to provide under present conditions—it must also be remembered that, as stated in paragraph 44, a specially large provision has been made, on the revenue side, for closely connected expenditure on the equipment of our present lines. In the case of Delhi, we have made a very large reduction, confining the next year's grant, as I shall explain in a later section, to a working minimum.

“52 The total of these liabilities comes to about £14½ million. In addition, as the statement shows, we have to include, as pending obligations requiring to be dealt with in connection with the coming year's financial programme, the discharge of the £7 million of India bills which the Secretary of State has raised in the current year, and the repayment of our loan of the same amount from the Gold Standard Reserve. Our total obligations are thus raised to some £28½ million.

“53. The first of the resources on which we can draw as against these requirements is afforded by the large cash balances with which we shall close the current year. As I have already said, owing to the loans taken from the Gold Standard Reserve, we expect these to stand on 31st March next at about £21 million. Ordinarily we regard £16½ million as a sufficient amount to hold in our treasuries in India and at home at the close of a financial year; and we thus have about £4½ million which can be regarded as available towards meeting our liabilities generally and still leave a little margin over the normal closing balances. We shall also set aside from revenue, under

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the Famine Insurance Grant head, close on half a million for reduction or avoidance of debt, thus raising our assets to about £5 million. Even so, we are left, however, with some £9½ million still to find, and have also the £14 million of temporary debt still to consider. The question now is, how is this shortage to be dealt with?

No additional taxation.

"54. The first method of adding to our resources which would naturally suggest itself—one, indeed, which we have very seriously considered—is to follow the lead of the mother country and impose special taxation; and I have no doubt that the majority of the members of this Council have been asking themselves for some time past what line we shall take on this question. Those who have followed my remarks on the revenue position will, however, have already had their anxiety relieved. We do not propose on this occasion to raise any money by increased taxation. We should not hesitate to do so to meet a deficiency in revenue which promised to be of a more or less abiding character. But the present circumstances are altogether peculiar. We know that, ordinarily, we can count on surpluses. India too has a very small unproductive debt; and, with trade conditions depressed, and the present abnormal rise in food prices in a large part of the country, we have come to the conclusion that we ought not to add to existing taxation unless it is absolutely necessary. We hold that this necessity has not yet arisen, since the deficits of the current and coming years are, as already stated, entirely the product of special and temporary circumstances; while, as regards ways and means, we see our way, in spite of these deficits, to financing all outlay immediately necessary. We have to bear in mind, too, in dealing with an essential point of policy like this, the possibility that an improvement of conditions, whether by the conclusion of peace or otherwise, may, after all, take place sooner than we are yet entitled to assume. When this occurs, we shall, I have no doubt, rapidly regain at any rate a large portion of the savings banks deposits which have been withdrawn from us, and may hope for improvement in other directions as well.

Borrowing programme for 1915-16.

"55 I return, then—the taxation alternative being rejected—to the question of how we are to finance the needs of the coming year. In the first place, we propose to continue the loan of £7 million from the Gold Standard Reserve and leave it still outstanding on the 31st March 1916. As I have already said, the money we shall thus employ would otherwise lie inert and the proposed transaction makes no difference to our actual stock of gold or our freedom to use it in supporting exchange. It merely requires the transfer from the Gold Standard to the Paper Currency Reserve of a certain amount of the gold we should otherwise hold in the former, since the gold thus added to the Paper Currency Reserve will enable the transfer therefrom of a corresponding quantity of rupees in aid of our Treasury balances.

"The Secretary of State also intends to renew in 1915-16 the £7 million of India bills which he has raised this year. This disposes of the temporary debt for the time being, but still leaves us the original £9½ million to find.

"56. We propose to obtain £3 million (4½ crores) of this amount in India. We shall of course raise this by a public loan if, when the time comes, this is found to be feasible. We raised R5 crores in the current year and with great success; but that was before the war, and I fully recognise that the circumstances are now entirely different. I must therefore in any case reserve the consideration of the time and the best method of borrowing in India next year, including, that is, the terms to be offered and the character of the loan. I recognise too that the circumstances prevalent in July, when we usually float our loans, may prove to be so unpropitious that we may find it desirable to have recourse to other methods for raising either a part or the whole of this amount: for example, one alternative open to us might be to increase our borrowing from the Gold Standard Reserve.

"57. In addition to the funds which we thus find in India, it is the Secretary of State's intention to raise £6½ million by fresh borrowing in England, either direct or through the agency of companies working State lines. I should add, however, as regards this, what I have already made clear as regards rupee borrowing, that this announcement is subject to the usual reservation that the amount may be varied later on if circumstances should render this advisable.

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" 58. To sum up this examination of a complicated and difficult position, I may briefly state that we propose a reduced but still considerable Railway programme, a full standard of expenditure on Irrigation, and a minimum outlay on Delhi; while to meet our capital outlay and revenue deficits and our other various requirements, we contemplate renewing the temporary loans raised in the current year, and finding a further £9½ million by additional borrowings, whether permanent or temporary, in England or in India. We thus put ourselves in a position to finance all requirements with which, as far as we can at present see, we are likely to be confronted in the coming year, while at the same time providing for the maintenance of an adequate closing balance.

" 59 I have not taken into account in the above calculations the £4 million up to which the Secretary of State has permitted us to reduce the cash holdings of the Paper Currency Reserve. This money will be primarily held available for loans to banks for the encouragement of credit and trade, without reducing our Treasury balances beyond what is prudent, while if there is any remainder it ought to be treated as a special reserve against unforeseen contingencies. In a year in which there may be so many surprises, it is most desirable to have a reserve of this character.

Remarks on certain special heads.

" 60. I now furnish some supplementary information in regard to certain special and important heads.

A.—Military Services.

" 61. The table below shows the gross and net expenditure on Military Services for the coming year and the four years preceding :—

	Gross.					Net, i.e., DEDUCT- ING RECEIPTS.
	Army.	Marine	Military Works.	Special Defences.	Total.	All Military heads.
	£	£	£	£	£	£
1911-12	19,536,546	450,728	909,657	4,708	20,901,637	19,558,580
1912-13	19,576,528	479,928	887,379	9,267	20,953,100	19,565,466
1913-14	19,789,239	512,845	947,297	16,384	21,265,765	19,896,113
1914-15 (Budget)	20,305,800	504,900	1,022,400	33,000	21,866,100	20,500,000
1914-15 (Revised)	20,277,200	484,700	1,017,000	23,500	21,802,400	20,486,700
1915-16 (Budget)	19,831,100	623,800	744,300	21,100	21,220,300	20,000,000

" 62. The net expenditure in the current year is expected to fall below the Budget provision framed in March last by £13,000 only, due to an anticipated decrease of £64,000 in expenditure, partly counterbalanced by a fall of £51,000 in receipts. The war has necessarily affected the Military estimates of the year in a very considerable degree. On the one hand it has led to some temporary savings in charges as a consequence of exchanges and re-arrangements of troops, of the partial suspension of the Arms Traffic operations in the Persian Gulf, and of the usual trooping service, and also with reference to diminished supply of stores from Europe. *Per contra*, extra expenditure had to be incurred for the protection of India and in connection with the internment of citizens of hostile countries; the prices of food supplies throughout the year show an increase; and the receipts from payment-issues of clothing, provisions, etc., have fallen below the normal standard.

" 63. For the coming year the net Military expenditure has been fixed at £20 million, or £487,000 lower than the Revised, and £500,000 less than the Budget provision of the present year. In consequence of the war, expenditure is being restricted to what is considered essential for the maintenance of efficiency and the protection of the country, while a further fall in receipts must be anticipated and has been taken into account. Provision has been made for a continuance of work

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on certain Royal Indian Marine vessels now on order, for the improvement of the accommodation of Indian combatants and non-combatants, and for progress with the new cantonment of Delhi. A considerable amount of expenditure usually incurred on trooping and the prevention of gun running on our borders temporarily disappears. The trend of food prices, however, continues upward, and this has been provided for by a 5 per cent. increase on the Budget provision of 1914-15 on this account.

"64. The figures given above do not include very considerable expenditure which is being undertaken on behalf of the Imperial Government, in the matter of the supply of munitions of war and other stores to the forces of the Empire engaged in active operations, since such outlay is made good to us by His Majesty's Government

"They do, however, include—and I desire to lay special emphasis on this fact—the sums which, under arrangements with His Majesty's Government, initiated by a Resolution brought forward in this Council last autumn, India contributes towards the cost of the war, that is the portion of the total expenditure incurred on the expeditionary forces despatched from this country which she would have had to defray had they remained in India under peace conditions. These arrangements, I may remind the Council, have received constitutional ratification by Resolutions passed in both Houses of Parliament. Your Excellency, speaking in this Council on the 8th September last, mentioned that, on a rough estimate, these arrangements would cost India about £1 million during the current year. That estimate, however, was framed with reference to the expeditionary force we originally sent to Europe. The scale and the directions in which troops from India have since been utilised for the operations which the armies of the King-Emperor are carrying on against his enemies in various parts of the world have since been greatly enlarged; and we now anticipate, though the complicated calculations involved are still subject to further examination, that India's contribution towards the cost of the troops she has furnished will amount to £1·9 million during the current year, and to £1·8 million in 1915-16, on the assumption, which has governed our estimates throughout, that the war will continue to the end of March 1916

"65. The figures just given do not, however, represent the full measure of India's offering towards the expenses of the war. The Indian Princes who have placed their Imperial Service Troops at our disposal in connection with the expeditionary forces are also bearing the normal charges which would fall upon them in peace time, only the additional or war charges being met by His Majesty's Government. Further, some of the Princes have also made generous pecuniary contributions towards the general cost of the war; and I may make special mention here of the fact that His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, as indicated in Your Excellency's speech to this Council on the 8th September, has given Rs 50 lakhs (£333,000) in this way, while His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad has made a contribution of Rs 60 lakhs (£100,000). Other similar contributions bring such aggregate donations to £768,000, of which we expect that £480,000 will be paid in the current year, and the balance in 1915-16. Though these loyal and spontaneous contributions are, in the first instance, paid in to us, we have no intention of deriving any benefit therefrom. They will be passed on to His Majesty's Government by an equivalent deduction in the charges we should otherwise have to make against the— in connection with special war expenditure.

B.—Famine Relief.

"66. Speaking at this time last year, I said that actual famine conditions in the United Provinces were then confined to four districts and that scarcity had been declared in seven others. To the scarcity districts two were subsequently added, but the afflicted area has fortunately been much less than we at one time feared, and, although the calamity has been a severe one, special measures were only found necessary in an area of about 20,000 square miles with a population of nearly 7½ millions.

"The number on relief of all kinds reached a maximum of 219,000 at the end of May, but with the advent of the monsoon the number fell rapidly and operations were finally closed down in October. The March rains and a good monsoon helped matters, but, apart from this, distress was confined within comparatively narrow limits not only by the manner in which relief was distributed, by fodder concessions, by liberal *takats*, and by the suspension and remission of revenue; but also, we are

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told by Sir James Meston, by the remarkable capacity which the people themselves have shewn in facing their troubles without direct measures of famine relief. This he ascribes not merely to a succession of excellent seasons, but to a widespread confidence, based on experience, that Government will come to their aid when real necessity arises, and to a stronger power of resistance, due to something more than purely temporary causes, among nearly all classes of the people.

"I need not refer to the affected areas in other parts of India, as nowhere was distress anything like so widespread or severe as in the United Provinces.

"67. The Budget estimates for the current year provided for an outlay of £299,000 on famine relief, mainly in the United Provinces: the probable expenditure is still estimated at £290,000 of which £106,000 will be borne by Provincial revenues and the balance of £184,000 will fall on Imperial. Agricultural prospects in the areas which were affected by famine are now very satisfactory, and as the estimates for next year are as usual framed on the assumption of a normal monsoon, no outlay on relief is anticipated in that year apart from some small expenditure (about £7,000) in adjustment of this year's accounts.

"68 I explained in paragraph 41 of my speech introducing the last Financial Statement that the amount available from the Famine Insurance Grant of £1 million for the reduction or avoidance of debt, after providing for an expenditure of £500,000 on protective works, varies with the actual outlay on famine relief in each year. The amount available for that purpose is estimated at £210,000 in the current year and £493,000 in the next, of which £15,000 and £328,000 respectively, will be charged in the Imperial section

"69. In paragraph 42 of the same speech, I referred to the system of Provincial famine credits, and in a debate in this Council on the 7th March 1914, I promised that I would consider the possibility of modification in the application of this as between the various Provinces. I have fulfilled that promise and, as the result of the investigation made, we have put suggestions to the Local Governments for the simplification of what is now a very complicated system. After full consideration of their replies we shall decide on the precise action which may be necessary and refer the matter to the Secretary of State.

C.—Expenditure from Special Grants, Education, Medical, etc.

"70. I went into this matter fully last year, and on the present occasion I need only give a table similar to that exhibited in paragraph 46 of my last year's speech:—

[In thousands of £]

	TOTAL GRANTS GIVEN (1911-12 to 1915-16).		TOTAL EXPENDITURE INCURRED* (1911-12 to 1915-16).	BALANCE EXPECTED TO BE AVAILABLE ON 1ST APRIL 1916.
	Recurring.	Non-recurring.	Non-recurring.	Non-recurring.
(1) Education	763	3,166	2,078	1,088
(2) Sanitation	245	1,723	1,112	611
(3) Medical relief, etc. . . . .	...	58	53	5
(4) Agriculture, etc. . . . .	...	177	166	11
(5) Grants for other special purposes . . . . .	...	1,545	1,416	129
(6) Grants for general purposes—(Discretionary grants) . . . . .	...	667	88	279
TOTAL	1,008	7,336	5,213	2,123
<i>Add—Savings on recurring grants during foregoing period (about)</i>				395
Total amount expected to be available from special grants on the 1st April 1916				2,518

* Non-recurring figures only are given, as the recurring grants are treated as having been fully worked up to, any savings obtained from those grants in particular years being added at the foot of the statement.

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"The large balance still in hand is in considerable measure due to the fact that, as already stated, we have found it necessary, in existing circumstances, to debar Local Governments from drawing on their balances with us during the coming year beyond an aggregate amount of about £1 million

D.—Financial position of the Provinces.

"71. The new form of Statement D, to which I have already referred in paragraph 22, exhibits the general financial condition of the Provinces so fully that I need not make any explanatory comment. But it is desirable to say, with reference to the concluding remarks in paragraph 49 of my last year's speech, that we have decided, with the concurrence of the Local Governments concerned, to extend for the present the temporary financial settlements with Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and Assam, which would normally have been put on a permanent basis from the 1st April next. The reason is, of course, that the present time is not an opportune one for dealing with permanent settlements, which can be much more safely framed when the Government of India are in a normal financial condition.

"72. We have, however, made a modification in the Burma settlement. I mentioned in paragraph 24 of my last year's speech that we had under consideration a proposal to make some addition to the resources of the Burma Government, and that we had in the meantime given them a non-recurring grant of £100,000. We have now decided, with the approval of the Secretary of State, to make this grant a recurring one, since it was found, on careful examination of the calculations upon which the existing financial settlement with Burma was concluded, that the method adopted was not so favourable to the Local Government as was the case in the permanent settlements concluded about the same time with other provinces. Our present grant is to afford redress in this respect and, as I indicated last year, implies no departure from the general principles upon which our permanent settlements with the provinces are based.

"73. Lastly, I may say that we have effected an arrangement with the Punjab Government by which that Government hands over to us a crore of rupees from its very large balances (which have been obtained in great measure by non-recurring receipts from the sale of Government lands) in exchange for a fixed assignment of ₹3½ lakhs per annum. It will be realised, of course, that, as the Provincial balances form part of our general resources, this arrangement does not put an additional crore of rupees into our pockets, but merely saves us from being drawn on to that extent at some subsequent date.

E.—Railways (Capital Outlay).

"74. The following statement gives the figures of railway capital expenditure on State-owned lines included within the Railway programme for the coming year and the four years preceding:—

	1911-12.	1912-13.	1913-14.	1914-15 (Revised).	1915-16 (Budget).
	£	£	£	£	£
Open lines including rolling stock .	5,058,890	7,134,200	10,303,100	10,372,700	6,947,000
Lines under construction—					
(a) Started in previous years .	2,403,853	2,658,700	1,871,500	1,259,700	719,700
(b) Started in current year .	452,150	103,200	131,700	...	333,300
	7,914,393	9,896,100	12,306,300	11,632,400	8,000,000

"As I have already explained, the financial position necessarily requires a material curtailment of the Railway programme for 1915-16 as compared with the figures reached in the three preceding years. The greater part of the money included within the reduced programme is as usual devoted to the improvement of open lines and rolling stock.

"75. As regards railways under construction, the Lower Ganges Bridge, which has for the past few years made so heavy a call upon our resources, will be opened

for traffic in a few days, and the outlay required for its final completion is very small. The Itarsi-Nagpur Railway is not yet completed, and we propose to spend £333,000 on this important project in order that, if possible, it may be opened to public traffic before the close of the next financial year. The only other important lines still under construction are the Burdwan-Howrah Chord, and the scheme for an overhead connection of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway in Bombay with its Harbour branch. These are both equivalent to works of open line improvement, since they are primarily designed for the relief of traffic on existing routes, and we propose to allot funds which will permit of a full rate of progress being maintained throughout the year.

" We have also reserved funds for several new projects. Among these, the Vishnupur-Santragachi Chord is, like the Burdwan-Howrah, primarily intended for the relief of the existing lines between the coal-fields and Calcutta. The Dholka-Dhanduka Railway, again, is a project for which we made provision in our programme of the current year, but the commencement of which had for unavoidable reasons to be deferred. Provision is also made for the last section of the Southern Shan States Railway. The construction of this important pioneer line has been completed up to the plateau which divides the Inle valley from the rest of Burma, and it was at one time proposed that the construction of the remaining section, between the plateau and the Inle lake, should be temporarily deferred. It has been represented, however, that the further development of the Southern Shan States will be seriously hampered if this extension is not carried out at once, and the matter is now being taken up.

" 76. We are thus still able to provide for an appreciable amount of railway extension at the cost of Imperial funds; while the progress of construction by the agency of private enterprise and District Boards, though retarded by the war, will not by any means be stopped. Last year I informed the Council that in 1913-14 seven different undertakings, with an intended mileage of 292, had been sanctioned for construction, either under branch line terms or as feeder lines financed by District Boards in Madras, and, but for the war, there would doubtless, as I anticipated then, have been at least as good progress this year, for in its first six months branch line companies had been successfully floated for the construction of 172 miles of railway. Since then, in spite of the war, the capital required for three branch lines of railway, involving a mileage of 62, has been successfully raised, while several District Board projects are likely to mature in the near future.

" 77. The following figures show the capital outlay on all State lines up to the end of each year from 1911-12 and the net return obtained after deducting working expenses and interest charges:—

[In thousands of £]

	1911-12.	1912-13.	1913-14.	1914-15.	1915-16.
Capital at charge at end of each year .	331,247	340,103	351,302	361,756	368,513
Net working profit from railways excluding interest charges.	15,613	17,272	17,616	15,102	14,774
Percentage of net working profit to capital outlay	4.77	5.08	5.01	4.18	4.01
Net working profit from railways after meeting interest charges	3,788	4,803	4,790	1,914	1,179
Percentage to capital outlay of net profits after meeting interest charges.	1.14	1.41	1.36	.53	.32

" 78. I have amplified the statement, as compared with the information given last year, so as to discriminate the profits obtained before meeting interest charges from those finally arrived at by the inclusion of the interest burden. I may explain too that the capital outlay now shown represents the amount which it has actually cost Government to acquire and construct its railways, including the portion of the liability in connection with purchased lines which remains to be discharged by the

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operation of annuity and sinking fund payments. In the case of purchased railways, it has hitherto been the practice to show in the capital outlay the capital issued by the companies before purchase instead of the sums which it has cost Government to acquire the lines. The latter figures are what we are concerned with in working out the profit we obtain from State outlay, and I have substituted them for the capital issued by the companies in arriving at the figures shown in the foregoing table. I have also deferred to an occasional criticism of our figures by deducting debt which has been extinguished by the operation of annuity and sinking fund payments.

"79. The final net profit on railways was estimated in the current year's budget at 1.14 per cent. of the capital on the method then adopted, and would have been 1.08 per cent. on the altered basis above explained. We now estimate it at only 0.53 per cent this year and 0.32 next, the result, of course, of the falling off in net railway earnings which I have already dealt with in my review of the revenue estimates. It must, however, be remembered that, as I said last year, the foregoing figures include some capital outlay on protective railways, and also that, in accordance with the instructions of the Secretary of State, the interest charges include certain annuity and sinking fund payments which really go to the discharge of debt.

F.—Irrigation (Capital outlay).

"80. The financial position of our great irrigation undertakings may be gathered from the following table, which brings up to date the information given in previous Financial Statements. The figures are in thousands of pounds.

Particulars.	1911-12.	1912-13.	1913-14.	1914-15. (Revised.)	1915-16. (Budget.)
1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Productive Works.</i>					
Capital outlay to end of each year	31,929	33,347	34,645	35,823	36,931
Total receipts, including land revenue due to irrigation	3,662	4,065	4,338	4,339	4,397
Total expenses, including interest on debt	2,163	2,263	2,306	2,391	2,438
Net profit	1,499	1,802	2,032	1,948	1,959
Percentage of net profit to capital outlay	4.70	5.40	5.87	5.44	5.30
<i>Protective Works.</i>					
Capital outlay to end of each year	3,804	4,205	4,796	5,354	5,840
Total receipts, including land revenue due to irrigation	71	81	112	102	115
Total expenses, including interest on debt	165	188	213	239	257
Net loss	94	107	101	137	142
Percentage of net loss to capital outlay	2.48	2.55	2.10	2.56	2.43
<i>Minor Works and Navigation.</i>					
Direct receipts	247	266	263	273	283
Expenditure	336	342	314	1,021	949
Net loss	689	676	651	748	666

"81. Taking productive, protective and minor works together, on the 31st March last, 61,864 miles of main and branch canals and distributaries had been constructed which will, it is expected, be increased to 62,901 miles by the end of the current year. They commanded an area of more than 50 million acres of culturable land, of which more than 24 millions were irrigated in 1913-14, and an almost equal area during the current financial year.

"82 In addition to the canals in use, there are 41 major projects which are either under construction, awaiting sanction, or being examined by the professional advisers of Government. Of these, 20 are productive and 21 protective; they are designed to irrigate about $9\frac{1}{2}$ million acres at an aggregate cost exceeding £39 million.

"83. No new works of any magnitude were sanctioned during the current year, but a large project of the protective class, known as the Gokak extension scheme, is awaiting the orders of the Secretary of State. This work is estimated to cost about £1.3 million. It will irrigate some 132,000 acres in parts of the Belgaum and Bijapur districts of the Bombay Presidency, including Kolhapur and certain adjacent native states.

"84. None of the large projects mentioned in paragraph 73 of my speech last year have progressed to a stage at which they can be put up for sanction. The Sukkur Barrage scheme is undergoing fresh investigation, and the questions involved in the Cauvery scheme are not yet fully settled. The Kistna, Sarda, and Sutlej Valley projects are being investigated by the Local Governments concerned, while the Koch dam scheme is now before the Government of India.

"85. The Triple Canal project in the Punjab is the most important work at present under construction. Of the three canals constituting this great work, the Upper Chenab and Lower Bari Doab, although not yet finished, are actually in use and are serving considerable areas of *kharif* crops. Extensive *rabi* irrigation will not be possible until a sufficiency of water becomes available in the cold weather, through the opening of the Upper Jhelum canal, the third link in the chain. This canal was expected to be in operation last autumn, but owing to damage to the head works caused by an unfortunate flood which occurred early in 1914, it has been necessary to postpone its opening till October 1915.

"Arrangements are now in progress for colonising the extensive waste land commanded by the Lower Bari Doab canal, and already some auction sales have taken place. In the North-West Frontier Province the Upper Swat canal was opened for irrigation in April 1914, and in the Central Provinces the Mahanadi canal has begun supply for irrigation. While numerous tank works exist in this province, this is the first canal system to be constructed there. Good progress has also been made on the Wainganga canal and the Tendula reservoir.

"86 In the United Provinces, progress is being made with the construction of permanent head works for the Ganges canal at Hardwar, a measure which will greatly increase the efficiency of that system.

In the Bombay Deccan, two important protective works, the Pravara and Godavari canals, are nearing completion, while the Tribeni canal in Bihar and Orissa has been completed.

G.—Delhi expenditure.

"87. The expenditure under the capital head, "51.—Initial expenditure on the new Capital," during the current year will, according to present expectations, amount to £363,000 as compared with the budget provision of £666,000. As I said last year, the exact degree of progress to be expected in work immediately connected with the intended buildings could not be settled with any precision until the project estimate had been fully considered and eventually sanctioned. If the somewhat conjectural budget estimate has thus proved to be unduly sanguine, the cause is to be found mainly in the care which has been exercised in considering the various main projects before expenditure was incurred. Thus, in the case of the irrigation scheme for the new city, it was decided to consider several alternative methods of solving the problem before setting work in hand, and the allotment for irrigation works thus remained unutilised. Similarly, work cannot safely be commenced on the larger sanitary projects, such as water supply and sewerage, until the detailed plans and estimates have been prepared and sanctioned, and much of the time of the Delhi Committee's staff has been occupied in work of this kind. Moreover, in

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view of the outbreak of war, we have welcomed a slower rate of progress than was originally contemplated. The lapse which has occurred is a useful addition to our general resources, and the avoidance of large commitments in the current year has facilitated the curtailment of the grant in 1915-16, to which I shall shortly refer.

"88 As regards work done in the current year, the preliminary task of preparing the site by filling up depressions and removing excrescences has been vigorously prosecuted, and is now well on towards completion. Nearly a third of the works expenditure has been absorbed in this and other preliminary work. More than a third, again, was incurred on the purchase and erection of the machinery and plant required for construction purposes, and the scheme for the supply of electric power for these purposes is now completed and in operation, while some 28 miles of construction light railway have been laid. The Committee have also completed construction roads on the alignment of the future permanent roads. Work has been started on the foundations and basements of the Secretariat, and 6 houses for gazetted officers and over 200 for clerks are already in course of erection. There has also been some small expenditure on the acquisition of further land.

"In the special circumstances of the present time, we have thought it desirable to reduce the grant for the coming year to a minimum. The Budget accordingly includes a provision of £267,000 only, which will suffice to carry on, in some degree, the work already in progress, and so obviate the deterioration of material and the disbanding of establishments.

"89 In accordance with the undertaking given by the Government of India on previous occasions, a *pro forma* account of expenditure on Delhi and the Delhi province is published in an appendix to the Financial Secretary's memorandum, together with a prefatory note explaining its scope and the relation between it and our regular accounts. As Honourable Members will see from the prefatory note, the form in which the Delhi accounts are now published was approved by the Comptroller General before its submission to the Secretary of State, who has telegraphed his general acceptance of the proposals put to him in this connection.

Cash Balances, Secretary of State's Council Drawings and Exchange.

"90. I have dealt with these matters in a previous portion of my speech and need only remind the Council of the following facts:—

"(1) We budgeted this year for an aggregate closing cash balance of £17½ million, *viz.*, £12·4 million in India and £4·9 million in England. We now expect the total balance to be a little over £21 million, *viz.*, £13·8 million in India and £7·4 million in England.

"(2) We estimate that the coming year will close with a practically normal cash balance of about £16½ million, *viz.*, about £12½ million in India and about £4 million in England.

"(3) The Secretary of State's drawings were estimated in the current year's Budget at £20 million. For reasons already explained, it is now estimated that he will only have drawn £6·9* million against Treasury balances, while on the other hand we shall have sold £8·7 million of reverse bills and telegraphic transfers. The Secretary of State will, however, have obtained further resources amounting to £8·7 million by recovery from the War Office of sums expended in India on behalf of His Majesty's Government, besides a sum of £1·6 million by transfer from the Paper Currency Reserve in London and by gold remittances.

"91. Postulating the continuance of war conditions, we estimate for the present that the amount up to which the Secretary of State will require to draw in the coming year will be £7·7 million only, since he will also be able to finance himself to the extent of £3·4 million by recoveries from the War Office of the character mentioned above, and the Home charges will be less than usual owing to the reduced Railway programme. As usual these announcements are merely provisional, and full discretion is retained to vary the amounts in such a manner as may be found advisable.

"92. The average rate of exchange during the present year, calculated on the Secretary of State's drawings, is taken at 16·017 pence per rupee.

* Besides £800,000 on account of the Gold Standard Reserve—*vide* footnote to paragraph 10 *supra*.

Currency and Coinage.

"93. I have dealt so fully with questions of exchange and currency in the earlier part of my speech that I need not now dwell on the subject at any length. I must, however, refer to the final Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Finance and Currency, which had not been received at the time I presented the Financial Statement of the current year. We have welcomed it as a pronouncement of the highest interest and value, and as affording ample vindication of the general policy of the Government of India in matters of finance and currency in past years. I do not enlarge on the particular recommendations made as they are still *sub judice*. Last summer we referred them for the opinions of Local Governments and representative commercial institutions, but meanwhile war broke out, and, acting upon a suggestion which some of the authorities consulted themselves put to us, we told them that the expression of their views might be deferred until normal conditions had been restored, so that both they and we might bring to bear upon these questions the valuable practical experience which would meanwhile have been gained from the present crisis. Provisionally, however, and without prejudice to the final settlement, we have adopted two of the Commission's proposals by replacing the silver previously held in the Gold Standard Reserve in India by gold, and by taking power to increase the fiduciary portion of the Paper Currency Reserve by £4 million.

"We have also, as I have already said, given a public and unqualified assurance of our determination to support exchange by all the means in our power, thus adopting a third and very important recommendation with an emphasis that gives it definite finality.

"94. Before the war broke out, we also had under our consideration certain questions connected with the paper currency, the two most important being, perhaps, first, a radical improvement in the form and design of our currency notes—a matter which we have now had to set aside for a time owing to the crisis; and, second, the adoption of measures to facilitate the encashment of notes and so extend their use. As regards this latter question, the war crisis, instead of being a stumbling block, appears to be likely to hasten a solution. In the period of general apprehension and incipient panic which immediately followed the outbreak of war, we regarded it as our foremost duty to secure the unimpeded encashment of our notes in every practicable way; and I think we have had our reward in the confidence which this policy has gained for us. It will be our object, as far as is feasible, to maintain, as a permanent measure, the facilities which we have granted in this period of emergency, and gradually to improve and develop our administrative arrangements with this end in view.

"95. As regards gold, our existing stock has naturally, in the conditions of the present year, not been augmented to any material extent from outside, and the net private imports of sovereigns and half-sovereigns in the present year are, so far, but little in excess of £½ million. As, however, I have already stated, we now hold in India a large stock, namely £10 million, which we are in a position to use for the support of exchange, should circumstances at any time require this.

"There has also of course been no further rupee coinage, and the growth of the Gold Standard Reserve has thus been limited to the amounts obtained as interest on the invested portion. On the other hand, the value of the securities held in the Reserve has been written down with reference to the market prices ruling at the beginning of January. The total amount at credit, in England and India combined, thus stood on the 31st January last at £25·6 million. The sale of sterling bills to the extent of about £8½ million has of course implied a transfer of that amount from the Reserve in England to that in India. But the Home balance, which amounts, at the present valuation, to about £13 million of gold and sterling securities, is still strong, and can be supplemented, if occasion requires, by the shipment of our gold from India. Meanwhile exchange has gone above par, and for several weeks past the demand for reverse drafts has wholly ceased.

Public Debt of India.

"96. I should like, in drawing to the conclusion of this speech, to add a few words on the question of India's financial preparedness for war. I said at the outset that our system here has been subjected to a supreme test. If we win our way through

[2ND MARCH, 1915.]

[*Sir William Meyer.*]

this crisis without drawing upon other resources and other credit than our own, our success will be due to the wise dispositions and the financial self-denial in the past which have built up for India a position of quite exceptional strength. With our restricted money markets here, we stand in need of exceptionally large liquid resources immediately available, and these we possess in our Treasury balances, our Paper Currency Reserve, and our Gold Standard Reserve, the combined efficiency of which is much enhanced by the elasticity of our system, under which, in periods of emergency, one reserve can freely assist another. But more important still is the credit which India has established, through good and evil times alike, by restricting her outlay to her available means, and so avoiding the accumulation of wasteful debt. Almost the whole of her debt today represents productive outlay, normally yielding a return far in excess of the interest which she has to pay on the amount borrowed; sufficient indeed to cover also the interest on the small margin of debt which can be described as unproductive, and still to leave an ample margin. She is thus entirely exempt from the dead weight of interest charges which hamper the finances of most Western countries, and will hamper them to a vastly increased extent by the time this war is finished.

"97 The subject was discussed by my predecessor in introducing his Financial Statement for 1909-10. In present circumstances it possesses, I think, a special interest and relevance, and I have thought it worth while to bring up-to-date and present again the figures which he then gave :—

[In millions of £]

	Ordinary debt.	PRODUCTIVE PUBLIC WORKS DEBT.			Grand total of debt (columns 1 and 4.)
		Railways.	Irrigation.	TOTAL.	
	1	2	3	4	5
On 31st March—					
1888 . . .	73·0	59·2	17·3	76·5	149·5
1898 . . .	65·0	91·0	19·3	110·3	175·3
1898 . . .	70·0	106·0	21·7	127·7	197·7
1903 . . .	59·1	128·1	24·8	152·9	212·0
1908 . . .	37·4	177·7	29·9	207·6	245·0
1913 . . .	25·0	211·8	37·6	249·4	274·4
1914 . . .	12·8	222·0	39·4	261·4	274·2*

"I may explain that for the purpose of these figures rupees have been uniformly converted into pounds sterling at the rate of R15 to the pound.†

"98. It will be seen that out of a total debt of £274 million at the end of March last, only about £13 million represented ordinary or unproductive debt. The annual interest on the latter was £½ million only, and on the productive debt about £8½ million, so that our total interest charges amounted to some £9½ million. Railways and Irrigation works in the same year (1913-14) yielded us a return of £16½ million. Thus we still had left some £6 million of clear revenue from our great capital undertakings, after meeting the interest charges on our entire public debt.

"99. These figures refer, of course, only to our permanent or funded debt. We have also a certain amount of unfunded debt and other floating liabilities representing savings banks deposits, deposits of State provident funds, balances of local bodies, and so forth, which amounted at the end of 1913-14, to about £33½ million. On the

* The reduction of total debt here shown is due to the discharge of debt (India bonds and debentures of purchased railways) exceeding the rupee loan of the year (£2 million). There was no issue of India stock in 1913-14.

† I mention this, as, in the Finance and Revenue Statistics of British India, the compiler, prior to the year 1890-1900, obtained his sterling figures by conversion of rupees at the rate of 10 to the pound, and thus introduced some superficially confusing results.

other hand, we had due to us on the same date a considerable body of loans given to agriculturists, local bodies, etc, which at the end of 1913-14 aggregated £12½ million. Our indebtedness outside our regular loans was thus represented by a net figure of £20½ million—a sum which may properly be included in the reckoning, but does not materially affect the broad results already brought out.

“100 This then represents the position which India's debt account had attained at the moment when normal conditions were interrupted by the outbreak of war. It is because this position was so strong that we can view without undue disquiet some considerable temporary addition to our debt. It has also to be remembered that, in so far as the borrowings of the war period have been necessitated by the repayment of our savings banks depositors, they represent a discharge of unfunded debt, and these two sets of transactions, namely the drain on the savings banks and the corresponding borrowings, leave our debt position unaltered.

“101. While, however, our general position is one on which we may congratulate, I will not say ourselves, but at any rate our predecessors, we must be careful not to allow it to be impaired too readily even by an extraordinary emergency such as this. For this reason, we have had, reluctantly, to reduce to some extent the provision for material and social development on which, in a succession of prosperous years, India has grown accustomed to rely. We have not proposed additional taxation to make good deficits which, we hope, will prove to be temporary only. But, as I have already said, we should not hesitate to do so, if it appeared later that our permanent revenue position was seriously threatened. We must also remember that when the war is ended some of its effects may endure for some time to come, and in particular, that we shall then have to face the question of dealing with the temporary debt which we are now accumulating.

“102. In conclusion, I must express my acknowledgments to the officers of the Finance Department for the way in which they have dealt, in their various spheres, with a set of new and difficult conditions, which in many cases have added materially to their work and anxieties. I am deeply indebted to their loyal and efficient aid.”

DELHI LAWS BILL.

The Hon'ble Sir Ali Imam :—“My Lord, a recent notification of the Government of India has transferred, with effect from the 1st April, 1915, a strip of territory situated on the eastern bank of the Jumna from the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh to the Province of Delhi. The transfer has been dictated by considerations of health, expansion and other interests attaching to the surroundings of the new capital. It has also been considered desirable and convenient to vest the control of the river channel in a single authority. The measure has received the approval of the Secretary of State and the Local Government of the United Provinces has agreed to the transfer of this territory. The bringing in of this strip of land under the administration of the Chief Commissioner of Delhi is calculated to benefit the old and the new cities of Delhi. The object of the Bill that I move for leave to introduce is only to declare the enactments by which the added territory will be governed. With some slight reservations the law in force in the Province of Delhi will be applied to the territory now added to that Province. The exceptions are set forth in Schedule II attached to the Bill. On the other hand, the enactments as prescribed in Schedule III, which are already in force in the area in question, are allowed to continue to be in force as before. They relate mainly to land and have been left uninterfered with to avoid disturbance of the local agrarian incidents and conditions. My Lord, the Bill is a formal and non-contentious one, and I move for leave to introduce it.”

The motion was put and agreed to

The Hon'ble Sir Ali Imam then introduced the Bill and moved that the Bill, together with the Statement of Objects and Reasons relating thereto, be published in English in the Gazette of India, and in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Government Gazette in English and in such other languages as the Local Government thinks fit.

The motion was put and agreed to.

FOREIGNERS (AMENDMENT) BILL.

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[2ND MARCH, 1915.]

[*Sir Reginald Craddock*]

FOREIGNERS (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock presented the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill to amend the Foreigners Act, 1864.

The Council adjourned to Monday, the 8th March, 1915.

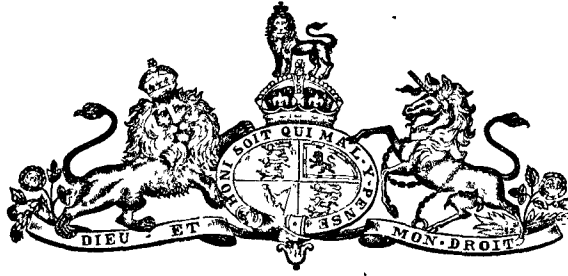
W H. VINCENT,

Secretary to the Government of India,

Legislative Department.

DELHI :

The 5th March, 1915.



GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.
LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COUNCIL OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA
ASSEMBLED FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING LAWS AND REGULATIONS
UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF THE INDIAN COUNCILS ACTS, 1861 to 1909
(24 & 25 Vict., c. 67, 55 & 56 Vict., c. 14, AND 9 Edw. VII, c. 4).

The Council met at the Council Chamber, Imperial Secretariat, Delhi, on
Monday, the 8th March, 1915.

PRESENT :

The Hon'ble SIR HARCOURT BUTLER, K C S.I., C I.E., Vice-President, *presiding*,
and 49 Members, of whom 42 were Additional Members

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

The Hon'ble Mr. Abbott asked :—

1. "With reference to the question put by me in the Legislative Council on the 17th September, 1913, asking that Government be pleased to consider the elimination of the word 'Subordinate' as applied to the Indian Subordinate Medical Department, and to which the Hon'ble Major-General Birdwood replied that 'Government had under consideration the elimination of the word', will Government now be pleased to make a definite announcement?"

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief replied :—

"The question of the designation of military assistant surgeons of the Indian Subordinate Medical Department has been referred to the Most Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India, but a decision has been deferred pending the report of the Commission on Public Services regarding medical organization."

[Mr. Abbott; Mr. Wood; Maharaja M. C. Nandi; [8TH MARCH, 1915.]
Mr Clark; Mir Asad Ali.]

The Hon'ble Mr. Abbott asked :—

Decorations
for sub-
ordinate
officials of
the domiciled
Anglo-
Indian
Community.

2. " Will the Government be pleased to state how many subordinate officials of the domiciled Anglo-Indian Community, in the following Departments, have been decorated (exclusive of the Durbar medal) for meritorious service during the last five years, giving the name and Department in each case :—

- (i) Public Works Department.
- (ii) Posts and Telegraphs.
- (iii) Forest Department.
- (iv) Survey "
- (v) Medical "
- (vi) Police "
- (vii) Secretariat and Ministerial offices
- (viii) State Railways.
- (ix) Company-owned lines?"

The Hon'ble Mr. Wood replied :—

" The decorations for which subordinate officials are ordinarily eligible are companionships of the I S. O. and the K. I H Medal.

" A list* of the recipients of these decorations since 1911 is placed on the table. The Government of India are not in a position to say, without reference to Local Governments, what number of these belong to the domiciled Anglo-Indian Community."

The Hon'ble Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi asked :—

Manufac-
ture in
India of
articles
imported
from
foreign
countries.

3. " In view of the appointment of Mr Gubbay as Indian Trade Commissioner to the Board of Trade, London, do the Government propose making an inquiry as to the feasibility of manufacturing in India articles which in normal years used to be imported from Germany and Austria-Hungary or other parts of the Continent?"

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark replied :—

" The feasibility of manufacturing in India articles which in normal years used to be imported from Germany and Austria has already formed the subject of inquiry, and the results thereof have been issued to the public in the form of bulletins, while a collection has been on view in several of the leading towns in India of articles previously imported from Germany and Austria and similar articles made in India. The Government of India do not propose to extend this inquiry to embrace articles made in other parts of the Continent of Europe."

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali asked :—

Improve-
ment of in-
dustries.

4. " Will Government be pleased to state :—

- (a) Whether they propose to start small model factories to encourage local or cottage industries?
- (b) Whether any scheme is under contemplation for improving the indigenous trade of the country with special reference to the goods or articles hitherto largely imported from enemy States?
- (c) Whether they propose to establish at least in the provincial capitals commercial and industrial bureaux to help local merchants with required information on trade subjects?"

* Vide Appendix A, page 337, post, and Appendix B, page 373, post.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS; FINANCIAL STATEMENT; 345
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CATION AND SANITATION.

[8TH MARCH, 1915.] [Mr. Clark; Sir William Meyer; Mr. Dadabhoy.]

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark replied :—

“(a) The question of how far local industries can be encouraged either by Government starting model factories, so far as the rulings of the Secretary of State on the subject permit, or by other means, has in the past received, and is constantly receiving, the attention of the Government of India and of Local Governments

(b) I may refer the Hon'ble Member to my speech in the debate on the Hon'ble Raja Kushalpal Singh's Resolution in which I explained what action Government was taking in this matter.

(c) Arrangements are at present in existence in several provinces for the dissemination of commercial information through Directors of Industries. The question of whether the existing organization of the Commercial Intelligence Department can be improved is now under discussion with Local Governments and the Secretary of State, and I cannot make any statement on the matter at present.”

FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

FIRST STAGE.

The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer :—“I beg to open the first stage of the discussion on the Financial Statement for 1915-16.”

RESOLUTION *RE* REDUCTION OF RAILWAY ALLOTMENT AND INCREASE OF ALLOTMENT FOR EDUCATION AND SANITATION.

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy :—Sir, I beg to move the following resolution :—

‘This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that the allotment for Railways in the coming year be reduced by Rs50,00,000, and that the amount so freed be allotted to the Provincial Governments for the development of Education and Sanitation’

“Sir, I should have been reluctant to suggest any change in the Budget Estimate for 1915-16 but for the conviction founded *inter alia* upon the authoritative pronouncements of Government that the claims of Education and Sanitation are paramount, and that there is almost an unlimited scope for the employment of funds, both public and private, for the promotion of Education and Sanitation. The most important pronouncement about the need of Education, and the pronouncement that Educated India treasures in her heart, is that of His Most Gracious Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor, made on 6th January, 1912. In the now celebrated Resolution of the Government of India in the Department of Education of 21st February, 1913, an appeal is made to the public for donations for the support of Education in which ‘there is a wide field and a noble opportunity for the exercise on modern lines of charity and benevolence.’ The inference necessarily is that for an adequate progress the efforts of Government must be supplemented by those of private individuals, and that Government alone is unable to do all. In the whole discussion in this Council on my lamented friend Mr Gokhale's Resolution of Free Primary Education and on his Education Bill, the one fact which was not challenged was that the question of the development of Education was one mainly of funds; in other words, without an unstinted supply of money assured, that adequate progress of the people in Education, about the necessity of which all are agreed, cannot be secured. In presenting the Financial Statement for 1912-13, Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson referred to ‘the growing demand for more schools and healthier homes.’ In 1911-12,

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[*Mr Dadabhoj.*]

[8TH MARCH, 1915.]

a large amount was spent by the provinces for the support of Education and Sanitation, and yet an Imperial reserve of £97,000 recurring and £433,000 non-recurring for Education alone was entered in the Budget for 1912-13. In the Revised Estimate for 1912-13, the bulk of the large Imperial surplus was distributed 'in grants to secure a steady progress in Education and Sanitation, an object which has the support of both official and non-official opinion,' and 2½ crores were allotted 'for non-recurring expenditure on Education' and 1½ crores 'for urban sanitation'. In the following year again, *i.e.*, 1913-14, according to the Hon'ble Finance Minister's explanation of the Budget Estimate, 'the Provinces anticipate that they will spend £3,203 more than in the current year, the great bulk of the increase being accounted for under Education, Sanitation and Public Works.' In all these years there was never any complaint that the grants had lapsed through the inability of the Provinces to spend them. It was last year, when the Revised Estimate for 1913-14 was presented by the Hon'ble Sir William Meyer, that there was just a reference in his exhaustive speech to 'the experience of the current year' to justify his scepticism about the ability of the Provinces 'to spend as much as they anticipate, and notably under Education and Medical.' In the absence of more complete data, it would be unfair to base any general conclusion on this experience about the spending capacity of the Provincial Governments. They were sanguine about their ability, and in the Budget Estimate for 1914-15 the Hon'ble Finance Minister, with a statesmanlike appreciation of the needs of the situation, made 'recurring grants of £60,000 for Education and £40,000 for Sanitation' in addition to a substantial non-recurring grant. Even then he was not satisfied, and he regretted his inability to go further in view of the other calls upon Imperial funds. He observed :—

'I need not say that it would have been a great satisfaction to the Government of India if financial conditions had permitted of a larger grant-in-aid of these primary objects of our policy. We fully recognize the necessity of adequate provision for the increase in expenditure which the great advance now being made in Education and Sanitation must inevitably entail. But Hon'ble Members will recognize, I think, that in a year like the present it is not practicable to go further than is now proposed as regards Imperial allotments.'

"Unless, Sir, there was a large scope for the utilization of more money in this direction, these observations lose point. We now have it, however, from the same high authority that provincial expenditure under Education and Sanitation and other Medical heads has been less by £1,090,000 in the current year as against the Budget provision. And we are not left to speculate about the causes. With characteristic fairness the Hon'ble Sir William Meyer has attributed the reduced expenditure, partially at least, to certain instructions issued by the Government of India. Certain other facts connected with provincial expenditure on Education which must be within the knowledge of this Government would prove the inaccuracy, and one might say the injustice, of the suggestion against the Provincial Governments. The Hon'ble Financial Secretary admits in his Memorandum that, 'in spite of the financial situation, most of the Provincial Governments have allotted larger funds from their ordinary provincial resources for the development of Education in various directions.' This does not indicate any slackness on the part of the Provinces to utilise the Imperial grants, for Education. It is only fair to assume that any failure to employ the grants must have been due to unavoidable causes. In view of the Budget grants, the Provincial Governments try to put through their schemes as expeditiously as possible, but, as must be well known to all, the execution of individual schemes is delayed beyond the expected time limit by unforeseen circumstances. The delay over land acquisition proceedings alone would account for much of the so-called inability of the Provincial Governments to spend the whole of the non-recurring grant within one year. Moreover, the settlement of the preliminaries involves a good deal of labour and time. Building sites have to be selected, maps and estimates have to be prepared, land has to be acquired, tenders have to be called and so on. All this means time. It thus happens that the Provincial Governments have to their credit a large amount of cash early in the year, the useful employment

RESOLUTION *re* ALLOTMENTS FOR RAILWAY, EDUCATION AND SANITATION 347

[8TH MARCH, 1915] [Mr. Dadabhai.]

of which can only be undertaken towards the close of it. And if the supply is suddenly withdrawn in the following year, when the Provincial Government has, after laborious effort, got the machinery into action, the result must prove disastrous to progress, the blame for which cannot in fairness attach to the Provincial Government concerned. It is worse than useless to place funds at the disposal of the Provincial Governments for schemes which cannot be carried through forthwith, and then to cut off the supply at a time when they can be. The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer would seem to have realised the unfairness of the present arrangements himself, as he has referred in his introductory speech to the risk of interference 'with quasi-commitments into which Local Governments have entered in carrying out a programme of special expenditure on these objects which they had every reason to expect to be able to maintain.'

"It is true that the budgetted grant to the Provinces shows a slight advance upon the Revised Estimate for the current year (Rs 4,79,80,000 against Rs. 4,64,71,000), but the unfortunate circumstance is that it is insufficient for any reasonably large progress, and that the large number of schemes that have been got ready within the year will be hung up indefinitely. And this must cause not only serious inconvenience but actual loss. Sir, even in the present Budget, overshadowed as it is by war, forty lakhs of rupees have been provided for the New Capital at Delhi, and the Hon'ble Finance Minister has rightly justified his position by the statement that the amount is just 'which will suffice to carry on in some degree the work already in progress, and so obviate the deterioration of material and the disbanding of establishments.' The same line of reasoning will satisfy the Council that a larger grant is necessary in 1915-16 for the support of Education. The risk of deterioration of building and other materials is, and the consequences of the disbanding of extra establishments like special land acquisition offices are, as great in this department as in any other. It is a poor consolation to the Provincial Governments that 'with this restricted programme the Provincial balances on the 31st March, 1916, will amount to £68 million,' and 'of this, £25 million may be taken as accruing from special grants, mainly non-recurring, which have been made by the Government of India, mostly for expenditure in connection with Education and Sanitation.' The application of the closing balances of the coming year is uncertain, and it is by no means unlikely that unforeseen factors will come into play to thwart the anticipations of the Hon'ble Finance Minister. The fairly large balances at the end of the current year can only be drawn upon up to a certain limit, namely, one million pounds sterling. I must admit my recommendation is not founded upon any accurate knowledge of the schemes that are ready and that will be starved without the additional grant; but I feel sure the number is large, and a reference to the Education Department will doubtless elicit the fact that I do not exaggerate the necessities of the situation. There is under the circumstances no just cause for the apprehension that if the Budget provision for Education and Sanitation be increased by fifty lakhs, the money would remain idle. That provision for Education alone is less than that made about this time last year by £676,200.

"Sir, the next year's provision for Medical expenditure is less than the Budget provision of the current year by £395,000, and is less than the Revised Estimate for the current year by £18,600. The deputation to military duty out of India of a large number of medical men undoubtedly explains a great deal of this diminished expenditure, but this is not the whole explanation. A heavy reduction in the allotment for Sanitation has much to do with it. From the Hon'ble Financial Secretary's Memorandum we find that a non-recurring grant of only 15 lakhs has been made in aid of Sanitation and Medical expenditure out of the Imperial revenues as against 106.88 lakhs in 1913-14 and 41.36 lakhs in 1914-15, leaving an unspent balance of Rs95,11,000. This cannot be satisfactory. What is even a grant of 15 lakhs to the whole of India? How many schemes of sanitary improvement could it finance? It is not correct to suggest that that is all that the Provinces can usefully

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[*Mr. Dadabhoy.*]

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spend next year. With our knowledge of the urgent needs of the local bodies and of sanitary improvement in both urban and rural areas, we can confidently assert that there is just at the present moment in India an almost unlimited scope for the profitable employment of funds. It is money alone which is wanting, and not field for its employment. The insanitary conditions of India, Sir, are notorious; and what with malaria, plague, cholera, small-pox, tuberculosis and other diseases, the mortality among the general population is abnormally high. According to the Statistical Abstract relating to British India, out of a registered population of 238,686,119 so many as 7,639,544 died in 1911 from all causes, or a mean death-rate of 32·01 per mille of population. During the decade 1902-1911, the rate oscillated between 30·91 and 38·21. Of this the mortality from fevers alone was between 17·63 and 23·96 per mille. The average rate improved, it is true, to 29·71 in 1912 and to 28·72 in 1913, and that from fevers to 16·49 in 1912 and to 16·71 in 1913. Still the rates are very high. As pointed out last year by Dr. C. V. Drysdale before the Royal Colonial Institute, in his masterly survey of 'The British Empire and Birth-rate,' it is India with the highest birth-rate which pulls down the average of increase in population in the whole Empire. In Australasia the average death-rate is 10 per mille of population. As it is, even with a phenomenal birth-rate of 38·59 per mille of registered population, the net addition to population in British India was not more than 6·58 per mille in 1911, and 'only 4·3 per mille per decade over the whole period from 1861 to 1911.' During the last decade the number of towns and villages also dwindled from 730,753 in 1901 to 722,495 in 1911. Sir, I belong to a city which is now in the terrible grip of the most virulent epidemic of plague that we have ever seen, and the people there are dying by the hundreds every day. And can it be that the conditions of life cannot be made healthier and more agreeable at Nagpur by opening out congested areas and adopting other methods of scientific sanitation? And what is true of Nagpur is true, with variations in degree only, of all urban and rural areas in India. Yet, how many Municipalities and District Councils have got the means to undertake a reasonably comprehensive programme of scientific sanitation? With funds forthcoming, what cannot be done to clear jungle, to fill up tanks, to improve the water supply, to provide a proper system of drainage, and to open out congested areas? And schemes of sanitation cannot be wanting. This question of special non-recurring grants for sanitation has been to the fore now for about five years, and it would be a wonder if a fair number of schemes be not ready by this time. The Department of Education, which has the oversight of sanitary matters, will be able to enlighten us on this point; but *prima facie* it appears unconvincing that within three years we have reached a point in sanitary improvement when we cannot profitably employ in 1915-16 more than a seventh part of our actual expenditure to end of 1913-14, Rs. 15,15,000 against Rs. 1,06,88,000. No, Hon'ble Members may be sure that an increased non-recurring grant of fifty lakhs of rupees for the support of Education and Sanitation will be usefully spent in the provinces in the coming year, and the fear of any portion of it lapsing at the end of it is groundless. It is furthermore necessary, as the foregoing statement of facts will show, that the additional grant should be made. The only relevant question that remains to be discussed in this connection relates to the source from which the money is to be found.

"Sir, an examination of the Budget will show that, out of the total allotment of eight million pounds sterling for capital outlay on Railways, rupees fifty lakhs have been provided for the construction of new lines made up, according to the Hon'ble Financial Secretary's Memorandum, of four items,—Rs. 15,00,000 for the Vishnupur-Santragachi Branch of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, Rs. 50,00,000 for the Dholka-Dandhuka Branch of the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway, Rs. 1,00,00,000 for the Southern Shan States Railway, and Rs. 15,00,000 for Reserve. The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer has explained his position with regard to these railways, but, with all his able advocacy, he will permit me to say that we remain unconvinced both about the urgency and the expediency of these allotments. It is a debatable point if a programme of new

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construction must always form a feature of our annual Budget. Either view has powerful advocates, but the one outstanding fact in the controversy is that the profitable nature of railway enterprise in India is doubtful. In good years there is a small margin of profit, but, as pointed out by Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson two years ago, 'so recently as in 1908-09 our railway system was worked at a net loss to the State'. The policy of the Government of India was also laid down by him on that same occasion: 'We must never allow our railways to become again, even temporarily, a net burden on the general taxpayer.' The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer, speaking last year on the Budget, shared his predecessor's poor opinion about the profit-earning capacity of our railways, and observed with his accustomed force and directness: 'Briefly, although the net profits we have derived from railways in recent years are *per se* imposing, they represent but a small margin of profit on the total capital involved, and that margin may be materially affected by trade or climatic circumstances beyond our control.' This year the net profit after meeting interest charges has reached almost the vanishing point (53 per cent). These circumstances only demonstrate the fact I wish to emphasize that our annual programme of new lines must be reduced to a minimum, especially because every addition to the mileage entails an increasing financial responsibility of Government for renewal and improvement which must be discharged irrespective of the state of its finance. It is true that weighty considerations, economic and political, would justify railway expansion; but the point I wish to impress upon Hon'ble Members is that this expansion must in future proceed upon extremely cautious lines, and should only be financed by Government in a lean year when it is unavoidable. It does not matter much if new construction is financed out of our surpluses, provided no indication of a subsequent deficit is present at the time the allotments are made. But when it comes to the question of finding the funds for it in a year of heavy deficit and of uncertain future like the present, the policy is certainly open to criticism. And when added to this is the fact that the allotment for construction of new lines is made, if not directly at the sacrifice of, but simultaneously with a heavy curtailment of, the programme of Education and Sanitation, which are admittedly 'the primary objects' of British Indian Administration, the impolicy of the capital outlay becomes obvious.

"Sir, last year, *i.e.* in 1913-14, the capital expenditure on railways was over twelve million pounds sterling, and a trifle less than the scale of £12½ millions recommended by the Mackay Committee, and in the current year, a year of great anxiety to Government, when all expenditure has had to be cut down, it exceeds £11½ million pounds sterling. Now, after the two years' heavy outlay, would it be wrong to claim a respite, at least in the matter of the construction of new lines? And what is the special urgency about the three new lines for which the Hon'ble Finance Member is anxious to provide fifty lakhs of rupees next year? The Administration Report on Railways in India for 1913-14 shows that the Vishnupur-Santragachi Railway was not even surveyed in that year. It may be that it is 'primarily intended for the relief of the existing lines between the coal-fields and Calcutta,' but the point that demands examination is, how is its construction so very urgent that it cannot be delayed for one year? There is nothing to show that a year's delay would be injurious to the interests of the country as a whole. The Dholka-Dandhuka Railway, again, was surveyed as far back as 1906-07. The construction could be put off so long, although we have passed through very prosperous years in the interval. Last year provision was made for it, but it could not be taken in hand for unavoidable reasons. Supposing there is a further delay of a year, how will the consequences be serious? That the urgency cannot be great is evident from the fact that only five lakhs of rupees have been allotted for the construction of this line against an estimated expenditure of 23 lakhs. The Southern Shan States Railway, with a length of 105.04 miles, is being constructed in sections. On 31st March, 1914, it had an open length of 23 miles, and the capital outlay amounted to R1,32,95,785. The remaining portion was sanctioned on 23rd July, 1909. In the current

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year there was a budget provision of 15 lakhs for further construction. Presumably, the amount has been defrayed in the way intended. Substantial progress has thus been made, but it is not expected that the whole length will be constructed at once. And if that is not the case and if the construction be a question of years, it is not clear to my mind how 'the further development of the Southern Shan States will be seriously hampered if this extension is not carried out at once.' Sir, to the lay mind the representation about the urgency of the construction to which the Hon'ble Finance Member has referred, would appear to lack special merit. It should be borne in mind that there was an actual loss in 1913-14 on the open length of 23 miles for which we have statistics, the proportion of expenses to earnings being 118 31. If these lines disappear from our next year's Budget, the reserve of Rs 15 lakhs becomes unnecessary; even with the construction provided for, a 43 per cent reserve must strike one as wholly unnecessary.

"Sir, on the strength of the above analysis of the needs of Educational and Sanitary progress, and in the absence of special urgency about the construction of the three new lines of railway for which provision is made in the Budget, I claim a re-adjustment, and suggest that the allotment for Railways should be reduced by the sum of rupees fifty lakhs set apart for fresh construction, and the amount thus freed should be employed for the support of Education and Sanitation. I take Education and Sanitation together, as with my insufficient knowledge of the schemes under each head which are ready, or are likely to be ready shortly, it is far better that I should plead for a further grant of fifty lakhs for both, leaving it to the Department of Education, with its fuller grasp of details, to apportion the amount between the two."

The Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis :—"Sir, any reasonable proposal, as that made by the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy, for strengthening the resources of Local Governments and for increasing non-recurring Imperial grants for the promotion of Education and Sanitation, in addition to the liberal grants that have been made in recent years by Government, will have the cordial support of Hon'ble Members. It is for this that last year I invited the attention of the Hon'ble Finance Minister to the urgency of a liberal revision of the rules regarding 'lapsed grants' in the case of these and other necessary objects. But apart from the question of 'lapse,' I think the Hon'ble Mover has successfully indicated the way in which the budgetted grants for these important heads of expenditure can be substantially increased without prejudice either to the interests of the general administration or to the special interests of the Railway Department.

"Though I do think that the Budget as it is has been very carefully prepared and that there should be as little interference with it as possible in times like these, the question of the construction of new lines of railway should be examined and decided in view of the necessary recurring expenditure involved. It is not the initial outlay alone that has to be provided, but in addition the annual renewals of each line constructed have to be financed. The financial responsibility of Government is thus of a twofold nature, and this should impose on us extra caution in the matter of extension. And it follows that only unavoidable expenditure should be incurred in this direction, especially when the State is not flush of cash.

"I may also point out that the allotments to the Provinces that are now suggested may be utilised by this Government if the necessities of a sudden situation in the course of the war so demand. There will never be any unwillingness on the part of the Provincial Governments to come to the relief of this Government in such a contingency. This year they have responded promptly to the appeal of the Government of India, and there is no reason to suppose that they will not be equally reasonable in future.

"One suggestion more. The additional grants for Education and Sanitation should only be made to Local Governments that have got schemes ready, and are therefore in a position to employ the funds within the year to the best advantage.

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"My friend the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy, has just alluded to the state of Nagpur at the present time, but I will not be doing my duty if I do not acknowledge the great help that has been given by the Local Government during the last ten years in improving the town, and if plague is at its worst this year, it is a mere accident and not in any way due to lack of help on the part of Government and, for the matter of that, of the Municipality. I must, however, say that there is still room for much sanitary improvement, and any increased grant made for the improvement of the town will be most thankfully received and most usefully spent."

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark:—"I think, Sir, it might be useful to the Council if I were to intervene at this juncture to say a few words about our proposals for expenditure on new railways, an expenditure which the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy appears to regard with disapproval. I will leave the question of general policy to be dealt with by my Hon'ble Colleague the Finance Member, and will merely lay before the Council a statement of the main railway projects which we have in hand. I had hoped that my Hon'ble Colleague the President of the Railway Board, who knows, of course, much more about the details of these projects than I do, could have done this; but unfortunately he is indisposed. However, for the purpose of this debate, probably the general outlines will be sufficient. I can hardly hope perhaps to carry conviction to the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy, who has told us that my Hon'ble friend the Finance Member has already failed to convince him; but it is clearly my duty to try. The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy has told us that if more money is not available for education and sanitation, many schemes will be hung up and much money will be wasted. I do not know how far this is really applicable to education and sanitation, but I am quite sure that it is particularly applicable to railways. It will be most uneconomical to proceed, as the Hon'ble Member said we ought to proceed, by merely taking up new construction when there happened to be large surpluses, possibly spaced out by considerable periods, during which all the work previously done had been lying idle and all the capital employed had been lying idle. If the Hon'ble Member will forgive my saying so, he seems to regard the building of a new line of railway in something of the same way as buying a new hat, as an individual piece of extravagance which can or cannot be committed and which stands by itself. This is not at all the case with railways. A so-called new line is really an extension of or connection between existing lines. It is often required for the development of existing lines and means increased revenue and increased traffic.

"Of the actual construction which we have in hand at present there are six lines, which I may describe as minor projects. On these we propose to spend in all a sum of between 15 to 16 lakhs only. I need not describe these projects in detail, but I should like to point out that if we fail to incur this expenditure during 1915-16, not only shall we incur a very substantial loss of revenue due to failure to open these lines as early as we might, but hereafter when construction is resumed—for if we spend less than is proposed, work will have to be shut down,—we shall have to incur very considerable unnecessary expenditure in making good the damage caused by weather in the intervening period. Excluding the Hardinge Bridge, which has practically ceased to make a call upon our resources, we have in hand four projects, which I may describe as major projects. A word in regard to each of these is perhaps desirable. They are the four projects to which the Hon'ble Member referred. The Southern Shan States Railway has now been practically completed for the 72 miles between Thasi, the junction station, and Aungban, which is perhaps best described as a point on the map, for there is there neither a town nor a village worth considering so far as railway traffic is concerned. The Hon'ble Members from Burma, should they care to intervene in the debate, will be able to inform the Hon'ble proposer of the resolution of the state of feeling in Burma regarding the proposed further extension of this line. I was myself in Burma last year, and it was most strongly pressed on me by the commercial community there. I am not in a position

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to say anything definite on the subject of the extension at present, but I am quite sure we should have to meet very strong criticism and opposition from Burma if we were to drop our proposal to reserve funds for this project. Two other large projects—the Burdwan Howrah Chord and the Bombay Harbour Branch extension—though they are new railways, fall within the category of works of open line improvement, since each of them is designed primarily for the relief of congestion on existing lines. Each is both an important and an expensive project on which work is at present in full swing, and we cannot give less than the allotment proposed without involving eventually additional outlay on establishment and so forth, by prolonging the period of construction. The last of these four projects is the Itarsi-Nagpur Railway with a branch to the Pench Valley. This project has already been under construction for over six years, and the section from Nagpur to Amla is not yet half completed. No one, I am sure, knows better than the Hon'ble proposer himself, the strong feeling which exists in favour of this railway being completed in his Province, and I am sure that neither he nor Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis would wish to see this project discontinued. There remains a great deal of work to be done including heavy earth work and tunnelling, and the delay in tackling it has, as the Hon'ble proposer of the motion probably knows better than most of us, been a cause of very great complaint in the Central Provinces. After carefully considering the matter we have come to the conclusion that it is not worth while taking up this work piecemeal, but that the time has come when a special effort should be made to get this important line open for traffic throughout. As I have said, it has already been six years under construction and if we give money in dribbles the total period of construction may well extend to ten years with a very large loss of revenue on the outlay already incurred. A full allotment is I hold extremely desirable, in fact almost a necessity, for this particular line.

“We have also proposed to reserve funds for three new projects. The first of these—the Vishnupur-Santragachi Chord—has not yet been sanctioned by the Secretary of State, but it has already been recognised as a most important work on account of the relief it will afford to the Bengal Nagpur Railway Company's main line between Calcutta and the coal-fields. If the commencement of work is postponed until the end of the war the opening of the line for traffic will be considerably delayed. Unless we begin work at once all hope that the Bengal Nagpur Railway will be relieved in this way before the next boom occurs must be abandoned.

“The Hon'ble Members from the Madras Presidency would I am sure strenuously support our action in reserving funds for the construction of the Panruti-Trichinopoly Railway. The delay in the commencement of work on this project has been a chronic cause of complaint for the best part of two decades. We hope, though the matter is still under discussion, to be able to commence work during the forthcoming year, and it would be very short-sighted if we were to fail to take advantage of this opportunity.

“The only other new project is a comparatively small one—the proposed Dholka-Dandhuka Railway. It is in fact but part of a larger project for a railway from Ranpur to Dholka of which the Ranpur-Dandhuka section will be constructed at the expense of the Bhavnagar Durbar. We are under agreement with His Highness and the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway Company to undertake the construction of the two sections simultaneously and unless we reserve funds for commencing work upon the British section we shall run the risk of failing to carry out our part.

“In the circumstances which I have explained, I submit to the Council that it would be most inexpedient to fail to proceed with the construction of these new railways. Apart from the particular considerations which I have placed before the Council, we have to look forward to a great revival of trade when the war is over. And there is the question of employment in India. At

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the present moment it is very undesirable that we should do anything to lead to greater unemployment than must inevitably be the result of the war. That to my mind is a very strong additional reason for carrying out these works "

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi:—"Sir, I have great sympathy with the object which it is desired to obtain by the resolution moved by my friend, namely, that more money may be allotted to the Provincial Governments for the development of education and sanitation. While I yield to none in my desire that considerably more money should be spent by the State in furtherance of education and sanitation than is being done at present, while I consider the claims of Education and Sanitation to be most supreme, while I am of opinion that from the point of view of the people of this country nothing is more urgently required than education and sanitation, I am afraid I cannot see eye to eye with my friend in regard to the means which he proposes to be employed for the desired end in this instance. It is true that malaria is increasing in virulence year after year. Certain portions of Bengal which were, comparatively speaking, free from malaria have suffered untold miseries owing to this scourge this year, and although we are nearly coming to the end of the cold weather, malaria has not abated to any appreciable extent in the major portion of East Bengal.

"It is also true that education must be the future watchword of our country. Our greatest public man, who has just passed away, made that his principal cry, and I entirely share his view that primary education must gradually be made free and, if possible, compulsory. It was with intense satisfaction that we in Bengal hailed the gracious announcement made by His Excellency only last Saturday at the Convocation meeting that the Government of India were going to grant ten lakhs of rupees to the Calcutta University. Therefore I should personally welcome any proposition that may help us to obtain more and more money for the cause of Education

"In this instance, however, my friend proposes that the allotment for Railways in the coming year be reduced by fifty lakhs. Now there is no question that of all our wants, the cause of Sanitation takes precedence, for it is only natural that the requirements of our health must receive our first consideration, and the increasing mortality due to malaria and other diseases due to insanitary conditions and particularly the want of pure drinking water must be checked. Next to this certainly comes the claim of Education of the right sort without the immediate and increasing development of which no hopes for the betterment of this country can be entertained. But immediately after this, I am inclined to advocate the cause of Irrigation and Railways. Our country is very badly served as regards railways. In some parts, especially in Bengal, our great waterways are gradually being silted up. Communications in the interior are extremely difficult, and in a great many they do not exist at all. Besides, I am strongly of opinion that railways carry in their wake a kind of Education and Progress. My friend the Hon'ble Finance Minister has already effected a very large curtailment with regard to railway expenditure for the coming year while he has maintained the entire amount, namely, one million one hundred thousand pounds, which would be required for the purpose of irrigation as advised by the Public Works Department, he has cut down railway expenditure by one-third of the total amount. Where originally 12 millions were provided he has cut them down to 8 millions. Therefore, a further reduction seems hardly to be possible and is likely to impede the working of our railways

"I had the extreme pleasure the other day of witnessing the opening ceremony of the Hardinge Bridge on the Lower Ganges at Sara, which is one of the greatest Engineering works in the world. Although this has, during the past years, made a heavy call upon our resources, now that it is completed, it will no doubt give a great impetus to trade and commerce. Expenditure in irrigation and railways is never wasted, for railways and irrigation are always paying concerns. The total interest charges on our public debt amounted to

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some 9½ millions in the year 1913-14, while our railways and irrigation works in the same year yielded us a return of 15½ millions. Thus, there was still left some 6 millions of clear revenue from these great undertakings. In spite of this, however, if my Hon'ble friend the Finance Minister had not already proposed to make a sober curtailment of 4 millions in our railway expenditure, I would have been very glad to have supported a motion in favour of a reduction in the allotment for railways. Under the careful and wise guidance of my friend who is unfortunately absent to-day, I mean the Hon'ble Sir Henry Burt, the present head of the Railway Board, I have no doubt that our railways have a great future before them. The cause of Education and Sanitation are certainly paramount, but I am sure there are other means and ways whereby more money can be found for the furtherance of these objects and I shall be glad to offer my humble suggestions on another occasion "

The Hon'ble Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi :—" Sir, I beg to support this resolution. I think the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoj has made out a good case for reducing the allotment for railways in the coming year by rupees fifty lakhs and allotting that amount to Provincial Governments for the development of Education and Sanitation. Sir, it is true that in view of the strain caused by the war the allotment for railways for the forthcoming year has been reduced from 12 to 8 millions sterling, but the fifty lakhs mentioned in the resolution is intended for the construction of new lines for which there is no urgency and which may well be put off for some time. The Government have always had at heart the promotion of Education and Sanitation and this principle may be well affirmed by the Government accepting the resolution moved by my Hon'ble friend."

The Hon'ble Mr. Marshall Reid :—" Sir, I entirely sympathise with my Hon'ble friend in his desire that education should progress, and I think he will also appreciate our desire that railway and other developments should also progress. I think we must realise that this Budget is essentially a business one, and there is no room for a great deal of sentiment in it; I think probably it is the most businesslike Budget which has ever been presented to this Council. We have all had to realise that the Finance Minister's first duty has been to cut down expenditure in every way. We have our own particular fancies in the way of education, railways and other things, but we have all had to realise that we must accept a great deal less than we asked for and a very great deal less than we could usually expect to get. In reducing the railway grant from 12 millions to 8 millions, I think my Hon'ble friend should realise that the reduction is one-third or 33 per cent. It has been pointed out frequently that 12 millions was some years ago considered to be the minimum on which the railways could work in this country. My own opinion is that we should require now, to go ahead properly and to maintain the railways, something more like 15 or 16 millions. Sir, seeing that we have agreed, and cheerfully agreed, to accept, under present conditions, a sum of 8 millions, which is about half of what we consider is the least we ought to have, I think that those whose particular province is education should be well pleased that they have got almost as large a grant as they have ever got before. In saying that we willingly accept this grant of 8 millions for railways, we realise that it is the very least by which existing railways can be kept up to any state of efficiency; and if railways do not progress, they must go back. It must also be borne in mind that there are a large number of unproductive works in this country now on which enormous sums have been spent. Until they become productive, the country is suffering severe losses, and I know well that the Finance Minister in framing this Budget has borne in mind the urgent necessity of bringing these works to a productive stage. I therefore regret that, though I sympathise entirely with my Hon'ble friend's desire that education should be well supported, I cannot support his proposition "

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The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer :—“ Sir, this resolution is, strictly speaking, not in order at all at this stage of the discussion, with reference to No. 3(2) of the Rules which regulate our discussion of the Financial Statement, since the resolution does not specifically refer to any additional grant to Local Governments proposed or mentioned in the Financial Statement or in the Secretary's supplementary Memorandum. Since, however, it is the only resolution that has been put forward at this first stage, we have decided not to challenge it; but this must not be taken as a precedent for the future.

“ Well, the Hon'ble Mover made it clear that what he desires is to cut out the whole of the 50 lakhs allotted for new lines in the coming year's railway programme and present this amount to the Provinces for further expenditure on education and sanitation.

“ Taking first the effect of this proposal on our modest railway programme, I need not add much to the remarks already made by the Hon'ble Commerce Member and by my friend, the Hon'ble Mr Marshall Reid. I may once more remind the Council that our proposed railway programme of 8 millions means a very drastic curtailment, a curtailment of one-third, from what has been accepted for the last two years as the standard. It is also nearly two million less than the expenditure in 1912-13. A large amount of the railway outlay is spent in India and, as the Hon'ble Mr Clark has brought out, further restriction of this amount beyond what we have already proposed will reduce the demand for labour which, in the present circumstances, it is desirable to interfere with as little as possible. To make a further curtailment by wiping out the whole of such small provision as we have been able to make for new lines, I regard as absolutely inadmissible. As I pointed out in my Budget speech last year, we must not regard the economic benefits to the community which the Government are able to bestow as confined to education and sanitation, valuable as these are.

“ The people are equally benefited, as I then said, by an extension of railway facilities, which expands trade, mitigates the effects of famine or scarcity, and adds to the personal convenience of Indian travellers. I do not in the least undervalue the benefits of education and sanitation, which press so upon the mind of the Hon'ble Mover, but we must try and hold the scales more even than he proposes.

“ Then, I would draw attention, as the Hon'ble Mr Ghuznavi has already done, to what I said in paragraph 98 of my recent speech introducing the Financial Statement now under discussion. As I there brought out, our capital outlay on Railways and Irrigation is in ordinary circumstances of so productive a character that it yields us a very large balance—in 1913-14 it amounted to some six million pounds—to meet ordinary general charges after paying all the expenses connected with our debt. But for this source of income, I would ask the Hon'ble Mover to remember, the Government of India could not have embarked on the large schemes of education and sanitation that have distinguished recent years. I hold that it is a most short-sighted policy to discount future benefits of a similar character by an unnecessary curtailment of beneficent capital outlay. My Hon'ble friend, for a little gain to education and sanitation at present, is proposing to throw away possibilities of much larger gain in the future.

“ The Hon'ble Mover also quoted some remarks of mine as to the small percentage of profits on railways. I do not withdraw a word of what I said in those remarks. It is my duty to look at both sides of every case, and I pointed out that although our profits are large—millions of pounds—they are small as compared with the capital charges outstanding, which will soon amount to about 368 million pounds. That shows, as I have always said, the necessity for caution,—that is, to be quite sure that works will be productive—or as sure as we can be—before we start upon them. But because, in the abnormal circumstances of the present year, the percentage of profit on railways taken to the whole sum outstanding is only 53 per cent after meeting interest charges, and because in 1915-16 we estimate it only at 32 per cent, the

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Hon'ble Member treats these as despicable quantities. He took these figures from the table in paragraph 77 of my recent Budget speech. I would like to draw his attention to the figures which immediately precede them. He will see that, even on these small percentages, the net profit on railways, after meeting all working and interest charges, is expected to be £1,914,000 in 1914-15, and £1,179,000 in 1915-1916. These despicable figures (as the Hon'ble Mover seems to hold them) come together to over 3 million pounds. Without those 3 million pounds my Hon'ble friend would have had to face the necessity of fresh taxes. It is the railway profit, of which he is scornful, which has stood between the country and increased taxation.

"I now come to the effect of the resolution on education and sanitation outlay. What the Hon'ble Mover desires is to expand the million pounds, by which we propose to allow the Local Governments to exceed their current revenues in 1915-16, by another $\frac{1}{2}$ million pounds. The financial effect of this proposal would be not merely to add to our Imperial revenue deficit, but to diminish our cash balances and to increase *pro tanto* the amount of next year's borrowings on account of the unproductive debt, the productive borrowing being decreased in like proportion. From a financial point of view this is a most unsound proposal. As I indicated in the concluding part of my recent Budget speech, our present wholly satisfactory financial position has been built up by the wise caution of our predecessors, and although the circumstances now existing have justified us, for this year and the next, in having recourse to unproductive borrowing rather than increased taxation, I am not prepared to add to such borrowing more than is necessary. Nor is there any reason for overriding this general proposition in order to buttress expenditure on education and sanitation.

"The Hon'ble Mover spoke as if the financial position in the coming year was such as to involve disastrous stoppage of educational and sanitary projects and what not. I will just give a few figures to rebut that. Taking the total outlay on education and sanitation financed from grants given by the Government of India, including the expenditure connected therewith under the Civil Works head—in 1913-14, the aggregate expenditure amounts to 257 lakhs; in 1914-15 (according to the Revised Estimate) to 290 lakhs; in 1915-16 (according to the Budget) to 224 lakhs, to which we must now add 10 lakhs on account of the grant to hostels recently announced by His Excellency the Viceroy. Well, there is a diminished outlay no doubt in 1915-16 as compared with 1914-15; but it is not nearly as much as the diminished outlay on railways. Moreover, these figures take only the special grants into account. If we look at the total Provincial expenditure on education, what do we find? The Budget provision for 1915-16 is £3,198,000 actually £100,000 more than the Revised Estimate for 1914-15 and a little more, too, than the actuals of 1913-1914—£3,056,000. Under 'Medical' again, we have for 1913-1914 (in round figures) £1,200,000; for 1914-1915 (Revised Estimate) £1,349,000; for 1915-1916 £1,299,000—a little falling off, but not much. To be quite fair I must admit that the large falling off in the Civil Works grants to which I referred in my Budget speech will probably to some extent affect Education and Sanitation buildings. But taking all the figures together, the diminished outlay under these two great heads of expenditure is trifling compared to the reduced provision that has been made under Railways; and with this war upon us and the possibility of its continuing for a long period, we cannot undertake to keep outlay on Education and Sanitation fully up to the specially high standard attained in 1914-1915 and 1913-1914. We do not go back on our previous policy. We must, however, move somewhat more slowly: there must be a little stoppage of the speed here, as under other heads. I cannot therefore accept the resolution before the Council. My Hon'ble friend the Mover must not however be discouraged: when my Hon'ble Colleague, the Member for Commerce and Industry, next lays proposals before me for new railways in the Central Provinces, it will be my duty to bear in mind that the elected Members from those Provinces do not want those railways."

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AND SANITATION.

[8TH MARCH, 1915.] [Mr Abbott; Mr Dadabhoy.]

The Hon'ble Mr. Abbott:—"Sir, I beg to oppose any reduction in the construction of railways in India or Burma."

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy:—"Sir, I wish to express my gratitude to my non-official colleagues for the support they have given to my resolution. As I expected, from official quarters I have not received the same measure of support. Nor did I anticipate it. My Hon'ble friend Mr. Marshall Reid has rightly pointed to the most businesslike Budget presented by the Hon'ble the Finance Minister. Nobody disputes the excellence of the Budget, and I shall have another opportunity in common with the other Hon'ble Members, at the proper time, to pay my tribute of admiration and gratitude for the generally very well-intentioned Budget which has been framed. But the only issue before the Council, and a very important issue it is, is entirely different; and I regret to say that I still remain unconvinced after what I have heard from the Hon'ble the Finance Minister and my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Clark. It is a mistake to suppose that non-official members of this Council do not attach importance to the expansion of the railway programme. That is not the point at all. I have been in this Council for several years; I have made it clear in this Council and outside this Council that the railway programme should be supported; but the point which claims our attention at this particular juncture is the propriety, the wisdom, the expediency of allocating a large sum of money for it in a lean year when a heavy deficit is expected. I share the view which the representative of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce entertains, in common with some other members, as regards the general utility of the Railway programme. But the question is, are we justified, are we entitled to use the tax-payers' money in the further expansion of railway programme in a year of deficit? I say, Sir, that strategic railways, railways that are required for political purposes, are absolutely necessary, and must be constructed at all cost, even when our finances do not permit of it; I go further and say that protective railways, railways that are required for the mitigation of famine and find suitable employment in times of famine, should also be undertaken. But, Sir, protective railways as well as strategic railways and railways that are required for political purposes stand on an entirely different footing from railways that are required for the promotion of trade and commerce. The Hon'ble the Finance Minister has spoken about the profits of our railways, and has pointed out that, but for these profits on railways, the necessity for additional taxation would have been self-evident. But when one applies his attention to the enormous capital that has been laid out in building railway lines in India, the profits after paying interest are absolutely small and do not appeal to our consideration. I submit I should not be misunderstood. I have not run down railways; I am a cautious supporter of railways, and all that I have stated is that the Government have not made out a case for spending this year 50 lakhs of rupees on the construction of new railways. Sir William Meyer says that we have reduced our expenditure from 12 crores to 8 crores,—a very drastic curtailment. I note further that the bulk of these 8 crores will be spent on renewals and repairs, and a very small percentage of it will be spent in the construction of new railways. But all this is inconclusive. Reference was made to the Nagpur-Itarsi railway. In my speech I did not at all allude to the expenditure under that head being dropped for the reason that that scheme had been shelved for a period of three years after the construction had been started. It is, therefore, not surprising that it should find a place in the next year's railway programme. But I must submit that there has been no explanation about the other railways forthcoming. I was very anxiously expecting an explanation of some sort as regards the urgency of these three new lines, which are now contemplated to be constructed, and neither the Finance Minister nor Mr. Clark has thrown any light on the absolute necessity of spending money this year on those lines. It has not been at all pointed out that the postponement of this programme for a year would cause any serious inconvenience either to the State or to the country. Sir William Meyer, with his characteristic force, has also stated that he will bear in mind when a

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suitable opportunity comes, about the construction of railways in the Central Provinces, and that he would then remind me of my utterances to-day I am prepared I may say that I am not a man likely to be discouraged by that. These discussions have their moral effect, and I have no doubt that, though the Hon'ble the Finance Minister has not accepted my resolution to-day, it will have a great deal of effect in the future, and I feel confident that in the succeeding year's budget we shall have a larger sum under the heads of Sanitation and Education. Sir, I know the ultimate fate of my resolution. It is not likely to be passed, but I feel the moral importance of it; and though I do not press for a division, I still request you, Sir, to put it to the vote."

The resolution was put and rejected.

RESOLUTION *REA* CHIEF COURT FOR THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy :— "Sir, I beg to move—

"That this Council recommends the Governor General in Council that the Court of the Judicial Commissioner of the Central Provinces be replaced by a Chief Court consisting of five Judges or more."

"This is a resolution which affects directly the judicial machinery of the Central Provinces and Berar, and consequently the people of that province, but it has an indirect, and perchance not an inconsiderable, influence upon the good-will and contentment of India as a whole. Impartial administration of justice, as has more than once been observed, is the bed-rock of British Indian Administration. Anything therefore which improves the judicial administration of any part of India has more than a local interest, and must engage the favourable consideration of this Council.

"Sir, the Central Provinces form one of the group of four provinces which under the Parliamentary Act of 1854 (17 and 18 Vict., C 77) are administered and managed by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India through Chief Commissioners,—the other three being Oudh, Assam and the North-West Frontier Province. The oldest of these, Oudh, formed in 1856, does not now retain its former character, and since 1902 has lost its entity in the United Provinces. In point of time the Central Provinces come next after Oudh, and take precedence of Assam and the North-West Frontier Province, being formed in 1861, while Assam became a separate administrative unit in 1874 and the North-West Frontier Province was formed in 1901. With the exception of Assam, which is under the jurisdiction and control of the Calcutta High Court, the judicial machinery in all these provinces is practically identical. Perhaps the absence of a sufficiently large number of civil and criminal actions in Assam in the beginning, the presence in it of a fairly large number of resident Europeans, and the fact of its having formed a part of Bengal before 1874, justified the inclusion of the province within the local limits of the jurisdiction of the Calcutta High Court. The history of early British rule in Oudh possibly explains why it was not placed under the jurisdiction of the High Court at Agra. The amalgamation of the Punjab districts of Hazara, Peshawar and Kohat and the Trans-Indus portions of Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan with areas like Dir, Swat and Chitral perhaps necessitated their exclusion from the jurisdiction of the Punjab Chief Court. But speculation on these points is useless for our present purposes. The only point I request Hon'ble Members to note is that, owing to the difference in local conditions, the analogy of Oudh and the North-West Frontier Province does not provide an answer to the plea for a Chief Court in the Central Provinces and Berar.

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"Sir, whatever may have been the reason for its existence in the past, the Judicial Commissioner's Court is unsuited to the present condition of the Central Provinces and Berar. Socially, economically and politically the development of the province has been great indeed. Notwithstanding the ravages of plague and famine, the population has grown from 10,879,384 in 1871 to 16,033,310 in 1911, or an improvement of nearly 50 per cent and a substantial improvement upon the figure for 1891 (14,761,534). Making allowance for differences due to territorial changes and taking the two units—the Central Provinces and Berar—separately, the same increase in numbers is noticeable. The European population, exclusive of Anglo-Indians, was over 7,000, and the Anglo-Indians numbered about 3,500. The educational progress of the province—high, secondary and primary—has also been satisfactory. According to the last Census Report—

'The number of matriculates and of scholars undergoing collegiate education has more than doubled since 1901 and the number of those who have attained their degree has increased in the same proportion. The male scholars in the secondary schools are nearly four times as many, and the female scholars nearly eight times as many as in 1901, while the boys studying in primary schools are now 227,000 instead of 149,000 in 1901 and the girls 18,000 as against 10,000. The number of educational institutions has increased by 18 per cent.'

"According to the statistics of the Education Department, in 1911 there were 3,865 institutions as against 3,430 of 1901 and 3,129 of 1891, and the scholars were 297,620 as against 174,091 of 1901 and 161,840 of 1891. There were in the same year over 3,000 lawyers of all kinds; 2,599 medical practitioners of all kinds; 9,046 compounders, midwives, vaccinators, etc.; 12,919 professors and teachers of all kinds and clerks, etc., connected with education; 8,317 architects, surveyors, etc.; and over 17,000 Government servants in the province, and the numbers are progressive. The Judicial Administration Report for 1913 shows that on 1st January, 1914, barristers practising in the Central Provinces and Berar numbered 62, other advocates 70, and pleaders of all grades 559. In 1911 the total number of newspapers etc., published in the province was 27 with an aggregate circulation of 10,627. Our industrial activity during the past few years has been even more marked, and in the same year 1911 we had 52 mines and quarries employing 15,590 persons and 255 factories employing 41,028 persons. New mines have been worked and new factories have been started since then. We have, besides, the home industries which give employment to large numbers of people. Communications, too, have improved a good deal in the Central Provinces and Berar, and the railways have had a distinctly stimulating effect upon the economic condition and the public spirit of the people. It would be a wonder if this all-round progress had not expanded their political and administrative horizon. As a matter of fact, the local public now evince far greater interest in the working of local bodies and the general administration than they have ever done before, and there are few administrative acts which escape public criticism.

"Sir, it can well be imagined that such a progressive population would demand better and more up-to-date arrangements for the administration of the province, and it has thus come to pass that the existing administrative machinery fails to satisfy them. But I confine my attention here to the judicial machinery, and Hon'ble Members will please note that large sections of the people want the whole judiciary to be placed on a sounder and more independent footing, and an improved Court of Final Appeal. The main point to bear in mind in this connection is that, not only should justice as between man and man be dispensed impartially and with due regard to law and precedent, but that the public should feel that justice is so dispensed. The confidence of the public is a great, and perhaps the determining, factor in the case. Now, judged by this test, the Judicial Commissioner's Court falls below the ideal. Not that the Judges are wanting in the performance of their arduous routine work; but that the whole constitution is old and antiquated, and opposed to progressive ideas, and does not ensure to the Court that measure of freedom from executive

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control which is essential for thorough judicial independence. I do not mean to suggest that the Executive Government has ever interfered with the judicial independence of the Judges; what I do suggest and emphasize is that the system is bad and open to criticism, and the very best Judges would unconsciously and unwittingly act under some sort of restraint.

"Sir, down to the 26th October, 1896, we had only one court, *à e.*, the Court of the Judicial Commissioner. Under the law he owed, as he owes now, his appointment to the Governor General in Council. But since then we are having Additional Judicial Commissioner after Additional Judicial Commissioner until we have come to have three of them, two permanent and one temporary but who will shortly be made permanent; and all these Judges of the highest Court of Appeal are appointed by the Local Government. This would not be the case in a Chief Court, and that is a solid gain. The appointment, again, of the Registrar of the Judicial Commissioner's Court lies in the hands of the Local Government. It is not so in a Chief Court, where every officer holds office directly under the Hon'ble Judges. The Registrar, be it noted, has to discharge important functions in relation to the bar and the subordinate judiciary of the province, and it is advisable that his appointment should be in the gift of the Chief Judge instead of the Local Government.

"Sir, the Judicial Commissioner is almost always a civilian, whereas in a Chief Court the office of Chief Judge is generally held by a barrister. Then, of the four judges we now have in the Judicial Commissioner's Court at Nagpur, three are members of the Civil Service, and one only is a barrister. There is no limit to the extent to which the Bench may be recruited from the Civil Service. The case would be different in a Chief Court, and at least two of the judges would be lawyers. This difference, along with the difference in the qualifications of the Chief Judge of a Chief Court, would constitute a real gain to the cause of judicial administration. Without any disparagement to the high capabilities of the members of the Civil Service, it may be stated that lawyer judges as a rule prove more successful and more satisfactory on the Bench than civilian judges. Two strong reasons contribute to this result. In the first place, civilians lack the requisite legal training, and in the next place, the best, the most capable among civilians prefers the Executive Service. The Judicial Service is thus recruited mostly from civilians who do not give promise of brilliance in the sister service. There are of course many honourable exceptions, but this is the general rule. The evil is aggravated in the Central Provinces and Berar by the fact that the incentive of a healthy competition such as the presence on the Bench of a reasonable number of lawyer judges, who may sometimes be imported from other provinces in the case of a Chief Court, would ensure, is almost entirely absent. It is not in the highest Court of Appeal alone that the unfortunate results of this absence of all impetus to legal study and legal scholarship manifest themselves, but the practical limitation of recruitment to civil servants within the province makes all civilian judges in the districts indifferent to the higher study of law. The fact that only a few civilians serve in the districts as judges—nine in all—and have at least three prize appointments open to them, ensures the ultimate promotion of almost all of them to the Judicial Commissioner's Court. Moreover, the presence of a civilian judge at the top dispels all fears of supersession of the senior members of the Service on the occasion of a new appointment. Promotion to the Judicial Commissioner's Court thus has hardly to be earned by distinguished service in the subordinate ranks, but comes in the majority of cases as a matter of course. The quality of the work of the Chief Appellate Court must in such circumstances suffer. And the further fact, that at Nagpur the Bar, consisting of about 25 barristers and over 80 pleaders including advocates, is very strong, can only contribute to unsatisfactory results. A strong Bar without an equally strong, if not stronger, Bench is detrimental to the interests of justice; and a good deal of the proverbial 'law's delay' is attributable to such an unequal combination. The increase in the number of appeals involving complicated questions of the *lex loci* and commercial law, is another strong

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reason for liberalising the Court with a larger admission of trained lawyers as judges. The Central Provinces and Berar do not stand where they were in 1873, when the Judicial Commissioner's Court was established, and simple bond and rent suits have lost in importance before the suits of a complicated nature which a growing civilisation and industrial expansion have brought on

"Sir, if I have so far based my arguments for a Chief Court upon the present unsatisfactory constitution of the Judicial Commissioner's Court, it is not for lack of other solid grounds. The limited powers of the Judicial Commissioner's Court are a source of great public inconvenience and public dissatisfaction. The Court has no jurisdiction in criminal proceedings against European British subjects and persons jointly charged with European British subjects, and all decrees *nisi* in divorce cases of the Subordinate Courts must be made absolute by the Bombay High Court. With a fairly large and growing European population in the province, both these limitations must cause public inconvenience; and the Hon'ble Home Member, whose knowledge of the province is unique, must know full well that a number of such cases which the Judicial Commissioner's Court is not competent to try have annually to be carried to the Bombay High Court for disposal. This arrangement, however necessary or satisfactory forty years ago, cannot fail to cause public dissatisfaction in these days of progressive enlightenment in the Central Provinces and Berar. The establishment of a Chief Court at Nagpur will remove all the present difficulties.

"Sir, it is a matter for consideration also that the growing sense of importance of the provincial people requires that a Chief Court should be established at Nagpur. The province has now got a Legislative Council, and no reason is apparent why a Chief Court, with a fixed minimum of Lawyer Judges and a Barrister as Chief Judge, which will undoubtedly command greater public confidence, should not replace the present Judicial Commissioner's Court. Besides, it is not consonant to the public ideas of dignity that lawyers, who by reason of their connection with the Local Legislative Council are Honourables, should appear in the highest Court before Judges who, so long as they are Judicial Commissioners, are not entitled to claim that distinction. This is a matter of sentiment, it is true, but sentiment has its importance in certain circumstances.

"Sir, the above reasons will have made it clear to Hon'ble members that the establishment of a Chief Court in the Central Provinces is a matter of necessity, and should engage the serious attention of Government. Now a few words about the number of Judges. I suggest that we should start with five, two of whom at least should be lawyers. We have at present four, one of whom is a Barrister. The adoption of my proposal will therefore necessitate the appointment of another practising lawyer as Judge. The congested state of the Judicial Commissioner's file will supply ample justification for my suggestion. With years the business of the Court has increased enormously. In 1873 we started with 91 civil appeals, 17 civil rules, 246 miscellaneous appeals, 87 criminal appeals and 63 criminal revision cases; or a total of 364 civil cases and 150 criminal cases, and of this only 7 second appeals and 1 civil rule remained undisposed of at the end of the year. By 1895 the volume of business had outgrown the capacity of the Court. Of the total of 770 civil cases and 676 criminal cases so many as 543 civil cases and 12 criminal cases were pending hearing. In October, 1896, therefore an Additional Judicial Commissioner was appointed, who held office for five months. In March, 1904, again one Additional Commissioner was appointed, and on 1st September, 1905, a second Additional Judicial Commissioner was added. In 1910, there were altogether 1535 cases of a civil nature, and 741 cases of a criminal nature, and 559 of the former and 47 of the latter group of cases remained undisposed of at the end of that year. In 1911, out of 1,599 civil cases and 787 criminal cases before the Court, 777 civil and

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47 criminal cases were carried over to 1912; and in 1913, the institutions of civil appeals alone rose to 1,321 against 1,253 in 1912, and 1,040 in 1911. The number of civil motions also increased from 396 in 1912 to 479 in 1913. The last Judicial Administration Report remarks:—

‘The pending file of appeals has risen from 1,025 to 1,102, in spite of the fact that disposals have increased from 993 to 1,244 as a result of the entertainment of a fourth Judge for a large part of the year. Unless there is a considerable decline in the volume of appellate litigation, it will be impossible for the work of this Court to be carried on by three Judges, and the appointment of the fourth Judge originally sanctioned for one year and prolonged for a second year, will have to be made permanent’.

“But I am almost certain that the pending file cannot be kept down without detriment to the quality of the work unless there are at least five Judges. The Judicial Commissioner’s time is partially taken up by heavy administrative work and by the trial of important original cases under the Probate and Administration Act. It is therefore essentially necessary that the Chief Court I recommend should have a minimum of five Judges. Provision must be made for normal growth in the volume of business

“Sir, the question of cost now remains to be discussed, and in this connection three points arise for consideration, *viz.*—(1) what will be the additional cost required; (2) whether such additional cost should be incurred; and (3) whether the present is the most opportune time when the additional cost should be sanctioned by Government. Nothing definite can be said on the first point without a detailed examination of the extra needs of the suggested Chief Court. The increased salary of the Judges will undoubtedly involve some extra expenditure. The present rate of salary of the Judges of the Judicial Commissioner’s Court is Rs. 3,000 a month with Rs. 500 more for the Judicial Commissioner, while a Chief Court Judgeship would probably carry a monthly salary of Rs. 4,000, with perhaps a thousand more for the Chief Judge. With a strength of five Judges, the change would thus entail an additional expenditure of Rs. 3,500 a month. This should be reduced by Rs. 3,000, the amount that will have to be spent sooner or later on a fourth Additional Judicial Commissioner, whether permanent or temporary. The increased expenditure thus would be Rs. 5,500 a month. It is difficult to estimate the cost of the extra ministerial establishment, but one thing is certain that we have already a fairly strong staff, which will have to be further strengthened immediately in consequence both of increased volume of business and the permanent retention of the third Additional Judicial Commissioner; and that should enable us to introduce the reform at a far less cost than it has been found practicable in other provinces. In the Punjab there was only one Judicial Commissioner when the Chief Court with two Judges was established. The extra monthly cost found necessary there for a more efficient ministerial staff was Rs. 1,363, as per Proceedings of the Government of India in the Financial Department, No 977 of 28th February, 1866, and the letter of the Government of India, Home Department, to the Punjab Government, No 400 of 28th April, 1866. In the Central Provinces the additional cost under this head should be much less. Roughly speaking, the total additional expenditure may be put at Rs. 10,000 a month on the assumption that a fourth Additional Judicial Commissioner will not be necessary, and Rs. 7,000 on the contrary supposition; or, with allowance for contingencies, say a lakh and a quarter a year at the outside. This sum is not particularly burdensome. Even if it were, it would be well worth spending for the improvement of the judicial administration of the province.

“The decision on the second point does not admit of doubt. As a general proposition, all expenditure for improved administration of justice is justifiable. But it is a question certainly if Government should entertain proposals of increased expenditure at this crisis, especially when, according to the Financial Statement presented by the Hon’ble Sir William Meyer, the budgetted provincial deficit in 1915-16 of Rs. 5,65,000 will have to be made good by

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reducing the closing balance to Rs. 89,35,000 as against Rs. 95,00,000 in 1914-15 and Rs. 1,09,53,278 in 1913-14. My reason for pressing this reform now is twofold. Firstly, war or no war the administration must proceed on progressive lines; and secondly, if Government decides to establish a Chief Court in the Central Provinces, the scheme would not in all probability be introduced in the course of the year. So many preliminaries have to be got through. The additional expenditure will therefore be incurred in 1916-17, by which time it is expected the war will be over and normal conditions will be restored. Moreover, the estimated provincial deficit is abnormal in that increased expenditure synchronizes with a falling off in revenue. The provincial revenue is bound to recover with the restoration of normal conditions, and the Supreme Government will be in a better position to strengthen the provincial resources by a substantial grant. In spite of shortage in revenue from the Courts of Law of the Central Provinces of Rs. 35,000 in 1914-15 compared to the budget estimate and a further estimated loss of Rs. 8,000 in 1915-16, the Provincial Government has budgetted for an additional expenditure of Rs. 1,27,000 in 1915-16 for Courts of Law, over and above the extra Rs. 36,000 spent in 1914-15. The whole of this expenditure will presumably be required for giving partial effect to the scheme of reorganization of the subordinate judiciary sanctioned by Government at an estimated annual cost of Rs. 1,90,969-12-0. Now it would be awkward if the improvement in the subordinate judiciary be not correlated by an improvement in the highest Court of Appeal. With better times this Government will surely not hesitate to come to the relief of the Provincial Government, if necessary, for an object so laudable as judicial reform. Besides, the decline in revenue in this particular department is due to temporary causes, and we may fairly count upon an agreeable rebound in the near future. Probably by the time the scheme of reform I press upon the attention of this Council is given effect to the improved state of our finances, both Imperial and Provincial, will reduce the inconvenience of increased expenditure to a minimum. There is thus nothing wrong in our adopting the resolution now.

"Sir, one word more. In the scheme of judicial reform I advocate, it is furthest from my mind to disturb vested interests. There need not be any difficulty. In the Punjab there was none, and the Civilian Judicial Commissioner became the first Chief Judge of the Punjab Chief Court."

The Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis:—"Sir, the Hon'ble Mover has dealt pretty fully and one might say exhaustively with the important aspects of the question now before the Council. His speech will have convinced Hon'ble Members of the necessity of the reform. There is a general desire among the local people for an advance in the machinery for the administration of justice in the Chief Court of the province with a view to cope expeditiously with the increased work on account of the development of the province. We have also to count with the new sense of dignity which they now have. It appears the Local Government has in hand a scheme of reorganization of the subordinate judiciary. I am not aware of the details, but it is hoped it will facilitate in the districts the institution and disposal of civil and criminal cases, both original and appellate. That scheme, however, leaves untouched the Judicial Commissioner's Court. It is certainly desirable that the process of reform should reach that Court also and that the status of that Court should be raised. Both the Judicial Commissioner and the Chief Commissioner appear to be equally anxious with the people to make the dispensation of justice in the highest court expeditious and attractive alike. The Bench is to be further strengthened by the addition of a permanent third Additional Judicial Commissioner. A Barrister has also got a place on it. These facts indicate as much the necessity of reform as the determination of the local authorities to carry it through. The whole point for the consideration of Hon'ble Members is, whether the reforms already introduced, go far enough, and whether, instead of this piecemeal reform, an improvement corresponding to what exists in similarly developed provinces elsewhere would not be far better. I have not heard even one complaint about the quality of

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justice in my province in the Judicial Commissioner's Court, but the complaint in some quarters is that justice is not as expeditious as it ought to be. An increase in the number of Judges and the raising of the dignity of the Court will meet the requirements

" Besides, every province which has attained to a reasonable degree of progress should be self-contained as regards its judicial administration. The Central Provinces and Berar are not, as the Hon'ble Mover has shown. The great advance the Province has made in every department should entitle it to have a court which would be fully competent to deal with any judicial matter arising within the local limits of its jurisdiction. A Chief Court would be an improvement upon the Judicial Commissioner's Court in this respect

" At the same time that I support the proposal for the establishment of a Chief Court in the Central Provinces, I must accept the position that the additional expenditure involved should be incurred after the war is over. I am glad the Hon'ble Mover has also proceeded upon this assumption.

" With these remarks I beg to support the resolution."

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock:—" Sir, the Hon'ble Mr Dadabhoy, by the terms of his resolution desires this Council to state that in its opinion the Court of the Judicial Commissioner of the Central Provinces should be elevated into a Chief Court having the same status as the Chief Court of the Punjab or of Lower Burma, and that the Court so elevated should consist of five Judges. Mr. Dadabhoy is, I think, partly actuated by the very human tendency that we all share of always thinking that something that we have not got is a little better than something we have. And I feel myself exceedingly doubtful whether the mere alteration in the name and status of the Court is going to alter materially the nature of the justice administered by that Court. We have had very many eminent men among the Judges who have presided over that Court, some of whom, I have no doubt the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy will readily admit, could have occupied with distinction and credit seats on any High Court in India. But, Sir, besides that feeling there is always a healthy provincial patriotism which desires that the institutions of the province shall be raised in status and be made equal to the institutions of other provinces. As an individual no one can accuse me of being at all slow in desiring the progress and development of the Province in which I have spent so many years, and speaking in that individual capacity, I sympathise entirely with what the Hon'ble Mr Dadabhoy has said and with the aspirations of the Province that its status may grow as time goes on and as its circumstances develop.

" In point of fact there has been an extraordinary development in the judicial administration of the province, most of which has taken place within the period of my service in India. When I first came to the province, the courts were those of the Judicial Commissioner at the top—a single officer—and under him were the courts of Commissioners, then of Deputy Commissioners, then of Assistant Commissioners, and, at the bottom, the courts of Tehsildars. These courts dispensed the whole of the civil and criminal justice, besides carrying on their revenue and executive functions. Between that time and thus no less than six new Courts Acts have been passed in the Imperial Council for developing judicial administration in the Central Provinces. That development has continued up to the present time. The permanent court now consists of a Judicial Commissioner, and two Additional Judicial Commissioners, and a third has been appointed temporarily since 1913. Proposals for turning that third appointment into a permanency are now before the Secretary of State, so that the permanent constitution of the court may in a very short time be expected to be four Judges.

" Mr. Dadabhoy, in order to justify his proposal, has cited some figures regarding pending files in the Judicial Commissioner's Court. Now I do not think it is the experience of any one in India that the pending files of any

RESOLUTION *re* A CHIEF COURT FOR THE CENTRAL 365
PROVINCES.

[8TH MARCH, 1915] [*Sir Reginald Craddock; Mr. Dadabhoj; The Vice-President.*]

High Court are determined by its status. I fancy that if we were to examine the pending files of the various High Courts of India, we might find that, after all, there was something to be said for a Judicial Commissioner's Court in the matter of the disposal of business; so that I do not think that the mere fact that the pending files of the Judicial Commissioner's Court in the Central Provinces are heavy is in itself an argument for increasing the status of that Court. As I have said, the Government of India have always been favourable to the development of judicial administration in the various provinces when the time comes to take each step forward. In the present instance, however, the Local Administration has not, up to the present, put forward a proposal to elevate the Judicial Commissioner's Court into a Chief Court, and, necessarily, from the point of view of the Government of India, the first authority to put forward this proposal should be the Local Administration. There is the question of the volume and complexity of litigation to be considered; there is the question of expense, and there is also the question of local opinion on the subject. All these have to be carefully examined and, so far as the Government of India are concerned, they preserve a perfectly open mind on the case. I hope that my Hon'ble friend Mr. Dadabhoj will be satisfied if the attention of the Local Administration is drawn to his resolution and an opportunity is given to the Local Administration to consult with their officers, with the Judges of the Judicial Commissioner's Court and with non-official opinion. When they have considered that question, if the change is recommended by the Local Administration and a case is considered by the Government of India to have been made out, no doubt the necessary action will be taken; but for the present, the Government of India preserve an open mind on this subject."

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoj:—"Sir, after the very sympathetic reply given by the Hon'ble the Home Member, it is not necessary for me to add anything further to what I have already said in my opening speech. The Hon'ble the Home Member has acknowledged the extraordinary development of the Province during the last few years, to which it is only fair to add, the Hon'ble Member himself has contributed a great deal by his personal exertions. It is only therefore in the fitness of things that that development should be carried a stage further, and that the present Judicial Commissioner's Court should be elevated to the dignity of a Chief Court. The Hon'ble the Home Member has stated that no proposal to this effect has come up from the Local Government or from the Judicial Commissioner. So far as the Judicial Commissioner's Court is concerned, there is a certain amount of delicacy in the matter, and the Judicial Commissioner's Court is not likely to move in the matter. But I am glad that the attention of the Provincial Government will be drawn to my resolution and local official and non-official opinion will be taken on the subject. I can confidently say to the Hon'ble the Home Member that there will be only one answer to that appeal, and that that answer will be 'let us have a Chief Court'."

The Vice-President:—"Does the Hon'ble Member wish to withdraw his resolution?"

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoj:—"Practically the Hon'ble the Home Member has accepted my resolution."

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock:—"No, I have not accepted the resolution at all."

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoj:—"In the circumstances, I think it right to withdraw my resolution."

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PROVINCES.

[*The Vice-President*] [8TH MARCH, 1915]

The Vice-President:—“The resolution is by permission with-
drawn”

The Council adjourned to Tuesday, the 9th March, 1915

W H VINCENT,
Secretary to the Government of India,
Legislative Department

DELHI; }
The 12th March, 1915. }

APPENDIX A.

[Referred to in the Answer to Question 2, page 344, ante.]

LIST OF THE MEMBERS

OF THE

IMPERIAL SERVICE ORDER

From the 12th December 1911 to the 22nd June 1914.

IMPERIAL SERVICE ORDER.

COMPANIONS

[Civil Services in India—Europeans]—92.

No.	Members.	Date of appointment.
1	Henry Lawrence French, Esq. (Retired), (Europe)	12th December 1911.
2	Edmund Wilfrid Baker, Esq (Headquarters, Government of India)	Ditto.
3	Stanislaus Kostka Murphy, Esq (Retired), (Europe)	Ditto
4	Thomas William Payne, Esq (Headquarters, Government of India).	Ditto.
5	Roderick Korneli Biernacki, Esq (Panjab)	Ditto.
6	Thomas Oakley Drake, Esq. (Headquarters, Government of India).	Ditto
7	James Stuart Salt, Esq (Headquarters, Government of India) .	Ditto.
8	Joseph Bocarro, Esq. (Bombay)	Ditto.
9	Charles William Caston, Esq (Retired), (Bengal)	Ditto
10	Joseph Edward Lacey, Esq (Headquarters, Government of India).	Ditto
11	Charles Albert Pogson, Esq (Bombay)	Ditto
12	John Alexander McIver, Esq (Bombay)	Ditto
13	Walter Henry Thompson, Esq (Bengal)	Ditto.
14	Walter Arthur Shilstone, Esq (Bihar and Orissa)	Ditto
15	Gerald Aylmer Levett-Yeats, Esq. (United Provinces) . . .	Ditto.
16	Robert Henry Niblett, Esq (United Provinces)	Ditto.
17	Charles Edward Blowne, Esq. (Burma)	Ditto.
18	Albert George Lincoln, Esq (N.-W Frontier Province) . . .	Ditto.
19	Major Allen Mellers Anscorb, V D. (Retired), (Europe) . .	Ditto
20	George William Marshall, Esq (Headquarters, Government of India).	Ditto
21	Augustus Stapleton, Esq (Headquarters, Government of India)	Ditto.
...	Walter James Bagley, Esq.	Ditto Deceased.
22	The Hon'ble Sir Charles Bayley, K C S I., I. C S. (Bihar and Orissa).	14th June 1912.
23	William James Drake, Esq (Headquarters, Government of India).	Ditto.
24	John Charles Claucey, Esq. (Burma)	Ditto.
25	George Joseph Rogers, Esq. (Kashmir)	Ditto.
26	Francis George Marshall, Esq (Madras)	Ditto.

IMPERIAL SERVICE ORDER

COMPANIONS—*contd.*

[Civil Services in India—Europeans]—92.

No.	Members.	Date of appointment.
27	Andrew Peter Mitchell, Esq (Central Provinces) . . .	14th June 1912.
28	Leonard Charles Dixon Bean, Esq (Punjab)	Ditto.
29	Conly James Dease, Esq (Retired), (Europe)	Ditto.
30	Henry Raynor Goulding, Esq. (Punjab)	Ditto.
31	Henry Alfred Hall, Esq (Bombay)	Ditto.
32	Robert George Girard, Esq. (Bengal)	Ditto
33	Herbert Moir Stowell, Esq (Headquarters, Government of India)	1st January 1913.
34	Walter Burr-Bryan, Esq (Punjab)	Ditto
35	George William Judd, Esq. (Bombay)	Ditto
36	Edward Alexander Chadwick Walker, Esq (Burma)	Ditto.
37	David James Murtue, Esq (Bombay)	Ditto
38	Charles Edward Pyster, Esq (Retired), (Bengal)	Ditto
39	Henry Clarke, Esq. (Bangalore), (Mysore)	Ditto
40	Charles Willford, Esq (Central Provinces)	Ditto.
41	Dr. Paul Johannes Bruhl, D Sc, M I E E, F G S, F C S., (Bengal).	Ditto.
42	Norman Oton Peters, Esq. (Assam)	Ditto
43	William Hawkins, Esq. (Punjab)	3rd June 1913.
44	Thomas Fisher, Esq. (Madras)	Ditto
45	John Dufour Shapcott, Esq (Headquarters, Government of India).	Ditto
46	Charles Patrick O'Rielly, Esq (United Provinces)	Ditto.
47	Bertini Lemoine Allard Laville, Esq (Madras)	Ditto.
48	George Hamilton Maslin, Esq. (Bengal)	Ditto.
49	Edward Holroyd Gadsden, Esq (Madras)	22nd June 1914.
50	James Guyer Harris, Esq (Burma)	Ditto.
51	Frank Luker, Esq. (on leave)	Ditto.
52	Arther Henry Wilkone, Esq (Headquarters, Government of India).	Ditto.
53	Gilbert Franklyn Winn, Esq. (Headquarters, Government of India).	Ditto.

IMPERIAL SERVICE ORDER.

COMPANIONS.

[Civil Services in India—Indians]—100.

No.	Members	Date of appointment.
1	Shaikh Shadi (Headquarters, Government of India)	12th December 1911.
2	Upendra Nath Chatterji (Headquarters, Government of India)	Ditto.
3	Rai Bahadur Rala Ram (Bengal)	Ditto.
4	Babu Narayan Kissen Sen (Headquarters, Government of India)	Ditto.
5	Jahangir Dosabhai Framji (Bombay)	Ditto.
6	Rao Bahadur Rudraganda Chenvirganda Artal (Bombay)	Ditto.
7	Rao Bahadur Gobindam Salamatrai (Bombay)	Ditto.
8	Ahsan-ud-din Ahmad, Esq (Bengal)	Ditto.
9	Babu Umesh Chandra Das (Bihar and Orissa)	Ditto.
10	Mirza Irfan Ali Beg, Esq. (United Provinces)	Ditto.
11	Taw Sein Ko, Esq. (Burma)	Ditto.
12	Maung Ogh, K.S M. (Burma)	Ditto.
13	Mahdi Hasan, Esq. (Central Provinces)	Ditto.
14	Rai Sahib Gajju Mal (North-West Frontier Province)	Ditto.
15	Pandit Nand Lal (Central India)	Ditto.
16	Mir Shams Shah (Baluchistan)	Ditto.
17	M. R. Ry Diwan Bahadur Annaji Aiyangar Krishnaswami Aiyangar Avergal (Madras).	Ditto.
	M. R. Ry. Parambil Tharyan Tharyan Avergal	Ditto. Deceased.
18	M. R. Ry. Canchi Sarvottama Row Avergal (Madras)	Ditto.
19	M. R. Ry. Bhumanakunte Hanumantha Row Avergal (Madras)	Ditto.
20	Babu Charu Chandra Goswami (Assam)	14th June 1912.
21	Maung Po Sa (Burma)	Ditto.
22	The Hon'ble Nawab Saiyid Muhammad, Khan Bahadur (Bengal)	Ditto.
23	Muhammad Aziz-ud-din Hussain Khan Bahadur (Madras)	Ditto.
24	M. R. Ry. Chingleput Ratna Mudahar Avergal (Madras)	Ditto.
25	Babu Ram Smaran Lal (United Provinces)	Ditto.
26	Rao Bahadur Kashinath Keshav Thakur (Central Provinces)	Ditto.
27	Isa Charan Chandu Lal, Esq. (Punjab)	Ditto.
28	Rao Bahadur Vithalrai Himatram (Bombay)	Ditto.

IMPERIAL SERVICE ORDER.

COMPANIONS—*contd.*

* [Civil Services in India—Indians]—100.

No.	Members	Date of appointment
29	Khan Bahadur Saiyed Shams ud-Din Saiyed Mian Kadri (Bombay).	14th June 1912.
30	Godrez Dorabjee Pudumjee, Esq. (Bombay)	Ditto.
31	Babu Bepin Vohari Das (Headquarters, Government of India) .	1st January 1913.
32	M. R. Ry. Rao Bahadur Tandalam Sundara Rao Avergal (Madras).	Ditto.
33	Mr. Dhanjishab Dinshah Mehta (Ajmer)	Ditto.
34	Mr. Ganga Narayan Ray (Bengal)	Ditto.
35	Babu Ambica Charan Chatterjee (Bengal)	Ditto.
	Pandit Mani Ram	Ditto. Deceased
	Mr. Ravji Balaji Karandikar	Ditto. Ditto.
	Maung Shwe Tha, K.S.M., A.T.M.	Ditto. Ditto.
36	M. R. Ry. Rao Bahadur Annu Chudambara Pranatharthihara Aiyar Avergal (Madras)	3rd June 1913.
37	Khan Bahadur Kutb-ud-din (Raj-Nandgaon State), (Central Provinces)	Ditto.
38	Maung Pe (?), K. S. M. (Burma)	Ditto.
39	Rao Bahadur Ramchandra Narayan Joglekar (Bombay) . . .	Ditto.
40	Babu Khagendra Nath Mitra (Bengal)	Ditto.
41	Mr. Munchershaw Framji Oonvala (Bengal)	Ditto.
42	Mr. Manmatha Nath Ghosh, M.A., B.L. (Bengal)	22nd June 1914.
43	Rai Bahadur Tilok Chand (Punjab)	Ditto.
44	Shankar Madho Chitnavis, Esq., B.A. (Central Provinces and Berar).	Ditto.
45	Babu Kanti Bhushan Sen (Bihar and Orissa)	Ditto.
46	Rao Bahadur Anant Sadashiv Tambe (Bombay)	Ditto.

APPENDIX B.

*[Referred to in the Answer to Question 2, page 344, ante]**

**List of recipients of the Kaisar-i-Hind Medal
from the 2nd January 1911 to the 1st
January 1915.**

KAISAR-I-HIND MEDAL.

NOTIFICATION.

Calcutta, the 2nd January 1911

No. 1.—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General is pleased to announce that His Majesty the King-Emperor of India has been graciously pleased to award the Kaisar-i-Hind Medal of the First Class for Public Service in India to:—

1. LADY THERESE MUIR-MACKENZIE, wife of Sir J. Muir-Mackenzie, late Senior Member of the Council of the Governor of Bombay.
2. LIEUTENANT-COLONEL HENRY SMITH, M.D., Indian Medical Service, Civil Surgeon of Amritsar, Punjab.
3. MRS. EDWIN DAVIES, Chief Lady Superintendent, Lady Minto Indian Nursing Association.
4. MAJOR THOMAS WALTER IRVINE, M.B., F.R.C.S.E., Indian Medical Service, late Residency Surgeon, Mewar, Rajputana.
5. KHAN BAHADUR ARDESHIR DINSHAJI CHINAL, retired District Judge, Central Provinces.

His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General is pleased to award the Kaisar-i-Hind Medal of the Second Class for Public Service in India to:—

1. LIEUTENANT-COLONEL FREDERICK AUGUST CHRISTIAN KREYER, Indian Army, Cantonment Magistrate, Nasirabad.
2. MRS MITTNER, late Lady Superintendent, District Board Schools, Jullundur.
3. MA MA GYI of Prome.
4. MRS JWALA PRASAD (Srimati Purnima Devi), wife of the Hon'ble Pandit Jwala Prasad, M.A., Collector of Muzaffarnagar, United Provinces.
5. BABU LAL BIHARI SHAH, Founder, Principal and Secretary of the Industrial Home and School for Blind Children, Entally, Calcutta.
6. DR. CHARLES BANKS, M.D., C.M., D.P.H., Superintendent of Emigration and Protector of Emigrants, Calcutta.
7. MRS SASI MUKHTI NAG, Hospital Assistant in charge of the Lady Dufferin Hospital, Dacca.
8. THE REV. DR. FREDERICK VOLKOMOR PAUL SCHULTZE, Superintendent of the Leper Asylum, Salur, Madras Presidency.
9. MISS BERTHA THORN, a member of the Baptist Zenana Mission, Delhi.
10. SHEIKH SALA-UD-DIN, a landlord of Multai in the Betul District, Central Provinces.
11. MUNSHI GULAM HAFIZ MUHAMMAD, a member of the Ajmer Municipal Committee, Rajputana.
12. LALA RAM DAS, retired Hospital Assistant, Dera Ismail Khan.
13. MAJOR ROBERT JAMES BLACKHAM, Royal Army Medical Corps, Sanitary Officer, 1st (Peshawar) Division.

A. EARLE,

*Offg. Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department.*

Delhi, the 12th December 1911

No. 75-C. D.—His Excellency the Governor-General is pleased to announce that the King-Emperor has been graciously pleased to award the Kaiser-i-Hind Medal of the First Class for Public Service in India to:—

1. HER EXCELLENCY THE LADY HARDINGE OF PENSHURST, C. I.
2. MAJOR ALBERT ELIJAH WALTER, Indian Medical Service, Superintendent, X-Ray Institute, Dehra Dun.
3. DENYS DESAUMAREZ BRAY, ESQUIRE, Indian Civil Service, Census Superintendent, Baluchistan
4. JOHN THEODORE ROEBUCK STARK, ESQUIRE, Registrar of the Railway Department of the Government of India
5. MAX CARL CHRISTIAN BONIG, ESQUIRE, Extra Assistant Conservator of Forests, Port Blair.
6. RAO BAHADUR RAM BHAI MEGHASHAM JOSHI, Extra-Assistant Commissioner, Chanda, Central Provinces
7. HAROLD FIELDING PATRICK HALL, ESQUIRE, lately a Deputy Commissioner in Burma (retired).
8. JAMES EMILE DUBERN, ESQUIRE, Vice-President of the Rangoon Municipal Committee
9. FRANK FREDERICK LYALL, ESQUIRE, Indian Civil Service, Magistrate and Collector, Muzafferpur, Bengal.
10. MAJOR ARTHUR GWYTHER, M.B., F.R.C.S., Indian Medical Service, Civil Surgeon, Howrah, and Superintendent of the Howrah Jail.
11. DARCY LINDSAY, ESQUIRE, Joint Honorary Secretary, Calcutta Club.
12. RAI HARI MOHAN CHANDRA BAHADUR, Secretary, Lewis Jubilee Sanitarium, Darjeeling, and an Honorary Magistrate, Darjeeling.
13. EDWARD GOLDING BARTON, ESQUIRE, B.A., B.E., M.I.C.E., District Engineer, Darbhanga, Bengal.
14. DR THOMAS JOSEPH O'DONNELL, lately Chief Medical Officer, Kolar Gold Fields.
15. THE REVEREND CECIL EARLE TYNDALE-BISCOE, M.A., Principal of the Church Missionary Society Schools, Kashmir
16. CAPTAIN JASPER ROBERT JOLY TYRRELL, M.B., Indian Medical Service, Agency Surgeon, Bhopawar, Central India.
17. MAJOR WILLIAM HANCOCK TUCKER, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., Indian Medical Service, District Medical and Sanitary Officer, Coimbatore, Madras Presidency
18. DR. HERBERT F. LECHMERE TAYLOR, M.B., PH.D., M.A., of the Church of Scotland Mission, Jalalpur, in the Gujrat District, Punjab, and in charge of the Jalalpur Hospital.
19. JOSEPH WILSON-JOHNSTON, ESQUIRE, B.A., Barrister-at-Law, Indian Civil Service, Assistant Commissioner, Dera Ghazi Khan District, Punjab.
20. ALEXANDER BROADWAY, ESQUIRE, Honorary Magistrate, Shorkot Tahsil, Jhang District, Punjab.
21. GEORGE RAMSAY MURRAY, ESQUIRE, Indian Civil Service, Assistant Magistrate, United Provinces, on special duty
22. EDWARD MARSDEN HODGSON, ESQUIRE, Forest Department, Bombay, Deputy Conservator of Forests, Surat, and Assistant Political Agent for the Dangs.
23. THE REVEREND GEORGE PRITCHARD TAYLOR, M.A., D.D., of the Irish Presbyterian Mission, Ahmedabad, and President and Professor of the Stevenson Memorial Divinity School, Ahmedabad, Bombay Presidency.

24. THE HONOURABLE SARDAR RAJI SHAMBHUSINGH AMARSING JADHAVRAO RAJI of Malegaon, Bombay Presidency, an Additional Member of the Council of the Governor of Bombay for making Laws and Regulations.
25. THE REVEREND JOHN CAMERON YOUNG, Medical Missionary of the Keith Falconer Mission at Shaikh Othman, Aden
26. JAMES FOREST BRUNTON, ESQUIRE, M.I.C.E., M.I.M.E., Chief Officer and Chief Engineer of the Karachi Municipality
27. JEHANGIR HORMUSJI KOTHARI, ESQUIRE, of Karachi, a Municipal Councillor, Karachi Municipality.
28. DR RAGHAVENDRA ROW, M.D., D.S.C., of Bombay
29. MISS BECK, Secretary, National Indian Association

Delhi, the 12th December 1911.

No. 76-C. D.—His Excellency the Governor-General is pleased to award the Kaiser-i-Hind Medal of the Second Class for Public Service in India to:—

1. PETER HENRY CLUTTERBUCK, ESQUIRE, F.Z.S., F.R.G.S., F.E.S., Deputy Conservator of Forests, United Provinces and Oudh, Major, 2nd (Northern) Regiment, U. P. Horse, and an Honorary A.-D.-C. to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces
2. BRIAN EDWARD O'CONNOR, ESQUIRE, B.A., Barrister-at-Law, Advocate, High Court of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.
3. BRYCE CHUDLEIGHT BURT, ESQUIRE, B.S.C., F.C.S., Deputy Director of Agriculture, Central Circle, Cawnpore, United Provinces
4. ANDREW ANDERSON, ESQUIRE, Secretary to the Quetta Municipality.
5. U KO of Kyigon, Shwebo District, Chairman of the Kyigon Pathi Rural Co-operative Credit Society and of the Tantabin Union, Burma Retired Police officer.
6. MAUNG PO TOK, Municipal Commissioner of Tharrawaddy, Burma.
7. FREDERICK JAMES LANGHORNE, ESQUIRE, Extra-Assistant Conservator of Forests, North Chanda Division, Central Provinces.
8. D. MARGARET MACKELLAR, Lady Doctor of the Canadian Mission, Neemuch, Central India
9. MUSSAMAT PARBATI BAI, of Baghoda in the Betul District, Central Provinces
10. MULLA YUSUF ALI, KOTHEWALA, of Burhanpur, Central Provinces
11. JEONA PATEL, Malguzar of Roshna, in the Balaghat District, Central Provinces.
12. RAO BAHADUR BAFU RAO DADA, Vice-President of the Nagpur Municipality, Central Provinces.
13. MISS ROSE MARGARET PHAILBUS, of the Krishnagar Medical Mission, Bengal.
14. BABU HARNATH SINGH, Coal-cutting Contractor at Giridih, Bengal, Chairman of the Educational Sub-Committee in the East Indian Railway Company's Collieries.
15. THE REVEREND JAMES MERRY MACPHAIL, M. S., of Monghyr, Bengal.
16. THE REVEREND FREDERICK WILLIAM AMBERY SMITH, Senior Member of the Wesleyan Mission in Bankura and in charge of the Bankura Leper Asylum, Bengal.
17. MISS ELEANOR LOUISA MOORE, of the Baptist Zenana Mission, Barisal, Eastern Bengal and Assam
18. JOHN HEWETT STEPHENS, ESQUIRE, Municipal Engineer, Civil and Military Station, Bangalore, Mysore
19. MISS ALEXANDRINA MATILDA MACPHAIL, L.R.O.P. & S., of the United Free Church of Scotland Mission, Madras

20. THE REVEREND JOHN SCUDDER CHANDLER, of the American Madura Mission in the Madras Presidency.
21. MIRZA NASRULLA KHAN, Honorary Vice-Consul, Kerman, Persian Gulf
22. AGHA MOHAMED KHALIL-BIN-MOHAMED KABIM, Dragoman in the British Residency, Bushire, Persian Gulf
23. MACKERTICH GULZAD, ESQUIRE, Provision Contractor to the Navy and Indian Marine, Bushire, Persian Gulf.
24. YASUF KANOW, an Arab Merchant of Bahrein, Persian Gulf.
25. DR. EDITH BROWN of the Memorial Mission Hospital, Ludhiana, Punjab.
26. LALA DHAEM CHAND, Tahsildar, Dera Ghazi Khan, Punjab, on special duty in connection with the new Chorutta Town.
27. LALA MATHURA DAS, Indian Subordinate Medical Department, Sub-Assistant Surgeon in the Punjab.
28. COMMISSARY (Honorary Captain) WILLIAM DAVID GRAY, Indian Miscellaneous List, Chief Clerk, Military Secretary's Branch, Army Head-Quarters.
29. MISS ELIZABETH ANNIE WILDMAN, B.R.C., Queen Alexandra's Military Nursing Service, Lady Superintendent, Poona.
30. MISS ELEANOR SARAH KELLY, Queen Alexandra's Military Nursing Service, Lady Superintendent, Meerut (on leave)
31. MISS MARY LAVINIA HAYES, Queen Alexandra's Military Nursing Service, Lady Superintendent, Rawalpindi
32. MISS HELEN ANNA MACDONALD RAIT, Queen Alexandra's Military Nursing Service, Senior Nursing Sister, Lucknow (on leave).
33. HONORARY CAPTAIN CHARLES HENRY ORMAN, Senior Assistant Surgeon, Indian Subordinate Medical Department, Dalhousie, Punjab.
34. SUBADAR ABDUR RAZZAK KHAN, Senior Sub-Assistant Surgeon, 1st Class, Indian Subordinate Medical Department, Bengal
35. JAMADAR NIRANJAN DAS, Senior Sub-Assistant Surgeon, 2nd Class, Indian Subordinate Medical Department, Bengal.
36. IHSAN ALI, Sub-Assistant Surgeon, 1st Class, Indian Subordinate Medical Department, Bengal.
37. USMAN NAWAZ KHAN, Senior Sub-Assistant Surgeon, 1st Class, Indian Subordinate Medical Department, Madras.
38. SHAIKH ALI SHABASH, Senior Sub-Assistant Surgeon, 1st Class, Indian Subordinate Medical Department, Bombay
39. MISS MOTIBAI KAPADIA, F.R.C.S., Medical Officer in charge of the Victoria Jubilee Dispensary, Ahmedabad, Bombay Presidency.
40. THE REVEREND JOHN FERGUSON STEELE, M.A., Missionary at Anand, and an Honorary Magistrate, Anand, Northern Division, Bombay Presidency.
41. OLIVER HAROLD BAPTIST STARTE, ESQUIRE, B.A., Indian Civil Service, Assistant Collector, on special duty in connection with the Settlement of Criminal Tribes in the Bijapur District, Bombay Presidency.
42. SAMUEL ALGERNON STRIP, ESQUIRE, Principal, Talukdari Girassia School, Wadhwan, Kathiawar, Bombay Presidency
43. ROBERT TULLIS HARRISON, ESQUIRE, J.P., Public Works Department, Bombay, Under-Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Public Works Department, Irrigation and Buildings and Roads Branches.
44. MISS LAIS MOXON, Governess, Akalkot State, Bombay Presidency.
45. TRIMBAK RAGHUNATH GUNE, ESQUIRE, L.M. & S., in charge of the Cholera Hospital at Pandharpur, Bombay Presidency.

46. ALEXANDER MCGREGOR MAACKENZIE, ESQUIRE, Secretary, Municipal Committee, Ajmer, Rajputana.
47. ALBERT EDWARD PIERRE GRIESEN, ESQUIRE, Superintendent of the Gardens of the Taj Mahal at Agra, United Provinces.
48. SARDAR SAHIB BALWANT SINGH, Assistant Engineer, Public Works Department, Punjab
49. MISS FLETCHER of the Baptist Medical Mission, Gurgaon District, Punjab.
50. R. PARSONS, ESQUIRE, Personal Assistant to the Military Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy.
51. W. G. HANRAHAN, ESQUIRE, Assistant Secretary, Countess of Dufferin's Fund
52. C. B. OWEN, ESQUIRE, Executive Engineer, North-Western Railway, Lahore.
53. AUGUSTUS FREDERICK JOHNSON, ESQUIRE, Executive Engineer, North-Western Railway, Lahore.
54. LIEUTENANT ALAN HENRY MOUNT, Royal Engineers, Executive Engineer, North-Western Railway, Lahore.
55. MOHAMED NAIMULLAH, Senior Sub-Assistant Surgeon, Viceroy's Bodyguard.
56. DR. M. Y. YOUNG of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company.

Simla, the 14th June 1907.

No. 597.—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General is pleased to announce that His Majesty the King-Emperor of India has been graciously pleased to award the Kaiser-i-Hind Medal of the First Class for Public Service in India to —

1. M. R. RY. T. MADHAVAN NAIR AVERGAL, M.D., Private Medical Practitioner and a Commissioner of the Municipal Corporation of Madras.
2. MISS CATHARINE FRANCES LING, a member of the Church of England Zenana Mission, Madras Presidency
3. REVEREND MOTHER MARY OF ST. PAULA, Lady Superior of the College of the Sacred Heart and of the Convent of the Good Shepherd at Bangalore
4. EDWARD GEORGE HICKIE, ESQUIRE, Secretary, Calcutta Trades Association.
5. ABDUS SAMAD KHAN, Chief Secretary of the Government of His Highness the Nawab of Rampur.
6. PERCY BROOKS BRAMLEY, ESQUIRE, Deputy Inspector General of Police in the United Provinces.
7. HIS HIGHNESS RAJA MALHAR RAO BABA SAHIB PUAR, of Dewas State, Junior Branch, Central India.
8. HARRY WILLIAM MACLEAN IVES, ESQUIRE, A.M.I.C.E., Public Works Department, Executive Engineer, Irrigation Branch, Upper Chenab Canal, Punjab.
9. SHYAM NARAYAN PANDIT, ESQUIRE, BAR-AT-LAW, of Rajkot, Kathiawar.

No. 598.—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General is pleased to award the Kaiser-i-Hind Medal of the Second Class for Public Service in India to :—

1. REVEREND FATHER PERROY, Superintendent of the Roman Catholic Mission Schools at Thanze, Burma.
2. MAUNG KYAW, 2nd Grade Advocate, Mongwa Town, Lower Chindwin District, Burma.

3. BABU PARBATI SANKAR RAI CHAUDHURI, Zamindar of Jaigunj, Dinajpur District, Bengal.
4. BABU BARODA SUNDAR PAL, Manager of the Estate of the Hon'ble Nawab Sayed Hussain Haidar Chaudhari in the Tippera District, Bengal.
5. MRS. LILLIAN DOROTHEA STEWART, wife of the Manager of the Gadi Silk Factory, Muzaffarpur District, Bihar and Orissa
6. MRS. ALICE RAIKES, Missionary, Hooghly, Bengal
7. MISS JOSEPHINE ANNIE EVANS, Church of England Zenana Mission, Barnagore, Bengal.
8. THOMAS LEONARD GODFREY, ESQUIRE, Sanitary Inspector, Hyderabad Residency Bazar, Local Fund.
9. WILLIAM FRASER, ESQUIRE, Merchant and Municipal Councillor Coimbatore, Madras Presidency.
10. RAO SAHIB DAJI RAMCHANDRA, Subordinate Medical Service, Sub-Assistant Surgeon (retired), Nagpur
11. MRS. FLORENCE PRIDEAUX TAYLOR, wife of Mr. Alfred Taylor of the Friend's Foreign Mission Association, Sehere, Central India
12. BABU BHAJAN LAL, Head Clerk, Locomotive Superintendent's Office, Rajputana-Malwa Railway, and Municipal Commissioner, Ajmer, Rajputana.
13. MISS ANNA BOLSTER, Lady Superintendent, Queen Alexandra's Military Nursing Service for India, Secunderabad
14. KHAN ABDUL MAJID KHAN, Pathan, of Jullundar, Inspector of Co-operative Credit Societies.
15. ROBERT HENRY LOOKE, ESQUIRE, Superintendent, Government Imperial Gardens, Delhi, Punjab.
16. TOM SALKIELD, ESQUIRE, Municipal Engineer, Delhi, Punjab.
17. MRS. LOUISE LAWRENCE, wife of H. S. Lawrence, Esquire, Indian Civil Service, Collector of Karachi.
18. SISTER FANNIE CECILIA, of the Community of St. Mary the Virgin, Wantage, Sister in charge, Sassoon Hospital, Poona.
19. GANESH KRISHNA CHITALE, ESQUIRE, Pleader and President of the Ahmednagar Municipality.
20. DRONDO KESHAV KARVE, ESQUIRE, Professor at the Fergusson College, Poona.

H. WHEELER,

*Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department.*

Delhi, the 1st January 1913.

No. 103-D.—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General is pleased to announce that His Majesty the KING-EMPEROR OF INDIA has been graciously pleased to award the Kaiser-i-Hind Medal of the First Class for Public Service in India to—

1. Major HENRY WILLIAM GRATTAN, Royal Army Medical Corps, Officer in-charge, Enteric Fever Convalescent Depôt, Naini Tal, and late Deputy Assistant Director, Medical Services (Sanitary), 8th Lucknow Division.
2. REVEREND ALFRED HERBERT HILDESLEY, M.A., Education Department, late Principal, Lawrence Military Asylum, Sanawar, Punjab
3. The VERY REVEREND THE ABBE NOEL RONDY, Vicar-General of Coimbatore, Madras.
4. Dr JOHN ANDREW TURNER, M.D., C.M., D.P.H., Health Officer, Bombay Municipality.

5. Mr. JYOTSANATH GHOSAL, Indian Civil Service, Collector of Panch Mahals District, Bombay.
6. The Reverend EDMOND LINWOOD STRONG, M.A. (Oxon), Oxford Mission to Calcutta, Barisal, Bengal
7. Major ERNEST REINHOLD ROST, Indian Medical Service, Senior Civil Surgeon, Rangoon, Burma.
8. Mrs. GABRIELLE LOUISE CAROLINE leHOWARD, M.A., Personal Assistant to the Imperial Economic Botanist
9. Major ELLACOTT LEAMON WARD, Indian Medical Service, Punjab

No. 104-D.—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General is pleased to award the Kaisar-i-Hind Medal of the Second Class for Public Service in India to—

1. Major GILBERT LANDALE CATTELL, Indian Army, lately Cantonment Magistrate, Central India
2. Sub-Assistant Surgeon MAKKHAN SINGH, Indian Subordinate Medical Department, in sub-medical charge, Cantonment Hospital, Rawalpindi.
3. Mrs. ALICE MAUDE PENNELL (*née* Sorabji), B.Sc., M.B., B.S. (London), Medical Missionary, North-West Frontier Province.
4. Rai Sahib LALA AMAR NATH of Lahore, Joint Secretary, King Edward Memorial Committee, Punjab
5. Mr. DOUGLAS GUMBLEY, Assistant Superintendent, Indo-European Telegraph Department, in charge Jask Sub-Division, Persian Gulf.
6. SAHAN RAM KALI a widow lady of Chandausi in the Moradabad District.
7. Miss LYDIA WOERNER, M.D., Medical-Missionary of the American Evangelical Lutheran Mission, Rajahmundry, Madras.
8. M. R. RY PICHU AIYAR NARAYANA AIYAR AVERGAL, B.A., B.L., Vakil, High Court, Madura, Madras.
9. Miss JANE BLISSETT BARDSLEY, Zenana Missionary at Katni-Murwara, Jubbulpore District, Central Provinces.
10. Mr. PURSHOTAMDAS THAKURDAS, Honorary General Secretary and Treasurer to the Bombay Central Famine Relief Fund, Bombay.
11. The Reverend FATHER AUGUSTIN, Missionary, Capucin Mission, Ajmer
12. Mrs. RAMABAI RANADE, Manager, "Seva Sadan" charity for women in Bombay, and Joint Secretary of the Hindu Widows' Home, Poona
13. Mr. JAMES WILLIAM NICOL CUMMING, Extra Assistant Commissioner, and City Magistrate, Quetta, Baluchistan
14. Rai JADU NATH MOZUMDAR BAHADUR, B.A., B.L., Government Pleader, Jessore, Bengal.
15. The Reverend JOHN CEREDIG EVANS, Headmaster, Government High School, Shillong, Assam
16. Moulvi SAIYED ABUL FATTAH, Honorary Magistrate of Rungpore, Bengal.
17. Mr. JOHN PHILLIP SEQUEIRA, late Extra Assistant to the Resident, Persian Gulf.
18. Babu SARAT CHANDRA RAY, Pleader, Ranchi, Bihar and Orissa
19. Babu RAMDHARI SINGH, Medical Practitioner and Vice-Chairman of the Motihari Municipal Committee, Bihar and Orissa.
20. ESMAIL KADIR MARACAN, General Merchant, Burma.

A. H. McMAHON,
Secretary to the Government of India.

Simla, the 3rd June 1913

His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General is pleased to announce that His Imperial Majesty the KING-EMPEROR OF INDIA, has been graciously pleased to award the Kaiser-i-Hind Medal of the First Class for Public Service in India to—

1. LADY DANE, wife of Sir Louis Dane, retiring Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.
2. LADY BENSON, wife of Sir Ralph Benson, lately a Puisne Judge of the High Court, Madras.
3. The Honourable CHRISTINA PHILIPPA AGNES SPENCE, wife of Major A. H. O. Spence, Assistant Secretary, Army Department, Government of India.
4. ROBERT STANES, Esquire, Merchant, Madras
5. Rao Bahadur RAMNARAYAN AMARCHAND, Municipal Councillor, Poona, Bombay.
6. Sardar DYAL SINGH, Man, Sardar Bahadur, Public Works Department, Punjab, President of the Council of Administration of the Faridkot State, Punjab
7. Lieutenant-Colonel PATRICK BALFOUR HAIG, M B, Indian Medical Service, Agency Surgeon, Bhopal, Central India
8. Raja Rao JOGENDRA NARAYAN ROY Bahadur, of Lalgola, Murshidabad, Bengal.
9. The Reverend JOHN BUCHANAN, B A, M D, Missionary, Amkhut, Central India.
10. FREDERICK ST. GEORGE de LAUTOUR BOOTH-TUCKER, Esquire, Salvation Army

His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General is pleased to award the Kaiser-i-Hind Medal of the Second Class for Public Service in India to—

1. Miss ELLEN MARGARET FARRER, M B, B S (Lond.), Baptist Mission, Bhiwani, Punjab
2. Mr BHAGAT RAM, Barrister-at-Law, Jullunder, Punjab
3. CHARLES VERNON DALRYMPLE HAY, Esquire, Assistant Commissioner, Salt, Abkari and Customs Department, Madras
4. Subadar SHEER SINGH, late Subadar of 1st King George's Own Sappers and Miners
5. Mrs ALICE ROBERT HENDERSON, wife of Mr Henderson, Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras
6. Mr. RUSTAMJI HORMASJI MADAN, L.C.E., Extra Deputy Conservator and Divisional Forest Officer, Bombay.
7. The Reverend Father JOHN HOFFMANN, S J, Roman Catholic Priest, Member of the Roman Catholic Mission at Ranchi, Bihar and Orissa.
8. MAUNG BA TOK, Rice Mill Manager and Chairman of the Upper Burma Central Co-operative Bank, Limited, Burma.
9. HENRY WEIR, Esquire, Managing Partner, Kaline Tea Estate, Cachar, Assam.
10. Mr MANEKSHAH CAWASHA TALEYARKEAN, Deputy Accountant, Bombay Corporation, Bombay.
11. HOWARD MACKENZIE, Esquire, Dredging Superintendent, Kashmir.
12. SAMUEL TIMOTHY, Esquire, Station Superintendent, Ajmer Junction, Ajmer, Rajputana
13. Miss RACHEL PATERSON, Missionary, Ajmer.
14. The Reverend JOHN ERNEST CUMMINGS, D D, American Baptist Missionary, Burma.
15. Sister CATHERINE, Nursing Sister, Rangoon Leper Asylum, Burma.

- 16 Honorary Captain CHARLES SHERRIFFE WISEMAN, late Treasurer of the Sassoon Hospital's Nursing Fund Association, Bombay.
17. Lieutenant-Colonel CHARLES THOMAS PETERS, Indian Medical Service, retired
- 18 VALAPPAKKAM DAIVASIGOMONI THANDAVAROYAN MUDALI, Senior Apothecary, His Highness the Nizam's Guaranteed State Railway, Hyderabad, Deccan.
- 19 The Reverend WILLIAM CUTTING, Principal of the London Mission School, Benares.
20. Miss ADA LOUISE PIEROR, Army Nursing Reserve
21. Honorary Major LOUIS ARTHUR HENRY CLEEK, Assistant Surgeon on the Viceroy's Staff.

A. H. McMAHON,

Secretary to the Government of India

Delhi, the 1st January 1914

No. 261-D—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General is pleased to announce that His Majesty the KING-EMPEROR OF INDIA has been graciously pleased to award the Kaiser-i-Hind Medal of the First Class for Public Service in India to—

1. Dr WILLIAM STOKES, M.B., Chief of the Basel German Medical Mission, Madras
2. Raja BAN BIHARI KAPUR, C.S.I., of Burdwan, Bengal.
3. Dr MARCUS BRADFORD CARLETON, M.D., in charge of the Leper Asylum, Subathu, Punjab
- 4 The Honourable Rai Bahadur RAM SARAN DAS, Mill-owner and Contractor, of Lahore, and Member of the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor, Punjab, for making Laws and Regulations.
5. The Reverend PAUL WAGNER, Superintendent of the Leper Asylum, Purulia, Bihar and Orissa.
- 6 The Reverend Mother MECHTILDA, Mother Superior, Loreto Convent, Shillong, Assam
7. The Reverend JAMES SHEPHERD, M.D., D.D., Missionary, United Free Church of Scotland Mission, Fdaipur, Rajputana

No. 262-D—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General is pleased to award the Kaiser-i-Hind Medal of the Second Class for Public Service in India to—

1. Lady CONSTANCE ATKINSON, wife of the Honourable Sir JOHN ATKINSON, K.C.S.I., Indian Civil Service, an Ordinary Member of the Council of the Governor of Madras.
- 2 JOHN WILLIAM MAIDEN, Esquire, Chairman of the Municipal Council, Masulipatam, Madras Presidency.
3. Mr. ANTOLDAS HORGOVANDAS JAMBUSARVALA, B.A., LL.B., Public Prosecutor, Broach, and Vice-President, Broach Municipality, Bombay Presidency
4. CHATRABHUI GOVARDHANDAS, Merchant, firm of Messrs. Mulji Jetha & Co., Bombay
- 5 Mrs. SHIVAGAURI GAJJAR, Superintendent of the Vanita Vishram, Bombay and Surat, Bombay Presidency.
6. DONALD HORNE WARES, Esquire, Indian Civil Service, Officiating Magistrate and Collector of Burdwan, Bengal.
- 7 Dr CHARLES HENRY STANDISH HOPE, Medical Missionary, Pubna, Bengal.

8. Babu SASHI BHUSAN MALLIK, of Dacca, Bengal
9. Sister PATRICK, Superintendent of St Joseph's Convent, Mandalay, Burma
10. MAUNG PO THEIN, Trader, and Municipal Commissioner of Syriam, Burma.
11. Miss MARY PRISCILLA WESTERN, Assistant Principal, Queen Mary's College for Girls, Lahore, Punjab.
12. JOHN POWELL, Esquire, Honorary Magistrate, Murree, Punjab, and a Major in the Punjab Light Horse
13. Senior Sub-Assistant Surgeon MOHAMMED KHAN, Indian Subordinate Medical Department, in Sub-Medical Charge, 24th Punjabis.
14. Assistant Surgeon JAMES JOSEPH McDONALD, Indian Subordinate Medical Department, Assistant Secretary to Director, Medical Service, Army Head-Quarters, India
15. Miss JENNY MULLER, of St. Stephen's Mission Hospital, Delhi.
16. Sister ANASTASIE, Superior Nursing Sister, Cuttack General Hospital, Bihar and Orissa.
17. The Reverend JOHN PENGWERN JONES, Minister, Welsh Calvinistic Mission, Maulvi Bazaar, South Sylhet, Assam.
18. Charles JOHN HOMER, Esquire, Public Works Department, Sub-Engineer, Public Works Department, Burma, Honorary Assistant Engineer in charge of Lighthouse Construction in the Persian Gulf.
19. Seth MOTILAL of Piparia, Sohagpur Tahsil, Hosangabad District, Honorary Secretary, Sohagpur Central Co-operative Bank, Central Provinces and Berar.
20. ROBERT DOUGLAS THOMSON, Esquire, Indian Civil Service, an Assistant Commissioner in the Punjab.

No. 263-D.—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General is pleased to award the Bar to the Kaisar-i-Hind Medal of the Second Class for Public Service in India to—

1. Miss AGNES HENDERSON, M.D., Medical Missionary, Nagpur, Central Provinces and Berar.

J. B. WOOD,

Secretary to the Government of India.

Simla, the 22nd June 1914

No. 988-I-C—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General is pleased to announce that His Majesty the KING-EMPEROR OF INDIA has been graciously pleased to award the Kaisar-i-Hind Medal of the First Class for Public Service in India to—

1. ARTHUR DAVIES, Esquire, M.A., Bar.-at-Law, Principal, Madras Law College, Madras.
2. Mr. TRIBHUVANDAS NAROTTAMDAS MALVI, B.A., LL.B., Solicitor of Surat, Bombay Presidency.
3. ALBERT MEREDYTH YOUNG, Esquire, Superintendent, Northern India Salt Revenue Department, Bahadur Khel, North-West Frontier Province.
4. Rai HIRA SINGH, Chief of the Sangri State, Simla Hill States, Punjab.
5. Major CHARLES EDWARD SOUTHERN, M.B., Indian Medical Service, Chief Plague Medical Officer, Punjab.
6. The Reverend Mother GONZAGA, Provincial of the Order of Loreto Sisters, Calcutta.

7. Dewan Bahadur KRISHNARAJAPURAM POLLEGONDAI PUTTANNA CHETTY, late a Member of the Mysore State Council, President of the Bangalore City Municipality
8. Honorary Captain WILLIAM JOHN ALEXANDER HOGAN, Indian Subordinate Medical Department, Civil Surgeon and Superintendent of the Jail, Muzaaffarnagar, United Provinces.
9. WILLIAM COLDSTREAM, Esquire, Indian Civil Service (retired).

No. 989-I-C.—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General is pleased to announce that His Majesty the KING-EMPEROR OF INDIA has been graciously pleased to award to the Reverend EDWARD GUILFORD, Church Mission Society, Tarn Taran, Amritsar District, Punjab, a Bar to be worn with the Kaiser-i-Hind Medal for Public Service in India of the First Class, which has already been awarded to him.

No. 990-I-C.—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General is pleased to award the Kaiser-i-Hind Medal of the Second Class for Public Service in India to—

1. The Reverend GEORGE NICHOLAS THOMSEN, American Baptist Mission, Bapatla, Guntur District, Madras.
2. BAI ZAORBAI BHAGWANDAS, widow of the late Bhagwandas Narotamdas, Bombay
3. The Reverend FRANK VAN ALLEN, M.D., American Madura Mission, Madras.
4. Babu JOGENDRA NATH MUKHARJI, Bengal Police, Inspector of Police, Serampur, District Hooghly, Bengal
5. Miss EMMA TUDBALL, Lady Superintendent, Ahmedabad Nursing Association, Bombay Presidency.
6. Risaldar-Major (Honorary Captain) HANWANT SINGH, Sirdar Bahadur, of Beri, Rohtak District, Punjab.
7. Miss LILLIAN WINFRED BROCK, B.A., Indian Educational Service, Inspectress of Schools, Presidency and Burdwan Divisions, Bengal.
8. MAUNG SHWE THA, Bar-at-Law, Manager of W Re Gyaw Thu's Bank, Akyab, and Municipal Commissioner, Burma.
9. The Reverend CECIL SILAS MEAD, B.A., M.B., Ch.B., Medical Missionary, Orakandi, Gopalganj P S, Faridpur, Bengal.
10. Captain CHARLES REGINALD MACDONALD, Planter and a Captain in the Bihar Light Horse
11. JAMES THEODORE BEST, Esquire, M.A., Principal of St. John's College, Rangoon, Burma
12. PERCY ALBERT CHURCHWARD, Esquire, Managing Director of the Bank of Rangoon, Burma.
13. Assistant Surgeon GEORGE ARCHIBALD DEANE, Indian Subordinate Medical Department, in sub-charge of Station Hospital, Secunderabad.
14. Dr. JOHN HUTCHISON, Church of Scotland Mission, Chamba, Punjab.
15. THOMAS CHARLES FLASHMAN, Esquire, Member of the Rawalpindi Cantonment Committee and Murree Municipal Committee.
16. Mrs. DOROTHY WEBB-WARE, wife of Lieutenant-Colonel Webb-Ware, C.I.E., Political Agent, Chagai, Baluchistan.
17. FREDERICK CHIGHTON WALLER, Esquire, Merchant and Municipal Councillor, Delhi.
18. Miss JEAN GRANT, M.B., Ch.B., Medical Missionary, Seoni, Central Provinces and Berar.
19. SAMUEL GILBERT THOMAS, Esquire, Late Headmaster, St. John's College, Agra, United Provinces.

No. 991-I.-C.—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General is pleased to award the Bar to the Kaiser-i-Hind Medal of the Second Class for Public Service in India to the Honourable the Reverend ANDREW CAMPBELL, D.D., Missionary in charge of the Sonthal Mission at P'akhuria, Manbhum District, Bihar and Orissa, and an Additional Member of the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor for making Laws and Regulations

J. B. WOOD,

Political Secretary to the Government of India.

Delhi, the 1st January 1915

No. 2-D—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General is pleased to announce that His Majesty the KING-EMPEROR OF INDIA has been graciously pleased to award the Kaiser-i-Hind Medal of the First Class for Public Service in India to—

- 1 WILLIAM DOUGLAS ST. LEGER, Esquire, Organist, St. George's Cathedral, Madras.
- 2 The Reverend ANTOINE MARIE TABARD Chaplain of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Bangalore
3. Lieutenant-Colonel CHARLES HAMERTON PRITCHARD, Indian Army, Political Department, late Political Agent in Bundelkhand.
4. Hakim MAHOMAD AJMAL KHAN, Hazik-ul-Mulk, President, Anjuman Tibbia (Medical Association) of Delhi
5. EDWIN ASHBY PHELPS, Esquire, Indian Civil Service, Magistrate and Collector, Jalaun, United Provinces
- 6 Rai Bahadur MAHABIR PRASAD SHAH, of Chapra, Bihar and Orissa.
- 7 Major JAMES HUSBAND, M.B., F.R.C.S.E., Indian Medical Service, Civil Surgeon, Wana, North-West Frontier Province.
- 8 Dr. CHARLES ALBERT BENTLEY, M.B., D.P.H., Special Officer under the Sanitary Commissioner, Bengal.
- 9 Khan Bahadur QAZI KHALIL-UD-DIN AHMAD, Diwan of the Panna State, Central India.

No. 3-D.—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General is pleased to award the Kaiser-i-Hind Medal of the Second Class for Public Service in India to—

1. ALEXANDER STEEL, Esquire, Agent of Messrs A & F. Harvey & Co., Cotton Merchants at Virudupatti, Tinnevely District, Madras Presidency.
2. ROBERT WILLIAM HAMILTON WAIT, Esquire, Chairman, Municipal Council, Adoni, Bellary District, Madras Presidency.
- 3 AZAM KESARKHAN KALUBAYA, Thakur of Vajiria, Rewa Kantha Agency, Gujarat, Bombay Presidency
4. Mr GOPAL KRISHNA DEODHAR, M.A., Member of the Servants of India Society, Poona, Bombay Presidency.
5. Assistant Surgeon MEHTA HABNAM DUTTA, Indian Subordinate Medical Department, Lecturer in Anatomy, Medical College, Lahore.
6. HUGH FYSON, Esquire, B.A., Indian Civil Service, Assistant Commissioner in the Punjab
7. Miss MONA BOSE, Lady Superintendent, Victoria Girls' School, Lahore, Punjab.
8. Captain HENRY BUNDLE LAWRENCE, Indian Army Political Department, Assistant Political Agent in Bundelkhand, Central India.

- 9 Major RANDLE HARRY PALIN, Indian Army, Cantonment Magistrate, Quetta, Baluchistan
Babu AKHOY KUMAR MOITRA, Director of Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, Bengal.
- 11 Mrs. CATHERINE STUART RICHARDSON, wife of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice T. W. Richardson, a Puisne Judge of the High Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal.
- 12 U. KAN BAW, Advocate of Pyinmana, Yamethin, Burma.
- 13 U. PET GYI, a Municipal Commissioner of Salin, Burma
14. Babu NAGENDRA NATH MUKHARJI, Provincial Civil Service, Special Excise Deputy Collector, Gaya, Bihar and Orissa.
- 15 The Reverend Mother Saint MONICA of the Convent of St. Joseph at Saugor, Senior Sister in charge of Nursing at Bhagalpore Hospital, Bihar and Orissa.
16. Sub-Assistant Surgeon HAE NARAIN, Indian Subordinate Medical Department, Kotah, Rajputana
17. The Reverend PITT HOLLAND MOORE, Missionary of the American Baptist Mission, Nowgong, Assam
- 18 Miss ELIZABETH LLOYD, B.A., Missionary of the Welsh Calvinistic Mission, Silchar, Assam.
19. The Reverend EUSTACE DICKINSON PRIOR, Church Missionary Society, Mandla, Central Provinces

No. 4-D.—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General is pleased to award the Bar to the Kaisar-i-Hind Medal of the Second Class for Public Service in India to—

1. The Reverend ADAM ANDREW, Missionary, United Free Church of Scotland, Chingleput, Madras Presidency.
2. Miss ANNE JANE ASKWITH, Principal, Sarah Tucker College, and C.M.S. Missionary, Palamcottah, Tinnevely District, Madras Presidency

J. B. WOOD,

Political Secretary to the Government of India.

KAISAR-I-HIND MEDAL OF THE SECOND CLASS.

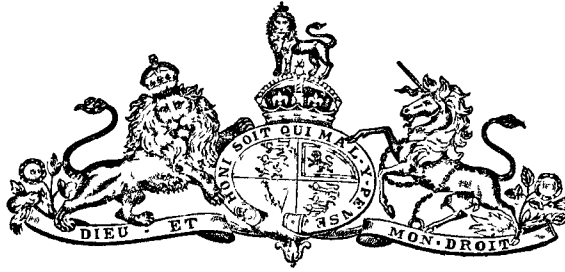
4th February 1915.

1. Mr. HERBERT DOMINIE THOY, of the Indo-European Telegraph Department, Fao, in the Persian Gulf
2. Mr. NA'OUV ABBO, lately Dragoman to the British Consulate at Basrah and now on the Staff of the Chief Political Officer in the Persian Gulf.

BAR TO THE KAISAR-I-HIND MEDAL OF THE SECOND CLASS.

February 1915.

- 1 The Reverend ALFRED TAYLOR, Missionary of the Friends Foreign Mission Association, Sehore, Central India



GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.
LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COUNCIL OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA
ASSEMBLED FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING LAWS AND REGULATIONS
UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF THE INDIAN COUNCILS ACTS, 1861 to 1909
(24 & 25 Vict., c. 87, 55 & 56 Vict., c. 14, AND 9 Edw. VII, c. 4).

The Council met at the Council Chamber, Imperial Secretariat, Delhi, on
Tuesday, the 9th March, 1915.

PRESENT :

The Hon'ble SIR HARCOURT BUTLER, K C.S.I., C.I.E., Vice-President, *presiding*,
and 50 Members, of whom 43 were Additional Members.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

SECOND STAGE.

The Hon'ble Sir Robert Carlyle opened the second stage of
the discussion on, and introduced the following heads of, the Financial State-
ment for 1915-16:—

<i>Revenue.</i>	<i>Expenditure.</i>
Land Revenue.	Land Revenue.
Provincial Rates	Provincial Rates.
Forest.	Forests.
Scientific and other Minor Departments.	Scientific and other Minor Departments.
Irrigation.	Famine Relief.
Civil Works.	Protective Works, Irrigation.
	Irrigation.
	Civil Works.
	Capital outlay on Irrigation.

He said :—“ I rise to introduce the heads of the Financial Statement of
1915-16 standing against my name.

"I have nothing to add to what has been said in the memorandum regarding the Land Revenue and Provincial Rates heads.

"Our Forest revenue has suffered from the War and on the expenditure side also the amounts provided have in several provinces had to be curtailed on this account. But the aggregate grant, though lower than this year's budget figure, is higher than in any previous year, while the surplus, if less than a million sterling which was reached in 1912-13 and 1913-14, is expected to exceed that of the current year and is taken at the substantial figure of 124 lakhs.

"But although purely from the revenue point of view, our Forest property is of great and increasing value and although, with the development of Forest industries and the exploitation of our reserves, we may look forward with confidence to an increased income; the commercial is not the only object in view. We have also to conserve and improve the forests.

"I do not propose on this occasion to describe what is being done both on the commercial and on the sylvicultural side, as we hope this year to publish a quinquennial review of our forest administration and in this the policy which we are following will be fully set out.

"Hon'ble Members may have noticed a new feature in the form of the budget. Agriculture, I am glad to say, is no longer treated as a minor department but has been given the dignity of major heads of its own and these heads include receipts and expenditure under agriculture, veterinary and co-operation. In this way it will be possible to tell without difficulty what is being spent on the improvement of agriculture and allied objects. Next year's grant of 91 lakhs will be nearly half as much again as the expenditure four years ago and it is gratifying that at a time like the present many of the Provinces have found it possible to increase their expenditure under this head. Both at the Imperial Research Institute at Pusa and in the various Provincial Departments of Agriculture, the work of improving Indian agriculture is being steadily carried out on scientific lines—a work which has already borne fruit. Here, too, I do not propose to describe what is being done as we are preparing and will shortly publish an historical account of the work of the Agricultural Department in India.

"On the veterinary side also admirable work is being done and I cannot allow this opportunity to pass without referring to the sudden death of Colonel Holmes, the Imperial Bacteriologist. To his brilliant research work and his capable administration of the Imperial Laboratory at Muktesar we owe a great advancement in the treatment of cattle diseases in India and by his death the Department has sustained a serious loss.

"Under the other heads which concern the Revenue Department I have nothing to add to the remarks contained in the memorandum.

"Turning to the working of the Department of Public Works, our splendid productive system, after meeting all charges for maintenance and repairs, and for interest, has returned a net profit amounting to 292 lakhs of rupees during 1914-15 exceeding the forecast by 21 lakhs. We anticipate for 1915-16 a net profit of about the same amount as realized in the current year.

"The total provision in the revised and budget estimates respectively for new major works, both productive and protective, is 260 4 lakhs for the current year, and 239·1 lakhs for 1915-16. The latter will be the third year in succession in which there has been a diminution of capital outlay on major works as a whole. The reason is the same I gave last year, namely, that while the great triple canal project in the Punjab is rapidly approaching completion and therefore absorbing a considerably smaller amount of funds than formerly, no new project of anything approaching the same importance has yet been sanctioned to take its place in the construction programme. A number of projects of the

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first magnitude have been, or are at present in course of investigation; but for one reason or another they cannot yet be advanced for sanction. As the Council is aware, the Secretary of State decided last year to withhold sanction to the great Sukkur Barrage and Rohri project as designed. In the United Provinces another large project—the Sarda-Ganges-Jumna Feeder—has been delayed in consequence of the decision of the Local Government to revise it. The Cauvery Reservoir project in Madras is necessarily held up pending the final orders of the Government of India on the award of the arbitrator who was appointed to pronounce upon the dispute between the Governments of Madras and Mysore respecting the division of the waters of the Cauvery river. The orders of the Government of India have been held over pending receipt of a representation which the Madras Government propose to make in the matter. The Kistna dam scheme in Madras, and the Sutlej scheme in the Punjab are under investigation. During the current year a scheme for the construction of a large protective work in the Bombay Presidency, known as the Gokak Canal extension project, was submitted to the Secretary of State, whose orders are awaited. The estimate for this work amounts to 197 lakhs.

“The outlay on protective works has increased of recent years. The amount spent in 1912-13 was 63.98 lakhs and rose to 86.27 lakhs the year following. This includes about 11 lakhs from the general reserves of Government over and above Rs. 75 lakhs chargeable to the Famine Insurance grant. The revised estimate of the current year places the outlay at 85.24 lakhs and we are budgeting for 75 lakhs for next year as we cannot in a year seriously affected by war ask for any grant from loan funds beyond what is chargeable to Famine Relief Insurance.

“It may be of interest to compare the expenditure that has been incurred on capital works since the Irrigation Commission's Report was published with the programme of outlay recommended by that body. If a reference be made to paragraphs 123 and 139 of Volume I of the Report in question it will be seen that the Commission advocated the expenditure on productive and protective works of 44 crores in a cycle of 20 years, or an average of 220 lakhs per annum. During the ten years that have since elapsed, that is to say, in the period 1905-06 to 1914-15, we have spent 1625 and 633 lakhs, respectively, on productive and protective works; or 2258 lakhs in all. This gives an average annual expenditure of nearly 226 lakhs or about 6 lakhs beyond the rate of expenditure contemplated in the Report of the Commission. The expenditure during the last six years is still more largely in excess of the average annual expenditure recommended by the Commission.

“As regards Civil Works, I have nothing to add to what is stated in the Financial Statement regarding capital expenditure on the New Capital. So far as expenditure from Revenue is concerned, the total grant provided next year is 100 lakhs, that is, 19.50 lakhs less than the Budget grant for 1914-15. This reduction has been found necessary owing to the curtailment, generally, of ordinary administrative expenditure consequent on the war. The grant of 100 lakhs includes, (a) a reserve provision of 1.28 lakhs for Archaeological works, inclusive of 25 lakhs to be allotted to meet lapses from the grant of 1914-15; (b) 11.30 lakhs for the Delhi Province, ordinary; and (c) Rs. 3.18 lakhs payments in England on account of stores, furlough allowances, etc.

“Of the provision made in 1915-16, Rs. 36.46 lakhs represents the amount it is proposed to spend on Major Original Works, excluding Rs. 3.28 lakhs provided for Delhi Province, to meet the requirements of the Customs, Currency, the Post Office and Telegraph and other Departments. I would again draw attention to the fact that the Public Works Department is practically in the position of an Agent for other Departments, and that the provision made depends on the demands put forward by them. The provision for repairs, excluding Delhi Province, has been slightly reduced to Rs. 20.96 lakhs on account of the reduction made in the total grant.”

[*Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.*] [9TH MARCH, 1915.]**RESOLUTION *RE* INCREASED GRANT FOR IRRIGATION.**

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—"Sir, I beg to move that—

'This Council recommend that the Budget allotment for productive irrigation works be increased by 15 lakhs of rupees.'

"It is hardly necessary—or rather, it should hardly be necessary, for me to draw the attention of the Council to the importance of irrigation works. The Government have acknowledged it and they have followed a systematic policy of developing irrigation, which has led to the most beneficial results for which the country is grateful to the Government. But, Sir, there has been a feeling for a long time that the amount that should be spent on irrigation is not being spent, and more than once the attention of the Government has been drawn in this very Council during the last few years to the need for spending more on irrigation. The position at present is this. The last Irrigation Commission recommended that practically the whole amount of the Famine Insurance grant should be devoted to irrigation *minus* such sum as may be needed for the actual relief of famine when it should occur; but we find that even that figure has not been kept up to. The statement before the Council shows that in 1913-14 the amount spent was Rs. 1,92,33,927. In the budget for last year Rs. 1,80,00,000 was provided; the revised estimates show that Rs. 1,74,96,000 was spent; and in the budget for the coming year only Rs. 1,65,00,000 is provided; that is, that while even last year the budget provided for £1,200,000, or Rs. 1,80,00,000, this year it has been reduced by a further £100,000 or 15 lakhs of rupees. In view of the repeated demands that have been made for an increase in the grant for irrigation, this seems to me to be very unsatisfactory.

"Now, Sir, if it were that irrigation did not bring in sufficient receipts one could understand the unwillingness of Government to spend more on irrigation; but a glance at the figures given in this very statement would show that this is not so. By comparing the receipts from irrigation with those from railways, we get some very instructive figures. Railways for instance in 1911-12 brought in a net profit of 1.14. In the same year irrigation gave us 4.70. In 1912-13, the net profit from railways was 1.41. In the same year irrigation gave us 5.40. In 1913-14 railways returned 1.36, irrigation 5.87. In 1914-15, as the Hon'ble the Finance Member has explained, according to the revised estimates, railways will bring us only .53, whereas irrigation gives us 5.44. In the budget before us the net profit from railways is shown as .32: in the same year irrigation is shown as likely to yield 5.30.

"It seems, then, that as irrigation is ever so much more profitable and as it is so much more beneficial in many other respects, the Government ought to explain to the Council and to the country why it is that it is not able to provide for the amount recommended even by the Famine Commission; and if there are any temporary causes which stand in the way, it ought to take steps to remove those causes, so that at the very least the carrying out of irrigation works to the extent of the Famine Insurance grant should be provided for in every year's budget. In March, 1912, my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Mudholkar urged that the allotment for protective irrigation works should be increased by 50 lakhs. In the course of that debate the Hon'ble Sir Robert Carlyle said: 'I would ask the Council to accept my assurance that while the Government must oppose the resolution, they fully appreciate the importance of the matter, and so long as I fill my present post, I will not relax my efforts to develop irrigation whether protective or productive.'

"The diminishing figures provided every year for irrigation would lead one to think that if there has been no relaxation of effort on the part of the Hon'ble Member, there has not been that keenness which we desire to see to provide for that amount which should be provided for irrigation. I therefore commend this resolution to the consideration of the Government, and I hope that they

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will be able to add at least £100,000, which has been cut down from last year's Budget, to the allotment for irrigation."

The Hon'ble Sir Robert Carlyle :—" Sir, I must begin by explaining that my Hon'ble friend is under a misapprehension as to the recommendations of the Irrigation Commission. The recommendation was not that 220 lakhs should be spent on productive works alone, but on irrigation works of all kinds, and we fully acted up to their recommendations under this head, as I have already mentioned "

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—" May I inquire, Sir, where this is shown in the statement? "

The Hon'ble Sir Robert Carlyle :—" It is shown under various heads, not all under one head. I will show them to the Hon'ble Member after the debate."

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—" I would suggest that—"

The Hon'ble the Vice-President :—" Order! Order! "

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—" May I explain—"

The Hon'ble the Vice-President :—" There is no question of explanation; the Hon'ble Member has said that he would explain it later; the matter is therefore disposed of. The Hon'ble Member can reply "

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—" I was going to make a suggestion, if I may with your permission, Sir, that it would save the time of the Council if the allotments for irrigation were all shown in one place; it might then not have been necessary for me to bring up the resolution."

The Hon'ble Sir Robert Carlyle :—" I will consider that suggestion with regard to the next year's budget and will lay on the table at another meeting a statement showing the year's figures. While I welcome the resolution now before us as an indication of the interest taken by the Council in a matter of vital importance to the welfare of India, I cannot accept the additional sum it is proposed to grant as we have already provided in the Budget for the full amount we believe we can spend. We have met the demand of all Local Governments in full; in fact in some cases we have allotted somewhat more than we were asked for. Over and above this we have kept an unallotted sum of 10 lakhs on our hands as a reserve. The only effect of increasing the grant would be a lapse at the end of the year. There are very great difficulties in preparing large irrigation schemes. It is very disappointing, for example, that we are unable to commence work on the Sind scheme which took so many years to prepare. Some of our most distinguished irrigation engineers took part in the preparation and examination of the scheme, and the fact that it has failed to pass the scrutiny of the Secretary of State shows how difficult it is to prepare a completely satisfactory scheme when some of the conditions are unfavourable. I have already to-day, when introducing the budget heads with which my department is concerned, mentioned the unavoidable delays that have occurred in the case of other important projects. While I regret that in 1915-16 we cannot spend more on productive works, I foresee much larger expenditure in future, when the great works still under consideration have been put in hand. Independently of these large projects, other measures, involving heavy expenditure, are very likely to materialise in the near future. Experiments are going on regarding the water-proofing of channels, which, if successful, will lead to a considerable economy of water and enable us to extend largely the scope of our irrigation works. I can assure the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya that I have done all in my power to spend the largest sum possible on productive irrigation works. In these circumstances the Hon'ble Member may see fit to withdraw the resolution, as we could not spend the money if it were given to us."

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FINANCIAL STATEMENT

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The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—“ While I thank the Hon'ble Member for the explanation that he has given and the assurance that all that could be spent is being spent, I think, Sir, it is still my duty to request the Government to see if more money cannot be spent than is being spent on irrigation. We find that so far as railways are concerned, there is no lack of demand for increasing expenditure on railways ; any amount of money that can be secured is, as a rule, utilized during the year. I think, Sir, that if the Department will devote closer attention to finding out whether more money could be spent on irrigation, probably the Hon'ble Member would be able to ask the Council for a larger grant than he has done to-day. I do not think it necessary to press the resolution to a division, but I hope the matter will be borne in mind when the next Budget is prepared.”

The resolution was put and rejected.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

SECOND STAGE.

The Hon'ble Mr. Porter :—“ Sir, I beg to introduce the following head of the Financial Statement :—

'Medical (Sanitation).'

“ As regards Sanitation there is nothing to add to the information contained in paragraphs 105, 106, 109 and 224 of the Statement of the Hon'ble the Finance Member. No fresh grants for Sanitation are being made. The grant of 5 lakhs per annum to the Indian Research Fund continues, and during the year a sum of Rs 4,42,000 has been expended by the Governing Body on the various inquiries in progress, and on anti-malarial projects.”

The Hon'ble Mr. Sharp :—“ Sir, I beg to introduce the head 'Education.' It is usual on these occasions to lay on the table statements shewing the distribution of grants during the forthcoming year, principal developments in the past year and figures of progress. This year no statement of new grants is possible because there are no new grants to distribute. It is at least satisfactory that, in a period of stress and strain, so far from any curtailment of our educational expenditure, the total budget estimate for all India in 1915-16 exceeds the revised estimate of 1914-15 by 15 lakhs of rupees. As for progress, it has been thought that the time has come when the general interest evinced in education both by members of the Council and by the public, will best be met by the publication of a short annual report. It is hoped to lay such a report on the table before the session closes. If this cannot be done, it will at least be ready next month.

“ It is here necessary only to add that during the past two years the effect of our grants has been visible in statistics. Between March, 1912, and March, 1914, the number of those at school has advanced by 737,426 and expenditure has risen by about 216½ lakhs. The details of improvement will be found in the forthcoming report.”

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark introduced the following heads of the Financial Statement for 1915-1916 :—

<i>Revenue.</i>	<i>Expenditure.</i>
Salt.	Salt.
Excise.	Excise.
Post Office.	Customs.
Telegraphs.	Post Office.
Stationery and Printing.	Telegraphs.
State Railways.	Stationery and Printing.
Subsidised Companies	Protective Works, Railways.
	Subsidised Companies.
	Miscellaneous Railway Expenditure.
	Capital outlay on State Railways.

He said :—“ Sir, I have to introduce the heads of Excise, Customs, the Post Office and Telegraphs, Stationery and Printing, and Railways. The

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[*Mr. Clark.*]

only subjects which require any remarks from me, over and above what appears in the memorandum explaining the details of the estimates, are Customs, the Post Office and Telegraphs and Railways.

“As regards the first of these, my Hon'ble Colleague the Finance Member has already explained the effects of the war upon our customs revenue and the various causes underlying the serious diminution of receipts under this head. At the present moment the specially prominent factor is the lack of shipping and the consequent high level of freights. Government have endeavoured to remedy this by the utilization of enemy vessels to carry private cargoes, and I think I am right in claiming that India was the first country in the Empire to employ detained vessels in this manner. While there has been this decline in business at the ports and a decline therefore in the normal work of the Customs Department, new duties have fallen upon the officers of the Department of a specially onerous and responsible kind. As soon as hostilities broke out, a strict watch had to be maintained over enemy vessels and over their cargoes which happened to be in port. The Department has now been relieved of this responsibility, but a great deal of other novel work has been thrown upon it through the necessity for the supervision of exports, in order to prevent supplies reaching the enemy not merely directly but also through neutral countries. Various prohibitions and restrictions of trade have had to be imposed in this connection and also to ensure the retention in this country of military and medical stores of which abnormal supplies are required in time of war. It has also been necessary to prohibit or restrict the export of certain commodities, especially wheat and wheat flour, which are necessary for local consumption and which might be tempted abroad by the high prices offered elsewhere. The duty of seeing that effect is duly given to the various notifications concerned falls upon the officers of the Customs Department, and I am very glad of this opportunity of paying a tribute to the efficient manner in which this work has been carried out. I can speak with personal knowledge of the admirable way in which control has been maintained at the ports, while at the same time the fullest possible consideration has been shown to the mercantile public, who, on their side, have accepted the various restrictions in a very willing and patriotic spirit.

“As regards the Post Office and Telegraphs, the scheme of amalgamation, the most important administrative measure ever undertaken in the Post Office, or Telegraph Department, has now been fully introduced. Thanks to the able administration of my Hon'ble friend Mr. Maxwell, and to the thorough and tactful manner in which he has dealt with the question, this great change has been effected without any dislocation of departmental business or inconvenience to the public, and the new system is now in satisfactory operation. As a natural result of the amalgamation, the Budget Revenue heads 'XIII—Post Office' and 'XIV—Telegraph' have been replaced by the head 'XIII—Posts and Telegraphs,' and the Expenditure heads '15—Post Office' and '16—Telegraph' by the head '15 Posts and Telegraphs'. The total revenue for the year 1913-14 was £3,432,600. According to the Revised Estimate the amount for the current year will be £3,436,400, and for the coming year we cannot expect to realise more than £3,464,300. This is exclusive of the rebate of £69,000 which is to be allowed to India in respect of the payments due under the P & O. contract. The very small increases represented by these figures are attributable entirely to the general depression caused by the war. The total expenditure for the year 1913-14 was £3,142,000 and the Revised Estimate for 1914-15 is £3,209,700. For next year we have budgetted for a sum of £3,276,300. For the year 1913-14 the Revenue exceeded the expenditure by £290,600, and if our predictions are fulfilled the corresponding amounts for 1914-15 and 1915-16 will be £226,700 and £257,000 respectively. In the matter of Capital outlay on the telegraph service the Budget Estimate for 1915-16 is £179,000, exclusive of the share of establishment charges, as compared with a Revised Estimate of £174,600 for the current year and a sum of £174,200 actually spent during 1913-14. The revenue of the Department is a matter that we cannot control, but every effort has been, and will continue to be, made to keep the

working charges as low as possible. No increase of expenditure that is not urgently necessary in order to maintain the services at an efficient standard will be incurred.

"The war has imposed a great deal of extra work on the Post Office and the Telegraph Department in regard to censorship, the provision of staff to accompany the forces, and the sorting of mails for the various expeditions. These additional duties have been performed in a thoroughly efficient manner.

"On the engineering side, considerable progress has been made during the current year in extending the wireless system throughout India, the stations at Madras, Rangoon, Secunderabad and Diamond Island being completed. By the opening of the two first named installations, a ship in practically any part of the Bay of Bengal is in wireless communication with India. I should also like to draw attention to the enterprise of the Department in introducing automatic telephones into India. These were brought into use in Simla in the beginning of the year and have worked with complete success. In view of this it is under consideration to extend this system to other parts of India when prices are favourable. Another most successful engineering undertaking has been the erection of the Simla-Delhi trunk telephone connection, which has been of the greatest service to the Government of India and especially to those Departments upon whom abnormally heavy work has been imposed by the war.

"Turning now to Railways, my Hon'ble Friend, the President of the Railway Board, would in ordinary circumstances have shared with me the task of rendering some account of our administration during the year. I regret to say that he is prevented by illness from attending Council, and I must therefore deal myself with the subject on which it was proposed that he should address Council to-day, namely, the question of railway working expenditure charged to revenue during the current and the coming official year. I may say that in so doing I shall follow very closely the lines on which Sir Henry Burt had proposed to speak. But I will first mention a few other matters which I hope will be of interest to Council.

"During the first few months of the war the railways of India were subjected to a very severe test in being called upon at extremely short notice to concentrate at the ports of Bombay and Karachi troops of all arms with their full equipment and supplies, for the despatch overseas of by far the largest expeditionary force that has ever left this country. That the task thus entrusted to the Railways was carried through without a single hitch and to the entire satisfaction of Government, testifies to their preparedness for an emergency and to the resources at their command. Material assistance in respect of warlike operations was also rendered by individual Railways in certain other directions; notably in making available and facilitating the transport of coal for the purposes of the Royal Indian Marine, who required large quantities of fuel at short notice. Help, too, was afforded by some lines which lent the services of part of their workshop and other staff for special work in the dockyards. Normally a considerable number of Royal Engineers Officers is employed on railway work—mainly in the Engineering, Traffic and Government Inspectors Branches. Forty-five of these have been set free for military duty and in addition to these some thirty civilian officers have also joined the army. The railways, I think, may fairly claim that they have borne their part in this great crisis.

"To turn to finance, I suppose there is no country in the world, whether among the belligerents or the neutrals, in which railway expansion has received less of a set-back than in India. No attempt has been necessary to curtail the programme which we set about carrying out in the year 1914-15. In the year 1915-16 there will be a capital outlay of 8 millions sterling which, though it may compare unfavourably with outlay in the current year, is approximately the amount of capital expenditure annually incurred some 4 or 5 years ago. In certain ways the present falling-off of traffic is not altogether a disadvantage. The increase of the capacity of our railways was a matter of such urgency in recent years that speed as well as economy had to be considered when taking steps to secure it. The best possible way to

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obtain relief is the provision of those open line facilities—additional tracks, yards and so forth—which will make not only for expedition but for economy in future working for more efficient utilisation of rolling stock and for the elimination of unnecessary expenditure when trains are delayed upon their journey. The construction of such additional facilities takes time, however—in many cases a very long time—while the provision of additional rolling stock is an obvious and rapid method of removing the immediate pressure, and for this reason it has been resorted to very freely during the last few years. In the forthcoming year we propose to continue progress on all the open-line works of improvement which have already been taken in hand in addition to beginning a certain number of new ones, while still making a moderate provision for additional stock. There will remain over a million sterling for expenditure on lines under construction and for new lines not yet begun. This enables adequate provision to be made for all the projects which we have at present in hand, while retaining a reserve to be devoted to certain projects which we have under discussion, should it prove—as I hope that it may—possible to begin work on some of them during 1915-16.

“In connection with the allotment of funds for lines in progress, there is one point which I should especially mention. Now that the Hardinge Bridge, which was opened by His Excellency a few days ago, has been completed, we are left with only one really large project in hand, that is the Itarsi-Nagpur Railway. The northern section from Itarsi to the Pench Valley Coal Field has been completed, but the southern section from Nagpur to Amla is still less than half way towards completion. It is now over 6 years since this large project was begun but the rate of progress has been retarded by the necessity for dealing first with the still more urgent demands on our open lines. This year we propose to devote a sum of no less than 50 lakhs of rupees to the Itarsi-Nagpur Railway. This will not be enough to provide for the completion of the line and the provision of the necessary rolling stock. At the same time it will go a very long way towards making the whole of the project ready for opening to public traffic, and in future years this long and expensive line will cease to be such a heavy drain upon our available resources. This is a matter for sincere congratulation.

“While it is satisfactory that we have been able to arrange for the financing of a very considerable programme from Imperial funds, it is no less satisfactory to find that the war has not put an end to the financing of new lines of railway through the agency of private enterprise. The Hon'ble the Finance Member has informed you of the progress which has been made in this direction during the year. I think that we must all agree that it speaks well for the confidence which the Indian public place in investments in branch railways. Not only has a new company been floated since the declaration of the war, but, in addition to this, further capital has been raised by companies already in existence. We have at present applications for the immediate flotation of several new branch line companies, one of them a very important venture, and I believe that it will be found that any set-back which may have been caused by the war is only temporary and that a progressive increase will occur in the amount annually forthcoming for the construction of new railways outside our ordinary programme.

“The question also of district board railways has in Madras attracted great attention and indeed in one case—in that of the Dindigal-Pollachi-Palghat line—has given rise to an acute controversy. I take this opportunity of saying that on the general question of policy there is no difference of opinion. We recognise the prior claim of District Boards, to which the Hon'ble Sir Harold Stuart recently gave expression in the Madras Council, and we trust that not only in Madras but in other parts of the country District Boards will take a large and increasing share in the work of railway development. At the same time District Boards—like all other bodies in whom financial responsibility is vested—must cut their coats according to their cloth, and we in the Government of India must depend upon the Local Government concerned for an opinion whether in any particular case the assets and potential

resources of the District Board, or District Boards interested, are sufficient to justify their undertaking the construction of any particular line.

“The difficulties which have hitherto stood in the way of railway extension in Assam are now, I am glad to say, in a fair way to be overcome. The special conditions of the province have been recognised and a Resolution was lately issued informing the public that the Government of India would in future be prepared to consider the grant of a special subsidy from the Assam Administration, which would for a fixed term of years increase the $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent guarantee offered under the ordinary branch line terms to $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. There is every indication that the liberality of these terms has been appreciated and that within the next few years we shall have a rapid development of railway communication in the province of Assam. Apart from the great benefit which must necessarily result to the country as a whole, this is of special importance in view of the hitherto unremunerative nature of the Assam-Bengal Railway. This line was most expensive to construct and is most expensive to maintain. In a mountainous country, subject to torrential rainfall, this high expenditure on maintenance must necessarily continue, and our only hope of increasing the net earnings so as to show an adequate return upon the capital outlay lies in the direction of increasing the volume of traffic. This increase of traffic can only be brought about by the opening of areas to cultivation, while at the same time bringing them into direct communication with the Assam-Bengal Railway.

“In the various points on which I have touched, I think we find considerable grounds for encouragement. Especially is there cause for satisfaction in the growing interest shown by the public in railway matters, a feature which must be welcomed by all who are responsible for the administration of our railways and interested in the development of the country in which our railways play so great a part.

“I come now to the subject with which it had been proposed that my Hon'ble Friend the President of the Railway Board should deal, namely, the subject of what we have done and propose to do in regulating our railway business so as to conform with the exceptional conditions which have affected it, and which may be expected to continue to affect it during the forthcoming financial year. I shall take first the current year. As Hon'ble Members are aware, we budgetted this time last year for gross receipts amounting to 56 60 crores of rupees, that is for an improvement of nearly Rs 30 lakhs over the gross earnings for the year 1913-14, our previous best. We have had to prepare a revised estimate for a decrease in gross earnings of nearly 3 crores of rupees as compared with the total reached in 1913-14. Hon'ble Members will, I think, recognise that in the abnormal circumstances of the year, this serious falling off of earnings, though to be lamented, is not a matter over which the administrations could exercise any effective control. They will desire to be informed rather of the extent to which it has been or will be possible to adopt measures to restrict expenditure on revenue account so that the fall of earnings may be counterbalanced by special economy.

“While we are now compelled to estimate for this very large reduction of earnings in the present year, there was until the beginning of August every indication that our budget anticipations would be fully realised and that record earnings would be secured in the present year. With that prospect in view, railway administrations adopted the policy, which is a perfectly sound one, of pushing forward the repairs of engines and rolling stock during the earlier months of the year, a period during which they were justified on the results of previous experience in supposing that traffic would be lighter than that which might be expected later in the year. Expenditure was therefore freely incurred on renewals and repairs generally so that railways might be in the strongest position to handle the anticipated rush. In a word they concentrated their expenditure into a period when it could be incurred with least detriment to the interests of themselves and of their constituents. Railways, moreover, stood committed to expenditure on new permanent way with a view to the carrying out of the programme of track renewal which had been arranged for. Orders for such

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[*Mr. Clark.*]

permanent way have, of course, to be placed in the early part of the year, if not before then, although the actual relaying is ordinarily carried out in the cold weather months.

"When the war came, its full effect upon our railway business was to some extent obscured during the first few months by the large volume of military traffic which railways were called upon to handle. Such traffic is not a source of any considerable profit, while adding comparatively little to receipts, it operated to maintain expenditure at a high figure, not only on account of the actual train mileage run, but also on account of the fact that it was impossible to effect any reduction of establishment at a time when it was impossible to say what urgent military traffic it might be necessary to handle. The causes to which I have so far referred as having operated against the possibility of reducing expenditure are special in the sense that they are dependent on the particular conditions which obtained both prior to, and for some months after, the outbreak of war. But apart from these special causes, whenever there is a sudden large decrease of railway business, it is impossible, as my Hon'ble Colleague the Finance Member pointed out in his recent speech on the Financial Statement, to effect anything approaching a proportional decrease in working expenses. This is a point upon which I desire to lay particular stress, as it is of importance not only in connection with our railway expenditure during the current year, but also during next year. Our railways have been equipped to carry a certain volume of traffic, and our scale of permanent staff and our other arrangements have been framed with a view to carrying that volume of traffic also. If it could be foreseen that for a period of several years a less volume of traffic would have to be handled, we could possibly effect a reduction of working expenses in proportion to the anticipated reduction of earnings. But such is not the present case. The expert advisers of Government on railway matters are confident that a great revival of our railway business will occur immediately upon the restoration of peace, that is after an indefinite period of slack traffic.

"I do not say that on our railways reductions cannot be effected. Some trains may be cut off and some reduction made in the operating staff, where local circumstances permit this, but it is clearly impossible to shut down any of our railways or to permit the maintenance of our way, works and rolling stock to be neglected. Even the alteration and reduction of train services, though it may appear justifiable on the returns of earnings, must be kept within the limits dictated by the convenience of passengers and trade.

"Since the exceptionally heavy military traffic ceased, railways have devoted the greatest attention to effecting economies in operating expenses. They have, where possible, reduced the train mileage and they have also reduced overtime in railway workshops and in certain cases the workshop staff. It would be idle to suggest that these economies have been brought about without causing inconvenience and in some cases hardship to individuals, but at a time such as this it was clearly incumbent on the Railway Board to see that every possible effort was made to reduce expenditure on the working of our railways, and I am glad to say that in this matter the Board have received the loyal co-operation of Railway Administrations, and of the Directors of Railway Companies.

"For the reasons which I have already explained we have only been able to show a reduction of Rs 11 lakhs on the budget figures for expenditure during the current year. Turning to next year you will have observed that, while our gross receipts are estimated at 53 crores on the basis explained to Council by the Hon'ble the Finance Member, a reduction of 45 lakhs on our latest estimates of receipts for the current year, our estimated expenditure exceeds that for 1914-15 by 24 lakhs. I should like to explain to Hon'ble Members the reason why this increase of expenditure is proposed.

"In dealing with railway working expenses it has been found convenient to classify all expenses under two heads, the first ordinary working expenses, the second special expenditure. Under ordinary working expenses is included all expenditure on the operation of trains, the cost of ordinary maintenance,

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repairs and renewals, the salaries of the permanent staff and many miscellaneous items of expense. Under special expenditure is included provision for the revenue portion of all these open line works of improvement upon which capital outlay has been, and is still being, incurred, also the cost of what I may call the heavy renewals, that is the renewals of engines of rolling stock and of the track.

“Notwithstanding what I have said about the difficulty of reducing working expenditure we actually propose to spend 46 lakhs of rupees less under the first head than the revised estimate of expenditure for the current year. We propose in fact to continue all efforts for effecting economy which have been exercised during recent months. In estimating that this reduction will be brought about we have assumed a uniformly low scale of receipts throughout the year, and on this assumption, I think, that we have on the whole been cautious and it may be that if the estimate of the traffic to be carried is not exceeded we may be able to effect a still larger reduction than this

“The Council will readily understand that a considerable provision for special expenditure has not been made without a very careful examination of the position. In consultation with the Agents of railways, the Railway Board have lately examined the whole position in detail. It has been found that during recent years, when a special effort was being made to increase the capacity of our railways, the revenue funds which were made available for special expenditure had to be devoted first to the revenue share of these works of open line improvement, which we had sanctioned with a view to removing the very justifiable complaints made regarding the inadequate capacity of our railways. The sum which was left for the renewal of permanent way, rolling stock, bridges and the like was insufficient to meet the demand, which is naturally a growing one by reason of the facts, first, that the rolling stock and the permanent way which reaches a certain limit of age annually is increasing year by year, and, second, that the very heavy traffic handled recently has naturally added to the amount of wear and tear thereby reducing the normal life of tract and stock. We are in fact to some extent in arrears with what must be considered to be a normal programme of heavy renewals, and we have decided, therefore, to do our best to continue to put our house in order now, rather than to wait until the strain comes and the machine runs a risk of breaking down. I am convinced—and our technical advisers on the Railway Board are convinced—that it would be the worst possible form of economy to attempt to make a saving under the head of special expenditure, even during a single year; to do so would be to impair both the capacity and efficiency of the lines and would result in serious difficulty immediately on the revival of traffic. Of course all this, coupled with a cautious estimate of gross earnings, means that the nett return from railways is estimated to be much less during 1915-16 than during recent bumper years. At the same time I would remind the Council that even so the percentage of nett working profit (excluding interest charges) to capital, as quoted a few days ago by the Hon'ble Financial Member, is estimated at just over the respectable figure of 4 per cent, 1 per cent below the corresponding figure for 1913-14, and higher than the percentage of 3.18 calculated on the same basis, for the last year which can be described as a bad one, that is 1908-09. That this is so I do not think the Council can regard otherwise than as a matter for congratulation.”

**RESOLUTION *RE* PROVISION FOR AIDING AND
ENCOURAGING INDIGENOUS INDUSTRIES.**

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—“Sir, I beg to move—

‘That this Council recommend that a sum of Rs. 12,00,000 be provided in the Budget for aiding and encouraging indigenous industries’

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[9TH MARCH, 1915.] [*Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya*]

"I need not take up the time of the Council by dwelling upon the importance and the necessity of doing something more than is being done to aid indigenous industries. We had a recent discussion in this Council and the Hon'ble Member in charge of Commerce and Industry accepted a resolution in which it was stated that Government would afford such assistance and co-operation as would be practicable in the promotion of industrial enterprise in India. But I do not see any provision for it in the Budget. If there is, I should like to be corrected at this stage. And I submit, Sir, that the matter is of far greater importance than the language of the resolution to which I have referred would indicate. We have immense raw materials in this country, and we export them in enormous quantities. We have not been developing our industries to the extent that we should have done, considering the numerous other advantages which the country enjoys under the present Government. The Council is aware that the Famine Commission of 1878 reported that in order to guard against the suffering to which the people are exposed during times of famine, it was essential that industrial enterprise should be promoted. Speaking in 1908, Sir John Hewett rightly observed that there is no subject upon which more had been written and less had been done. The Government of India have recognised the duty of promoting industrial enterprise in theory, but, in practice, I regret to say, not much has been done up to this moment. The present war has emphasised the need for it and has also pointed out the advantages which would accrue to the country if the Government were to seize the opportunity. I do not know that there has been any provision made or that there is any intention to take up the matter seriously in order to promote such enterprise. I think in this matter Japan affords us a very instructive lesson. Japan was, like India, till 40 years ago, an agricultural country which used to export its raw produce in enormous quantities. In much less than 40 years its character has changed from an agricultural country into a country which exports manufactures in a larger measure than raw produce. While the percentage of raw produce exported from Japan has been steadily diminishing for the last twenty years, the percentage of manufactured articles exported has been steadily growing. I think, Sir, that no one will question that the Government of India are in a position, if they so desire, to promote as much industrial enterprise and development in this country as the Government of Japan have done for Japan, and it is earnestly to be hoped that in view of all that has been said in this Council on this subject, and of the importance of the subject which is recognised by Government, a serious effort will be made now, not merely to help such industries as may be existing by providing expert advice or by publishing bulletins or other information, for which we do certainly feel thankful, but by finding out whether the Government cannot by a systematic scheme promote such industries as would utilise the enormous quantities of raw products which have to be exported at the present moment. If this is done, Sir, a new era of prosperity will dawn upon India.

"The present War has brought its many evils, but it has shown the great value of wealth. It is expected that the greater wealth of England will in the long run tell against Germany and bring conquest to England. Here in this country we are unfortunately an extremely poor people. Having been under the otherwise excellent administration of Britain for such a long time, India should even now be put in such a position that it should be able to utilize its raw products, and should export only such as cannot be utilized with advantage in this country.

"In this connection, I must draw attention to one portion of the speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Clark, which he delivered on the occasion of the resolution for aiding industries. Speaking of the efforts which were being made in England to form new companies to manufacture dyes and other articles which had ceased to come from Germany and Austria, the Hon'ble Member is reported to have said:—'It is not essential for us, representing India, to make ourselves self-supporting so long as England is able to produce and supply to us the articles which we require.'

"I should be glad to know, Sir, that that report does not correctly represent what the Hon'ble Member said—."

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The Hon'ble Mr. Clark :—" That is quite correct."

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya resumed :—" But if it does, I must take strong exception to it. India should benefit and not suffer by its connection with England even in the matter of manufactures. It should do so to a greater extent than other countries not so connected with England. We need to be industrially independent in order that we should be able to turn to the best account the produce of our own country. The fact that England is able to produce certain articles is no reason why India should not, if it profitably can, produce the same articles, and that it should remain content to be merely the supplier of raw articles to England." We should not be content with our industrial condition until we are able to produce every manufactured article which our people use and for which nature gives us an opportunity and an advantage in the shape of raw materials. I hope that my Hon'ble friend, and the Government of India as a whole, do not really take that narrow view which was indicated in the remarks to which I have drawn attention, and I hope that, in view of the great need there is of increasing the national income in India and putting down poverty, of making it possible for the people to be able to live in these days of high prices in a better way than they are at present able to with their deplorably low national income, the Government will recognise the great importance of fostering indigenous industries and will provide the means for making a beginning for it in their present budget. The amount that I have asked for is a very small sum, a sum of 12 lakhs only. One might wonder why it is that, when I ask for a systematic scheme for the development of industrial enterprise, I ask for the small sum of 12 lakhs only. My reason is that I know the difficulties of the present year. In fact we fully recognise that, generally speaking, the Hon'ble the Finance Member has done the very best that he could in the circumstances of the year and we all feel deeply grateful to him for it. It is therefore that I have not asked for a larger sum. But I ask for this sum in order to indicate that the Government of India recognise that they should now actively take steps to find out what industries can be promoted, and to set their heart on promoting them and thereby earn the gratitude of the people."

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi :—" Sir, I have much pleasure in supporting the resolution which has just been moved by my Hon'ble friend Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. My friend has referred to another resolution which was moved in this Council a short time ago and which was accepted in an amended form. Such being the case, there ought not to be any difficulty in accepting the present resolution moved by my Hon'ble friend. What the Non-Official Members of Council were anxious to impress upon Government was that now or never is the time for giving an impetus to indigenous industrial development and that Government, as the chief custodian of all our interests, should avail themselves of this opportunity to pave the way for our industrial regeneration. On the occasion of the last debate that I referred to just now I particularly laid great stress on the fact that at present we need not worry ourselves with large concerns which require lakhs and lakhs of rupees. Such undertakings unfortunately are still beyond our capacity. It is the small industries to begin with which suit our people best, such as weaving, spinning, sugar manufacture, manufacture of salt, brass or other metallic articles. All of these can be fostered under judicious guidance and with a very small amount of capital. My Hon'ble friend the Panditjee is not asking for a crore of rupees, but he is only making a very modest request, namely, for only 12 lakhs of rupees, and if Government were not prepared to accede to our request for aiding our industries to any very large extent by making large grants, Government might still, for the sake of making an experiment, accept the present resolution which only requests that the small amount of 12 lakhs of rupees may be granted to that end. Sir, Providence has thrown a great opportunity in our way. Imports from foreign countries have ceased and therefore this is just the time when an experiment of the kind should be made. I have therefore very great pleasure in giving my whole-hearted support to this resolution."

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[9TH MARCH, 1915.] [*Bai Bahadur Sita Nath Ray ; Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi ; Maharaja Ranajit Sinha of Nashipur ; Mr. Abbott.*]

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Sita Nath Ray :—“ Sir, I do not wish to take up the time of the Council by repeating the arguments which have been used by the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, but as a member of the mercantile community it is desirable that I should speak, and I beg to support the resolution of the Hon'ble Member with all the emphasis I can command. As I propose to move a resolution somewhat analogous to the resolution now moved, I do not like to take up the time of the Council by repeating the arguments which I shall have to use on another occasion. But on all grounds, and considering the small amount which has been asked for, it is extremely desirable that Government should accede to our prayer. What can be more unfortunate than that such a large country as India should be dependent for every necessary, for every luxury, upon foreign countries. Even Japan, as has been pointed out by my Hon'ble friend, which was once an agricultural country, has now commenced to export her manufactured articles to India. Formerly India used not only to manufacture all the sugar that it wanted for its own consumption, but it used to manufacture a good deal more and to export it for the use of foreign countries. But what is the position now? Our sugar industry has not only in a manner received a check on account of the cheap sugar imported from Java and other places, but our whole market is glutted with sugar coming from Java, and we are not in a position to compete with the cheaper article of Java. Under all these circumstances it is desirable that something should be done, and, considering the small amount asked for, it is extremely desirable that the Government should do something to promote our industries ”

The Hon'ble Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi :—“ Sir, I beg to support this resolution. Inquiries are being already made in view of the discontinuation of trade with enemy countries as to the feasibility of reviving and restoring Indian industries and the exhibitions recently held of foreign articles have the same object. This seems to be an excellent opportunity for giving an impetus to indigenous industries in India and thereby helping to reduce the dependence of this country for a number of articles on countries with which the British Government are at war. There are many Indian industries which if properly guided and encouraged would be in a thriving condition in a few years, and it is fitting that provision for that purpose should be made in this Budget.”

The Hon'ble Maharaja Ranajit Sinha of Nashipur :—“ Sir, I have much pleasure in supporting the resolution which has now been moved by my honourable friend Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya. The question has been fully discussed lately in this Council and the Honourable Member in charge of industries has in a manner accepted the resolution. He promised that the Government would do its best to promote and help indigenous industries as far as practicable.

“ But, Sir, in going through the Budget I have not been able to find any sum provided for this purpose, which has been recognised by the Government to be a most important one. Of course, it is very difficult this year to suggest any large expenditure under any item. The Budget has been very carefully prepared by the Honourable Member in charge of Finance, and we are grateful to him; but I think there will be no difficulty in providing such a small sum as has been recommended by my honourable friend in his resolution.

“ With these few observations, I have much pleasure in supporting the resolution ”

The Hon'ble Mr. Abbott :—“ Sir, I beg to support the Hon'ble Mover ”

[Mr Clark] [9TH MARCH, 1915.]

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark :—“ I would suggest to Council that it is important in the first place in dealing with this resolution to be absolutely clear what we are discussing. The Hon'ble Member has recommended that a sum of Rs. 12 lakhs should be provided in the present budget for aiding and encouraging indigenous industries; in other words that a sum of 12 lakhs of rupees should be spent in the coming financial year on this object. There has been a certain tendency instead of discussing this proposition to debate the much larger question of the general merits of Government providing money for encouraging indigenous industries. I should be the last person to deny the importance of that problem, and it is a question on which it is very natural that Hon'ble Members should hold opinions and on which they should wish to speak in this Council. But I do not think that we ought to be led to-day into a general discussion of the kind. Nor do I propose to follow the Hon'ble Pandit into the seductive vista of controversy as to how far India should be self-supporting, which he opened up by quoting a single remark of mine from a speech which I delivered the other day on the Hon'ble Raja Kushalpal Singh's resolution. I was there referring to the question as to whether, in view of the fact that there is a great shortage of dyes in India, we ought to take very special steps to replace that shortage. I pointed out the measures which had been taken at home for providing dyes there and what the Home Government had done in the matter of furnishing loans, and said that as the British Navy was fully capable of keeping the seas open, it would be most uneconomical for us to do anything of the same kind in India. The larger question of the general promotion of industries seems to me to be a question more for discussion under the rules which provide for debates on matters of general public interest. What is now under consideration is the budget of the year, and more especially, that side of it which deals with the objects on which the revenue of the year is to be expended. That being so, the question brought forward by the Hon'ble Member resolves itself into the proposition either that the 12 lakhs which at present are allocated to other purposes should now be allocated to the purpose of aiding and encouraging indigenous industries, or that my Hon'ble Colleague the Finance Member should raise for this purpose another 12 lakhs in addition to the revenue for which he has already estimated in the coming year.”

“ The Hon'ble Pandit did not suggest that the 12 lakhs he wishes to be used for indigenous industries should be provided from other sources; and of one thing I feel fairly certain, and that is that my Hon'ble Colleague the Finance Member cannot on its existing basis expand his revenue even by the comparatively small sum of Rs. 12 lakhs. I think I may safely say that any further increase in the demands for expenditure would involve additional taxation. I do not know whether the Hon'ble Pandit would advocate this course, however desirable the objects may be on which the money is to be expended. My Hon'ble Colleague in his Financial Statement has given the reasons why, after very serious consideration, Government have decided against increasing taxation this year. We came to the conclusion that with trade conditions depressed and with the present abnormal rise in food-prices in a large part of the country (I am borrowing my Hon'ble Colleague's own words), we ought not to add to existing taxation, unless it was absolutely necessary to do so. We held that this necessity had not arisen, and much as I wish to see indigenous industries developed in this country, I could not join the Hon'ble Pandit in pressing on my Hon'ble Colleague that additional taxation should be imposed for the purpose.

“ Let me turn to another point. The financial year which we have before us will be entered upon under the abnormal circumstances created by a great war. We cannot say how long that war will last, but should it be protracted throughout the year or through a greater part of the year, Government cannot agree with the Hon'ble Member that this is a safe moment for the expenditure of large sums on the promotion of indigenous industries. I need not develop over again the arguments which I have laid before Council in

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the debate on the Hon'ble Raja Kushalpal Singh's resolution. I explained then what Government have done in the way of affording finance for the general assistance of trade, and also that Local Governments and ourselves are in other ways affording such help as we can in order to assist Indian manufactures to capture trade which has hitherto been held by German and Austrian competitors. We have not, for the reasons given, gone in for financing industries. We and Local Governments have worked by what seemed to us the sounder method of supplying information and, in some cases, especially in Madras, by Government starting experiments in manufacture to demonstrate that certain industries can be carried on at a profit. Madras and other Provinces are incurring not inconsiderable expenditure for this purpose. The Hon'ble Pandit asked where that was shown in the Budget. It is quite true that it is not shown actually in the Account under that heading: it comes under the heading 'Scientific and Miscellaneous Departments' in the notes to the Budget. The Budget estimate under that head for 1915-16 exceeds the Revenue for the current year by 2.29 lakhs, the increase being mainly for the encouragement of industries in Madras and the Punjab. We do not consider that it would be wise to go further than this at the present time. I am of course aware that many Members of this Council consider that Government should provide capital on a liberal scale for persons who wish to start industries in India. This has not been Government's policy in the past, though in isolated cases and for special reasons Local Governments have from time to time given direct assistance of the kind to particular industries. I would put it to Council that this is not the moment, in the disturbed economic conditions resulting from a great war, for Government to depart from that policy. 12 lakhs sounds a small sum, but how is Government to be sure that expenditure will stop there? If the 12 lakhs of this year are swallowed up and the industries to which they have been handed over still do not flourish, will there not be larger demands in the next Budget or even earlier? We cannot say how long this war will last. So long as that uncertainty remains with us, it is only the commonest prudence to husband our resources and to hesitate over incurring fresh and undefined liabilities. I appeal to any of the representatives of Commerce in this Council to say whether those are not the principles which in such circumstances are maintained by a soundly conducted business. I regret, therefore, that I cannot accept the resolution."

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—"Sir, the first objection of my Hon'ble friend that I have to meet is that I have not indicated where the money is to be found from, and he has put forward the bugbear of additional taxation to silence me. Now, Sir, while we all feel thankful to the Hon'ble the Finance Member for avoiding taxation at a time when there were temptations to resort to it, we must not forget that it became possible for him to avoid additional taxation because the Indian taxpayer has been paying heavily for the past many years. I will not here go into details. It has been pointed out over and over again that the standard at which taxation has been maintained for the past many years has been higher than what was really necessary. Even if it were otherwise, I do not think that my friend can be serious in suggesting that it would be necessary to incur additional taxation in order to provide 12 lakhs. I take a more correct, and if I may say so, a much more complimentary view of the finances of the Government of India, than to feel that to find a sum of 12 lakhs the Government will have to resort to additional taxation. That small sum could be found, if the Hon'ble the Finance Member decided to find it, without any serious dislocation of the other adjustments in the Budget. Then, I have given notice of a resolution that the provision for railways should be reduced by 25 lakhs. My object in doing so, was to meet the objection which has been urged by the Hon'ble Member for Commerce and Industry. I know that, yesterday, a Resolution to the same effect moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy, that the railway programme should be cut down by 50 lakhs was thrown out. And I know that every resolution will be thrown out unless the Government are prepared to

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accept it. So I shall not be surprised if the same fate befalls my resolution asking for a reduction of 25 lakhs only in the railway programme. But at the same time I have no doubt that if the Government feel that on the merits of the case it is desirable to provide 12 lakhs to promote indigenous industries, the Hon'ble the Finance Member will not say that, even if no reduction is made in the railway programme, the money could not be found.

"As regards the merits of the question, I would invite the attention of the Hon'ble Member and of the Council to the fact that what we desire is to mark the beginning of a serious and systematic endeavour—the initiation by the Government of a principle and a policy of aiding indigenous industries, in order that the people should take heart for the future, and should feel that we shall not always continue to be exposed to the pitiable condition to which we have been found exposed during the present war, when even for glass bangles we have to depend on Austria and Germany, and the cessation of the imports of that petty article should make it impossible for the poor people who use it to find it in the market. That is a state of affairs, Sir, which is not complimentary to the Commerce and Industry Department of the Government of India. I understand—I have not got the figures here, but I understand—that the value of glass bangles imported during the last few years from Austria and Hungary was about 43 (or 65?) lakhs. Now I put forward a definite proposal. I put aside other articles of glass. Is it too much to ask that the Government of India should make up its mind to promote and aid the glass industry, wherever necessary, by money, by expert advice and in other ways, during the next twelve months, so as to enable it to produce some of the articles which used to be imported from the enemy country—at any rate under that one head? There is any amount of facilities in this country for producing glass. There are some glass factories at work here. All that the Government has to do is to make up its mind to find out what it is that hampers the progress of the industry, what it is that is required to enable the people of this country to work it up successfully, and to give the necessary aid to the people in order to do so.

"My Hon'ble friend says this is not the time for us to ask for more money, because this is a period of war, and he appeals to the representatives of Commerce in the Council to support the view that this is not the time to embark on such expenditure as I propose. With due deference to my Hon'ble friend, I submit that this is particularly the time when such an effort should be made. War has thrown lots of our people out of employment; and if by the means I suggest, employment is provided for some people it would be a decided gain to the Government and the people.

"My Hon'ble friend also said that we should confine ourselves to the question that is before us and not go into the larger question of Government aid to indigenous industry. I am quite willing to do so; I thought I had done so. If I referred to the larger question it was only in order to show the necessity of the measure I recommend being adopted, and in order to show how small and modest is the proposal that I have put before the Government.

"In reply to my objection that no expenditure has been provided for in the present budget my Hon'ble friend referred me to page 75 of the Statement, where it is said that 2.29 lakhs have been provided mainly as 'enhanced provision for industrial experiments and for the encouragement of industries in Madras and the Punjab'. Technically my friend is right; but I thought if nothing else, the very smallness of the provision would make my Hon'ble friend hesitate to refer me to that as an answer to my resolution. That sum will undoubtedly be absorbed in some experiments and it is well that it should be. But what we want is 12 lakhs provided in order to see which of the many industries which it has become possible to encourage and foster during the present time could be most effectively pushed forward by the Government during the twelve months before us. I do not think I will be usefully taking

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up the time of the Council by prolonging the discussion ; but I do hope the Government will see their way to accede to this demand, which has been supported by many Members and which will be supported by the country, and find the 12 lakhs for an experiment and a departure of a thoroughly beneficial character."

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya then asked for a division and the Council divided as follows :—

Ayes—14.

1. The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi.
2. The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.
3. The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mir Asad Ali Khan
4. The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoj Currumbboy
5. The Hon'ble Maharaja Ranajit Sinha of Nashipur
6. The Hon'ble Maharaja M C Nandi of Kasimbazar
7. The Hon'ble Raja of Mahmudabad
8. The Hon'ble Mr Huda
9. The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Sitanath Ray
10. The Hon'ble Raja Kushalpal Singh
11. The Hon'ble Raja Jai Chand
12. The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy.
13. The Hon'ble Sir G. M. Chitnavis.
14. The Hon'ble Mr Abbott

Noes—36

- 1 His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.
- 2 The Hon'ble Sir Robert Carlyle.
3. The Hon'ble Sir Ali Imam "
- 4 The Hon'ble Mr Clark.
- 5 The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock
6. The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer.
7. The Hon'ble Mr Hailey
8. The Hon'ble Mr Montearth.
- 9 The Hon'ble Mr. Cobb
10. The Hon'ble Mr. Wood
11. The Hon'ble Mr Brunyate
12. The Hon'ble Mr. Wheeler
- 13 The Hon'ble Mr. Low.
14. The Hon'ble Mr Sharp
15. The Hon'ble Mr. Porter
- 16 The Hon'ble Mr Kershaw.
17. The Hon'ble General Holloway
- 18 The Hon'ble Mr. Michael
19. The Hon'ble Surgeon-General Sir C. P. Lukis.
- 20 The Hon'ble Mr. Russell.
21. The Hon'ble Mr. Maxwell.
22. The Hon'ble Major Robertson
23. The Hon'ble Mr Kenrick
24. The Hon'ble Mr Kesteven
25. The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent.
- 26 The Hon'ble Mr. Carr
- 27 The Hon'ble Mr Reid
- 28 The Hon'ble Mr Donald.
29. The Hon'ble Mr. Maude.
30. The Hon'ble Mr. McNeill.
- 31 The Hon'ble Lt -Col Brooke Blakeway.
32. The Hon'ble Mr Maynard.
33. The Hon'ble Mr Walker.
- 34 The Hon'ble Lt -Col Gardon.
- 35 The Hon'ble Mr Arbuthnot.
36. The Hon'ble Maung Mye

The resolution was accordingly rejected.

406 RESOLUTION *RE* REDUCTION OF PROVISION FOR WORKING EXPENSES OF RAILWAYS.

[*Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.*] [9TH MARCH, 1915.]

RESOLUTION *RE* REDUCTION OF PROVISION FOR WORKING EXPENSES OF RAILWAYS.

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.—“ Sir, I beg to move—

‘That this Council recommends that the Budget allotment for the working expenses of Railways be reduced by ₹10,00,000’

“ I have listened with careful attention to the remarks of the Hon'ble Member for Commerce and Industry on this head in the statement that he has made. I propose to deal with some of the points which bear upon this resolution. In the first place the Hon'ble Member has claimed that over 66 lakhs less has been provided under ordinary working expenses. That is perfectly true, but I submit that that does not entitle the Department to any great credit, because the experience of this year has shown that when there is less traffic the working or operating expenses must necessarily be reduced. They expect less traffic during the coming year, and therefore they have budgeted for a smaller revenue. Necessarily they could not help reducing the operating and working expenses by the amount that they have done. But so far as the other expenses which fall under this head are concerned, namely, what my friend calls ‘special expenditure’, that is expenses for improvements, they stand on a different footing. My Hon'ble friend says that it has been found necessary for several years to keep up a normal programme of heavy renewals. I am glad that he does say so, because that is exactly what is supported by the figures, which have been provided for year after year in the Budget for working expenses. But this view somewhat militates against that portion of the speech of the Hon'ble the Finance Member where he said that ‘ We have found it necessary to make considerable additional provision for the improvement of the equipment of the railway lines which was represented to us to have fallen somewhat behind-hand in recent years, and to have become a pressing requirement.’ I do not understand, Sir, how the equipment of the railway lines can be said to have fallen somewhat behind-hand in recent years and to have pressed itself upon the attention of the Finance Department as a pressing requirement this year, when, as the Hon'ble Mr. Clark rightly says, a normal programme of heavy renewals has been kept up for several years. The history of the working expenses tells a somewhat different tale. We find that before the Railway Board came into existence, that is up to the year 1905, the working expenses averaged about 46 to 48 per cent of the gross receipts from railways. From 1905, when the Board was constituted, the proportion of its working expenses has been steadily going up. We find that in 1906 it rose to 46 or 46½; in 1907, it went up to 57½; in 1908-09, to 62 per cent, and in 1910 to 55½ per cent. We find also that in 1911-12, the gross receipts were 50 crores, 36 lakhs and odd, in 1912-13, 55 crores. The working expenses in 1911-12 amounted to 25 crores, 89 lakhs, in 1912-13 to 28 crores. In 1913-14 they amounted to 29 crores, 35 lakhs, and in the revised estimates of 1914-15 they are shown as 29 crores, 68 lakhs; the Budget before us provides for 29 crores, 86 lakhs. It will thus appear that the working expenses have been growing steadily and enormously. I cannot therefore understand how it is that the Finance Department was persuaded this year that our equipment in this matter had somewhat fallen behind-hand in recent years. What I further submit, Sir, is that, in last year's Budget estimate provision was made for 29 crores and 74 lakhs, and the revised estimates show that only 29 crores, 63 lakhs could be utilized. If the provision of last year could not be fully utilized, partly owing, no doubt, to the operating expenses having been low, why add 24 lakhs this year to the working expenses? This is a year of deficit; we are faced with a special situation, and unless it can be shown that there is very great and pressing need for pushing up our equipment in this direction, this certainly does not seem to be a year when an extra sum of 24 lakhs should be added to the working expenses. There is another aspect of this question, Sir. The

RESOLUTION *RE* REDUCTION OF PROVISION FOR WORKING 407
EXPENSES OF RAILWAYS.

[9TH MARCH, 1913.] [*Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya ; Mr. Clark.*]

working expenses of railways, as I have submitted, have been steadily growing since 1905, when the Railway Board came into existence; and as these expenses grow, they necessarily reduce the net profit derivable from the railways. That these profits have come to 53 in the present year and that they are calculated to come to 32 in the following year, is a matter which ought to put the Railway Board somewhat at thinking on this question, ought to induce them to undertake a closer and more strict examination of the requirements of renewals than evidently they have been taking. The general public are entitled to see that the working expenses are not unnecessarily swollen. The railways have cost us a tremendous lot, and we are getting very, very small returns. In order that that return should not come to the vanishing point, it is essential that renewals should only be undertaken where they are actually necessary, and certainly not undertaken in a year when the returns from the railways, owing to the special circumstances of the year, are certain to be much poorer than they were last year. I therefore propose that the amount of working expenses should be reduced by 10 lakhs in the budget before us."

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark:—"Sir, the Hon'ble Member has been rather hard on the Railway Department, if he will permit me to say so. We are to have no credit for the reduction of 46 lakhs under ordinary expenditure, and we are to have a great deal of discredit for the increase of 70 lakhs under special expenditure.

"It is a very difficult matter to cut down ordinary expenditure merely because traffic falls off. A great proportion of the working expenses must be fixed expenses, such as wages of the staff, and you cannot largely reduce working costs merely because a few trains have been taken off. I think the Railways have done very well indeed to make such a big saving as has been secured. Then we come to special expenditure. I have already dealt with this matter in my speech introducing the Railway head of the Budget and I need not go over the same ground again. The Hon'ble Member has referred to the reasons which have led to the grant of a larger amount under this head. The main reason is that we have been getting behind-hand in renewals. It is true that in the last three or four years we have been spending larger sums than before, but we are still behind-hand, and it would be a very unwise policy to allow ourselves to get still more in arrears.

"It is very difficult to discuss these three resolutions without, to some extent, connecting them together. The first is that a sum of 12 lakhs should be provided for aiding and encouraging indigenous industries. The second is in effect that Government should neglect to take the steps which seem to them necessary for raising to an adequate pitch of efficiency their railways, by which the products of industries are carried to their markets. The third will have very much the same effect as the second. To my mind there is some significance in the accidental juxtaposition of the second resolution and the first. Hon'ble Members need not carry their minds very far back to recall the acute congestion on railways in the last 2 or 3 years and the complaints which arose on all sides in commercial circles. The injury done to trade was undeniable. A far greater degree of expansion might have been reached had our railways been more adequate to their task. I cannot accept all the blame for the railways. As Hon'ble Members know, the boom was a very sudden one which produced similar effects in nearly every country in the world. But at the same time our railway policy cannot be held to have been entirely free from blame. We had not in the past pursued with sufficient vigour the policy of improving open lines; renewals had been postponed, expenditure had been cut down, and when this great improvement in trade came, I am afraid it cannot be denied that our railways were not as efficient as they should have been. Latterly we have pursued a policy of steady and continued improvement. I have not the faintest doubt that we are right in so doing and that we are acting in the best economic interests of India. It is one of the matters on which I look back with the greatest satisfaction, now that my five years in India are drawing to a close, that I shall leave our railways in a fair way to have drawn level with the demands which may reasonably be expected to be

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[9TH MARCH, 1915] [Mr. Clark; Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.]

made upon them. But this result has not yet been achieved, and if we were to accept the Hon'ble Member's proposal and reduce the present budget allotment, I can think of no more certain way of preventing, or at least postponing, its realisation. I am afraid in these circumstances I cannot agree to the resolution."

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—"I think, Sir, that the Hon'ble Member should not consider the remarks that I made in the light in which he has taken them; he should not think that I want to keep back from the Railway Board the credit that is due to them for what they have done, or to throw any discredit upon them for what they have not done. We are dealing with a business proposition; the Railway Department of the Government of India is a business Department, and we have to look at the matter from a business point of view. The fact that the ordinary working expenses have been reduced this year has been noted in the statement before us. I have no doubt that every Department deserves credit, but when we point out that something more might have been done, in the way of reduction, for keeping down expenditure so far as it thought it fit to do, we do it not in a spirit of carping but in order that our business should be better attended to and, if possible, better promoted. We have to face the fact that railway working expenses have from 1905 onwards been steadily growing, and that they have grown from 46 per cent to 51 or 52 per cent, and the further fact that during these many years heavy renewals have been made year after year. The coming year will be a bad year for profits, and it therefore seems to me proper that the programme of working expenses, *i.e.*, of renewals, might well be reduced by 10 lakhs. My Hon'ble friend has spoken in a manner that would show that my proposal would put a stop to all renewals. That certainly is not so. When you provide for nearly 30 crores for working expenses of railways, a reduction in these expenses of a sum of 10 lakhs cannot much hamper your work, but it will serve to show that there is a willingness, an earnest desire on the part of the Department to show that they will do with a lesser amount when they can. I would not take up more time. I fear that proposals put forward by non-official members do not receive the consideration which might be shown to them. The programme of expenditure in the different departments is fixed by the Finance Department, in consultation with the various Departments of the Government of India; non-official members are not even informed what is proposed to be done until the financial statement is made, the whole matter is arranged, decided on, and it seems unalterably fixed, when it comes before us for discussion. We put forward some suggestions, some may not be exactly right from the Government point of view; it may be that the Government is generally right, but it is difficult to believe that the Government Departments are always right, precisely to the pie, in the allotments that they have fixed for all the various items in the Budget. When the Government are pleased to give non-official Members an opportunity of putting forward suggestions, it does seem hard that they should not be able to see their way of accepting any suggestion for a change in the Budget."

The resolution was put and rejected

RESOLUTION *RE* REDUCTION OF CAPITAL EXPENDITURE ON RAILWAYS.

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—"The last Resolution, Sir, was a consequential Resolution, the object of which was to suggest to the Government how money for the different proposals which I have put forward might be found. As those proposals have been rejected, I do not press this Resolution, namely:—

'That this Council recommends that the Budget provision for capital expenditure on Railways be reduced by Rs.25,00,000'

The resolution was by leave withdrawn.

[9TH MARCH, 1915.] [Sir Reginald Craddock.]

FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

SECOND STAGE.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock :—“The main heads with which the Home Department are concerned, though most important in themselves, represent the ordinary administrative machinery of the country. They include General Administration, Law and Justice, including Courts of Law and Jails, Police, Medical as apart from Sanitation, and Registration.

“The variations in the figures are explained in the Financial Statements. No resolutions are being moved in regard to any of them, and they have apparently evoked no criticism from Hon'ble Members of this Council

“We had hoped that in ordinary circumstances, the current year would have seen the promised Jail Commission at work, examining our prison system; but, as in many other cases, the War has obliged us to postpone this inquiry for the present. I regret exceedingly that this has been necessary, for I had great hopes that much good would result from such an inquiry for which the time had become ripe. The subject was also one in which many Hon'ble Members have taken much interest. We may hope that the postponement will be a short one, though it is impossible now to make any forecast of the probable date at which the matter will be again taken up.

“Under Courts of Law, the buildings for the new High Court at Patna are nearing completion; the question of strength, personnel and establishment, is under elaboration, while, as the Council is aware, the question of converting the Chief Court at Lahore into a High Court is before the Secretary of State.

“Under Police there is, and must be, as I indicated last year, continuous expansion. Constables must be paid a living wage and it has been found necessary, in some provinces, to increase the pay also of the head constables, while the general scheme of reform following on the Police Commission's recommendations still forms a continuous process.

“I desire once more, on behalf of the Government of India, to give a tribute of praise to the officers and men of the Indian Police. I do not think that India ever properly recognises what she owes to the police. The few cases of serious misconduct that occur—and I am glad to say that they have been becoming fewer each year—are magnified out of all proportion to their numerical importance, while all the excellent work that the police do is for the most part unnoticed or ignored. It falls to me to see many judgments of the higher criminal courts every year, and I can testify to the number of cases in which the work of the police has been pronounced to be good and honest and, in many cases, specially commended, while condemnation is exceedingly rare.

“As I pointed out last year, with the development of the country, police work is daily becoming harder and not easier, and the force requires a degree of support and co-operation from the public which it does not yet receive. If accused persons are acquitted on the benefit of a doubt it is rashly assumed that they ought not to have been prosecuted. Cases in which the Courts find themselves able to say that the accused ought not to have been prosecuted are exceedingly rare. In no country in the world are all the persons sent up for trial convicted. It is the function of the police to lay evidence before the Courts in cases where there is *prima facie* evidence and not to arrogate to themselves a decision. If prosecutions fail, how often can it be said that it is the fault of the police? How often may it not be due to the indifference of the public? I repeat once more that if the police is to cope successfully with the increasing volume of the crime of the country, they require the fullest sympathy and encouragement.”

[*Sir William Meyer ; The Vice-President.*] [9TH MARCH, 1915.]

The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer :—“ Sir, I beg to introduce the following heads of the Financial Statement for 1915-16.

As regards Revenue :—

Opium	Receipts in Aid of Superannuation
Interest.	Exchange.
Mint.	Miscellaneous

As regards Expenditure :—

Refunds.	Mint
Opium	Civil, Furlough and Absentee Allowances
Stamps	Superannuation Allowances and Pensions.
Assessed Taxes	Exchange
Interest on Obligations other than the	Miscellaneous
Public Debt.	Reduction or Avoidance of Debt

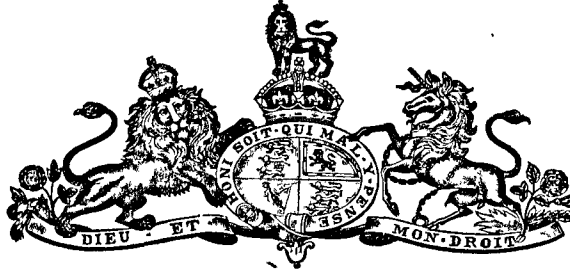
“ I need add nothing to the comments and explanations already given in regard to these items in my speech introducing the Financial Statement and in the Secretary's supplementary Memorandum.”

The Hon'ble the Vice-President :—“ The Council will now adjourn till Wednesday, the 17th March, at 11 o'clock.”

W H. VINCENT,
*Secretary to the Government of India,
Legislative Department.*

DELHI ;

The 17th March, 1915.



GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.
LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COUNCIL OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA
ASSEMBLED FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING LAWS AND REGULATIONS
UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF THE INDIAN COUNCILS ACTS, 1861 to 1909
(24 & 25 Vict., c. 67, 55 & 56 Vict., c. 14, AND 9 Edw. VII, c. 4).

The Council met at the Council Chamber, Imperial Secretariat, Delhi, on
Wednesday, the 17th March, 1915

PRESENT :

The Hon'ble SIR HARCOURT BUTLER, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Vice-President, *presiding*,
and 54 Members, of whom 47 were Additional Members

OATH OF OFFICE.

The following Additional Members made the prescribed oath of allegiance
to the Crown :—

The Hon'ble Mr. Robert Woodburn Gillan, C.S.I.

„ „ Mr. Robert Graham.

STATEMENT LAID ON THE TABLE.

The Hon'ble Mr. Sharp :—“ Sir, I lay on the table the information* promised in the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler's reply to the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mir Asad Ali Khan on the 8th September, 1914. The figures as explained in the footnote can be regarded only as an approximate estimate. The collection of figures at this time involves considerable difficulty.”

* *Vide* Appendix, page 469, *post*.

[*Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy; Sir Reginald Craddock; Mr. Ghuznavi; Mr. Sharp.*] [17TH MARCH, 1915]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy asked :—

Indian representation at the next Imperial Conference.

1. "Will Government be pleased to consider, and to press upon the Imperial Government, the desirability of Indian representation at the Imperial Conference to be held in England next year?"

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

"From Reuter's telegrams it would appear to have been stated by Mr Harcourt in the House of Commons that no Imperial Conference will be held this year, and until the future intentions of His Majesty's Government are known it is impossible to answer the Hon'ble Member's question."

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi asked :—

Matriculation age limit.

2. "(a) Is it a fact that in some of the Presidencies and Provinces of India, the Matriculation age limit is fixed at 15? If so, will the Government be pleased to state in which of the Provinces this is the case?"

(b) Is it a fact that in the case of the Presidency of Bengal the present Matriculation age is fixed at 16?"

(c) Is the Government aware that at a meeting of the Senate of the Calcutta University held in January last, to consider the question of the Matriculation age limit, the recommendation of the Syndicate, namely, that in Section 3, Chapter 30, of the University Regulations, the words 'the last day of the year' be substituted for the words 'the last day of the month' was accepted by the Senate?"

(d) If so, will the Government be pleased to state whether they will consider the desirability of accepting the recommendation of the Senate?"

The Hon'ble Mr. Sharp replied :—

"(a) Yes. The age limit for Matriculation is 15 in the Madras and Punjab Universities. This rule would, therefore, apply to pupils studying within the territorial limits of those universities."

(b) Yes.

(c) The Government of India have seen in the newspapers an announcement to this effect. The present rule prescribes the attainment of the age limit on the first day of the month."

(d) When the matter comes before the Government of India officially, they will consider it."

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi asked :—

Substitution of candidates' Roll numbers in place of their names on answer papers.

3. "(a) Is it a fact that in all examinations held by the Civil Service Commissioners in England the Roll numbers of candidates only are written on the answer papers of the examinees and that their names do not appear?"

(b) Is it a fact that in the examinations for Mukhtyarships, and in all examinations held by the Calcutta University the names of the examinees appear on their papers?"

(c) If so, will the Government be pleased to state whether they will consider the desirability of substituting candidates' Roll numbers in place of their names?"

The Hon'ble Mr. Sharp replied :—

"(a) The statement is true of the examination for the Indian Civil Services, but otherwise the facts are not known."

(b) No definite information is available."

[17TH MARCH, 1915] [Mr. Sharp; Mr. Ghuznavi; Mr. Gillan.]

(c) Assuming that the question relates to conditions in Bengal, the Calcutta High Court and the University of Calcutta are the authorities which control the Mukhtyarship and University examinations respectively. The Government of India will send copies of the question and answer to these bodies for information."

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi asked :—

4. "With reference to the answer given by the Hon'ble Sir T. R. Wynne to my question put on the 17th September, 1913, will the Government be pleased to state what progress has now been made with the construction of the following Railway lines :—

Progress in the construction of certain Railway lines.

- (a) Mymensingh to Tangail
- (b) Mymensingh *via* Gouripur to Bhairab Bazar
- (c) Gouripur *via* Shamganj to Bhagmara.
- (d) Shamganj to Netrokona "

The Hon'ble Mr. Gillan replied :—

"No decision has yet been arrived at regarding the construction of a railway from Mymensingh to Tangail. A survey party is at present carrying out a further examination of the area in which this line would lie, with a view to determining what alignment it will be best to adopt in view of proposals for further railway development in the same area.

A detailed survey for a line of railway from Mymensingh to Bhairab Bazar, with a branch from Gouripur to Bhagmara *via* Shamganj and a branch from Shamganj to Netrokona, has been completed and it has been decided with the approval of the Secretary of State that a concession may be granted to float a company for the construction of these lines on the Branch Line terms subject to certain conditions. Negotiations with a private Syndicate are now proceeding."

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi asked :—

5. "(a) Will the Government be pleased to state, with regard to the Mymensingh-Tangail Railway, whether the southern route has now been considered as the most suitable ?

Mymensingh-Tangail Railway.

(b) Will the Government be pleased to state whether the Railway line to Tangail will eventually be extended to find an outlet on the Brahmaputra ?

(c) Will the Government be pleased to state whether a survey has been made from Tangail to Elashia and whether another survey has been made from Tangail to Aricha, a point opposite to Goalundo ?

(d) If so, will the Government be pleased to consider the proposal of finally extending the Railway line from Tangail to Aricha and connecting the same by a steamer ferry to Goalundo ?

(e) Will the Government be pleased to state whether they propose to make over some of these branch lines to the Assam-Bengal Railway for construction ?

(f) If so, will the Government be pleased to state which branch lines they so propose to make over ? "

The Hon'ble Mr. Gillan replied :—

"No decision has yet been arrived at regarding the route to be adopted for the proposed Mymensingh-Tangail Railway, nor regarding the advisability of extending the line to some point on the Brahmaputra. A reconnaissance survey of the area in which this railway would lie is at present being carried out with a view to deciding what scheme of railway extensions will best meet the interests of the district as a whole. Pending a consideration of the results of this inquiry, the Government of India are unable to consider the question of a ferry service between Aricha and Goalundo.

The question of the agency to be employed for the construction of railways in this area has not yet been considered."

[*Mr Ghuznavi ; Mr. Gillan.*] [17TH MARCH, 1915]**The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi** asked :—Construction
of a branch
line between
Aricha and
Tengi
(Dacca).

6. "Is it a fact that if Aricha is connected by railway with Tengi and a steamer ferry kept at Goalundo, a considerable saving of time will be effected in the journey between Calcutta and Dacca ?

(b) If so, will the Government be pleased to state whether they propose to construct a branch line between Aricha and Tengi (Dacca) ?

(c) Will they also be pleased to state whether a survey to Tengi from Aricha has been made ? "

The Hon'ble Mr. Gillan replied :—

"The reply to (a) is in the affirmative.

The information asked for in (b) and (c) is afforded by the reply given to the Hon'ble Member's previous question "

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi asked :—Construction
of certain
Railway
lines.

7. "Have the Government now taken into consideration the construction of the following lines :—

(a) Faridpur to Bhaga

(b) Balgachi or its vicinity to Boalmari

(c) Noyapara to Barisal

(b) If so, has any decision been arrived at with regard to all or any of these lines, if not, when may such decision be expected ? "

The Hon'ble Mr. Gillan replied :—

"Reconnaissance surveys of the area in which the proposed lines from Faridpur to Bhaga and from Balgachi to Boalmari would lie, and a detailed survey for a line from Noyapara to Paderdi with branches to Barisal and Madaripur, have recently been carried out. Reports regarding the results of the former, but not of the latter, have been received. Until full information is available, the Government of India are not in a position to say when a decision regarding the construction of railways in this area is likely to be arrived at."

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi asked :—Connection
of the
Northern
Section
of the
Eastern
Bengal
State
Railway
with the
Katihar-
Godagiri
Section.

8. "(a) With reference to my question and the answer given by the Hon'ble Sir T. R. Wynne on the 17th September, 1913, in this Council, will the Government be pleased to state whether they are still considering the question of the best alignment to adopt to connect the Northern Section of the Eastern Bengal State Railway with the Katihar-Godagiri Section, or whether the question has already been decided ?

(b) Is it a fact that local public bodies, the Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division, and the late Commissioner Mr F C French, all favour the Nattore-Godagiri line in preference to the Rajshahi Gopalpur or Sara line, the connection with the Northern Section being made at Nattore ?

(c) Will the Government be pleased to state what progress has been made in connection with this line ; or if no decision has been arrived at, when such decision may be expected ? "

The Hon'ble Mr. Gillan replied :—

"The question of the best route for the proposed connection between the Northern Section of the Eastern Bengal Railway and the Katihar-Godagiri Section has not yet been decided, and the Government of India are not at present in a position to say when a decision will be arrived at, or to add to the information given in the Hon'ble Sir T. R. Wynne's answer to the question referred to by the Hon'ble Member."

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS; THE INLAND STEAM-VESSELS 415
(AMENDMENT) BILL; THE ASSAM LABOUR AND EMI-
GRATION (AMENDMENT) BILL.

[17TH MARCH, 1915] [*Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar; Mr. Porter;*
Sir Reginald Craddock; Mr. Clark]

The Hon'ble Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar asked :—

9. " Will the Government be pleased to state when their orders may be expected on the recommendations made by the Royal Decentralization Commission with a view to increase the powers and resources of local bodies and to develop a system of village self-government? "

The Hon'ble Mr. Porter replied :—

" The Government of India will shortly issue a resolution relating to the matters referred to by the Hon'ble Member "

The Hon'ble Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar asked :—

10. " Will the Government be pleased to publish for general information the minutes of the evidence taken by the Committee of Investigation into the voyage of the ' Komagata Maru ' and the riot at Budge Budge? "

Publication of the minutes of the evidence taken by the Budge Budge Riot Committee.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

" The Government of India do not consider that the publication of the minutes of evidence taken by the ' Komagata Maru ' Committee would be to the public advantage, and are not prepared to adopt the Hon'ble Member's suggestion."

**THE INLAND STEAM-VESSELS (AMENDMENT)
BILL.**

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark :—" Sir, I move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Inland Steam-vessels Act, 1884. This is purely an administrative measure. Experience has shown that certain amendments are necessary in the existing Act, and especially in regard to the provisions for the issue of certificates of competency and service to Masters, Engineers, etc., of Inland Steam-vessels. These and other points are dealt with in the Bill. It is not proposed to proceed further with it at present. The Bill will be introduced now and circulated to Local Governments, and the Committee stage will be taken in September. At the same time we hope to consolidate the existing legislation on this matter."

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark :—" Sir, I beg to introduce the Bill and to move that the Bill, together with the Statement of Objects and Reasons relating thereto, be published in English in the *Gazette of India*, and in the local official Gazettes, except the *Fort St George Gazette*, in English and in such other languages as the Local Governments think fit.

The motion was put and agreed to.

THE ASSAM LABOUR AND EMIGRATION (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark :—" Sir, I move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Assam Labour and Emigration Act, 1901

" The object of this Bill is to secure a closer and more adequate supervision of recruitment of labour for the tea gardens in Assam. It provides, in the

[*Mr. Clark.*]

[17TH MARCH, 1915.]

first place, for the complete abolition of recruitment by contractors, a system which has been found in the past to be least susceptible of proper control and to have been the most open to abuse. The major portion of the Bill provides the machinery for the creation and working of a Board, which will assist in the supervision of Local Agents and generally in the supervision of recruitment of labour for the tea gardens in Assam. It is perhaps hardly necessary to point out that the Board is not a recruiting agency: it will have no more to do with the actual recruitment of labour than does the Collector of a district in his capacity of Superintendent of Emigration. Recruitment will, when the contractor and *arkati* have been eliminated, be conducted almost entirely through garden-sardars, working under Local Agents, that is to say, by men employed on the gardens, who come down for recruiting purposes to the recruiting districts and are controlled there by Local Agents. The most important point, then, becomes the supervision of these Local Agents, and it is here, especially, that the Board and its staff will afford a very valuable additional safeguard. One of the great difficulties in securing adequate supervision of recruitment at the present time is the difficulty so common in Indian administration that officers are constantly being moved on from one district to another. The administrative functions in connection with recruitment under Act VI of 1901, the superintendence of emigration, and so on, are generally entrusted to district officers, and it is impossible to secure that a man who may have had no previous experience of the question may not have to be transferred to districts where recruiting takes place. The Board, therefore, will provide the element of permanency in the administration. Its functions will be purely advisory; and, as already explained, it will have nothing whatever to do with actual recruitment, but will have the power of endorsing existing licences of Local Agents, if they have been guilty of any malpractices, or advising on the grant of fresh licences before the application for the licence goes to the Superintendent of Emigration. The Board will be presided over by an officer of Government.

" In addition to the provisions constituting the Labour Board, one important amendment is proposed to be made by this Bill in the Act of 1901, in order to remove a means by which unscrupulous recruiters have been evading the provisions of the Act. Under the Act, as it now stands, Government have no control over a coolie recruited in a Native State, and it has consequently been very easy to evade the provisions of the Act by asserting that a coolie is a resident of a Native State. An explanation is now to be added to the definition of the word 'emigrate' in clause 2 of the principal Act, so as to bring within it any coolie who may have proceeded from a Native State into any part of India in which the Act is in force, and who subsequently departs therefrom for the purpose of labouring for hire in Assam.

" I regret that, owing to the proposals and the draft Bill itself having had to be sent to the Secretary of State for approval, it has been impossible to bring this measure before Council at an earlier stage in the Session. It has, however, been very fully discussed with the tea industry, who originally proposed the creation of the Board and who appreciate as fully as do Government, the necessity for removing all reproaches from recruitment for Assam; and with the Local Governments concerned. These latter have all approved and supported the proposals embodied in the Bill "

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark introduced the Bill and moved that the Bill, together with the Statement of Objects and Reasons relating thereto, be published in the *Gazette of India* in English.

He said :—" We propose to take the Bill up at a later date in this Session and to pass it into law "

The motion was put and agreed to.

THE SEA CUSTOMS (AMENDMENT) BILL, THE FOREIGNERS
(AMENDMENT) BILL. 417

[17TH MARCH, 1915.] [Mr. Clark; Sir Reginald Craddock.]

THE SEA CUSTOMS (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark moved for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Sea Customs Act, 1878.

He said :—“ Sir, this Bill deals only with a single point in our Customs law. Section 37 of the Sea Customs Act, 1878, prescribes that the rate of duty and tariff valuation applicable to imported goods warehoused under the Act are the rate and valuation in force on the date on which application is made to clear the goods for Home consumption. The effect of this prescription of the law is that bonders who may anticipate a change of duty in connection with the budget of the year, are able to apply in advance for clearance of their goods in order thereafter to claim the benefit of the old rates of duty, although they may have no immediate intention of clearing the goods, and it has been shown by experience that where there is any reason for anticipating enhancement of duty, there are large applications for clearance immediately before the presentation of the budget. It is obvious therefore that if any increase in duty were at any time determined upon, there would be a serious loss of customs revenue, while the bonder himself takes no risk in making these applications. Government consider that this state of things should not be permitted to continue, and they propose to amend section 37 so as to bring it into line with the corresponding legislation now in force in the United Kingdom. The effect of this amendment of the law will be to make the duty chargeable on goods in warehouses, the duty in force at the time of their actual removal. This is clearly in itself an equitable arrangement, and Council, I think, will readily agree that the modification of the law in this sense is desirable and is necessary in order to protect our revenue. We propose, therefore, as it is a very simple matter, to put this Bill through before the end of the Session ”

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark introduced the Bill and moved that the Bill, together with the Statement of Objects and Reasons relating thereto, be published in the *Gazette of India* in English.

The motion was put and agreed to.

THE FOREIGNERS (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock :—“ Sir, I beg to move that the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill to amend the Foreigners Act, 1864, be taken into consideration

“ When I introduced this Bill at Simla last September, I explained that the Bill was a small amending Bill intended to meet the difficulty, which had for a long time past been felt, that there was no power given to the officers of Government to detain an undesirable alien during the time required to make a reference to the Government for an order to be passed in his case. Since that time our legal advisers have brought to our notice that the existing definition of the term ‘ foreigner ’ contained in the Foreigners Act presented certain difficulties of interpretation, and that the opportunity of this amending Bill might be taken to bring that definition, so to speak, up to date. The definition of ‘ foreigner ’ took us back to the Statute of William IV, which Statute has since been repealed ; and if that Statute were further referred to it would be found that the exact meaning and interpretation of the term ‘ foreigner ’ led us back to delve among ancient Statutes extending several centuries old, and into the English Common Law. Inasmuch as an Act of Parliament was passed so lately as 1914, containing a definition of ‘ foreigner, ’ it was thought advisable that our own Act

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here should bear reference to that latest legislation and so remove the difficulties of interpretation to which I have referred. That Act is the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1914, and our definition, as now amended, will define a 'foreigner' as a person who is not a natural born British subject, as defined in sub-sections 1 and 2 of section 1 of the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1914, or a person who has not been granted a certificate of naturalisation as a British subject under any law in force for the time being in British India. It is not considered that any one is likely to raise any objection to this definition being brought up to date, and the Select Committee have been unanimous in giving their approval to the inclusion of that definition."

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock :—"I now beg to move the Bill as amended be passed."

The motion was put and agreed to:

At this stage the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler left the Chair, which was taken by the Hon'ble Sir Robert Carlyle.

**RESOLUTION *RE* INDIAN VERNACULARS IN
SECONDARY SCHOOLS.**

The Hon'ble Mr. Rayanngar :—"Sir, the resolution I beg to place before the Council runs thus:—

'That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to have, in consultation with the Provincial Governments and Administrations, steps taken for making the Indian Vernaculars media of instruction and the study of English as second language compulsory for Indian pupils in all secondary schools'

"Sir, the Resolution deals with an important subject. The suggestion now made has the sanction of principle, practice, and authority. A little examination will reveal the superior advantages of imparting instruction through the vernacular. If any real knowledge is sought to be communicated to an unmatriculated boy the medium of the mother tongue must have undoubted advantages. The mind of the boy is not distracted, there is no diffusion of energy; it is only the difficulties of the subject which the mind is left free to face. And owing to the concentration of mental energy the difficulties are overcome and knowledge is acquired. But if attention is diverted to the difficulties of a foreign tongue in addition, the immature mind naturally fails to assimilate either the language or the knowledge it is sought to convey. This leads to one result, the mechanical repetition of half understood sentences. In fact cramming is encouraged and the boy learns neither the vernacular nor the foreign language properly. Throughout the course there is no education in the real sense of the word. The defects of the early training endure in all after life. Is it a wonder that, with this defective training, most of our graduates are not able to do anything great in life, and all their energy is spent in unproductive work? The case of those who fail in the Entrance examination is still worse. They are stranded in life. They are not eligible for even the very lowest appointments in public service. They are useless for industrial or commercial careers. They feel unhappy and discontented. Their lot will not be so bad if they had sound secondary education through the medium of vernacular. Then they would have at least gained sufficient general knowledge to help them on in qualifying themselves as skilled artisans or independent traders. A sound vernacular education, again is less likely to divert the students from their hereditary professions than a superficial English education.

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“There is yet another direction in which the present rigid, unimaginative method works a hardship. We are all agreed about the paramount necessity of a wide-spread female education for the amelioration of the country. And can it for a moment be contended that any serious attempt in that direction is possible without providing a vernacular basis for secondary education? How many among our girls can afford to waste their time in the unprofitable pursuit of the present day secondary education? It is obvious that as it is, we cannot make much headway in the matter of female education. If, on the other hand, vernaculars are made the media of instruction in secondary schools, female education will gain ground, not only directly but also indirectly. I say indirectly because when the boys read in vernacular their lessons of general knowledge, their girl relations too will be able to pick up some knowledge of the subjects. Besides vernaculars being used as the channel of instruction vernacular literature will multiply. It is through vernaculars and vernaculars alone that knowledge can reach the masses. Sir, we have in India a good deal of education to a few. We want to have at least a little to many. The spread of knowledge in the country is the only remedy for the existing depressed state of the great majority of our people. Indeed patriots glow warm over the question of mass education.

“It is not that the authorities are not aware of the solid advantages of instruction through the vernacular. Sir, English education in India dates, so to speak, from the celebrated Resolution of the Government of India of 7th March, 1835. Any detailed examination of the educational views of the authorities in the years previous to it is unnecessary. Suffice it to say, that opinion was divided, and the educational policy of Government continued unsettled. It was Lord Macaulay's Minute of 7th February, 1835, upon which the Government Resolution was based that settled the policy. It was once for all decided that ‘the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European Literature and sciences amongst the natives of India,’ and that English education alone was to be supported by Government. But even in Lord Macaulay's Minute there is sufficient indication that the final choice was a matter of necessity created by the absence of a proper vernacular literature. Lord Macaulay formulated the case thus: ‘How stands the case? We have to educate a people who cannot at present be educated by means of their mother tongue. We must teach them some foreign language.’ The reference to the existing circumstances of the country was significant; and any doubt about the importance of vernacular education and the reasons underlying the decisions of the Council of Education over which Lord Macaulay presided, was set at rest by the first annual report of that Council. The Council observed: ‘We are deeply sensible of the importance of encouraging the cultivation of vernacular languages The claims of the vernacular languages were broadly and prominently admitted by all parties No reference to the question through what ulterior medium such instruction as the mass people is capable of receiving, is to be conveyed.’ The question of the ‘ulterior medium’ of instruction was thus left unsettled, and it is perfectly open to Government to consider it now without abandonment of the general principles, first adopted by Lord William Bentinck, which have through tradition and practice crystallised into the cardinal principles of British Indian Administration. The Council evidently looked forward to a future when the medium of instruction should be changed and the vernaculars should be substituted for English. It remarked—

‘We conceive the formation of a vernacular literature to be the ultimate object to which all efforts must be directed. At present, the extensive cultivation of some foreign language which is always improving to the mind, is rendered indispensable by the almost total absence of a vernacular literature, and the consequent impossibility of obtaining a tolerable education from that source only. The study of English is the first stage in the process by which India is to be enlightened. The natives must learn before they can teach. The best educated among them must be placed in possession of our knowledge, before they can transfer it into their own language.’

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but the system is distrusted as tending to retard progress in the English language, and it is therefore advisable that its adoption should be left to the good sense of the people themselves.'

"In the sixth quinquennial review of educational progress the Hon'ble Mr. Sharp has drawn attention to the defects in the existing system of 'the treatment of subjects like history and geography as ordinary reading lessons,' and 'the attempt to impart knowledge through English before the pupils can understand that language'. The Indian Universities Commission of 1902 likewise noted the defect. 'Boys begin to learn as a language and also to learn other subjects through the medium of English, long before they are capable of understanding.' The Government of India, in their Resolution of 21st February, 1913, recorded this weighty opinion :—

'There is much experience to the effect that scholars who have been through a complete vernacular course are exceptionally efficient mentally. The Government of India recommend arrangements on the above lines to all Local Governments and Administrations which have not already introduced them.'

"Dr Welton, Professor of Education in the University of Leeds, in his recent work 'What do we mean by Education,' speaking of the study of Latin and Greek in English schools goes on to say :—

'That more effort is given to acquiring the elementary use of the instruments of thought than to the study of thoughts themselves in short, to make school learning preponderatingly verbal and this is antagonistic to the very idea of culture.

'The temptation to verbalism is always present in schools, and it is naturally most potent in foreign languages

Questioned by an Advocate of Education on vernacular basis, Professor Geddes said :—

'The whole trend of my teaching of civic and town planning . . . with its insistence on the value and necessity of growing each plant upon its own roots, and maintaining its original character (while not excluding the introduction of good grafts from elsewhere)—is quite in sympathy with your theme of education in vernacular'

"And what is still more important from the non-official point of view, the proposed measure has in its favour the weight of public opinion. People with diametrically opposite views about Indian politics are agreed about this reform.

"Sir S Subramanier of Madras, speaking at the inaugural meeting of the Dravida Bhasha Sangam, said: 'The Rev. Dr. Pope and other English scholars of the vernaculars are convinced that Tamil and Telugu are quite capable of expressing the most important thoughts and yield to the framing of scientific terminology.' The Hon'ble Mr. P S Sivaswami Iyer, now a member of the Madras Government, in his capacity as the Secretary to the Council of Native Education in Madras, observed: 'Little boys are made to repeat words and sentences which convey no clear significance to them. They repeat what they are taught, both in the class-room and at the examination . . . Hence it is proposed that in the Lower Secondary classes non-language subjects should be taught in the vernacular, instead of through English. Sir Gurusdas Banerji of Bengal, in his 'Educational Problem in India' remarks :

'Sentiment no doubt is in favour of making vernacular the medium of imparting knowledge and reason supports that sentiment to a great extent. . . . I therefore submit that in the secondary course, *s.e.*, up to the Matriculation examination standard, subjects other than English should be taught in the student's vernacular wherever practicable.'

"Again, the Hon'ble Justice Sir Asutosh Mukerji made the following observation in his Calcutta Convocation Address, 1907 :—

'At the Matriculation stage the course must be so framed as to include subjects that would train and develop some power of expression, some power of reasoning and some power of observation. To give the students some power of expression unquestionably the best medium is his own language in the first place, with the structure and literature of which he ought to have a tolerable familiarity.'

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“Sir Valentine Chirol in his book on ‘Indian Unrest’ condemns the sole use of English in high schools as the medium of instruction. Mrs Annie Besant, in an article in the *Indian Review* of May 1914, observed :—

‘On the use of the vernaculars as the medium of instruction in secondary schools there is practically unanimity of opinion. It would be well definitely to lay down the principle that all subjects, other than English as a language, should be taught in the vernacular, then our Indian boys would be in the same advantageous position as the Japanese, who learn all subjects in their own tongue, and take English as a compulsory second language. If this principle be adopted up to matriculation, the education will be practical, consistent and effective, and English will be known for all useful purposes as well as it is known to-day’

It may also be noticed that the Lord Bishop of Madras advocated the same change. The Madras Council of Education, composed of distinguished non-official gentlemen, have taken the same common-sense view, and have from the very beginning made earnest efforts to secure the suggested change in the medium of instruction in secondary schools. It is therefore difficult to believe that an attempt on the part of Government to introduce the vernacular in the secondary schools up to the highest class as the medium of instruction will be viewed with disfavour. Besides it is not open to Government to go back upon its declared policy, and we have a right to expect, instead of allowing the idea to remain a pious wish, Government would take vigorous steps to effect the reform.

“Sir the question of ‘a modern side’ has been fairly satisfactorily settled in England; in the Continental countries the medium of the mother tongue has been adopted with conspicuous success; it is in India alone that we lag behind. The method recommended in the Resolution before the Council appears to me to inculcate a principle which must redound to the lasting benefit of the country.

“Sir, the objections usually urged against the proposed reform are—

- (1) the pupil's knowledge of English will deteriorate in the new method,
- (2) suitable text-books are not available,
- (3) vernaculars being deficient in technical nomenclature it is difficult to impart instruction in subjects like Geography, Mathematics and Science, through them
- (4) suitable teachers are not available to teach non-language subjects in vernacular,
- (5) in each Province there being several vernaculars it will be extremely difficult, if not impracticable, to make provision for imparting instruction through the media of vernacular, and the attempts will involve larger expenditure as more teachers will be required,
- (6) the proposed measure will interfere with the unification of the Indian peoples

“So long as English is compulsory and a high standard insisted on there is absolutely no danger of the deterioration of its knowledge. In the new method the energy of the pupil is conserved and is concentrated upon the study of English as a language. Non-language subjects being presented through the medium of his mother tongue, the pupil can learn them much quicker and devote more time to the study of English, and that under specially selected teachers. Surely he will not run the risk of learning bad accent and bad idiom from the teachers in charge of non-language subjects whose pretensions to teach English are often anything but desirable. The adoption of the Berlitz system of teaching language as a complimentary to the reform I advocate will be productive of excellent results. The second objection relates to the non-existence of suitable text-books in vernaculars. Most of the vernaculars have text-books on the subjects taught in the secondary course. If improved texts and more of them are required, they will ere long come into existence. With increase in the prospects the fields of translation and original contribution are not likely to remain unexploited for any

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length of time. Then as to vernaculars being deficient in scientific nomenclature, we have literary institutions already engaged in preparing lists of required scientific terms. English terms may also in course of time become naturalised. The process is easy and may be seen at work even now. The next objection is based on the difficulty of finding teachers to teach non-language subjects through the medium of vernaculars. The objection is more imaginary than real. Most of the teachers who teach non-language subjects through the medium of English are Indians. They know their vernaculars, and if they know the subjects they teach, they must be able to teach them in vernacular. If practice is wanted, it can be acquired in a short time. There is another objection. That is on account of the difficulty and costliness of making provision for imparting instruction to the pupils speaking various vernaculars. The difficulty will occur only in a few places. In such places generally the classes are numerically extra strong and sub-divisions of classes are formed. If the sub-division is effected on the basis of language division, much of the inconvenience will disappear. When any particular sub-division is numerically weak, it will be open to the management of the school either to reject admission of a few boys or put them in a class where a vernacular akin to theirs is used as the medium of instruction. Then there remains the last objection, that the proposed measure will interfere with the unification of Indian peoples. Sir, to my mind, the objection appears to be meaningless. Sometimes people hazard opinions and say that but for different languages, Indians will be one Nation. I very much doubt the soundness of that opinion. What about our different creeds and castes? If all these differences disappear, I daresay the difference of language too will disappear.

"Sir, I have answered argument yet prejudice may remain.

"Sir, what we want is education not merely in words but in thought and in deed.

"With these observations, Sir, I commend the Resolution to the acceptance of the Council."

The Hon'ble Raja Kushalpal Singh:—"Sir, the Hon'ble Mover has urged all that can be said to justify the acceptance of this resolution. He has shown that his educational scheme will promote the study of the vernaculars, which are now often neglected, provide for a deeper study of English, and enable school children, through the medium of the vernaculars, to study other subjects in a more thorough and intelligent fashion. The difficult language of the text-books on subjects other than English and classical and vernacular languages, induces cramming, and impairs the value of these subjects as mental training. It is a well-known fact that many students fail in their examinations in history, and similar subjects, because of their inability to express themselves in English. If, however, the vernaculars be made media of instruction, their literatures would become enriched with works on scientific subjects, and the study of the vernaculars themselves would receive a great stimulus. It would also then be possible to engage vernacular-knowing teachers on less pay than is given to teachers knowing English. The saving thus effected would enable the managers of aided schools to keep such teachers for teaching English as have that language for their mother tongue. Besides if all subjects were taught through the medium of the vernaculars, the students would find more time for the more detailed study of English. It is a matter of common knowledge that students of special classes who commence the study of English after passing the Vernacular Final Examination are more frequently successful in the Matriculation and School Leaving Certificate Examinations than other students.

"The suggestions made by the Hon'ble Mover are not altogether novel ones. In the lower classes of Anglo-vernacular schools in all the provinces the medium of instruction is the vernacular. The Punjab University offers three distinct courses, an Arts, a Science and an Oriental Matriculation. The students appearing at the Bombay School Final Examination

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are allowed to answer questions in History, Geography and the classical language in the vernacular. Finally, in the United Provinces, the Hon'ble Mover's scheme will be but the natural expansion of the system of special classes.

"The lack of text-books on scientific subjects and of the vernacular-knowing teachers competent to teach them will no doubt present a serious difficulty. It will not be insurmountable. In the United Provinces, some years ago, the Aligarh Scientific Society translated several scientific works into Urdu. Some years ago also, Shamsul-Ulma Maulvi Zakauallah and Rai Bahadur Pandit Lakshmi Shanker Misra translated into Urdu and Hindi most of the standard books then in use in schools.

"The scheme has certain decided advantages. I have therefore no hesitation in according my whole-hearted support to the resolution before the Hon'ble Council."

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy :—"Sir, I am sorry I have to oppose my friend's motion on the ground that it is calculated to be prejudicial to the best interests of the country. Not that I am wanting in my appreciation of the motives which have inspired it, or in my admiration for my friend's enthusiasm in the cause of education; but we must not overlook the fact that just at the present moment, through causes which must be patent to all, the public mind is in a state of tension. There can be no doubt that the War has filled the minds of the people with anxiety. Added to this is the distress caused by high prices, unemployment, and the general economic situation. The uncertainties of future developments, again, are powerful disturbing factors. It is certainly unwise to aggravate the difficulties of the situation by starting afresh a controversy about the educational policy of Government over which there is already a considerable amount of feeling in the country. It must be admitted that the resolution deals with a highly controversial subject, and it is a matter of surprise to me that it is moved at a time when Government has very properly held back all matters of a controversial nature. The Hon'ble Mover will realise that we shall not hear the last of his proposal in this Council, and that it will cause perhaps the bitterest of public controversies—the duration of which nobody can foresee.

"Sir, besides its being inopportune, the resolution is harmful in a variety of ways. Official action on the lines laid down in it will have the sure effect of restricting high education in India, and ultimately of retarding that social, political and economic progress of the people which has been the fixed objective of British Indian Rule for more than a century. It would be folly to ignore the marvellous advance we have made in every direction through the development of that English education which the Hon'ble Mover decries. The India of to-day is a very different India from that which Mr Charles Grant of the Court of Directors described in 1792-97 in such unmeasured terms of condemnation; and there is hardly a department of human activity in which Indians, with their limited opportunities, have failed to make their mark. And is all this progress due to a sound system of vernacular education which the Hon'ble Mover so earnestly advocates, or to our rapid and successful assimilation of European culture and European thought through the English language and English literature? The extravagant suggestion is not inconceivable that our progress would have been better, sounder and economically more productive had we received all our culture through the vernacular medium; but the probabilities are all the other way. The experience of the past also points to the opposite conclusion. The Sanskrit Colleges and the Madrasas have been in existence for a long series of years, and who will deny that the passed scholars of those institutions are at a disadvantage in the hard competition of life, and have not given proof of special brilliance in their post collegiate career? Judged by the standard of mental culture alone, are they any way superior to the graduates of our English Colleges?

"Sir, the Hon'ble Mover indirectly suggests that the communication of European culture through the medium of English has defeated the object of

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English education in India. This is the reverse of the truth. Throughout the long controversy between orientalist and occidentalists over the medium of education until it was settled by Lord William Bentinck's famous Resolution of 1835, the one idea which claimed the largest share of philanthropic solicitude on the part of the advocates of English education and which influenced their decision the most was, that a class of men, thoroughly grounded in European science, European arts and European philosophy, should be created in India who should serve as the communicating medium of Western culture to the general population. Lord Macaulay's celebrated Minute, to which the Hon'ble Mover has referred, puts the matter beyond doubt. Now, has this object been defeated? Have we or have we not such a class among us in India? Except the very lowest strata, the whole Indian society, Hindu or Musalman, is permeated with western ideas. Not to speak of towns, villages too have not been able to resist western influence. It would be wrong to suppose that the educated community has not contributed its share to this slow revolution in popular ideas. The vernaculars also have been more or less enriched, and in some provinces they have attained a perfection which has attracted favourable notice even beyond the limits of India. The great literature of Bengal, which has only recently received the highest tribute of admiration from western savants, is the result of the conjoint labours of at least two generations of distinguished Bengali writers who had all their education at English schools through the medium of English. The greatest Bengali poets Michael Dutt and Banerjee, the greatest Bengali novelist Chatterji, the greatest Bengali dramatist Mitra, the greatest lexicographer Raja Deb, the illustrious antiquarian Raja Rajendralal Mitra, were all English scholars. The Mahratta, the Hindi, the Guzrati, the Urdu, and the Telegu likewise owe a great deal of their present development to the labours of Indian scholars who have had their early training in English schools with English as the medium of instruction. Vernacular journalism, which is rapidly growing into a power and the influence of which is felt in the remotest corners of the country, owes all its inspiration and all its literary quality to western thought and western knowledge, imbibed by the conductors in these much-abused English schools. If scientific terminology has not been translated into the vernaculars so freely, it is because the necessity for such translation has not yet arisen. The Hon'ble Mover has himself noticed the process by which western scientific and technical terms are gradually becoming assimilated into the vernaculars of the country. It is thus wrong to suppose that Indian graduates have, by their failure to enrich the vernaculars, falsified the anticipations of the early advocates of English education.

"Sir, the Hon'ble Mover thinks that English education has failed to stimulate thought and original research. If he had only reviewed the history of the past fifty years, he would have found enough material to modify his views. The period is rendered illustrious by a galaxy of great jurists, great doctors, great engineers, deep political thinkers, distinguished administrators, eminent writers, the most fascinating orators, great educationists, great industrialists, and great religious teachers. The names are too many to mention, but there have been a number of them whose fame has travelled overseas into the distant realms of the West. I just refer to Swami Vivekananda, Kesab Chandra Sen, Pratap Chandra Majumdar, Rameschandra Dutt, Miss Toru Dutt, Lalvihari Day, Ranade, Sir Tanjore Madhava Rao, and last, though not least, Gokhale. Pratap Chandra Majumdar, be it noted, was appointed Lowell Lecturer in the United States of America. In the field of scientific research, how many even in the advanced West have earned the reputation of Drs J. C. Bose and P. C. Ray? Where will you have men like Mr. Dadabhoj Naoroji, Sir Ashutosh Mukherji, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and Sir S. P. Sinha? We have this moment sitting with us in this very chamber an orator who has even in England charmed, moved and swayed many an English audience with his soul-stirring and compelling eloquence. And in the face of all these facts, can it be justly contended that English education in India has been barren of results?"

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“ Sir, the Hon’ble Mr. Rama Rayaningar points to the practices of Continental countries and Japan in support of his proposal, but, curiously, he forgets the difference in the local conditions of India. In Japan, Germany or France, a knowledge of English is not at all necessary, except for conversational purposes; whereas here in India a thorough knowledge of the official language is of supreme importance to us. One of the principal objects of English education was, as will abundantly appear from the Despatch of the Court of Directors of 29th September 1830, ‘ to raise up a class of persons qualified, by their intelligence and morality, for high employments in the Civil Administration of India’, ‘ through a familiarity with European literature and science, imbued with the ideas and feelings of civilized Europe’ And again: ‘ You are, moreover, acquainted with our anxious desire to have at our disposal a body of Natives, qualified, by their habits and acquirements, to take a larger share, and occupy higher situations in the Civil Administration of their country’. We Indians also are keenly desirous of securing free admission into Government Service. But, without the freest scope for high English education, can this object be attained? We have to compete, be it remembered, with Europeans and the fast-growing Domiciled Community; and unless we are perfectly familiar with English from our early boyhood, can we hope for success in such a competition? It is not conversational English that is required, but a scholarly acquaintance with the language can alone equalise the conditions of the competition. And how is this possible without English being adopted as the medium of instruction in our high schools? And how are correct idiom and pronunciation to be learnt by the boys, and how is their vocabulary to be enriched, if English is not only taught but is also made the medium of instruction even in the lower forms of the secondary schools? The Hon’ble Mr Sharp, at page 150 of *The Furlough Studies*, speaking of the new method, remarks with great force: ‘ Onwards from the age of ten (at which a bright boy will enter a secondary school), every word of the English language lesson must, with the reservations just noted, be in English. This is the more important, since at that age mind and mouth can most readily adapt themselves to the idiom and the pronunciation of a foreign tongue; by every year that is lost, the task becomes incalculably more difficult’ In this plan, what becomes of the objection of the advocates of the new method that the practice of teaching English in the lower forms, through teachers who are themselves imperfectly acquainted with the language, has the result of implanting in the boy defects of pronunciation and idiom which are ineradicable in after years? The necessity of teaching the language in the earliest years of the secondary course is admitted. But this is by the way (The whole point is that to ensure successful competition for Government Service the youth must have a thorough grounding in English from his early boyhood) And we have experience to back the proposition that this condition is best fulfilled by adopting English as the medium of instruction in the high schools.) Even Sir Alfred Croft stated that the authorities were unanimous in their opinion that English should be the medium from the third form upwards. We know it as a fact that, however ‘ mentally efficient’ they may be, scholars from Anglo-vernacular schools, even though they may be more successful at the University examinations, betray in the majority of cases, a deficiency in the knowledge of English which lingers through life. And this defect places them at a disadvantage in after life. Even B. Sc.’s of the Indian Universities are supposed to be deficient in English. Whatever may be the theory, that is the experience in India, which is not limited to a particular province. It cannot reasonably be expected that further restriction of English in the secondary schools will provide a remedy for this defect. One other consideration will discredit the Hon’ble Mr. Rama Rayaningar’s proposal. The University matriculation examination is conducted now in English. The question papers in all subjects are in English. How will it be possible for boys trained according to his ideal to sit at that examination? They being taught every subject in the vernacular, cannot answer questions in them in English. It is not likely that the Universities will introduce vernaculars in the matriculation examination. Such an

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attempt, even if made, would be opposed to the obvious recommendation of the Universities Commission that 'the vernacular languages of India should not be recognised as second languages side by side with the allied classical languages for any of the University examinations above the Entrance'. It follows by implication that the vernaculars should not be recognised by the Universities even at the Entrance examination except as second languages. This precludes the possibility of their recognition in the answer papers in all subjects other than English. The result, therefore, is that the boys cannot appear at the Entrance examination. And could there be any doubt that the contingency will have the surest effect of cutting off the supply of material for colleges? Is this conducive to the interests of high education? Assuming that either the boys do manage to answer in English the questions in the different subjects though these are taught in the vernacular, or the Universities recognise the vernaculars in the answer papers, and that there is no difficulty in the boys getting into the colleges, how will it be possible for them to profit by collegiate instruction in the general subjects which must necessarily be through the medium of English? Would the college students spend a year or two more in learning over again in English all the general subjects before they join the regular college classes? No, Sir, the adoption of the resolution can lead to only one result, and that the most lamentable of all results,—the retardation of the progress of high education.

"Sir, there would be some justification for the Hon'ble Mover's claim if it was backed by a strong public opinion; but that support is entirely lacking. On the contrary, among the general public there is a strong feeling that the system of our secondary education should not be disturbed. High educational authorities also are convinced of the present system. I will quote one opinion only, and that of Mr. Nesfield, some time Director of Public Instruction in Oudh, who was 'convinced that a boy who reads to the upper, or even to the lower, primary standard in a high school and then stops, is better educated than one who reads to the same standard in a primary school. Boys of the former class know their own vernacular quite as well as the others, and they have had their wits sharpened and their sphere of knowledge extended by learning something of English besides, not much indeed, but enough to serve many useful purposes in after life'.

"The feelings of the general public regarding high education, and as a corollary secondary English education, have undergone no change in character since the historic Memorial presented to Lord Almerston by Raja Rammohan Roy in 1823, but have gathered considerable force in the interval. This is a subject about which the people are unanimous. Attempt after attempt has been made to wean them from their passionate liking for English education, but they have stood firm. When English has been made optional in schools, the choice has, in an increasing number of cases, been in its favour. For instance, even in primary schools where English is taught as an optional subject as in the primary schools of Madras, 'the number that bring up English as their second language,' according to the Parliamentary Blue Book on Indian Education of 1898 (No. C-9190), 'continues to increase'. In the sixth Quinquennial Review also this feature of the Madras primary course is noticed. In secondary schools the pupils learning English are steadily on the increase —".

The Hon'ble the Vice-President:—"Order! The Hon'ble Member's time is up."

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi:—"Sir, like the last speaker, I equally regret to find myself in complete disagreement with the views which my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Rayanagar seeks to promulgate and see carried into effect by means of the resolution which he has just moved. At the outset, however, I should like to clear the air, for any Indian, who opposes a resolution such as this which superficially might be regarded as a means of increasing the

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importance of the Indian vernaculars, runs the risk of being misunderstood and misconstrued. Therefore, I should like to say at once that the mere fact of making the vernaculars the medium of instruction in the secondary schools will have no effect whatsoever in increasing or lowering the status of Indian vernaculars. I share with all my heart the laudable desire with all right-thinking men to see our vernaculars gradually develop themselves and take their proper place in the literatures of the world. In recent times both Urdu and Bengali have made great strides onwards, and have produced poets, such as Hali and Rabindra Nath Tagore, of whom any nation may be proud. But our vernaculars have to be developed by themselves on their own lines. In Bengal, Urdu and Bengali are compulsory from start to finish in a student's career, from the infant class up to the time when a student graduates. For the development and instruction of our vernaculars we have our *Muktabs*, *Madrassahs*, *Islamic* Colleges, *Tols*, *Patsalas*, and Sanskrit Colleges, where everything is taught in the vernaculars and all general knowledge is imparted in them. Nor does English find a place in the scheme of our primary education. We have further what is known as the Vernacular Continuation Schools. But such is the popularity of English education that in many of the Provinces these institutions have declined. Yet in the whole of India during the last decade, the number of such schools has increased from 2,135 to 2,666 and the scholars from 177,000 to 257,000. From this it will be seen that there is no lack in the cultivation of our vernaculars and that there is no desire either on the part of the Government or of ourselves to substitute English for the vernacular dialects of the country.

"The question therefore is, what advantage is to accrue in further making the vernaculars as the media of instruction in all our secondary schools, for they are already the medium of instruction in our secondary schools up to a certain point.

"I would invite the attention of Hon'ble Members to the diagram which is to be found on page 70 of the quinquennial review published by the Department of Education. From this diagram it will be seen that in the case of Bengal there are the middle vernacular schools where all instruction is imparted in the Vernaculars. Secondly, there are the high and middle English schools, where during the first 6 years of a boy's school life no English is taught at all. From the 7th to the 10th year of his school life he is taught English, and then from his 11th to his 14th year, *i. e.*, from the 4th to his Matriculation class English is supposed to be the medium of instruction. This is true more or less with regard to Bombay, United Provinces, Bihar and Assam, whereas with the exception of Burma in the remaining Provinces and Presidencies English is the medium of instruction during only the last 3 years of a student's course up to his Matriculation examination. Therefore, what my friend advocates is being already done to a very large extent. Now, let us take the case of Bengal. The vernacular scheme of 1901 gradually fell into so much disfavour that it was insisted that English should be taught for a longer period than what was done formerly, in all cases from the 7th B to the 5th. What English therefore is learnt up to the 5th is quite sufficient for giving instruction through it in such subjects as Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Geography, Elements of History and Elements of Mechanics. Now, as regards giving instruction through the medium of vernaculars from the 5th up to the 1st class, opinion is very unevenly divided, the bulk of public feeling being entirely against such a course and that for very good and substantial reasons. The following are amongst some of the reasons against such a proposal. Firstly, there are no suitable text-books in the vernaculars except a few in some of the subjects. Now, the Hon'ble Mr. Venkataranga says that as more encouragement will be given by the reading of the additional subjects through the vernaculars, better and more suitable books will gradually be forthcoming. This is however fallacious for two reasons, namely, first that it is a mere supposition that such will be the case, and, secondly, there is the great impracticability to get really suitable text-books written in all the innumerable vernaculars that exist in India. The next

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reason that I may point out against Mr Venkataranga's proposal, is that the higher branches of all subjects have necessarily to be taught in English. Therefore, there will be a distinct disadvantage in teaching the elementary parts of the additional subjects in the vernaculars even if we suppose that suitable textbooks will be forthcoming. If this is done a student will, in that case, have to learn first the vernacular technical terms of those subjects and again their English equivalents when he proceeds further in his studies. Now, Mr. Venkataranga's contention that the inconvenience of students' having to learn two sets of technical terms will be more than compensated by the facility with which he will learn the other subjects in his vernacular is likewise fallacious. Further, the contention that a student who learns a subject through the medium of his vernacular learns it in less time and with less labour is beside the point.

"In India, where a knowledge of English is paramount both for the purpose of daily official and non-official business, there can be no question that the learning of that language would be more facilitated if English is made the medium at a suitable point in a student's career, and not merely if English is taught as a second language as a compulsory subject. Nobody would feel inclined to deny that a student who learns a subject through the medium of his vernacular would learn it in less time and with less labour. But this only goes to show that it will be at the expense of his knowledge of English. For suppose Mr Venkataranga's suggestion is adopted. Let us see what will be its effect. It is a well-known fact that there is a great tendency with Indian students to have for their sole object the passing of examinations and not the healthy desire of acquiring a good knowledge of the subjects that they study. Thus, when a student who studies for the Matriculation examination has for his sole object the passing of that examination, while therefore his chances of passing in all other subjects in the Matriculation would be made much easier by following my friend's scheme, he will be inclined consciously or unconsciously to neglect the study of English except to the extent of just being able to obtain pass marks in it, although he may have more time given to him for devoting to English. This point would still better be illustrated if we compare the case of an I. A. student with that of an I. Sc. student. English is compulsory with both these students. But the I. Sc. student has to trouble himself with a knowledge generally of only the technical terms in English of his subjects and though he is supposed to receive theoretical instruction in science through the medium of English, it is a recognised fact that our Indian Professors in all colleges generally do so through the medium of the vernaculars, whereas the subjects which the I. A. student has to master are such that a good knowledge of English is necessary, and the Indian professors are obliged to impart instruction entirely in English. The result is that the majority of I. Sc. students acquire less knowledge of English than their I. A. conferees. But my friend says that if a student learns his other subjects through his vernaculars he will have more time to devote to English. In practice however the reverse is found to be the case.

"Even Sir Gurudas Banerji himself, on whose authority the Mover relies, says in his book on Indian Educational Problem 'that the rule for making a student's vernacular the medium of instruction in the secondary stage can be made compulsory *only where practicable*'. An ardent advocate, such as even he, can only venture to recommend only in the case where it is practicable. The Hon'ble Mr. P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, another authority that has been quoted by my friend, advocated the making of the vernacular as the medium of instruction only in the lower classes of secondary schools, which, as I have already stated, is now being done.

"From the Mussalman point of view the impracticability is still greater. For take the case of the Mussalman boys of Bengal. For a long time there has been a hot discussion as to whether Bengali or Urdu should be recognised as their vernacular. Opinion was very much divided on the subject, and although as a member of the Mussalman Educational Advisory Committee, which is at present sitting in Bengal, I have advocated the adoption of Bengali as the vernacular of Mussalman boys, yet to carry instruction through its medium up

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to the Matriculation class will be opposed by the entire body of Moslem opinion. Supporters of Mr Venkataranga's views have been known to point to the moral of Poland. They say that the Prussians have insisted on making German, and the Russians the Russian, language as the medium of instruction in their respective spheres of authority in Poland. If this is resented by right-thinking people, why should we wish to make English the medium in India? The answer to this is simple. India is not Poland. If there had been one common vernacular throughout India, no Indian would have opposed the making of that vernacular the medium of instruction not only up to the Matriculation class but right up to the end of a student's college career. In India, where a diversity of language and creed prevails, it is the earnest desire of all patriotic men to push forward the knowledge of English, which is alone the *Lingua Franca* between all sects of her educated sons. English is the medium of communication not only between Indians and the British, but also amongst themselves, both at the Congress and on the Moslem League platforms, as well as on all occasions when Indians from different parts of the country assemble together. Therefore, any step taken to retard its progress must be regarded as a decidedly retrograde measure.

"My friend in a manner has stirred the ashes of the same controversy which arose in the time of Macaulay, when two parties were formed, namely, the Orientalists and the Anglicists. The latter argued that higher education should be imparted through the medium of English because apart from the merits of the language itself it would be a key to the treasures of Western thought. Among their number was the illustrious Raja Rammohan Roy. It was, however, through the ability and determination with which the Law Member of the day, Lord Macaulay, pressed their case that the battle was decided in favour of the Anglicists, and well was it for India that the Anglicists won the day. For it is through English education that India is what she is to-day, and it is English education fostered by the liberal spirit of England that has awakened in us to-day a sense of our rights. My friend would answer that he is not against the employing of English as the medium to impart higher education. But he wants the line of definition between the use of vernaculars and of English as the medium of instruction to be raised to a higher point than what it is at present. Since the time of Lord Macaulay and Rammohan Roy, we Indians have acquired a much greater knowledge of English and it is spreading more and more every day, and therefore the present line of definition is drawn at a sufficiently high point and it would be a culpable mistake to draw it higher. The only issue therefore which is raised by my friend's resolution, namely, whether we should make English the medium of instruction in the three or four upper classes of a high English school, falls to the ground. Having regard to the fact that English has to be the medium of instruction throughout a student's college career, it will be seen from the facts I have already stated that there is a preponderance of advantages in favour of retaining it as a medium at a point where it is at present".

The Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee :—" Sir, I confess to a sense of embarrassment in having to speak upon this resolution. There is much to be said in its favour, and there is a good deal to be said against it. If the resolution was a little less comprehensive in its character, a little less mandatory in its tone, I for one would probably have supported it. If my Hon'ble friend would accept a suggestion which I shall make later on and modify the resolution somewhat, I think it would be more acceptable than it is in its present form. Speaking for my province, I will say this that any proposal involving a curtailment—even a possible curtailment—of the area of English education, will be viewed by my countrymen with misgiving and even with alarm and anxiety. We owe a debt immense of endless gratitude to the noble language and literature of England. English education has brought about in our midst the most stupendous revolution—it may be a silent and bloodless revolution—but one of the greatest revolutions ever witnessed in any age or country. If, to-day, India is instinct with a new spirit and a new life, if new

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ideas have broadened the horizon of our vision, it is all due to English education. And, Sir, if to-day the vernaculars of India have made a marvellous progress, the inspiration and the vitalising influence have come from the ever-living fountains of English literature and language. The great makers, the conscript fathers of the Bengali language—because I can speak only of my own province—men like Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Michael Madhu Sudan Das, Bunkim Chandra Chatterji, and last but not least Rabindra Nath Tagore were all steeped in the spirit of Western culture

“ My friend therefore will excuse us if the people of Bengal look with a critical eye upon the resolution which he has brought before this Council. It seems to me, Sir, that the resolution is open to two very obvious objections. It involves a man date being addressed by the Government of India to the Local Governments to use the vernaculars as the media of instruction in secondary schools. I ask—my Hon'ble friend in charge of the Department will probably be able to answer the question—Is the Government of India prepared to take such a step without reference to the Local Governments, without consulting local opinion? It has been the steady policy of the Government of India to give in an increasing measure larger and larger authority to the Local Governments, and I am sure the Government of India will not be prepared to embark upon an important experiment of this kind without consulting the local public and the Local Governments. Furthermore, Sir, the resolution is open to the objection that it proposes the issuing of a mandate to the provincial Governments without reference to local conditions and local environments. I should like to put a question to my Hon'ble friend: There are about 300 vernaculars in India—if I am wrong, my Hon'ble friends over there will correct me, I think I am at least approximately correct, at any rate the number is very large. In Bengal I have been told by a responsible authority that there are about 20 vernaculars. Now, does my Hon'ble friend wish to contend that all these vernaculars are in the same uniform stage of progress and development, and that they are all sufficiently advanced to meet the requirements which underlie his proposition? Again, referring to the Bengali language, I find myself confronted with this difficulty. In mathematics, in mechanics, in modern geography as we understand it, we have no books in the language which would be suitable for candidates in the higher forms of secondary schools. I suppose what is true of the Bengali language must be more or less true of other Indian languages. Therefore, apart from the sentimental consideration upon which my friend's resolution is based—and I am in the fullest sympathy with it—it is a patriotic thing that our language should be the media of instruction for our people; apart from the sentimental considerations to which I have referred there are practical arguments of a weighty kind which militate against the acceptance of my friend's resolution in the form in which it has been placed before this Council. My friend has referred to Sir Austosh Mukerjee and Sir Gooroodas Bannerjee—two honoured and respected names in the educational world of Bengal. These two gentlemen have done the very best to stimulate the growth and development of the Bengali language. The University of Calcutta has made it optional in Matriculation students to take up Bengali instead of Sanskrit. Furthermore, candidates going up for the Intermediate in History and Logic are permitted to answer their questions in Bengali. I was having a talk with a high University authority—he has asked me not to mention his name, and therefore I am debarred from using it, but if I were to do so it would command the unstinted respect of all in this Council. I was told that the experiment thus tried in the case of the Intermediate examination has not proved successful. Therefore we have this fact, that we have not got the books. We have this fact, that the experiment so far as it has been tried in some of the higher branches of knowledge has failed. And in view of these considerations I do not think this Council ought to accept the resolution of my Hon'ble friend

“ There is, however, one point in his favour—in favour of the partial acceptance of this resolution, and I wish to concede to my Hon'ble friend,

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everything that it is possible to concede ; and that point is this Reference has already been made to it by my Hon'ble friend to the left. We have got what is known as the Minor Scholarship examination. Mr. Sharp is perfectly acquainted with it. This is an examination conducted in Bengal based upon Bengali text-books. It is a standard which in the secondary schools corresponds to the 4th and 3rd class standards. Now it is a matter of experience that students who pass Minor Scholarship examinations as a rule do better in the Matriculation examinations than those who have not gone through that course. Therefore it seems to me that if my friend would somewhat modify his resolution and invite the opinions of Local Governments—invite their opinion as to the feasibility of substituting the vernaculars in the first four classes, or, at any rate, substituting the vernaculars to the extent that it is practicable, it seems to me that that would be a resolution which would meet the requirements of the case. Sir, with your permission, I would like to suggest the resolution which I have framed for the consideration of my friend, that is,—

'That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to consult the Provincial Governments whether it is feasible, and if so to what extent, to take steps to make the Indian vernaculars the media of instruction and the study of English a second language compulsory for Indian pupils in all secondary schools'

"That is to say, I should like to suggest that the Provincial Governments should be consulted as to how far it is possible to make the vernaculars the media of instruction in the secondary schools ; and if my Hon'ble friend would accept a resolution of that kind, possibly some of us at any rate would see their way to follow him in the matter. But the resolution as it stands does not commend itself to me."

The Hon'ble Mr. Rayanigar:—"I want clearly the amended form of the resolution which the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee suggests."

The Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee:—"I will read it out again, Sir, if you will allow me—"

'That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to consult the Provincial Governments and Administrations whether it is possible, and if so to what extent, to take steps to make the Indian vernaculars the media of instruction and the study of English a second language compulsory for all Indian pupils in all secondary schools'

The Hon'ble Raja Sir Muhammad Ali Muhammad Khan:—"Sir, I rise to oppose this resolution and even the amendment put forward by the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee. I feel confident that I am right in characterising this resolution as a step highly retrogressive in its character. (Since the advent of the British Rule in India, its greatest achievement has been in the field of education, and it is through that education alone that India has under the beneficent guidance of its administrators achieved the consciousness of its being an important unit of the Great Empire. By coming in contact with Western civilisation and all that is ennobling in it, India's standard of life has risen. All these results, Sir, have been achieved because the medium of our education has been a language of Macaulay and Burke. But I am afraid, the reference to Macaulay has been misused by my Hon'ble friend the Mover of the resolution.

"Secondary Education, as understood in this country, may either be an end in itself or only a means to Higher Education. As an end in itself, an Indian boy is better equipped for his admission into the world when he has had to prepare his subjects for examination in the English language than he would be by acquiring a knowledge thereof through the medium of a vernacular. Who can ever dream of learning English History properly

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or Elementary Physical Science by means of imperfect, inaccurate, and often misleading translations of the English books on those subjects? Above all, how is it possible to infuse that intellectual awakening in him which he can never fail to get by a study of those subjects in the language in which they are originally conceived and written

"Sir, it is obvious that a knowledge of all these subjects which are comprised within the term 'Secondary Education' cannot be imparted by the media of vernaculars unless English books dealing with those subjects now in use were translated into the numerous vernaculars that might be found prevailing in the several provinces. Now this task of translation is, in my humble opinion, an insurmountable difficulty, and, if it be found possible to overcome it, at least half of the virtue of the original is lost in the translation.

"But if Secondary Education is treated as only a means to Higher Education, the consequences of imparting it by the media of vernaculars will be simply deplorable. A young man when he joins a college enters upon his studies with an easy feeling of continuity. He takes up some or other of the subjects, in the language with which he has made himself familiar more or less during his previous career, but imagine the consequences if he were compelled, as he is, to take up two or three more subjects than the English Literature to be taught to him in English language—a smattering of which he acquired in a vernacular.

"Sir, I am afraid that the Hon'ble Mover of this Resolution has, in a certain measure, confused his ideas of Secondary Education with those of Primary. Secondary Education as now imparted in our High Schools, has never been looked upon as education of the masses. The principles upon which the former is based are entirely different from those upon which the latter is founded. The scope and the aim of Primary Education intended for the masses is very limited indeed and it would appear almost absurd to advocate an acquisition of the knowledge of the three R's by means of the English language. But the aim of Secondary Education is, on its completion, as I have said above, either to prepare the boy for the struggle of life or to deliver him a passport for his admission into the sphere of Higher Education.

"Sir, this fateful experiment would not be without some precedents in this country from which we can, to a certain extent, take lessons. It has been tried in the University of the Punjab and, to say the least of it, without success. It was also tried in the early days of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, and there, too, it failed as it was bound to.

"Lastly, Sir, I cannot help expressing my feeling of regret that a question of such a controversial nature should at all have been brought before this Council in these days. I have no doubt that any step taken in the direction in which this Resolution asks us to go, will create a highly undesirable state of feeling throughout educated India.

"With these few remarks, I oppose this Resolution"

The Hon'ble Mr. Das:—"Sir, the Hon'ble Mover of the resolution has called the graduates of the University an unproductive class. Unfortunately I am one of that class; and I hope that at any rate I will be able to show that I have been productive of an opposition to this resolution, and to a certain extent productive of some reasons for that opposition. The question that is before this Council is not whether vernacular education should be done away with. As a matter of fact in the present system of education which obtains in the schools vernacular is taught, vernacular is the medium of instruction up to a certain standard. But the Hon'ble Mover has brought before this Council a resolution by which it is intended to extend this medium of instruction to secondary schools. In the first part of the resolution he said that the resolution should

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commend itself on the basis of principle, practice, and authority. No doubt he has quoted principles and he has quoted numerous authorities, but I did not see any instance where it has been successfully practised in India. In opposing this resolution I must also say that I am sorry to oppose the amended resolution put forward by the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee, or his suggestion, if he prefers to call it so; and for the reason, that the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee has not given any additional reason to show that the time has arrived when a departure from the system of policy that has been followed hitherto by the Government of India is desirable or called for. There is a good deal of force in the argument that vernacular or the mother tongue is always a better medium of instruction to young people. And why is that so? Because the child learns the language from the cradle. Thoughts and objects suggest themselves to the mind first and then come the words. That is the order of sequence in the intellectual development. First come the objects and the ideas; then the words are necessary and are acquired or learnt; the surroundings of life are familiar to the child and consequently with its surroundings the child begins to pick up words which give expression to the daily life; the mother language is nothing but an expression of the daily life of the individual.

"Vernacular, we know, is a term derived from *verna*—a home-born slave.

"Slaves were exiles: they did not know the surroundings of the life of the men who bought them. Therefore a home-born slave was considered valuable because he was familiar from his childhood with the surroundings of life. What do we find here? A child has to learn an altogether foreign civilization, ideas quite foreign to us are taught, the civilization itself is quite foreign to us. The Hon'ble Mover of the resolution admits that everything is deficient, there is a deficiency in nomenclature, want of proper text-books and competent teachers. That being so, we are driven back to the days when Lord Macaulay tried to solve the problem; the British Government had to face this problem then; they had to teach a foreign civilization; these people had not a vernacular rich enough to serve as a medium of instruction and therefore they decided that English should be the language through which this civilization should be taught. Now, are we any better off than we were on that day? It is admitted that the vernacular literature is deficient, it is wanting in nomenclature, it is wanting in books, it is wanting in teachers. Are we therefore any better off than we were in the days of Macaulay? In fact, this resolution, if I may say so, is not a resolution; it is an attempt at a re-solution of the difficulty which Macaulay had to face. Then, again, if we adopt the vernacular as the medium of instruction, we shall be driven to the necessity of importing words from English, either the translation or transliteration will have to be adopted. The transliteration of a word which conveys an idea which is foreign to the people is no more lucid or better than the word itself, with this argument against it that the pronunciation becomes defective. Take for instance the word 'Switzerland.' You cannot teach young boys to pronounce the word correctly. How is the 'Z' to be pronounced? It will be pronounced '*Swijerland*.' Take the word 'sanitation,' it would be written as '*saynitiation*.' Anybody who has attended medical schools where boys are taught through the medium of the vernacular knows that when the rolls are called they often say 'presaint,' and we know that civil medical hospital assistants are trained through the medium of the vernacular; they cannot write a prescription. You cannot write a prescription without the symbol, that medical science uses for the doses of medicine. If my friend the Hon'ble Sir Pardey Lukis were present here, I am sure he would say that we cannot do away with these Roman symbols and abbreviations; no chemist would understand the prescription. Now, the Hon'ble Mover admits there are many vernaculars. There is more than one vernacular in Bombay and Madras. Well, in Madras itself there is more than one vernacular and he suggests that the Province be divided into sub-divisions and he goes the length of suggesting that in certain schools where a particular vernacular is not taught certain students should be excluded. Now where is the necessity for all this? In

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Madras there is Tamil and Telugu and a large proportion of the population is Oriya too. I believe the next proposition would be to exclude the Oriyas from the schools. I ask how shall we be better off than we have been hitherto if such a resolution is accepted now? In fact, the Hon'ble Mover's suggestion reminds me of an idea of a luxurious life that a beggar had conceived on seeing a rich man drinking a cup of milk, he was in a hurry and was blowing it with his mouth in order to make it cool. The beggar thought this was the height of luxury on the part of the rich man and he thought he would like to have a cup of milk too when he returned home, but there was no silver cup and he only had his mouth to blow with. These remarks apply to the resolution. What have we, we have no language, we have no nomenclature, we must take the nomenclature of the West. Reference has been made to the practice in European countries of giving instruction through the vernacular of the pupils. We must not lose sight of the fact that the civilisation in these European countries has been the result of evolutionary growth. The civilisation has grown in a country, with it the requisite nomenclature has grown and developed, because man has, as it were from his childhood, his cradle, found the necessity for expressing the surroundings of its life. Here we have altogether a foreign civilisation and foreign ideas. If the mother tongue is not sufficient to give expression to the ideas that the child is required to learn, if the mother stammers or does not speak distinctly enough, it is no use trying to supplement the defects of the mother's language by a gramophone and call it mother-tongue.

"I am sorry, Sir, I cannot support the resolution or the suggestion made by the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee."

The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy :—"Sir, representing as I do a province which is remarkable for its great attachment to English education and in which, according to the latest departmental calculation, 99.98 per cent of the boys learn English in Secondary Schools. I must oppose this resolution and the suggestion of my friend Mr. Banerjee. The feeling is very strong in Bombay in favour of the present system of education, and any attempt to introduce into the schools there the Hon'ble Mover's scheme of compulsory vernacular education will cause alarm which might easily develop into discontent. In Madras public feeling is equally strong, as the recent debate on the Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma's resolution in the Provincial Council amply shows. If percentages of English scholars supply any indication of local public opinion, all the provinces, except perhaps the Punjab, are wedded to the present system. The Punjab is the only province where the vernaculars have been given more than their legitimate share of prominence even in the university; but what is the result? According to the Parliamentary Statistical Abstract of 1913 relating to British India, during the decade ending with 1911-12, only 14 students graduated in Oriental Languages and Literature against a total for all India of 19,688 graduates in Arts, and a total of 1,619 Punjabi Arts graduates. The Indian Universities Commission was of opinion that 'this system has not so far borne encouraging fruit, partly through neglect'. Among the witnesses examined by the Commission at Lahore 'some denounce the system in unmeasured terms'. The final conclusion of the Commission was :

'We are not prepared, however, to recommend that the example of the Punjab should be followed by any other University for the present. We look upon the Punjab system as an experiment which has not justified itself by its results.'

"The failure of the vernacular system in the Punjab was at least partly due, it is admitted, to the apathy and indifference of the public. It is not popular even there. But unless the whole Indian university system is to a large extent reorganised on a vernacular basis, I do not see how the Hon'ble Mover's matriculation scheme can be introduced without materially curtailing, if not completely stopping, the supply of college students. The above review of the position will have given an idea of the popular feeling on this

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subject of English education. Throughout India, including Burma, the public do not want the vernacular system in our schools and colleges, and only in the Punjab is opinion divided, and even in that province there is a marked preponderance of public opinion in favour of the English system. Will it be just, will it be prudent for the Government to ignore this volume of public opinion in the pursuit of an educational ideal which has yet to justify itself by its results?

“ And what is the impelling reason, Sir, for which this Government is asked to interfere with the discretion of the Local Governments? The Hon'ble Mover's complaint is that the existing system of imparting secondary instruction through the medium of the English language—(1) does not secure that diffusion of knowledge among the masses which ought to be the objective of every administration and which is the objective of the declared policy of this Government; (2) circumscribes to an inconvenient degree the scope of female education; and (3) fails to fit the boys for departments of activity in which originality, resourcefulness, and grit are more required than a veneer of European refinement. Now, an analysis of the facts will expose the unsoundness of all these propositions. The Hon'ble Mr Rayaningar must realise that mass education is something distinct from secondary education. The whole people can not possibly go in for secondary education. What will happen centuries after it would be idle to forecast; but for the present and for generations to come the masses must remain content with primary education, or, as it is pithily put, a rudimentary knowledge of the three R's, all over the civilised world. In no country, however high its educational development, has any serious attempt been made to impose high school education upon the masses. It will be long, long years before the attendance in primary schools even under a carefully devised system of free and compulsory education, reaches the standard level. For mass education in these circumstances we must rely upon the expansion and improvement of primary education. As pointed out by Mr Montagu in his speech in Parliament on 30th July, 1912, multiplication of good primary schools is the only effective solution of the problem of mass education. And that must be so. With all our recent developments, one secondary school in India serves an average area of 309 square miles. In the most progressive province, Bengal, the mean is 104 3 square miles, and in the most literate of all Indian provinces, numerically speaking, Burma, it is 2,042 8 square miles. In the light of these facts even an enthusiast like the Hon'ble Mover will surely see reason enough to abandon the idea of giving high school training to the masses. It is likewise wrong to assume that English education was meant for the whole population of India. The Indian educational literature of the early period, to which the Hon'ble Mr Rayaningar has referred more than once, will make it clear that, from the inception, the idea was to educate the few, in other words, the classes. On the Bombay side the controversy was as keen as anywhere else, and the Hon'ble Mr. F. Warden, Member of the Governor's Council, in his Minute of 29th December, 1823, advocated 'giving a good deal of knowledge to the few, than a little to many'. And Mr. Warden's views prevailed in the end. Sufficient indication of this policy will be found in Lord Macaulay's report also. The keynote of the later document, Sir Charles Wood's Despatch of 1854, undoubtedly was that Government would in future apply a larger share of the public funds for the support of vernacular education; but it did not militate against the existing policy of giving a good education to a limited number through high schools and colleges. Indeed, an increase in the number of these institutions was one of the main features of the new policy. The vernaculars were to be used for the extension of elementary education, and nobody questions their fitness for that purpose. The existing method of secondary education is not therefore subversive of the policy of Government. That secondary education is not developed at the expense of primary education will be clear from the proportionately larger additions to our primary schools than to the secondary. In 1912-13 we had 113,955 of the former class and 1,273 of the latter class of schools as against 104,354 and 1,169 in 1907-08. The question of unequal development cannot

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thus arise. Then, for reasons well known to us, there is not much scope for female education in the secondary schools of India as a whole. The medium of education has hardly anything to do with the result. Our social customs interpose a far more powerful barrier, and so long as our social ideas do not undergo a radical change, a rapid progress in female education is impossible. In most parts of India girls are either married or are not allowed to come out by the age at which admission into secondary schools usually takes place. For them therefore primary education is all that is practicable. The other disadvantages of English education to which allusion has been made by the Hon'ble Mover are not inherent in the system. We have at present two classes of secondary schools in many provinces—Anglo-Vernacular and English; and it is quite open for the sons of agriculturists and artisans to join the former instead of the latter schools. If the English schools are more largely patronised, it is because they are more popular, and the guardians of the boys send them there with the object that they should finally go in for a University career. Where through sudden stoppage in the studies the boys become stranded, the difficulties certainly do not flow from any defect in the method of instruction. Industrial, technical and commercial training is best imparted in special schools, and, except the elementary portion, cannot be imparted through the general secondary course. ¶ It should never be forgotten that the high schools are designed to furnish only the training ground for boys ambitious of a University career. Their character cannot be changed without abandoning the basic principles of the scheme. § The absence of a larger number of industrial and technical schools is certainly deplorable, but the most effective means of removing the want is the creation of such special schools, and not the conversion of the high schools into vernacular schools with just a little English added to their normal courses. Any demand for this class of special seminaries will certainly deserve strong public support. It should be noted that the medium of instruction in the commercial and technical colleges on our side is English. It is necessary therefore that the students should be familiar with the English scientific and technical terminology in the schools before they can profit by the special collegiate education.

“Sir, leaving aside for the moment the question of merit, the Hon'ble Mover's scheme is unworkable. India is a land of numerous vernaculars, and it is frequently the case that boys with different vernaculars read in the same schools and in the same classes. If effect is to be given to my friend's idea, either the teaching staff will have to be multiplied or it will lead to the disintegration of the schools. In either event the total cost will be enormous, and the cost of secondary education will assume proportions which may prove prohibitive in far the greater number of cases.

“It must also be considered that the matriculation under the suggested system will enter the University ill-equipped for a University career in English, and in the result, to make up the deficiency, will have to study general subjects over again in English. Is that a practical idea? And will the scheme improve the vernaculars to a greater extent than the existing method? Opinion is by no means unanimous on the point. In the course of the debate in the Madras Legislative Council, the Hon'ble Dr. T. M. Nair stated: ‘They had a time of compulsory vernaculars from the lowest to the highest. That system had produced a generation of men. Ninety per cent of them could not talk their own vernaculars for five minutes’. In the light of this experience, the scheme under discussion would appear useless so far as the development of the vernaculars is concerned.

“Sir, with English at a discount in our high schools, all hopes of the disappearance of local narrowness based upon linguistic differences of the peoples of this great continent and of their unification into a common hylozoic whole, must be at an end. ¶ (If ever the various units of the Indian Empire are welded into one nation with common ideas, common feelings and common aspirations, it will be through the widest dissemination of English literature and the adoption of the English language as our *lingua franca*.) Upon this great object the distinguished patriots of the past concentrated all

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their energy and all their talent. And when we are about to reach that goal, my hon'ble friend, through well-meaning zeal for the intellectual advancement of the people, proposes a measure which must put back the hand of the clock by at least half-a-century, if not a century. And he consoles us with the assurance that his educational scheme will not impair the knowledge of English of our boys, and, consequently, will not interfere with the unification of India. But the Hon'ble Mover forgets that it is not only the English language, but the literary, historical, philosophical and scientific treasures that are contained in it that have helped our present development. It is ideas, more than the vehicle of thought, that are of paramount importance at the present juncture."

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—"Sir, the resolution before the Council is of great importance, and the sharpness with which opinion is divided as to the wisdom of the change it recommends shows that it is one which has to be dealt with in a very delicate manner. Yet I venture to think that, on a complete review of the arguments which have been urged for and against the proposal, the Council will be in favour of recommending to Government that an inquiry should be instituted to ascertain how far the proposal is a feasible one.

"I wish first to take up the objections which have been urged against the proposal. I join with all my friends, the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy, the Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy and others who have dwelt with fervent gratitude upon the beneficial results which have flowed from the adoption of the recommendation of Raja Rammohan Roy and the advice of Lord Macaulay in 1835. India is indebted beyond expression to them and to all others who advocated the same policy for the good that its sons have derived from a knowledge of the English language and its glorious literature. We feel that our debt of gratitude to our English friends and to the English tongue is such that we can never repay it. We feel that the new pulsation which has awakened us into a new national life has largely been the result of our coming into close contact with English ideas through English literature. We feel that the progress that has been made in many directions, so far as our new national life is concerned, is all, or practically all, the result of that education. We are proud to think of the great names of our countrymen that have been mentioned by Mr. Dadabhoy, by Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee and others. It is our loving tribute to the good that the English people did us in introducing their language and literature in this country, that we have produced scholars of English literature, of whom even England might well be proud. But, Sir, while we acknowledge, and fully and gratefully acknowledge the good that has come to our country through English education, we feel, those of us at least who are more in favour of the resolution than against it, that the policy of keeping up all the arrangements necessary to enable our youth to acquire a high degree of knowledge of the English language and literature, does not conflict with the policy of promoting to the fullest extent the natural and proper use of the vernaculars of the country for the instruction of the people. The policy which Raja Rammohan Roy advocated, and which Lord Macaulay advocated later on, was not a policy of ignoring the vernaculars altogether. It was not a policy of substituting for all time to come the English language as the language of the country. They advocated the adoption of the English language as the medium of instruction, because, as the Hon'ble Mover of the resolution has pointed out, they felt that, at the time, it was the best means of advancing a knowledge of European arts and sciences among the people of this country, and because the Indian vernaculars were not then sufficiently developed to be a suitable media of instruction of the kind which it was intended to give to the people. They distinctly, in express words, left over the question of the 'ulterior medium' of instruction for consideration at a future time. That was in 1835. Subsequently in 1854, when that great Charter of Education in India, the despatch of Sir Charles Wood, was written, the Court of

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Directors recognised the wisdom and the need of greater attention being paid to the use of the vernaculars, if the blessing of knowledge was to be secured to the great bulk of the people. They noted that it had been necessary till then owing to the want of translations or adaptations of European works in the vernacular languages of India for those who desired to obtain a liberal education of the European kind, to begin by the mastery of the English language as a key to the literature of Europe and they held that a knowledge of English would always be essential to those Indians who aspire to a high order of education. But they said —

‘It is neither our aim nor desire to substitute the English language for the vernacular dialects of the country. We have always been most sensible of the importance of the use of the languages which alone are understood by the general mass of the people. In any general system of education, the English language should be taught where there is a demand for it; but such instructions should always be combined with a careful attention to the study of the vernacular language of the district, and with such general instruction as can be conveyed through that language; and while the English language continues to be made use of, as by far the most perfect *medium* for the education of those persons who have acquired a sufficient knowledge of it to receive general instruction *through* it, the vernacular languages must be employed to teach the far larger classes who are ignorant of, or imperfectly acquainted with, English, at the same time, and as the importance of the vernacular languages becomes more appreciated, the vernacular literatures of India will be gradually enriched by translations of European books or by the original compositions of men whose minds have been imbued with the spirit of European advancement, so that European knowledge may gradually be placed in this manner within the reach of all classes of the people.’

“They concluded by saying :

‘We look, therefore, to the English language and to the vernacular languages of India together as the media for the diffusion of European knowledge.’

“That was the wise policy laid down in 1854, from that time, and even from an earlier date, instruction through the medium both of English and the vernaculars has been imparted in our schools. But the policy of using the vernaculars for conveying such general instruction as can best be conveyed through them has not received the amount of encouragement, the amount of attention and encouragement which it deserved. The Education Commission of 1894, as my friend the Mover of the resolution has pointed out, did not make any conclusive recommendations on this point. They practically passed over the subject, and it is deplorable that they did so. Since then the Government have off and on expressed an opinion in favour of greater attention being paid to the use of the vernacular as a medium of instruction in general subjects. But as Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoj has pointed out, every time that a suggestion has been made in this direction, a great cry has been raised against it in many directions because of a fear that it might lead to a lowering of the standard of knowledge of English among our educated countrymen. That, Sir, is the position, but the time has come when we ought to look carefully and dispassionately into the results of this system. Education through the medium of English has undoubtedly brought us good and great results; but the direct benefit of it is confined to a handful of persons in the country. The total number of men who know English at the last census in India was a little over one million out of a population of over 300 millions. One out of 300 persons! That was the proportion of those who knew English at the last census! Will my friends who oppose the resolution consider what time it will take to bring a knowledge of European art and literature home to the vast mass of our people through the medium of the English tongue? After the present system of education has gone on for more than half a century only 1 in 300 of our people knew English, and this number included Europeans and Eurasians residing in this country. This consideration alone ought, I submit, to make us reflect a little, and reconsider our views on this question. We ought also to consider the position of our vernaculars to-day. Ever since 1854 the teaching of the principal vernaculars has been going on not only in primary and middle but in all higher schools throughout the country. As my friend who spoke last has pointed out, in every province the position of the principal vernaculars is far better to-day than it was fifty years ago, than it was, I may say, thirty years ago. Every day they are receiving more and more attention in the different schools in the different provinces,

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and there is a fairly large literature now in every one of the principal vernaculars of the country. In this state of affairs the point which is raised by the resolution is whether it is necessary to impart instruction through the medium of English in non-language subjects as they have been styled, that is, excepting languages taught as such whether in mathematics, in history and geography and science, or whether it will be more beneficial to impart instruction in these subjects through the medium of the vernacular of the student, and teach the language that has to be taught as a language. That is the point before us.

"Now, I venture to think that there can be no two opinions on the question that the vernacular of a people, the mother-tongue of a people, is the proper medium of instruction for the people. This is a simple self-evident proposition, which it should hardly be necessary to formulate but for the fact that some remarks which have fallen in the course of the discussion would lead one to think that some people were doubtful even on that point. In no part of the civilized world is a foreign tongue made the medium of national instruction. So far as I know, India is the only country—and a country which has inherited a great and ancient civilization—which employs a foreign tongue for the instruction, not of the select few who have to reach the highest heights of knowledge; but for the many, for the great body of students, whose education comes to an end at the school. I submit that such an arrangement is unnatural and can never be beneficial to the cause of the peoples' education in any country. We recognize that a number of causes have combined to bring about this result. We do not quarrel with the past. We recognize, our predecessors recognized, that at the time the English Government promulgated a scheme of national education for the people of India, our vernaculars had not reached that stage of development when they could be usefully employed as media of instruction of the kind which had been decided upon. But things have greatly changed since. There are hundreds and thousands of books in the various principal vernaculars of the different provinces to-day. My friends who have quoted the names of some of the great authors of Bengal have supplied one of the strongest arguments in favour of education through the medium of Bengali. If the works of Bunkim Chandra Chatterjee and Rabindranath Tagore are considered good enough to be translated into English and French, it is absurd to say that the language in which they are written is not fit to be the medium of instruction even in the secondary schools of the province where it is spoken. Let us see what the history of the vernaculars of other countries teaches us. My reading is very limited, and if I am wrong I hope those who know more will correct me, when I repeat that, I do not know of any civilized country which employs foreign tongue to give instruction to the great mass of its student population. But say my friends: 'We agree with you in principle, but our vernaculars are not yet fitted to be suitable media of instruction for our youth' I say they never will be suitable until we determine that they shall be so. Do my friends who speak so disparagingly of their own vernaculars, know or remember that the English tongue, which has given to the world a great and glorious literature was at one time regarded in England itself as unfit to be the medium of instruction for English children? Do they remember that it was only in the 14th century that English was recognised as such medium? Might I help their memories with a passage from John Richard Green? Says he:—

'In spite of the efforts of the Grammar school, and of the strength of fashion, English was winning its way throughout the reign of Edward the Third to its final triumph in that of his grandson'

"Before that time it lay under a ban, it was out of court. Says Green (at page 218 of his *Short History of the English People*)—

'Children in school,' says a writer of the earlier reign, 'against the usage and manner of all other nations, be compelled for to leave their own language, and for to construe their lessons and their things in French, and so they have since Normans first came to England. Also gentlemen's children be taught to speak French from the time that they be rocked in their cradle, and know how to speak and play with a child's toy; and uplandish (or country) men will liken themselves to gentlemen, and strive with great busyness to speak French for to be more told of.'

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"That was the fate through which English had passed. It does not require a very great effort of the imagination to see how deplorable the results to England in particular and to the civilised world in general would have been if that impious policy of disregarding English, of treating it as a vernacular beneath contempt, not fit to be the medium of instruction of those whose mother tongue it was had prevailed in England. English has now become a language of world-wide utility and fame. But when we are extolling, and rightly extolling, its marvellous powers of expression, and its glorious literature, let us reflect that, if the English people had refused to employ it as the medium of national instruction and of public business because, forsooth, it could not then boast of a literature, the English tongue would not have become the glorious tongue that we know and love to speak of. Even so must be the case with our vernaculars. Some of them are more ancient than English. When Caedmon sang the first English song, Hindi had a great poet of its own. The Sanskritic dialects trace through the Prakrit, a more ancient pedigree than many languages of Modern Europe. So also the Tamil and Telegu. If our vernaculars have not attained the development which they should have attained, it has been due to a combination of circumstances which it is not necessary here to discuss. It is sufficient for my purposes to say that every one of the principal vernaculars of India—Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Maharati, Gujarati, Tamil, and Telugu is sufficiently old, sufficiently widely spoken, and possesses a sufficiently good literature of its own to be a suitable medium for instruction in non-language subjects in the secondary schools of the country.

"It will be unreasonable to argue that these vernaculars, none of which is spoken by less than 10 millions of men, are intrinsically, inherently, unfit to be the medium of instruction for the people who speak them. But there are certain objections to be met."

The Hon'ble the Vice-President :—"The Hon'ble Member's time is up."

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—"May I ask for a few minutes to complete my remarks?"

The Hon'ble the Vice-President :—"I will give you two minutes".

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—"Very well, Sir. I will deal briefly with the objections which have been urged. The first objection is that if the vernacular is adopted as the medium of instruction in non-language subjects in the upper classes of high schools, this will lead to a lowering of the standard of English that prevails in our schools and colleges. I assure my Hon'ble friends that if I thought so, I would not for a moment advocate the change. Facts do not lend support to the apprehension. It is on record that students who have first gone through the vernacular middle course and have then joined a high school, and studied English, have distinguished themselves in competition with their fellow students who had studied from an earlier period through the medium of English. I might mention one instance—it may be known to some of us—that of Mr. Ramanand Chatterjee, the able Editor of the 'Modern Review.' He first went through the Vernacular Middle School course, and then joined an English High School, had a brilliant career both at school and at college and has distinguished himself as a writer and speaker of English. The second objection urged is that if the change proposed is adopted, fewer students will go up to the University. I do not think so. I think that if you enable a larger number of students than at present to get through their school courses with greater thoroughness and therefore with greater success, there must be a greater chance of a larger number going ultimately to the Universities than there is at present. The apprehension that the proposed change will strike at the root of higher

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education is one which I would ask my Hon'ble friends to reconsider. The third objection is that there are not suitable text-books available at present. This cannot be the case every where. A large number of books have been prepared during recent years in every important vernacular. But assuming that this view is not correct, within twelve months text-books enough will be ready, if the Government and the public decide that they shall be used in our schools

"The last objection that I will notice is that the present time is not opportune for the change proposed. More than one speaker has said that this is a controversial subject and should not be taken up at present. I agree that it is inopportune and it would be unwise to spring a proposal like this upon the people all at once. In educational matters, the Government ought to carry the sympathy of the general public in every important change that is introduced. From that point of view, it is necessary that the matter should be placed before the public, and ample time given for an expression of their opinion upon it. I therefore think that the Resolution should be modified so that it should not appear as a mandate to the Provincial Governments, and should not come like a bolt from the blue upon the public and also, that the leaders of public opinion should be able to examine the pros and cons of the question, and to express their well-considered opinion regarding the important change that is suggested.

"I would recommend that the resolution should be modified as follows :—

"That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that he may be pleased to appoint a Committee to consider and report whether the time has come when steps may be taken for making the Indian vernaculars the media of instruction and the study of English as a second language, compulsory for Indian pupils in all secondary schools.

"I hope that the Hon'ble Member for Education will leave one more important mark of his administration by accepting the resolution in the modified form I have suggested—"

The Hon'ble the Vice-President :—"Order! order!"

The Hon'ble Mr. Huda :—"Sir, as far as I recollect, the very scheme embodied in the resolution moved by my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Rayaningar or a very similar scheme for the education of Indian boys was started in our schools during the time of Lord Curzon. I may at the outset say, Sir, that I am speaking of the schools in the Province I belong to and I represent, as I am not intimately connected with the details of the educational system prevalent in other parts of India. But I believe that one and the same principle of imparting education is observed all over India. The scheme proposed by the Hon'ble Mover has already been in practice in Bihar and Orissa for the past few years and I think only with this difference that English is among the optional subjects and not a second language. Those who have personal experience of school studies in India will I hope bear me out when I say that very little difference is made by Indian students between an optional subject and a second language. I am speaking of schools and not of colleges. We have sufficient experience of other second languages that are taught as such in our schools. I have never known a single student who has acquired any appreciable knowledge of Arabic or Persian by reading it merely as a second language in an Indian school.

"Sir, I myself having been a secretary of a secondary school with primary classes for the last 15 years have some personal experience of the working of a similar scheme to that brought up by the Hon'ble Mover. I may mention that in my school I always insisted on the teaching staff and the boys that they should treat English as a second language and not as optional, as required by the Rules of the Educational Department of that Province. But I must confess with regret that I have always met with disappointment. Last year when the Inspector of Schools came to visit my school he complained that the vocabulary of the students was very poor. He was quite justified in his remark

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but the defect was not due to the fault of the teaching staff as he himself could notice I should add that it was due to the fault of our present system. How can the vocabulary of these students be anything other than poor when only one-fifth of the school working hours is given to such an important subject as English language ?

"Sir, when Indian boys with such insufficient primary grounding in English language go to higher classes in which they are expected to study such subjects as history and science in English, they find themselves in insurmountable difficulty. This lack of sufficient English knowledge tells upon their college career and this evil they can hardly be expected to throw off even in their after college life. It is true that they manage to scrape through our University examinations, but it is no secret that thanks for such success is due to our old though much abused and deservedly abused friend, the cramming system. If we really desire to uproot this mischievous and ruinous habit of cramming we should give our boys sufficient knowledge of English.

"The proposed method of education for Indian boys as placed before this Council in this resolution is not only retrograde but something worse than that. It seeks to take us on a wrong path. It wants us to stick to a method which has proved a total failure in experiment. Its path to the goal of education for the Indian boys is unnecessarily long and circuitous. It advises us to teach our boys everything first in their vernaculars and then to repeat the study of the same subjects over in English ; as is done in schools in Bihar at present. A boy, for instance, has to read at least the first book of Euclid in his own vernacular and then he has to do the same thing over again in English when he goes to the higher classes. To my mind it is not the English language which makes it difficult for a boy to understand English. It is the book itself and the substance which a young mind finds difficulty in grasping and assimilating.

"The resolution we are discussing elicits one fact, that under the prevalent system of school education in this country the teaching of the English language is not up to the required standard or satisfactory. But the question is whether we shall be able to remove this admitted defect by the remedy now suggested. I fear not. Our experience of past years teaches us that a proper knowledge of English cannot be imparted to our boys in this half-hearted manner. If we want to turn out men able to compete in progressing India and Europe, we must give in our secondary schools the first place to the English language.

"I do not agree that the proposal referred to in the resolution is a matter on which the Local Governments and Administrations need be consulted at all."

The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola:—"Sir, the curious feature of the debate to-day has been not only the large number of high educational authorities that have been quoted, but that in some instances the same authorities have been quoted both by the supporters of the resolution and by those who opposed it. It therefore becomes rather puzzling for laymen to find in what direction authoritative opinion really lies. Sir, there is one aspect of the question about which I do not think there can be the least difference of opinion. Everyone of the non-official Members who has taken part in the debate has recognised the great necessity of promoting English education and I think it is universally recognised that one of the greatest boons which the British connection has conferred upon the people of India is the provision of English education. Therefore (any proposal that may have the least semblance of interfering in any way with the rapid advance of English education in this country cannot find support in any quarter.)

"The Hon'ble Mover of the resolution, and the Hon'ble Pandit who supported him, do not for a moment admit that the result of the change which they propose to introduce will be any diminution in the facilities for or the

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lowering of the standard of knowledge of the English language. We have therefore to examine whether the actual result of the change of the media of instruction from English to vernacular in the secondary schools, will be to promote or retard the study of English. The Resolution says that English shall be the compulsory second language in the secondary schools and that all other subjects shall be taught in the vernacular. At present the medium of instruction in secondary schools—at least in higher secondary schools—is English, and there is an obligation of a compulsory second language. I do not know whether the Hon'ble Mover desires that the English language shall in future take the place of the compulsory second language, such as Sanskrit, Latin, Arabic, Persian, French—one of which is now obligatory and that the medium of instruction, which is at present the English language, for the study of all subjects shall in future be one of the vernaculars. If that is really the intention, I do not think that even the most ardent supporters of the vernaculars will feel disposed to support the measure. We know the amount of instruction which students in secondary schools receive at present in compulsory second language; and if that is going, under the resolution, to be the standard of the English education which will be imparted in future, I think that there cannot be found any educated Indian in this country who would for a moment accept the proposal.

“Sir, as I have already said, one of the greatest boons which the British Government has conferred upon the people of this country is providing them with a common language, which has made possible not only the various provincial and all-India organisations, but also this and other Legislative assemblies to which we come and represent the views of the Indian people in the official language before the highest officials in the land.

“Sir, I therefore submit that in discussing this subject we should not lose sight of the fundamental fact that our common language must be English, and that anything which militates against the facilities for the study of English ought not to find the slightest support from any quarter.

“It has been urged that some of those men who devoted their early years to the study of the vernacular have proved more successful in the acquisition of the knowledge of English, and in passing subsequent examinations, but I should like to inquire how much time was spent in the preliminary study of the Vernacular and at what age these students appeared for their university examinations as compared with those who went direct under the present system, to such examinations. At the age at which students attend secondary schools, it is of primary importance to consider the time occupied in study and no unnecessary delay should be allowed in qualifying them to prosecute their studies in collegiate institutions. Sir, I have carefully considered the matter, and if it had appeared to me that by means of this measure the time of the students will be saved and that they would have a better command of the English language, I would have willingly supported it; but as far as I have been able to judge, I am led to the conclusion that in the interests of a speedy acquisition of a knowledge of the English language, qualifying students of secondary schools to enter collegiate institutions, it is desirable that the present system of education through the medium of English should prevail. Students who desire to acquire a higher knowledge of any vernacular need have no difficulty in following their inclinations. But when it is put to us on this, if I may use the expression, rival basis, as to whether higher secondary standards should give instruction through the medium of English or of vernacular, I think there can be only one answer and that is that the present system which has brought about such satisfactory results should not be disturbed. What the country really wants is that more secondary schools should be opened, more collegiate institutions should be provided, and that adequate facilities for the study of English should be made available for the largest number of students possible. I do not propose at this late hour to prolong the discussion further, but in conclusion I will only add that the general feeling throughout the land must

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be that every encouragement should be provided for the promotion of the study of English ”

The Hon'ble Mr. Sharp :—“The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola at the beginning of his speech spoke of the same persons being quoted on opposite sides in this argument. I noticed that things which I had written at different times were quoted as containing views which would support both sides. I rise merely to say that, if anyone should hereafter bring an accusation of inconsistency against me on this score, I must rebut the charge. In support of this contention, I need only refer Hon'ble Members to the context of the passages quoted. Thus, the passage quoted by the Hon'ble Mr Dadabhoj had no reference to general lessons but was written (I think about ten years ago) to advocate the adoption of the direct method of teaching English with young pupils. I did not mean that there should be any neglect of the vernaculars, as the following sentence, which comes immediately after that cited by the Hon'ble Mr Dadabhoj, will show. ‘Due progress in the vernacular (a matter on which too much stress cannot be laid) will be secured by the parallel study of vernacular texts, and by the conduct of the great bulk of lessons in the mother tongue, to the study of which, indeed, more time may be devoted, in proportion as we adopt methods whereby the attainment of English will be accelerated’. I may also observe that the whole passage was written with reference to pupils under thirteen years of age and to the Government of India's Educational Resolution of 1904.”

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Sita Nath Ray :—“Sir, I beg to oppose my Hon'ble friend's resolution with all the emphasis I can command. Does he want to envelop us in that gloom and darkness which prevailed in the country during the time when Lord Macaulay came to this country and which his great educational policy was instrumental in dispelling. It was Lord Macaulay who laid the foundation of that enlightened education policy which has done so much to spread the culture, the enlightenment and the science of the West. We owe a deep debt of gratitude to Lord Macaulay, for his bold and persistent efforts in insisting upon that English, and English alone, should be the medium of imparting education in this country. Where would we have been, where would have been this boasted and enlarged and reformed Council, but for the high education acquired through the medium of the English language? Does my friend wish that the thousand and one languages which prevail in the country should be the media of instruction for learning Science, Mathematics, Engineering, Medicine and Law of the West, which can only be learned through the medium of English? Does my friend want to produce a Babel of confusion? It is a surprise to me that, in this twentieth century, such a resolution could have been conceived, far less, seriously brought forward for acceptance in this august assembly. However, as this is a highly controversial question, sure to stir up public feelings, this is not the proper time for its discussion. Finally, I beg to ask my friend, has he seriously thought what would be the results of his resolution? I have heard complaints from high authorities connected with education that Indian boys in the secondary schools do not acquire sufficient knowledge of English to understand the lectures given in English in the college department. Would not the result of the resolution be to discourage the study of the English language? Does my friend want that *tois* and *muktars* should replace the present colleges? The proud results of English language have been that the different races, inhabiting this vast continent, have, after shaking off the torpor of ages, become as one nation, conversing in a common language and interchanging thoughts with one another.”

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler :—“The debate has been very interesting, but it has travelled far beyond the terms of the Resolution and has included a discussion of the advantages of Western culture and of English

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education. Now I may say at once that no proposal to dethrone Western culture or to restrict English education would commend itself either to the Government or to this Council. Upon that I think we are all unanimous. And I think also that there has been some misunderstanding on matters of fact. It is the accepted policy—the policy accepted for many years and last expressed in the Resolution on educational policy in 1904—that vernacular should be the medium of instruction for boys up to 13 years of age, and that vernacular should be a compulsory subject after that age during the whole of the school course. The present position is shown as accurately as it can be in the diagram which I have in my hand and which will be found opposite page 71 of Mr. Sharp's Quinquennial Review. I wish the Council clearly to understand that vernacular is already the basis of instruction in secondary English schools until the three or four high classes are reached. Now the only question, as I understand, which is before this Council is—should it be adopted as a medium of instruction in those higher classes or in some of them? I would ask that, in considering this question, we should remember that only about $\frac{1}{10}$ th of those who enter secondary schools enter a University. That is a fact which is frequently ignored in discussing questions about schools. It is not the fact, as stated by one Hon'ble Member, that every boy who goes to an English secondary school is destined for the University. I think we are all agreed that there should be more and better English education rather than less English education. My friend the Mover of this Resolution is, I believe, not less anxious than any other Member of Council to see an extension and improvement of English education. The point is this. There are many criticisms of the existing system: that the boys are over-strained, that they do not understand English sufficiently to follow their instruction in history, science, geography and the like, that it is a constant strain on their minds and that they lose to a large extent the faculty of what I might call biting ideas and connecting words with facts. And the alternative proposed is not, as I understand, to reduce English education but to teach English by the modern method, the direct method as it is called, as a language, while at the same time lightening the strain on the mind by introducing the vernacular, the language of the people as a medium of instruction. This is a question not of educational policy but of educational economy, and is a question which would require many minds to solve. I can only tell you that in my own experience and in the experience of many competent educationists with whom I have discussed the question, there is a markedly greater intelligence in the boy whose education has been conducted through the medium of the vernacular until the highest classes of the school are reached than the boy who has had his education conducted in English in what used to be called in some provinces the Upper Middle School. That also was the conclusion which the Education Commission of 1882 came to in regard to Bengal. But I am far from thinking that my own experience in the matter is at all conclusive. It is a matter which requires a large amount of experience before we can come to any conclusion. We must also remember that the supply of education is to a large extent governed by the demand for it. Every educational system in the world is beating itself against this bed-rock fact that A is not willing to learn what B is eager to teach. Many modern theories on education have come to grief from ignoring this bed-rock fact. My own idea is that it is essentially a case for experiment, and that it is a condition of the experiment being successful that the teaching of English as a compulsory second language should be of the very highest order in the hands of very good teachers; and the number of these is limited in India at present. The Hon'ble Pandit suggests a committee. I think that a committee for all India, would be out of the question. The subject is one in which different views may very well be taken in different provinces and even in different parts of a province with reference to local conditions. I think myself that there is sufficient demand in this Council for inquiry to refer the matter as an open question to Local Governments drawing attention to this debate, and suggesting for their consideration whether the time has come to appoint provincial committees to

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inquire into the subject. But, in view of the opposition which the Resolution has excited in this Council, I think it better to say that this reference to Local Governments will not be made until after the war. I wish to emphasise again the fact that Government has absolutely no idea in its educational policy except to improve and extend education. I think that we are all agreed that the best that can be given for the money available at any time should be given, and that no difference in aim really separates us."

The Hon'ble Mr. Rayanigar:—"Sir, I have been listening to the observations which the Hon'ble Members have made in opposing my resolution, and all the time that I was listening to I kept an open mind so that I might, if necessary, modify my views upon the subject. But Sir, I confess that my conviction remains unchanged. I do not for a moment deprecate the learning of English, nor do I suggest that the standard of English knowledge should be lowered, either in the middle, secondary, or collegiate course. On the contrary, I am for improving it. I advocate the compulsory study of English as a language in all the secondary schools. I fully realise the importance of an English education, and I am aware, as the Hon'ble Member to the left has said, that but for English education we should not have been debating in this Council. I am likewise aware that the present system of education has produced eminent men; but that does not mean that the system is perfect. Nobody will say that because Newton and Milton were products of the old system of education in England, therefore that system should continue. The present system, though it has produced eminent men, is capable of improvement. I would have up-to-date methods. As the Hon'ble Education Member has suggested, I would have economy in teaching. What do we do now? We try to teach boys all subjects through the medium of a foreign language. Boys of immature minds experience the difficulty of understanding the language and the difficulty of understanding the subject, and the result is that they neither understand the subject nor the language. Therefore, instead of making English the medium of instruction at the 7th class, or three classes below the Matriculation class, I would make it the medium of instruction in the beginning of the intermediate course, by the time the boys enter the 1st intermediate class they would have acquired sufficient proficiency in English and they would be capable of understanding the subjects taught in English. One Hon'ble Member made a reference to the opinion of Mr. Warden, expressed, I believe, in 1828. Is that opinion to be our guide to-day? The opinion was after all one expressed in a dissenting minute, and there was the opinion of Sir John Malcolm against it. Sir John held that vernaculars should be made the media of instruction, because he said, that by making vernaculars media of instruction not only would instruction be easier imparted, but also vernaculars would be improved. Improvement of vernaculars would be absolutely necessary. It is only through the vernaculars that knowledge can filter down to the people of the country. Another Hon'ble Member inquired if the measure I propose is in practice. Yes, it is in practice. In many schools non-language subjects are taught in English only in the highest three classes in Bengal. I understand history and logic can be answered in vernacular even in the intermediate examination. As to the other points in the objections I anticipated most of them in my opening speech and answered them. I am quite agreeable to the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler's proposal. I thank him for his sympathetic treatment of the resolution. I have no objection to the matter being referred to the Provincial Governments after the war."

The Hon'ble the Vice President:—"Does the Hon'ble Member withdraw his resolution?"

The Hon'ble Mr. Rayanigar:—"Yes, Sir. In view of Sir Harcourt's assurance I withdraw the resolution."

The Resolution was by permission withdrawn.

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler then resumed the Chair.

[*Rai Bahadur Sita Nath Ray.*] , [17TH MARCH, 1915.]**RESOLUTION *RE* INDIAN SUGAR INDUSTRY.**

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Sita Nath Ray:—"Sir, it may seem superfluous, after what was said by the Hon'ble Member for Commerce and Industry the other day in reply to the observations made in connection with the resolution of my Hon'ble friend Raja Kushalpal Singh, to bring forward a resolution of the kind, which, with your kind permission, I propose to move just now. But, Sir, reading the speech of the Hon'ble Member a little more closely, one cannot but come to the conclusion that Government, without committing itself to any general policy or particular line of action, with regard to the question of industrial development, recognises the importance of the subject, and is helping and is ready to help any industrial cause, the sugar industry in particular, on its own merits, as will be evident from the reply to my question *re* sugar industry, given by the Hon'ble Member for Commerce and Industry, on the 24th February last, and from the following extracts from his speech, 'Government do as a matter of fact provide a not inconsiderable amount of financial assistance to industries and to agriculture,' and again 'I hope I have not given the impression that I regard the present situation as one out of which no advantage can be reaped for Indian trade. To my mind, it is simply a question of proportion—of what is practicable, of what is less practicable or altogether impracticable'. I need not cite any more passages. I can quite understand the reasons which prevent the Government from laying down a general policy or a particular line of action, specially in this troublous time; however, we are thankful to Government that it recognises the importance of the subject and is not unmindful of considering individual cases on their own merits. The difference between the resolution of my Hon'ble friend Raja Kushalpal Singh and mine is this, that whereas he wanted that Government should come forward with financial assistance in promoting the Arts and Industries of the country, I have no such ambitious scheme to propose; my resolution is strictly confined to one industry alone, namely, the sugar industry. I shall try, in my own humble way, to show that the standard of practicability, set up by the Hon'ble Member, applies to the subject-matter of my resolution. The subject-matter of the present resolution is not a new one. A resolution on this very subject was moved by my Hon'ble friend Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in 1911. We both have the same identical object in view, namely, the revival of the once prosperous but now decaying sugar industry of the country, which once gave employment to a very large number of people and which, after satisfying the needs and requirements of the whole country, used to export a large quantity of its surplus to the outside world. But, the reverse is the case now, the tables are now turned upon us, and the once flourishing sugar industry is now on the verge of extinction.

"Sir George Watt tells us, in his valuable work, 'The Commercial Products of India,' that 'It is commonly stated that Vasco da Gama (1497) related that a considerable trade in sugar was, at that time, carried on from Calcut—the then capital of West India commerce.' Several other references relating to the trade in Indian sugar with Europe may be cited from the same authority. In short, Indian sugar gradually assumed an overwhelming importance in European markets. This was the most prosperous period of Indian sugar industry. Then the British Colonies, specially Mauritius and the West Indies, commenced the sugar-cane industry. 'The birth of the Colonial was the death of the Indian trade with Europe,' says Sir George pithily. 'They not only became 'formidable producing centres' but 'began to contest the Indian markets'. This was only the beginning of the fast approaching end. Then subsidized and bounty-fed Austrian and German beet sugar made its appearance in the field and every one is painfully aware of the baneful effects of its competition with our home industry. Sir, this does not close the list. Still more recently, another formidable competitor has appeared in the field. I mean the Java cane sugar. According to Mr Noel Paton, before the Quinquennium (1884-85 to 1888-89) beet sugar 'was in the ascendant,' but, now, as Mr. Hulme, Sugar Engineer Expert, shows in his recent article

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contributed to the last January number of the 'Agricultural Journal of India', the importation of sugar is steadily increasing, and that of the sugar imported, three-fourth comes from Java. What has been the sum total of the effects of these various kinds of foreign imports on Indian industry, the following figures will show. Sir, figures can hardly give a sufficient idea of the mischief that has been wrought by the imported sugar. The fact is patent to everybody. In our younger days, the Kotchandpur, Keshabpur, and Manickganj sugar of Bengal and the far-famed Benares sugar (*Kasir Chuni*) of the United Provinces were well known commodities in the Bengal markets. But alas! Where are they now?

Years.	Quantity. Tons.	Value. R
Average of 5 years 1884-85 to 1888-89	79,638	1,91,68,060 (nearly 2 crores of rupees)
Average of 5 years ending 1890-91	98,807	2,31,70,060
Average of 5 years ending 1895-96	115,223	2,79,87,957
Average of 5 years ending 1900-01	201,850	4,19,70,307
Average of 5 years ending 1905-06	330,173	6,41,86,316
1906-07	555,202	8,73,81,114
1907-08	558,988	9,22,70,442
1908-09	603,911	10,90,66,089
1909-10	630,474	11,52,20,492
1912-13	772,152	14,27,87,580
1913-14	896,869	14,95,68,000 (nearly 15 crores of rupees)

"Now, Sir, comment on these figures is unnecessary. How these ever-expanding imports of foreign sugar have affected the cultivation of sugar-cane crop in India will be evident from the following figures:—

Years.	Area of cultivation in acres.
1890-91	2,758,450
1891-92	3,109,232
1892-93	2,798,637
1893-94	2,897,042
1894-95	2,764,658
1895-96	2,930,583
1896-97	2,651,765
1897-98	2,648,498
1898-99	2,756,563
1899-1900	2,693,029
1900-01	2,577,742
1901-02	2,474,657
1902-03	2,358,101
1903-04	2,280,251
1904-05	2,413,274
1905-06	2,241,750
1906-07	2,456,660
1907-08	2,705,645
1908-09	2,254,067
1909-10	2,184,801
1910-11	2,200,217
1911-12	2,410,151

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“ Sir, instead of extension, instead of keeping pace with the requirements of the ever expanding increase of population, there is a considerable shrinkage in the acreage under cane cultivation.

“ Sir, having made these preliminary remarks, I wish, now, to deal with the resolution proper, which consists of three parts, of which, I mean to take the third part first, as it is the most important portion of my resolution.

“ It is as follows :—‘ That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that prompt and effective measures may be taken by the Government throughout British India to promote the starting of new sugar factories on modern scientific bases and that financial and other kinds of assistance may be rendered by the Government, etc., etc ’

“ Sir, in connection with this portion of my resolution, we have to consider the following points, namely :—our present methods and the defects inherent in them, how do they affect our sugar industry in competition with that of other countries, how can they be remedied, why active help from Government is necessary, whether we have got any precedents for such a course of action, and what are they ?

“ Sir, in this connection, I cannot do better than quote here the following few lines from Mr Noel Paton's well-known monograph on sugar, which put our case in a nutshell :—

‘ If India's methods be compared with those adopted in the countries that produce cane sugar successfully, it is found that there is one fundamental difference. Cane in India is grown in small patches, scattered over wide areas. Where it is crushed, it is crushed for the most part on a small scale, and treated by primitive and wasteful processes. Often it is transported slowly over long distances under a hot sun. This involves a very great loss by inversion of sucrose into glucose and it is noticeable that in every country where the industry is conducted profitably, this loss is now studiously avoided by means of centralisation. The term centralisation implies not only the erection of large factories in which the exploitation of large quantities of cane is centralised for the sake of economy. The comparative failure of the great French Sugar Corporation working in Egypt, is evidence of the impotency of mere equipment on a grand scale when unassociated with an adequate supply of cane adjacent to the factories. The ideal implied by the term, is that the factory should be situated as nearly as possible in the centre of a homogeneous and compact tract of land adequate to the production of all the requisite cane and so closely connected by trams and other communications with the factory itself that the cane may be crushed before the chemical decomposition of the sucrose in the cane has made considerable progress. In fact, the familiar term, ‘ central sugar factory system ’ is not so good as another, ‘ the centralised sugar tract system ’. It is often denied that it will ever be possible in India to reserve for sugar-cane a sufficient tract of suitable land in the centre of which a modern factory could be erected, but the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab has indicated his intention of attempting some such reservation in a new irrigation tract. It may be argued that many difficult things are found to be possible when it is recognised that they are necessary and for the moment it is perhaps sufficient to show that the consumption of true sugar in India is growing very rapidly, that she pays more per unit of sugar (indigenous and imported) than she formerly did that the internal production of sugar is declining more than the importation is increasing and that she is working in complete disregard of the principle that is regarded by her competitors as crucial ’.

“ The quotation is somewhat long. My only apology for it is that a better representation of the true state of things regarding the sugar industry in India could not be conceived. Then we see that our methods and the defects inherent in them are mainly: first, cane in India is grown in small patches scattered over wide areas; second, it is crushed on a small scale and treated by primitive and unscientific methods which causes great waste. On account of these defects we cannot successfully compete with foreign sugar which is produced by best equipped factories, which are situated in a tract of suitable land sufficient to the production of all the requisite cane and so closely connected by trams and other communications to the factories that the cane can be crushed before the chemical decomposition sets in. The broad fact deducible from the above is that it is only by the establishment of best equipped factories according to the centralised tract system, we can hope to compete successfully with the foreign import. Mr. Hulme also endorses this view in his article referred to above, and gives the following reasons for the successful

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condition of the Java sugar trade:—(1) efficiency of the staffs controlling the factories; (2) installation of the best machinery in the factories; (3) intensive cultivation; (4) climatic conditions. The first three can be had in India or, for the matter of that, in any sugar-producing country. As regards the fourth, the climatic advantages of Java are counterbalanced by the exorbitant cost of transport as Mr Hulme shows, that it costs Java R37-8-0 per ton, that is, R.-6-0 per maund to get her sugar to the United Provinces and other markets, north and west of this sugar-producing region. So we may disregard the last point altogether. Now, Sir, the question is how these conditions and methods which have been attended with success in other sugar-producing countries can be introduced here. To that, my answer is that, if we are to compete successfully with foreign import, our Government should adopt the same course of action as the Dutch Government in Java and the Japanese Government in Formosa did. It is needless for me to point out that in enlightenment, industrial enterprise and financial resources neither the Netherlands Government nor the Japanese Government can be compared with the British Government. I am glad to note here that one Provincial Government has, to some extent, forestalled us in this respect and has realised the utility of the course suggested, as will be evident from the answer given by the Hon'ble Member for Commerce and Industry to my question asked on the 24th February last, specially from that portion of it which says: 'In addition to these measures, a grant in one case and a loan in another have been made by the United Provinces Government in order to encourage the development of central factories.'

"Sir, I should like to know the full particulars of the loan and the grant spoken of by the Hon'ble Member for Commerce and Industry. What we want in this respect is that this policy of active help and co-operation should be extended and enlarged and not left to the Provincial Government alone, which, with their limited resources, cannot be expected to do as much as the importance of the subject demands. In short, it should be taken up by the Imperial Government and the Java system with the necessary adaptation to suit local conditions and circumstances should be introduced into this country. If France in the time of Napoleon and Germany and Austria in recent times, where the people in general are so wealthy, resourceful and enterprising, developed their best sugar industry by active help and aid from the State, how much more is that aid necessary in the case of India. Then, again, in a central factory system, or rather centralised sugar tract system, large tracts of land are a *sine qua non*, which cannot be had in this country without the direct help of the Government. Government has got *khas* lands in many places, specially in Assam, Burma, and the Punjab canal colonies; or where they are not so available, Government can acquire them if required. In Mr. Noel Paton's book I find that a former Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab at one time indicated his intention of keeping some reserved tracts for sugar cultivation in a new irrigation area. In passing, may I inquire whether anything has been done to put this noble intention into practice? Now, it may be asked would the Government be justified in adopting this policy of directly associating itself with industrial enterprises? I say that, at least with regard to this particular industry, Government would be well justified in adopting this policy as it is most expedient and prudent in view of the situation created by the present war and when one Provincial Government, that is, that of the United Provinces, has already initiated this policy. What I beg to impress upon the attention of the Government in this connection is that, in view of the situation created by the present war, Government should take prompt and effective measures to initiate that policy which has produced so wonderful results in Java and Formosa. Sir, it is some satisfaction to learn that efforts are being made by the Government to enable Indian sugar to compete with imported sugar. The steps already taken in that behalf may be all very good in their own way, but, Sir, in my humble opinion, they will not effectively solve the problem unless some such active policy as was adopted in Java and Formosa is taken here also. The Java system, known as the culture system, with necessary modifications to suit local circumstances and conditions, is well

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suited to this country. It will not, I believe, entail a very large initial expenditure of money. Considering the crisis we are passing through, I shall be the last person to ask Government to take a course of action which will involve it in heavy expenditure. Before proceeding further, it is necessary that I should describe very shortly the culture system as it has been referred to several times in my speech. It is this :—All Government lands not required for rice cultivation were planted with crops for which there was a demand in Europe by means of advances made by the State to the private contractors who undertook to plant the particular crops and sell the produce to Government at fixed rates and liquidate the advance made to them by instalments in a fixed number of years. These advances were of several kinds. The first in order was the advance for initial expenditure necessary to start the concern. It might be a planting concern or manufacturing concern, the contractor received this advance under certain regulations. Care was taken to see that the contractor was not a mere speculator, and the money was advanced to him under official superintendence which helped him to a choice of the site as also in selecting and buying the machinery and fitting up the mill. In regard to the labour required, Government at first transferred to the contractor the gratuitous or forced labour due to it from the peasants. The machinery was allowed to be imported duty free and timber and other materials from Government forests were supplied without charge. The official experts assisted him with their advice. Next to this initial advance, a yearly advance for the production or manufacture of crops was made on condition of being repaid out of the produce raised at prices which were fixed in a way to leave a margin of profit both to the Government and to the contractor. The farm seldom exceeded four hundred acres. In short, the Java culture system may be described as a system of encouraging the planting of the remunerative crops and manufacturing them for the European markets by private agency and at private risk with Government advances and under Government supervision and with the Government as a sole customer. All the three parties who worked the system, the Government, the contractor and the peasant, benefited by it. The Government borrowed money as it alone could borrow, on public credit and brought the produce so raised by the contractor to whom the money was advanced at low rate of interest and it repaid itself both principal and interest by buying at rates which left a margin of profit on sale in Europe. The contractor after he paid up the advances made to him became the owner of a large and flourishing concern, while the villagers and peasant labourers received much higher wages than they could ever obtain before. The culture system was worked to best advantage in respect of first class crops, such as sugar-cane, indigo, tea, which required high planting and skill in manufacture; but there were certain kinds of produce, such as coffee, cinnamon, which did not require planting and manufacturing skill. In their case the intervention of contractors was dispensed with and advances were made to the cultivators direct. The sugar-cane crop was a most remunerative cultivation. This system was first introduced in 1831 to 1833. The first contracts were made for 20 years and then at the end of that period were renewed for another term. About thirty to forty crores of rupees were in all advanced under this system, and when the first advance was paid they were re-invested on similar terms. This system which was undertaken at first for revenue purposes not only served those purposes well but indirectly helped the Netherland East Indies to attain a high degree of material prosperity. The land-revenue increased, the advances required for the culture system were met out of the borrowed capital and this national debt was repaid with interest in forty years. The exports and imports increased. In 1871, there were 97 mill-owners who planted seventy thousand acres with sugar-cane and employed two hundred and twenty-five thousand of labourers. An official report submitted to Lord Dufferin by Vonden Berg, the Governor of Java, in 1885, admits that the culture system greatly contributed to the development of Java in growing tropical produce. I have taken this brief history of the culture system of Java from Mr. Banade's 'Essay on Indian Economics', and I shall close this paragraph with the

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following words from the same authority which are as true to-day as when they were written :—

'After all allowances for differences between Java and India there remains a sufficient substratum of common conditions which justifies the assurance that an experiment undertaken in the same spirit here with the necessary adaptation to suit local conditions has a reasonable chance of attaining at least qualified success so as to justify the venture.

"Sir, the Formosan system is only an adaptation from the Java system to suit local conditions. I do not wish to deal with the Formosan system here as my Hon'ble colleagues may find it in Mr. Noel Paton's 'Notes on Sugar in India'. I can say this much that the experiments have succeeded very well in Formosa, also with the results that several mills have been established, returning handsome dividends Mr. Noel Paton also says :—

'That the Consular Report for 1908 upon the sugar industry of South Formosa was of an extraordinary interest to India and showed how the Japanese Government has succeeded in converting a moribund sugar industry, such as it exists in this country, into one of very great promise'.

"Sir, such in brief is the culture system, to which I have referred so many times. I have dealt somewhat exhaustively with this portion of my resolution, because the importance of the subject demands it. If we are to compete successfully with foreign sugar, this is the line on which we should proceed, and 'now or never' is the motto

"Sir, the second part of my resolution runs as follows :—

'That prompt and effective measures may be taken by the Government throughout British India to encourage and extend the manufacture of sugar, both refined and unrefined, by existing or improved indigenous methods'

"The great defect of our indigenous system is the waste it entails Mr. Hulme, the Sugar Engineer Expert, says :—

'The average extraction of sugar by bullock mills, now in use, is about fifty per cent as against about ninety per cent in a modern multiple mill. Crushing sugar-cane is no longer work for bullocks and as long as it continues, so will the importation of sugar increase'.

"So the existing indigenous methods must be changed and improved. Here also Mr. Hulme says.—

'To improve the extraction more power is required, the cultivator has not got it, and cannot get it. Any scheme to improve the indigenous methods for the production of sugar must include power driven mills, which are costly and beyond the purchasing power of the ordinary cultivators, steam power appears to be the best. A good angle roller mill would extract about sixty-five per cent, a double mill about seventy-five per cent, and a triple mill about ninety per cent'.

"But all these, I must say with Mr. Hulme, are unfortunately beyond the purchasing power of the ordinary cultivator. But, Sir, in this connection, I particularly wish to draw the attention of the Government to the fact that there is also a large field for *gur*, such as is now made by country factories, which is, indeed, very largely used by orthodox Hindus and the masses of the people in general. Mr. Hulme also endorses this view. I may add further that not only for consumption but for religious and socio-religious ceremonies this kind of sugar or *gur* is in great demand and in such a vast country, like India, the demand is not inconsiderable. The first thing in this connection is how to improve the indigenous method, and then how to apply it in practice. Mr. Hulme has made some suggestions referred to above with regard to the machinery required for this purpose, and pointed out that it is beyond the capacity of the ordinary ryot. It is not possible for a layman like myself to make any reasonable or practical suggestions for the improvement of the present indigenous methods. I must leave them to Government and their experts to decide, after due inquiry and deliberation, which is the best machinery suited to this purpose and how to introduce it, considering the local circumstances and requirements of the country.

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"Then, Sir, as a necessary corollary to the second and third parts of my resolution, follows the first part. If we are to proceed on lines suggested in the second and third parts of my resolution, we shall have to increase the area of cultivation of sugar-cane. Successful experiments at demonstration farms, researches at scientific institutes and printing of their results in pamphlet forms though necessary, will not fully meet the requirements of the situation, in India as our cultivators are generally poor, ignorant, illiterate and unenterprising. The results of successful experiments should be brought home to the actual cultivators on the field. They should be encouraged by all means to adopt the cultivation of new canes and new methods of working. Practical workers from Government farms should be deputed to help them.

"Sir, in this connection, another matter, cognate to this subject, should be mentioned. In Bengal, date palms are tapped and considerable quantity of crude sugar or *gur* is produced from the juice extracted from the trees. There is a brisk trade in this commodity in Bengal during the winter season. Much valuable information on this subject can be gained from Mr Annett's 'Memoir on the Date Sugar Industry in Bengal'. In my humble opinion immediate steps should be taken to teach the process of tapping to the ryots in Upper and Central India and the Central Provinces where it is not known. Practical men, from Bengal, popularly known as '*Seolis*' should be deputed to other parts of India to teach the process of tapping date trees.

"Sir, in summing up, I beg leave to make the following few remarks. The crisis we are passing through is, indeed, of an unprecedented nature. While the British Empire, of which India is a component part and a vital part, is engaged in a life and death struggle of uncertain duration, and while India may be called upon to take a yet much larger share in the defence of the Empire and when every farthing of the available public money may be required for the above object, it may seem anomalous, more specially in the present depleted state of the public Exchequer, that I should bring forward a proposal, the acceptance of which might involve a large expenditure of public money. But, Sir, if I had felt, if I could have realised, that my resolution would have any such effect and that the present time was inopportune for its introduction, I would have been the last person to bring forward a resolution like this before this august assembly. But, Sir, on the contrary, when in view of the situation created by the war, every country has been taking stock of her industries and trying to add, enlarge and improve them and when German and Austrian beet sugar is now no longer in the world's markets and when it is left to Java alone to supply and meet, so far as she can, the demand of the whole civilised world, which is indeed a great windfall to her, it is only natural that India should at this juncture try to regain her old position in the sugar market of the world. 'It is to be borne in mind also that there is such a vast and growing demand for refined sugar in the country as nowhere else is to be found,' for 'in a warm climate, like that of India, sugar has a much greater alimentary value than in a cold climate.' It may not be out of place in this connection to point out that, in this matter, the interests of the people of this country do not clash with those of the English people at Home. Moreover, there is, I say, a peculiar fitness in my proposal in view of the fact that His Excellency has, since the assumption of his exalted office, manifested every desire to meet and satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people committed to His Excellency's charge. Sir, in the present state of the public Exchequer, I do not wish the Government to embark upon a gigantic scheme requiring a large amount of capital expenditure, nor do I wish that in the present situation a number of sugar mills and factories should be set up and that financial aid on a very large scale should be given to them. What I, therefore, beg to propose now is that in view of the present state of the finances, if it be deemed inexpedient and inopportune to adopt wholesale for the present the policy underlying the centralised sugar tract system, an attempt should at least be made to promote the starting of one sugar factory on the line of the centralised sugar tract system under Government guidance and with Government help, in each of the two

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provinces of Bengal and the United Provinces which are yet the two largest sugar-producing tracts in India and that the factory be equipped with all the necessary machineries and appliances and the same be established in the midst of a large tract of *Khas* or acquired lands, the area of which should not be less than, say, 2,000 bighas. The mill in actual operation would be an object lesson for demonstrating to the people at large the possibility of manufacturing sugar at such a rate as may enable it to compete successfully with Java sugar so that the people may ultimately be induced to follow the policy initiated by the Government and thereby be able to resuscitate this once prosperous but now moribund sugar industry."

The Hon'ble the Vice-President:—"The Hon'ble Member has already exceeded his time".

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Sita Nath Ray:—"With these few words, I beg to move my resolution, *viz* :—

'That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that prompt and effective measures may be taken by the Government throughout British India (a) to increase the cultivation of sugar-cane and date-palm, (b) to encourage and extend the manufacture of sugar, both refined and unrefined, by existing or improved indigenous methods, (c) to promote the starting of new sugar factories on modern, scientific basis, and that financial and other kinds of assistance may be rendered by the Government for the carrying out of the above objects in an effective manner'

The Hon'ble Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi:—"Sir, I support this resolution with pleasure. In spite of the fact that India is a great sugar-cane growing country and the yield of sugar from the date palm is capable of considerable expansion, the outturn of sugar in India is not sufficient for her own requirements and she is dependent to a great extent on imported sugar. A few years ago Sir John Hewett, then Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, in laying the foundation-stone of the Prayag sugar works at Allahabad, quoted figures to show the steady increase in the annual imports of foreign sugar into India. From the present report we find that the annual imports of foreign sugar is increasing. The sugar-cane crop is the largest in the United Provinces. Sir, the importation of bounty-fed sugar into India has ceased for the time, and this seems to be a most fitting opportunity for stimulating the sugar industry in India. If Government accede to the prayer for help and guidance, India in the course of a few years will become one of the greatest sugar-manufacturing countries of the world".

The Hon'ble Raja Kushalpal Singh:—"India is commonly believed to be the home of the sugar-cane. From the Roman period to the end of the 17th century the whole of Europe depended mostly on India for its supply of sugar. Not only has India ceased to be an exporting country, but foreign sugar has captured her markets. The following statistics.—

1908-09	1912-13	1913-14
Cwts 6,333,843	15,443,033	17,937,390
£ 3,057,183	9,519,172	9,971,200

show an increase in ten years of 11,603,547 cwts. of the value of £6,014,017, —the increase for last year over the previous year alone being 2,494,357 cwts.

"Although Java has very little more than a third of a million acres under sugar cultivation, and we in the United Provinces alone have close on a million and a half, Java is yet able to swamp India with her sugar.

"The reasons why the amount of sugar produced in India is so small are the following :—

- (1) Small thin cane of inferior quality is grown
- (2) Very inefficient mills are used for expressing the juice from the cane

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- (3) The present methods of cultivation stand in great need of improvement
- (4) The methods of manufacturing sugar are defective. These points require careful consideration.

1st point—Small thin cane of inferior quality is grown.

“As to this point, I am of opinion that better varieties of cane from other sugar-producing countries should be tried. If found suitable to this country they should be introduced. In deciding this matter there is great need of the appointment of a whole-time sugar chemist in each of the cane-producing provinces. The appearance of the cane is no safe guide. We often find varieties of cane that are juicy, and to all appearance of the best sort, and yet the sugar made from them contains a very large proportion of molasses, while the proportion of sugar proper is very small. On the other hand, we also see varieties of sugar-cane which appear very inferior, but which in reality yield a very large proportion of sugar. It is only a chemist who is able to say which sort is really good for sugar, and which not.

“While on this subject, I may observe that in the United Provinces thick cane of better quality known as *paunda* exists, but these are not sought after by the sugar manufacturer. Why is this? The chief reasons seem to be—

“(1) There are no sugar-cane mills that can express juice profitably from *paundas*. More effective mills should be introduced. In places where good *paundas* can be had in abundance, power mills will be found more profitable.

“A Sugar Engineer Expert was, in 1912, appointed to the United Provinces, for three seasons, and his appointment has been recently extended for a further period of two seasons. But the work allotted to the Sugar Engineer Expert is more than enough to occupy his whole time. I, therefore, urge upon the Government the desirability of appointing an assistant to him to take up this matter

“(2) The second reason is that wood fuel is required for the preparation of sugar from *paunda*. Sugar-cane stalks do not suffice. The result is that the *paunda* crops are sold standing. The cultivator finds this practice more convenient. It saves him the trouble and expense of its more difficult manufacture.

“As *paundas* contain a much larger amount of juice they should yield a far greater amount of sugar. Indeed, in other countries refined sugar is made of these very *paundas*. What is needed here is that a cheap method of manufacturing sugar from this variety of cane be devised and made accessible to manufacturers in this country. At present, *paundas* are sold to be chewed, and not for the manufacture of sugar, and hence their cultivation does not affect the import of sugar. I believe that in Mauritius sugar is made from this thick cane. Mauritius cane is five times as thick as the thinner varieties of Indian cane. It is clear, therefore, that the yield per cane is also five times as large.

“I believe that the above remarks justify the conclusion that the manufacture of sugar from *paundas* deserves the fullest consideration.

2nd point.—Inefficient mills are used

“On this second point, I may observe that I fully agree with Mr. Moreland when he says—‘At a very low estimate I believe that the effective yield of juice per cane could be increased by ten or fifteen per cent if effective mills were procurable’.

“Now, the chief difficulty in the way of the introduction of effective mills is the scarcity of good bullocks. There should, therefore, be devised some sort of power mill that would work effectively at the *rab*-manufacturing *bels*, or in the fields of large cultivators.

“On page 61 of the January number of the ‘Agricultural Journal of India’, Mr. W. Hulme, Sugar Engineer Expert, writes:—

‘It is highly probable that there will be a large demand for *gur* for many years to come, and it is recognised by the Government of the United Provinces

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that something might be done to improve the general conditions of *gur* making, and in some degree reduce the losses due (1) to low extraction of juice from the cane, (2) to overheating the juice, causing caramelisation, and (3) to inversion caused by acidity of the juice. To this end a series of experiments will be carried out on a Government Farm near Bareilly.

' A small but powerful multiple-mill has been erected near Bareilly, by means of which, it is expected, useful data may be obtained regarding the advantages of maceration'.

" It is hoped that the forthcoming experiments will help to the arrangement and designing of a small plant suitable for adoption by *khandsaris*.

3rd point.—Defective Manufacture.

" A cheap and suitable system of manufacture should be devised in which the use of bone or *suar* should be altogether eschewed. It will not otherwise find favour with the bulk of the people. Hence, the question of introducing and adapting the vacuum system to the conditions of this country should also receive attention. The system should be such as may be worked at a profit by ordinary *khandsaris*.

" In order to meet the urgent needs described above, I would suggest that two competent assistants should be appointed to work under the Sugar Engineer Expert.

4th point.—Defective methods of cultivation.

" The improved methods of cultivation of other countries should be tried here and adopted if found profitable.

" Cane is liable to many diseases. The knowledge of remedial measures should be disseminated.

" The total area under sugar-cane in British India during 1913-14 was 2,519,800 acres, of which the United Provinces account for 1,379,900. I would therefore suggest that some officer of the Agricultural Department of the United Provinces should be deputed to study the methods of cultivation and manufacture of sugar in Java, Formosa, Hawaii, Japan and America.

" To stimulate the sugar industry I consider it absolutely necessary that there should be a strong body of agricultural experts and specialists devoted entirely to the promotion of this cause; and I would ask for at least three such officers to be allotted to the United Provinces, where practically half the total of Indian cane is raised. The Government has established two cane farms; but I would move for a considerable increase in their number.

" It also strikes me as a sound idea that co-ordinated with the model farms there might, with infinite advantage, be training classes opened for instruction in cultivation methods and if possible also a small model factory attached to each farm for instruction in the technology of sugar manufacture. Such a system has very successfully been tried in the United States of America.

" In his ' Note on Indian Sugar Industry,' Mr. A. Shakespear of Cawnpore says :—

' Extension of Sugar Cane Cultivation.—An important point in connection with the more extended use of manure is the restrictive character of present day railway freights. I have repeatedly endeavoured to obtain acceptance of the principle that, on broad economic grounds, manure should be carried by railway companies at net working costs. I think Government would be well advised to take up this matter'.

" At the meeting of the Board of Agriculture in India held at Coimbatore, the Hon'ble Mr. Hailey said that if Government really wished to encourage the sugar industry,—and this was very necessary in parts of the United Provinces, where there was a glut of *gur*,—the best way would be to give central factories a preference in regard to distillery contracts for the manufacture of which molasses were now imported from Java.

" It is a matter of sincere gratification that the Government of India are fully alive to the importance of assisting the Sugar Industry in this country. It is hoped that they will see their way to accepting this resolution, which has my whole-hearted support".

[Mr. Kershaw.]

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The Hon'ble Mr. Kershaw :—"I think that the Hon'ble Member who moved this Resolution has taken an unduly gloomy view of the situation. There is nothing in our figures of acreage and outturn to support the view that the industry is in danger of extinction, and if we compare the figures of the past five years with those of the preceding five years, it will be found that while there has been no falling off in acreage there has been a marked increase in outturn. I shall refer later to what is being done to increase the outturn, but I may mention here that the opening of large irrigation works in some parts of Southern and Central India will inevitably lead to an increase in the area under cane. This increase is important, not only because cane in Southern India, grown under irrigation gives high yields, but also because grown as it will be in large blocks, central factories may be established under the most favourable conditions. Another important effect of these canal extensions, to which my friend the Hon'ble Mr. MacNeill has just drawn my attention, is that in Bombay they have made it easier for the Agricultural Department to study existing methods and to effect improvements.

"If I have not misunderstood the Hon'ble Member he advocates that here in India we should encourage the cultivation of sugar-cane by adopting the old Java culture system which was abolished more than forty years ago, or the system now followed in Formosa. The latest account I have seen of the working of the Formosa system is contained in a report written by Mr. Keatinge, the Bombay Director of Agriculture, after he had toured in the chief sugar-producing countries. It appears that a few years after the island was acquired, the Japanese Government decided to start a sugar industry. The climate was favourable; labour was fairly abundant; and the outturn was good. But the Chinese farmers were unwilling to sell their land or to grow cane for the factories, and to overcome these difficulties, stringent regulations were issued about ten years ago under which a definite tract of country was assigned to each sugar mill. In that tract the farmers are bound to sell their cane to the mill, and they can be punished either for making sugar themselves or for selling the cane to any one else. For Government and the factory owners the system is an admirable one, but from the point of view of the farmers, it is so unsatisfactory that it will probably be necessary either for the sugar companies to buy out the farmers or to cultivate themselves, renting the land, as is now done in Java, from the farmers. But in any case it is clear that any system, of this kind under which cane is grown under official pressure would be totally unsuited to the conditions of India, and would be strongly resented by the people. Nor do I think it possible that any modification of the Java culture system could be introduced in India with any hope of success. The Hon'ble Member has given us a very interesting account of that system, but I do not suppose that he seriously suggests that we should parcel out tracts of country to contractors within which villagers would be compelled to plant a certain proportion of their land with contractors' crops, the purchase of which would be a Government monopoly. And if we eliminate the objectionable features of the system—forced labour, compulsory cultivation and the Government monopoly—the proposal reduces itself to this, that Government should advance money to contractors for the cultivation of cane and the manufacture of sugar. I am not concerned with the question of manufacture, but as regards advances through contractors for cane cultivation, it seems to me that if we eliminate, as we must, official pressure to grow cane, the system in settled areas would amount to nothing more than the employment of middlemen in the distribution of *takavi* loans. I think everyone will agree that the cultivator must be left to grow the crops which he thinks most profitable. If he grows cane for *gur*—and by far the greater portion of cane is grown for this purpose—he is guided by the ruling price. If, on the other hand, he lives nearer a central factory the determining factor is the price which the factory owner is willing to pay, and in a matter of this kind free bargaining must be allowed without Government interference. The case is different where Government has at its disposal large areas of waste land suitable for cane, and a good deal can be done, and is being done, to encourage cane cultivation in such case. The Punjab pro-

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posal, to which the Hon'ble Member has referred, was, I believe, dropped, as the land was unsuitable, but in the Central Provinces a block of about 4,000 acres is being leased out to a Syndicate, and in Burma in one of the canal areas, a Burma firm is making an experiment in cane cultivation, half the cost of which will be borne by Government. A still more interesting experiment is being made in Assam by Government and at Government expense, in order to ascertain whether it is possible to grow cane at a profit with steam tackle. A thousand acres is being planted out by Government, and the experiment which will cost about two lakhs of rupees is expected to last for about three years. By that time it should be possible to decide whether the scheme is a failure or a success. If a failure, the plantation will be closed down; if a success, the concern will be handed over to private enterprise, and no doubt other plantations would then be started on the same lines. But the amount of Government waste land is limited, and if we are to do anything in the settled areas, we must take things as we find them. The cultivation is scattered; holdings are small; the canes grown are poor; and the cultivation is bad. The most effective, and I think from all points of view the best, method of encouraging sugar-cane cultivation, is to show the cultivator how to increase his outturn, and this, I think, is the fundamental problem. The reason why Java sugar can compete successfully with Indian sugar is not because it is State-aided, but because, apart from a highly efficient system of manufacture, the outturn is very much higher than in India. There the average yield is over 40 tons to the acre. In India, I hesitate to say what the average yield is. In some parts of the country very high yields indeed have been obtained, but the average has been put as low as 12 and is certainly less than 20 tons. Over and above this the Java canes contain a higher percentage of sugar than ours.

"The high yields in Java are due not merely to advantages of climate. They are the fruit of long and continuous scientific research on which money has been freely spent by the Syndicate of sugar manufacturers with the result that Java sugar, even after paying freight to India and the import duty, can successfully compete with Indian sugar. I think there is one and only one remedy for this, and that is to increase the Indian outturn, not necessarily by increasing the area under cane (for that may mean the displacement of more profitable crops), but by increasing the outturn per acre, and I propose to explain to the Council what the Agricultural Departments in India are doing in this direction. Before 1911, a great deal of useful work had been done, but it was not until that year that systematic sugarcane research can be said to have actually commenced. In 1911, the Board of Agriculture considered the whole subject and made a number of recommendations. As a result of these, a Sugar Engineer, to whom the Hon'ble Raja Kushalpal Singh has referred, was appointed in the United Provinces, a cane-breeding station was started in Madras under the direction of Dr. Barber, and in every province in India an impetus was given to work on sugar-cane. At the next meeting of the Board, two years later, agricultural officers from all parts of India compared notes and Dr. Barber explained the lines on which he was working. When the Board meets again this year the subject will, I hope, be again discussed and stock taken of the progress made. The Agricultural Departments are endeavouring to solve the problem in two ways. First, by seeking for better methods of cultivation and secondly, and this is the main work, by introducing improved varieties to suit local conditions. Another line of inquiry and one of special importance to central factories is to obtain a series of canes which ripen at different seasons of the year, either by changing the dates of sowing or by introducing new varieties. At present, as the Council is aware, a factory can only be employed for three or four months and during the remainder of the year stands idle, at all events as a sugar factory. Clearly therefore, if the crushing season can be prolonged and this has been found possible in other countries, the cost of manufacture would be greatly reduced.

"I will not attempt to describe in any detail the work that is being done, but I may mention that special sugar-cane stations have been started in the United Provinces, the Punjab, the Central Provinces, Madras, Bombay and Assam, and that another will probably be shortly started in Bihar. At these

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stations work is being carried on in close touch with Dr. Barber, who is in charge of the central station in Coimbatore. Dr. Barber has succeeded in growing sugar-cane for the first time in India from seed, and this discovery is of immense importance as it makes it possible to obtain, by crossing, new varieties of cane which will not only give higher yields, but which will also resist disease. I have just received a report showing the work being carried out by Dr Barber and it may interest the Council to learn that he has raised no less than 60,000 seedlings, and that he is crossing the hardy canes of Northern India with rich tropical canes, in some cases with marked success.

"It is perhaps too early to speak of results, but judging from what has been done during the past three or four years, there is every reason to hope that those who are now working on this problem will be successful, and the latest reports which have been received are most encouraging. But it must be remembered that the selection of new varieties of any plant is a long and tedious process, and we must not therefore expect immediate results. The outlook, however, is distinctly promising, not only for sugar but also for *gur*. In the case of *gur* we hope, I think with some confidence, to increase the outturn; we are getting rid of the old wasteful methods of manufacture and there is here a most promising opening for co-operation. As for sugar, if we can substantially increase the outturn I, for one, see no reason why Indian sugar should not, in the near future, compete successfully and on its own merits with imported sugar."

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi:—"Sir, it is not a long time ago that two Hon'ble Members of this Council brought forward two resolutions requesting Government to aid our sugar industries financially. On the first as well as on the second occasion, when a very modest request was made by my friend the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, for a sum of only 12 lakhs of rupees, Government could not accede to that request. This, therefore, Sir, is the third time of asking. Personally, I am rather doubtful whether Government would be prepared to depart from their policy of passive sympathy and passive help and give us this time some material help by way of a financial grant. If they do so, it will certainly be a very pleasant and welcome surprise. This world, Sir, is full of surprises. I am perfectly willing to join my friend the Hon'ble Rai Sitanath Ray in knocking once more at the Government Treasury doors in the hope that, if they cannot be flung wide open to admit all of us, they may at least be opened sufficiently wide to let the Rai Bahadur in, so that he may carry off a chest of Government treasure, however small, in order to aid our sugar industries. Sugar is a commodity which is not only in demand with non-official members, but I suppose it is also in demand with official members. The only difference is that we want our friends to partake of the sugar we can make in this country, rather than hanker after sugar that has to come from across the seas. Now, Sir, in many places in India, especially in East Bengal, the soil lends itself very easily to the cultivation of sugar-cane as well as date palm. I do not know whether there is any Hon'ble Member present to-day who has had that delightful experience of a trip on board a river steamer from Goalundo towards Dacca, or towards Assam. If so, he will be able to bear me out when I say that as the steamer steams up the river, one sees on both sides fields of sugar-cane and date-palm groves. I believe my friend from Assam, the Hon'ble Lieutenant-Colonel Gurdon, has had that experience, and will bear out what I have said. If so, it would be a world of pity if Government at this juncture did not see its way to help our sugar industry financially. There was certainly a time when all our important villages were studded with sugar manufactories, but that time alas has gone! Providence, however, in its infinite wisdom, has given us another time, another occasion, and has thrown another opportunity in our way. A glance at the figures that can be found in the Statistical tables published by Government will tell you that the chief import from Austria-Hungary is sugar, and its percentage to the total import is as much as 32 per cent, covering an aggregate value of £982,000, or about a million sterling. I therefore again repeat that 'now or never' is the time for Government to

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extend to us that tangible help which we are entitled to expect at its hands. This is the psychological moment when a great stimulus should be given to our sugar industry and sugar manufacture. On the one hand, it will enable us to capture that field which is now vacant from the cessation of the import of sugar from our barbarous enemies,—the Austro-Hungarians; and, on the other hand, it would revive one of our dying industries and be the means of supplying work and food to hundreds of thousands of our countrymen. These are the reasons which impel me to give my support to this resolution.”

The Hon'ble Raja Abu Jafar:—“Sir, the proposal of the Hon'ble Mover is so important and necessary that in my opinion it deserves the serious consideration and prompt action on the part of the Government. India is an agricultural country, but unfortunately the resources of Indian cultivators have been declining by contraction in the area of commercial crops for causes over which they have no control. The synthetic indigo has ruined indigo industry, while the opium trade is dwindling, which will almost stop the cultivation of poppy. Now the sugar industry remains most important and paying concern to the peasantry and a part of the trading class of this country, but it is also threatened. For some years past the influx of the foreign sugar has brought it almost to the verge of ruin, and unless some measures are adopted to protect it, India will lose one of the important sources of profit. Something is being done in the United Provinces, where a sugar expert has been appointed, though temporarily, and a few factories organised on modern lines. Farms have also been opened specially for trials of sugar-cane. But it will be highly advisable if the Government give substantial support by providing more facilities in the improvement and expansion in cane cultivation by introducing widely the improved and scientific methods of manufacturing sugar. Unless a ready market is opened for the cane of the cultivator, he cannot reasonably expect to profit himself by its cultivation, and this is not possible unless paying sugar factories are established in the cane-growing centres of this country.

“I am not quite confident of the success of rearing date-palms on any grand scale. From the experience which I have of my province, the climate of this country does not seem congenial to the growth of this plant. The crop of date-palm matures in the beginning of the rainy season and a few showers of rain spoil it. Its plantation can, however, be well tried in those parts where the climatic conditions are agreeable to it. The revival of the sugar industry is however a matter which will, if achieved, be a source of substantial prosperity to India, and I hope that the Government will be pleased to spare no efforts in giving pecuniary and other help for the advancement of this industry.

“With these few remarks, I beg to support this resolution.”

The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola:—“Sir, I think the Hon'ble Mover of this resolution is to be congratulated upon having brought forward a subject which has elicited such an illuminating reply from the Hon'ble Mr. Kershaw. I think the Council will appreciate the very valuable information which Mr. Kershaw has supplied in the matter of various points involved in the consideration of the promotion of the sugar industry.

“As regards large areas being centralised for big factories, we are informed that in various parts, notably in Assam, Burma and the Punjab, the matter is under serious consideration. We are also told that an expert has been appointed and that every assistance in the matter of expert knowledge is being furnished. We are also informed that experiments are being made in the cultivation of a crop which will yield a larger return per acre and give a better quality of cane. These are all efforts in the right direction, and we are glad to know that Government are doing their best in these directions. There is one thing, however, to which attention must be drawn, and that is the manner in

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which the Dutch Government at one time and the Japanese Government have recently developed the sugar industry, the one in Java and the other in Formosa. We were told that, when the Japanese Government decided to start the sugar industry in Formosa, there was some opposition on the part of the Chinese cultivators. But that was brushed aside and large pieces of land were allocated to the cultivation of sugar-cane, with the further restriction that they shall sell the produce to the central factory which was proposed to be erected, and at given rates. I am particularly pleased to receive this authoritative information because it shows the methods adopted by foreign Governments in order to capture Indian trade, to compete with Indian industries and to try to kill them. What we want from our Government as a set-off against bounties and subsidies in Austria and Germany, and against the special methods in Java and in Formosa, is that our Government shall take such measures as will effectually protect our markets from being exploited in favour of foreign manufactures as against indigenous produce. That is, Sir, what we want, and that is the point which I have been pressing on the attention of Government ever since I have joined this Council. As I have said, we feel indebted to Government for what they have been able to do, but we want a great deal more to be done, and I trust that public opinion in India will assert itself sufficiently to lead to a reconsideration of the entire policy of Government towards the development of industries in India.

"I am greatly tempted to refer again to the subject of protection, but on the present occasion I will not touch upon it. Take the instance of the promotion of the sugar industry in Austria and Germany on the one hand and in Java and Formosa on the other. The Governments of these countries not only provide subsidies and bounties, enforce stringent regulations in regard to cultivation, raising of particular crops, selling of the produce to specified manufacturers and at given rates, but they subsidise steamships to carry their manufactured goods at lower than commercial rates of freight. I pointed that out on a previous occasion, and it requires to be emphasized. When Governments of other countries take all these measures for the purpose of promoting their industries, what does our Government do? They generously contribute towards their success by carrying from the ports by railways owned and paid for by this country, all their manufactured goods into the interior at the lowest possible rates. Not only do we take no measures to protect our indigenous industries, against such invasion, but offer, as if it were, a premium, to ensure success to them. Because importing firms offer large quantities of goods manufactured outside India to be carried into the interior for consumption, we quote very low railway rates compared with those we charge for carrying indigenous sugar over shorter distances. Surely, it is possible for Government to do a great deal in the direction of providing facilities of transport and favourable rates for sugar manufactured in one part of the country to be carried for consumption to another part, by providing for the carriage of sugar-cane to the factory and for the carrying of the manufactured goods into the consuming markets, even though they be at short distances. The railways can contribute largely towards the development of industries in India, but I do not propose to go into that question to-day; there is a resolution on the subject which I am going to move on the 22nd instant, when I shall enlarge upon it. On the present occasion I merely wish to impress forcibly upon the notice of Government that when all the other Governments are making all sorts of efforts for developing their industries in competition with our own, they should do a great deal more than at present for the furtherance of our industrial development. Sir, it appears to me that the economic question in India is becoming more serious every day, and it is urgently necessary that Government should provide all the help within their power, and co-operate with us in obtaining further powers if necessary for the promotion of industries. Unless this is done the economic situation in India will become more acute as time goes on."

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark :—"The fact that this resolution has been brought forward at this particular juncture naturally suggests that it has

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been inspired largely by the conditions arising out of the war and, indeed, I gather from the Hon'ble Mr. Sita Nath Ray's opening remarks that this is the case. The war has in fact very greatly affected the sugar industry in several directions. In the first place, it has led to an immense diminution in the exports of beet sugar from Germany and Austria and from Russia. No doubt a certain amount of sugar from these countries finds its way into the world-markets through neutral countries, but only very small quantities in comparison with the normal volume of their exports. Belgium, another important producing country, has been devastated by the war, and the French output has also been seriously affected. Our Indian supplies have been directly impaired by the cessation of trade with Germany and Austria, from whom we took last year $1\frac{1}{2}$ million cwts., or about 9 per cent of our total imports. The same causes have deprived the United Kingdom and other parts of the British Empire of the sugar which they normally obtain from these countries, and there has therefore been a greater competition for sugar from Java and Mauritius, who are India's principal suppliers. Consequently, in the months since the outbreak of war there has been a decline of nearly 60 per cent in our imports from abroad and an increase of about 50 per cent in prices. I do not propose to follow the Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola into his somewhat thinly veiled discussion of protection, but I may perhaps go so far as to point out to the Hon'ble Member that this is, in the main, the result of interfering with imports.

"The situation which has been thus produced has two aspects. The first of these is its effect upon the consumer. The second is the opportunity which it affords for the expansion of the industry. The first is one to which the Government of India, as in duty bound, gave very close attention immediately on the outbreak of war. It was clear from the start that the effect of war with Germany and Austria must be to cause a diminution in the world supplies of sugar and a general rise in price, and would certainly affect prices in India, which has become a large importing country. Government therefore took up at once the consideration of the question whether our production of sugar could be extended, or whether other steps were necessary in the interests of the consumer. We were met at the outset by a very real and serious difficulty. The war broke out at the beginning of August. The greater part of the sugar-cane grown in India is sown between January and March and harvested about a year later. Consequently, any increase in the sowings of cane could only have been effected in the present cold weather and would not produce their results until March of next year. If we had taken steps to bring pressure upon the ryot to increase the area under cane in the next sowing season, we should in effect have been committing ourselves to a prophesy that the war-shortage and war-prices would still be in existence in March, 1916, eighteen months ahead. Hon'ble Members will readily understand that in such circumstances we should have been taking a very serious responsibility. The war will not last for ever, and it is impossible to forecast what sugar prices may be a year hence. It is at least likely that there are large stocks in Germany and Austria and Russia which, should the war come to an end, would be released and thrown upon the market, in which case prices would rapidly fall, possibly to below their normal level. At any rate we decided that we should not be justified in giving such advice to the ryots. The question of date-palm sugar, which has been referred to by certain Members, stands on a different footing, as it does not involve the growing of a crop, and energetic, and I understand, successful efforts have been made by the Government of Bengal to secure a larger yield this cold weather. As there was no prospect of securing a large and immediate increase in the yield of the cane crop, the question then became one of whether other steps ought to be taken by Government in the interests of the consumer:—whether, for instance, we ought to follow the example of the British Government and enter the foreign market, so as to secure adequate supplies from abroad. This question was very carefully considered by Government, but we decided against it, and I think we have been justified in so doing. It must be remembered that while our imports of sugar are increasing, and are of course very important to our consumers, they still

represent only a small proportion of the total Indian consumption. The production of cane-sugar in India (consumed for the most part in the form of *gur*) is an uncertain quantity, but it probably exceeds 2,600,000 tons, and there is also close on half a million tons of palm-tree sugar, making over 3 million tons in all. As against this our imports amounted last year to only 800,000 tons. Consequently, it was abundantly clear that even were our imports to disappear altogether, there could not be a sugar famine in the sense in which such a famine was feared in the United Kingdom, which produces no sugar at all. We decided, therefore, that there was not a sufficient case to justify Government in causing such a disturbance to trade, as must necessarily follow from their entering the market, and as I said before, I think, in spite of the increase in the price of sugar in the proper sense of the term, we have been proved right in our policy. The prices of sugar have increased by 50 per cent, but those of *gur* have remained steady and, indeed, in some markets have actually declined below the price level in July before the outbreak of war. *Gur* of course is the form in which the poorer classes obtain their sugar. While it is difficult to obtain data in regard to consumption by the vast population of India, and while the causes which have prevented a rise in prices are certainly obscure, it would seem fairly safe at any rate to deduce that the increase in the price of sugar has not inflicted suffering and distress in the sense in which distress was caused by the increase in the price of wheat. What has resulted, no doubt, is a reduction in the amount consumed. This must have fallen on the more well-to-do classes of the community rather than on the very poor, and it has meant, I gather, that they have had to curtail the enjoyment of an amenity of life rather than that they have been deprived of a necessity. I am not trying to prove that there has been no hardship. There must always be hardship in any restriction of the kind, in any interference with the ordinary habits of the people, but the point I wish to make to Council is that the increase in the price of sugar, especially in view of the steady level maintained in the price of *gur*, places the sugar position on a very different footing to a shortage which drives up the price of an essential food of the people.

"The other aspect of the case is that the present position may be held to afford a special opportunity for the expansion of the industry. The position undeniably affords an opportunity to the industry to make large profits, but some of the considerations which I have already adduced show, I think, that there would be considerable risk involved in promoting new factories on the strength of the war conditions. I have already pointed out that when the war is over, there is likely to be a considerable release of stocks and a period of low prices. The question which really has to be faced is how a sugar industry can be built up in this country strong enough to withstand the competition of Java and Mauritius and of the best-producing countries of Europe in the normal times of peace, and for progress towards the attainment of that end the present abnormal times are not more opportune—in fact in some ways one less opportune—than any other. The problem therefore is not substantially different now to what it was when the last debate on the subject took place in this Council in 1911, except that considerable progress has been made in the inquiries since undertaken by Government. In other words, we find ourselves again considering the position of the sugar industry in India and what help Government can give towards its improvement.

"Now, the first point we ought to consider is—Is the state of the industry quite so desperate as it is sometimes represented? There is, of course, the marked and continuous increase in imports, and a decrease—though not nearly so marked—in the area under cultivation. These are circumstances which beyond doubt deserve careful attention. But when the industry is described as moribund or, as the Hon'ble Mr. Sitanath Ray said, on the verge of extinction, I am inclined to doubt whether the facts really warrant such language. I am very glad to find that the Hon'ble Mr. Kershaw, who speaks on behalf of the Agricultural Department and is therefore more closely connected than I am with some aspects of this question, holds the same view as myself. It is noticeable that though the acreage under cane is much

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smaller than, say, 20 years ago, the decline has not been progressive. In 1912-13, the acreage was actually higher than in any year since 1900-1901, and there is reason to believe that the rate of yield has improved. Then again, it is apt to be assumed that the sugar industry cannot thrive without the institution of large factories capable of crushing say 700 or 800 tons a day, and this view I think underlay the Hon'ble Mover's suggestion that Government should endeavour (if I understood him correctly) to adopt the system followed by the Dutch Government in Java and the Japanese Government in Formosa. This, again, seems to me not to be warranted by facts. Several small factories are now being successfully worked in India, and it seems quite possible that small factories capable of turning out from 2,000 to 3,000 tons of sugar a year would be sound propositions in the existing state of the industry. Large central factories would come later, in the ordinary course of development. This view, I know, is held by men who have practical experience of the manufacture of sugar in India. On the other hand, I think, Council will appreciate that, as the Hon'ble Mr. Kershaw has already pointed out, it would be a very serious matter for Government to endeavour to establish central factories on the lines indicated in the Hon'ble Mover's speech. As the Hon'ble Mr. Ray himself told us, the Dutch system, which he approves, was introduced into Java nearly a century ago, but it would be a very different matter to introduce a similar system now in India. Let me quote a paragraph from the late Mr. Paton's Note on Sugar in India. He says 'the most serious and the most obvious obstacle to realisation of the central factory in India resides in one feature common to all systems of land tenure in this country. We refer to the perfect liberty left to the tenant or occupant as regards the selection of crops.' The system advocated by the Hon'ble Member would do away with that liberty, and such an interference in my judgment would be a most serious and dangerous step to take, as the Hon'ble Mr. Kershaw pointed out. What we must depend on is the gradual development of the factory system of manufacturing sugar, and the gradual realisation by the ryot that under that system there will be a steady demand for his cane, and that it will be worth his while to place the necessary proportion of his land under cane. The ryot is as a rule shrewd enough in discovering what crop pays him best, and I see no reason why this result should not in time be attained. At present one of the prime difficulties which stands in the way is the indifferent yield of the greater part of the sugar crop. This is one of the obvious directions in which Government can, and do, help. Another direction in which they can, and do, help, is in improving methods of manufacture and in showing that profit can be made. When this has been done, the rest will come of itself.

"If the Hon'ble Member will forgive my saying so, his resolution and his remarks in moving it seem to me to do less than justice to the measures which are being taken by Government throughout India, both to increase the cultivation of sugar-cane and date-palm and to improve the methods of manufacture. He asks that prompt and effective measures should be taken, by which I presume he means that measures should be taken which will effectively produce immediate results. If we are to face and overcome the real difficulties of the problem, we must recognise at the outset that progress has to be slow and immediate results cannot be shown. The primary need of the industry, as the Hon'ble Mr. Kershaw pointed out, is cheap cane. The chief obstacle which stands in the way of obtaining it is the low yield and the poor quality of much of the cane crop in India. In the Ganges Valley, where far the larger portion of the crop is grown, the average outturn is but little in excess of 10 to 15 tons of stripped and cleaned cane per acre, while in Java the average is 40 tons and on some estates I believe as much as 60 tons. The Hon'ble Mr. Kershaw has dealt with this aspect of the question, but the point I wish to impress upon Council is that, while much is being done under this head by the agricultural departments of the Provinces concerned and while experimental work on a large scale is being carried out to discover the methods whereby, and the extent to which, the output can be increased and the period of harvesting (another very important factor) lengthened, development in these directions must

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inevitably be a slow process. The problem of how to increase the yield, which is essential if cane is to be produced at a price to enable a factory to work successfully, is one which can only be solved by long and patient botanical experiment, and a mere lavish expenditure of money cannot materially expedite its solution. Mr. Kershaw has explained how thoroughly and steadily the work is being carried on, and I think his lucid statement can hardly have failed to impress Council. At the same time, the question of improving manufacture has been vigorously taken up. In 1912, in accordance with a resolution of the Board of Agriculture, a sugar engineer was appointed and his services were placed at the disposal of the Government of the United Provinces. In the same Province financial assistance, the total of which exceeded Rs 7 lakhs has been given to two factories, one Indian and one European. The former was a comparatively small factory constructed to deal with 100 tons a day, which had got into difficulties owing to defects in its machinery. Government provided a grant of Rs 30,000 towards the reconstruction of its machinery, which was carried out under the supervision of the sugar engineer. The factory is now working successfully. In the latter case a loan of Rs. 7 lakhs was provided, and here too the sugar engineer acted as adviser for, and assisted in the erection of, the two factories concerned, one of which has a capacity of from 400 to 600 tons. In both these cases one of the grounds on which Government gave financial assistance was in order to demonstrate the practicability of profitable working, and conditions have been attached to the grant and loan that the factories should be open to inspection and examination by those who wish to profit by their experience. The sugar engineer has also advised on several other projects for the starting of schemes in the United Provinces. At the same time, Government have been endeavouring to improve the manufacture of *gur*. The importance of *gur* lies largely in the fact that the cane area of any given tract can be encouraged to expand up to a point at which a central sugar factory may become possible, the cultivators meantime using their cane for the manufacture of *gur*, for which there is a steady and regular demand. A small experimental plant for the crushing of cane and the production of *gur* has been erected near Bareilly, and in several Provinces, especially in Madras, Bombay and the Central Provinces, much attention has been given and money spent upon the problem of selecting and popularising the best type of small cane-mill and the most economic and efficient apparatus for boiling *gur*. I understand that *takavi* grants can be, and are, given to cultivators to enable them to purchase these mills and apparatus. The Local Governments have also taken up the question of improving date-palm sugar, and some very useful work has recently been done in Bengal.

"I would submit to Council that Government, in regard to sugar, have pursued a steady policy and have not been niggardly in their assistance to the industry. They are carrying out, entirely at the cost of the State, the experiments, which Mr Kershaw has described, for the improvement of the yield of cane and the extension of the period of working. I cannot give details of the expenditure, which is spread over the Provinces concerned and under several heads of account, but it must amount to considerable sums. I may specially instance the 2 lakhs which are being spent in Assam on the experiment in cane-growing on a large scale mentioned by Mr Kershaw. These improvements are absolutely essential conditions to success, and as I have already said and should like to emphasise again, they must take time and they cannot be hurried. Concurrently we are providing assistance for manufacture, partly in the way of skilled advice from the sugar engineer and partly by the financial assistance which, as I pointed out, has been given to factories in the United Provinces. I cannot admit the inference in the resolution that Government is not taking effective measures to help on the industry. We are giving real and practical help within the limits imposed by our determination to adhere to a sane system of finance. The Hon'ble Member asks us for yet more financial assistance and he appealed to the example of what has been done in France and Germany and Austria. I may remind Council that the history of the sugar industry has in its day and not least in those countries afforded an

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object-lesson to the world of the dangers of throwing aside sound principles of finance for the sake of promoting an industry. It has shown that if Governments spend enormous sums in subsidies and impose high protective duties, they can indeed bring into being and maintain a vast sugar industry. But it has also shown what this involves—the creation of huge trusts, the exploitation of the people whose taxes provide the subsidies, but who have to pay artificially high prices for their sugar, and the growth of financial burdens so heavy that even those wealthy European countries have been unable to bear the strain. No doubt the Hon'ble Member does not propose that we should attempt to emulate the reckless system of subsidies which ended with the Brussels Convention. But the example is not without its value. It illustrates the danger, to which I am afraid sufficient weight is not attached in India, that when Governments have once embarked upon fostering industries with the funds of the State, it is very difficult for them to draw back before they have passed the boundary between a reasonable and a reckless policy. At the opposite end of the scale there are people who argue that the State should stand aside altogether and leave everything to private enterprise. That seems to me to be an impossible counsel of perfection—and not even perhaps a counsel of perfection, since I see no reason why the State should not give assistance in such matters, so long as the assistance is given within reasonable limits. It is not really so very difficult to strike out a middle course, and that is what the Government of India have endeavoured to do in this matter of the sugar industry. We have taken up the vitally important scientific research, a matter which may reasonably be held to be outside the scope of private effort in this country; we have helped, by providing scientific and technical experts, to introduce improved methods of cultivation and manufacture; but I fully admit that we have been very careful in the matter of financing private concerns and have only given pecuniary aid where we have been reasonably sure that it has been justified by the circumstances of the case, and with the object, not merely of assisting the immediate beneficiaries, but of affording a valuable demonstration to others of the up-to-date working of the industry. These are the lines which we still propose to pursue. I fear that the Hon'ble Member who has moved this resolution and those who supported it, wish Government to go much further, and that being so, I regret that I cannot accept the resolution.”

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Sita Nath Ray:—“ I have nothing particular to say except that, as a result of my moving this resolution, we have been treated to a very interesting debate on this sugar question. The Hon'ble Member for Commerce was pleased to say that I was not quite justified in saying that the sugar industry in this country is in a moribund state; but so far as my experience of Bengal goes, we know that a very large quantity of sugar used to be manufactured in the districts of Jessore and Dacca and in several other parts, but those concerns are now extinct or shut up, and there is no manufacture of refined sugar in any part of the country. So virtually, excepting the United Provinces, so far as Bengal is concerned, refined sugar is out of the question. I do not of course advocate that the system pursued in Japan and elsewhere should be carried out in India wholesale. I am not an advocate of the forced labour system which was prevalent in Java. But what I beg to say is that, though we are thankful to Government for the various steps that they have taken from time to time, and about which interesting facts and figures have been given by the Hon'ble Mr. Kershaw and the Hon'ble Mr. Clark, they are not sufficient enough to promote the cause of sugar industry and thereby enable us to compete with foreign sugar. Every foreign Government has been trying its utmost for some time past, whether by protection or by subsidy, to stimulate not only its sugar industry, but all other industries, so that they may be able to hold their own. As regards the sugar industry, the result of those subsidies and financial assistance given by the different foreign countries has been that our home industry has been declining gradually and, consequently, there has been a considerable shrinkage in the area under cane cultivation. Formerly, the area under cane cultivation was about 27 lakhs of acres, but in 1911 it came to 24 lakhs of acres. Considering

[*Rai Bahadur Sita Nath Ray.*] [17TH MARCH, 1915.]

that there has been a large increase in the population, necessitating a corresponding increase in cane cultivation to cope with the expanding population, there has been instead a considerable shrinkage in the area under cane cultivation, and therefore I was quite justified in saying that the sugar industry instead of expanding is in a moribund state in every part of the country.

"It is very true that the Government has been making demonstrations and carrying on different experiments in model farms. I am glad that the Government in one case gave seven lakhs of rupees as a grant and two lakhs in the case of another; we want that something more substantial should be done to promote the industry and that more active steps should be taken; I did not intend to say that no steps had been taken by Government. What I mean to say is that considering the present state of the country, while German and Austrian beet-sugar is no longer in the field, it is proper that active steps should be taken, gradually, of course, to enable the Indian sugar to compete with the foreign import; and something more than demonstrations and experiments are required to actively foster the trade. Particularly, I beg to draw the attention of this Council to the fact that, while the Japanese Government and other Governments have been spending lakhs and lakhs for promoting this industry to enable them to compete successfully in other markets, our Government has done nothing of the kind. Why should the Indian Government not be prepared to spend more largely for keeping up this industry and thereby enabling us to compete with the foreign imported sugar? I have nothing more to say, and I leave the question to the kind consideration of the Council."

The Resolution was put and rejected.

The Council adjourned to Thursday, the 18th March, 1915

W H. VINCENT,

Secretary to the Government of India.

Legislative Department.

DELHI :

The 24th March, 1915.

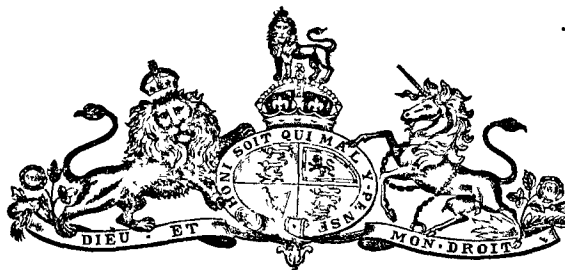
APPENDIX.

(Statement laid on the table, vide page 411, ante.)

Statement showing the amount allotted during the quinquennium ending 31st March 1914, to Muhammadan schools from Provincial funds including Imperial grants and, where possible, also the sums allotted from these sources to Local Bodies as earmarked specially for Muhammadan schools.

Province.	1909-1910.	1910-1911.	1911-1912.	1912-1913.	1913-1914.	Total.	REMARKS.
	Rs	Rs.	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs	
Madras	98,109	79,672	98,034	1,59,500	1,79,331	6,09,646	Local Bodies in the Madras presidency expended Rs10,39,994 on Muhammadan schools during the quinquennium. But it is not possible to say what proportion of this sum was provided from the Provincial subsidy, no portion of which was specially earmarked for Muhammadan schools.
Bombay	99,501	84,883	65,524	64,774	87,476	3,98,138	Except in the Southern division of the Bombay presidency it is not the practice to earmark allotments made through Local Bodies for Muhammadan schools, nor has it been found possible to ascertain readily for the purpose of this statement the amounts expended on such schools, by Local Bodies from the Provincial subsidy. In the case of the Southern division, however, the amount assigned to Local Bodies for Urdu schools during the 5 years 1911-12 to 1913-14 was Rs11,268. This sum is not included in the statement.
Bengal	1,14,171	1,30,769	1,58,212	1,61,089	2,08,380	7,72,541	This sum includes expenditure on some institutions which, though predominantly Muhammadan in character, do not cater entirely for Muhammadans. In allotting money to Local Bodies, definite sums are not earmarked for Muhammadan schools. But on this subject attention is invited to the Local Government's resolution No. 1611-XV, dated the 25th August 1914.
United Provinces	41,820	48,498	1,27,898	1,77,206	99,532	4,89,454	
Punjab	13,856	25,709	29,001	91,860	78,238	2,36,654	In addition, Rs13,896 was spent during the quinquennium on Muhammadan scholarships. The figures given refer only to schools under Muhammadan management as distinct from institutions controlled by Government or Local Bodies in which Muhammadans constitute the majority or a large proportion of the pupils.
Burma	837	1,061	964	1,511	5,623	9,496	No portion of the Provincial subsidy to Local Bodies is specially earmarked for Muhammadan schools and these figures are exclusive of any expenditure by Local Bodies on such schools. There is an unascertainable number of schools attended principally or exclusively by Muhammadans where education is conducted in Burmese, and which fall so naturally into the normal provincial educational scheme, that it has never been found necessary to differentiate them into a special category as Muhammadan schools. Hence the figures given bear no relation whatever to the amounts actually contributed towards the education of Muhammadans in Burma.
Bihar and Orissa	28,419	38,808	53,931	83,262	95,341	2,94,451	The Delhi Administration having been constituted only on 1st October 1912 the figures for the first three years of the quinquennium are not given.
Central Provinces	43,878	57,147	60,197	65,180	86,368	2,82,765	
Assam	6,688	6,694	7,989	9,185	24,627	54,978	
Coorg	878	2,868	1,063	8,641	3,621	11,496	
North West Frontier Province	1,000	1,713	9,987	2,63,831	1,56,497	4,38,028	
Delhi . . . . .	...			1,705	30,633	32,337	
Total	4,37,552	4,67,077	6,12,130	10,82,694	10,33,451	36,32,904	

NOTE.—The figures can be regarded only as an approximate estimate. They do not represent the whole amount spent on Muhammadan schools. Moreover, the calculation has been differently made in different provinces, sometimes including and sometimes excluding indirect expenditure on Muhammadan education.



GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.
LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COUNCIL OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA
ASSEMBLED FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING LAWS AND REGULATIONS
UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF THE INDIAN COUNCILS ACTS, 1861 to 1909
(24 & 25 Vict., c. 67, 55 & 56 Vict., c. 14, AND 9 Edw. VII, c. 4).

The Council met at the Council Chamber, Imperial Secretariat, Delhi, on
Thursday, the 18th March, 1915

PRESENT :

His Excellency BARON HARDINGE OF PENSHURST, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.,
G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., I.S.O., Viceroy and Governor General, *presiding*,
and 56 Members, of whom 48 were Additional Members.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH.

His Excellency the President:—"I duly forwarded to the Secretary of State, for submission to His Majesty the King-Emperor, the following loyal resolution unanimously adopted at a meeting of my Legislative Council held at Delhi on the 24th February, 1915 :—

'This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that His Excellency in Council may be pleased to communicate to His Gracious Majesty the feelings of sincere gratitude, devotion and loyalty with which the immense population of India have heard of His Majesty's gracious personal attention to Indian soldiers in the theatre of war and in hospital and the unwavering resolution of Indians to support the honour, dignity and prestige of the Empire regardless of the sacrifice it may entail on them.'

"On the 16th March I received the following reply from the Secretary of State :—

'Please inform Council that it has given me much pleasure to lay loyal resolution before His Imperial Majesty the King, who has read it with great satisfaction.'

[*The President.*]

[18TH MARCH, 1915.]

"I also received the following message from Field-Marshal Sir John French :—

'I am glad to be able to inform Your Excellency that the Indian troops under General Sir James Willcocks fought with great gallantry and marked success in the capture of Neuve Chapelle and subsequent fighting which took place on the 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th of this month. The fighting was very severe and the losses heavy, but nothing daunted them. Their tenacity, courage and endurance were admirable and worthy of the best traditions of the soldiers of India'

"I then sent the following telegram to General Sir James Willcocks :—

'I have just received from Field-Marshal Sir John French a telegram informing me of the great gallantry and marked success with which the Indian troops under your command fought in the capture of Neuve Chapelle and subsequent operations which took place on the 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th of this month.

'I shall be glad if you will be so good as to convey to the Indian troops on behalf of myself, the Commander-in-Chief, the Government and people of India our warm admiration of their gallant behaviour and our confidence that they will ever maintain before the enemy the best traditions of the Indian Army'

"Before the formal introduction of the proposed Bill to provide for special measures to secure the public safety and the defence of British India and for the more speedy trial of certain offences, I would like to address a few words to Hon'ble Members of my Council.

"In a speech that I made to you in this Council Chamber on the 12th January, I informed you of the desire of my Government that so far as might be possible the discussion of all controversial questions should be avoided during the course of the war. I pointed out that, in adopting this course, we should be following the example of the British Parliament where all political controversy has been suspended during the war, and where the leaders of the Opposition have refrained from any action which might tend to embarrass the Government. In consequence of this decision, my Government have deferred the consideration of a number of important measures of a more or less controversial nature already introduced in Council, as well as the introduction of other Bills. In maintaining this decision, my Government have been loyally assisted by Hon'ble Members, and I should like to take this opportunity of expressing my appreciation and gratitude for your attitude.

"In the Bill that is before you to-day, I do not attempt to disguise the fact that it is a measure that presents openings for controversy, and I would have been very pleased to think that we could have done without it, but we have felt that a precautionary measure of this nature has become necessary in order to ensure public peace and tranquillity. You will observe that it is a war measure, to last during the period of the war and for six months afterwards; that on enactment certain important clauses do not apply automatically to the whole of India, but only to those districts or provinces which upon the advice of Local Governments may be notified by the Governor General in Council. It rests with the people of India to decide how far it may be necessary to put those clauses into force. The fact that such a Bill has become necessary in India as a precautionary measure cannot be regarded as in any way a slur on the people, since it follows in general outline the Defence of the Realm Act passed in both Houses of Parliament and now in force in the United Kingdom, but in so far as trial by court martial is replaced by trial by special Commissioners is of a less drastic nature. Law-abiding England accepted this measure without a murmur, realising that in such a situation *salus populi suprema lex*. You may possibly ask what is the reason for this legislation. To that I would reply that there is cause for precautionary measures and for quickening up the procedure of justice. You may yourselves have heard rumours of attempts to disturb the public peace; I know that some of you have heard them; and although I do not want to go into details, you may take it from me that Government are in possession of information that proves conclusively that a precautionary measure of this kind is absolutely necessary to meet an emergency that may arise. There is no one in this land more jealous than I am of the honour of India and of the striking reputation for loyalty that India so rightly deserves, and I am not disposed to allow the honour and fair fame of India

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH; DEFENCE OF 473
INDIA (CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT) BILL.

[18TH MARCH, 1915.] [The President; Sir Reginald Craddock.]

to be tarnished by the criminal acts of a few ill-balanced minds at a moment when India's sons are shedding their blood on the battlefield for the King-Emperor and country.

"It is a fact that I might have elected to promulgate an Ordinance embodying the provisions of the Act that is before you, but for political and other reasons and in view of the fact that my Legislative Council is in session, I have preferred to take my Council into our confidence, to place the matter before you, and to invite your help and co-operation in enacting a measure so essential to the public weal, and I am confident that you will not refuse.

"I will now call upon Sir Reginald Craddock to move for leave to introduce the Bill."

DEFENCE OF INDIA (CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT)
BILL.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock :—"My Lord, I move for leave to introduce a Bill to provide for special measures to secure the public safety and the defence of British India and for the more speedy trial of certain offences

"As the Council is aware from the printed List of Business for to-day, I shall presently have to ask Your Lordship to suspend the rules of business so as to allow of this Bill being considered and passed at a single sitting of this Council, and it is therefore expedient that I should at once explain to the Council both the circumstances which have determined the Government to bring forward this measure and the nature and scope of the measure itself.

"In the first place, My Lord, it is a great tribute to the loyalty of India and the peaceful behaviour of the vast majority of her people that, while the British Government passed a Defence of the Realm Act at the outbreak of the war, we are now in India half way through the eighth month of the war before we have found it necessary to enact a similar measure in India, for, though under another name, it is really a Defence of the Realm Act to which we are to-day inviting the assent of the Council.

"The powers that we are now asking for are the powers which in our opinion are required for the purpose of securing the public safety and the defence of British India, and we require these powers only during the continuance of the war and for six months after,—that is to say, until the excitement and disturbance of the general calm, which the state of war engenders, have had time to subside. These powers are primarily required in the military interests of the country, since in ordinary times of peace it is unnecessary to arm the military authorities with such special powers for the protection of property of military value, and for the prevention of injury to such property, or to the interests of the Army generally as are required when the country is at war.

"So far as the internal situation is concerned, Your Excellency's policy has been throughout to preserve conditions in as normal a state as it was possible to do, and to keep the current of the administration of the country flowing in its ordinary tranquil channels; to take no action of any drastic kind until necessity for such action was plainly manifest. (That the Government consider that the present measure has now become necessary need cause no alarm to the country at large; apart from the military interests involved, it indicates nothing more than that there are in some parts of the country sporadic manifestations of disorder which require to be nipped in the bud lest they should grow and spread.) Just as we deal vigorously with early cases of a contagious disease lest the disease should become epidemic, so we must deal vigorously with the early manifestations of a turbulent spirit before they have had time to become epidemic.

[Sir Reginald Craddock.] [18TH MARCH, 1915.]

"This is the stage at which we are now. Certain disturbers of the general tranquillity in a few parts of the country have taken advantage of the opportunities which the state of war has created to break the peace. It is no news to the Council that there has existed for sometime past on the Pacific Coast of America, and in the Far East, a party of anarchists and revolutionaries who have been engaged in scattering revolutionary seed first among Indians in those countries, and secondly within India itself by private communications, by despatch of emissaries, and by the dissemination of anarchical and revolutionary literature. This party, which may be conveniently described as the Ghadar party, saw in the Great European War their best opportunity for attempting to translate their doctrines into action. Large numbers of deluded men intoxicated with this poison have been returning to India during the last few months, and though the Government of the Punjab have been able under a War Ordinance to put under restraint a number of the leaders of this movement among the returning emigrants and many others of them who appeared to be dangerous, yet the great majority about whom nothing was known were allowed to return to their homes, as the Government had no desire to be strict with possibly harmless people. But some of these, together with their sympathizers already in the country, have been committing or attempting to commit acts of violence, and it is therefore of the greatest importance that this mischief should be most promptly suppressed.

"Closely akin to this movement is the anarchist movement in Bengal. That we have had with us for a long time: sometimes it has been temporarily quiescent, and sometimes it has recrudesced, and at the present time there has, as the Council is aware, been a severe recrudescence, and the crimes committed have become increasingly daring. These two movements in the Punjab and Bengal are more closely connected than might be supposed. They may attract different kinds of followers and they may pursue slightly different methods; but their ultimate aims are the same, and the security of loyal India requires that they should be suppressed.

"Thirdly, we come to a class of disorder which has characterized recent disturbances in the Western Punjab. This is of a different kind and has no definite political object when it starts;—it is simply lawlessness, partly induced by economic unrest. Men break out against the restraints of the law to plunder their weaker neighbours, and if this lawlessness is unchecked, it soon assumes the aspect of rebellion against all constituted authority, or it may take on the complexion of racial or religious rioting. In some of the Western Punjab districts, indeed, it is rapidly becoming a movement among lawless Mohamedans, under the stress or pretext of high prices, to loot and plunder their Hindu neighbours, to wreck the shops and houses of banias and burn their bonds and books. Violent mobs of this kind rapidly swell in numbers; any success draws in fresh adherents, or produces imitators, and the danger may become a very serious one if it is not effectively dealt with at the very start.

"At a time of a war, like the present one, which has extended from Europe into Asia, there must always be wild rumours flying about, and potential disturbers of the peace may excite the people at large more easily than in ordinary times, calling to their aid economic unrest, or religious fanaticism. It is therefore particularly incumbent on the Government to take all precautions against breakers of the public tranquillity, or mischievous excitement of popular feeling.

"These, My Lord, are the causes which have led the Government to introduce this legislation. The disturbances have developed rapidly during the last few weeks, and power to check them, and to stamp out at once this lawless spirit has become a matter of great urgency. Hence it is that the Council are being asked to pass this measure at a single sitting.

"I will now turn, My Lord, to the measure itself. The first two sections of the Bill will come into force throughout British India at once, the remaining sections of the Bill only in those provinces or parts of the provinces to which they may be extended by the Governor General in Council.

"The first of these two sections refers only to the short title, duration and extent of the Act. The second section will give power to the Governor General in Council to make certain rules for the purpose of securing the public safety and the defence of British India, and particularises, without prejudice to the generality of this power, a number of specific purposes for which the power may be exercised.

"Section 2 is generally adopted from the English Defence of the Realm Act and the regulations which have been issued thereunder. Thus sub-clauses (a) and (b) very closely follow the corresponding provisions of the English Act, as also does sub-clause (c) read with Regulation No. 27, although the prevention of the promotion of feelings of enmity and hatred between different classes is more directly connected with the special circumstances of this country. Sub-clause (d), which enables measures to be taken to secure the safety of means of communication, of the usual municipal services, and of specified areas, deals again with one of the principal objects of the English Act, and the regulations under the latter extend to the taking of possession, the right of entry and the prevention of trespass, injury and approach to specified works. As an example of the wide powers assumed in England as to the taking possession of property and directing the disposal of property, which is covered by clause (e), we find English regulations enabling the removal and destruction of property to be ordered, and factories and workshops to be taken over. Sub-clause (f), which permits of control over the movements and acts of individuals, is paralleled by English regulations which allow of the removal of the inhabitants of whole areas as well as individuals, the direction to them to remain within doors within specified hours and to extinguish lights and the taking of census of private goods. After the enumeration of various specific powers one clause of the English regulations gives a general right to do any other act involving interference with private rights of property which is necessary to secure the public safety or the defence of the Realm. The control of explosives, inflammable substances, arms and all munitions of war, which is the subject of sub-clause (g), is very strictly controlled by the English regulations, and the preservation of discipline among His Majesty's Forces, which is dealt with in sub-clause (h), is naturally both in the English legislation and the Bill an important object of a war measure. Sub-clauses (i), (j) and (k) deal with the powers of search, arrest and prevention, and with the harbouring of offenders, and all have their English counterparts.

"The contravention of any of these rules, or of an order issued under the authority of these rules, is made punishable with imprisonment up to seven years and fine, and only if the intention of the person contravening the rule or authorised order was to assist the King's enemies, or to wage war against the King, will the offender be liable to the highest penalties that the ordinary law of the land allows. When the Empire is in a state of war, the rebellious subject and the alien enemy must necessarily fall within the same category.

"The Council will observe that offenders contravening these rules will (except where section 3 and the succeeding sections of this Bill are put into effect) be triable by the ordinary Courts and by the ordinary procedure.

"I will now turn to the third and following clauses of the Bill, which will only be in force where specially extended by the Governor General in Council. This prescribes a special tribunal of three Commissioners for the trial of acts which constitute offences under clause 2 of the Bill, as well as for other offences known to the existing law, which are punishable with death, transportation, or imprisonment for seven years, including conspiracy to commit such offences, or attempt or abetment of such offences. Sec.

"In connection with this specially constituted tribunal, I must draw the attention of the Council to the points in which we follow and the points on which we diverge from the method of trial provided by the English Act and the Regulations thereunder.

"In the first place, as Your Excellency has pointed out, in England all serious offences against the Regulations are triable only by courts martial and only minor offences may be relegated to courts of summary jurisdiction.

[*Sir Reginald Craddock; Lieut-Col. Raja Jai Chand.*] [18TH MARCH, 1915.]

In our new measure, as I have stated, special courts to deal with offences under the rules will only be constituted in special areas. In this, therefore, we are much milder than the Regulations which have been our model. Under our Bill (again only in those special areas), the jurisdiction of the Commissioners may be extended in cases of necessity to particular serious offenders, or particular classes of offenders under the ordinary law. This, it is true, has not been found necessary in England, because ordinary crime there has largely diminished, and the ordinary Courts are therefore easily able to deal with it. Nowhere in India, not even in areas specially notified, are we making offences triable by courts martial. We are indeed shortening the criminal procedure by dispensing with committal proceedings and by withdrawing the right of appeal; but in its substance the trial before the Commissioners will not differ materially from the trial before Magistrates and Sessions Judges. For a right of appeal, we substitute the safeguard of trial by a Court of three Commissioners, of whom at least two shall be persons who are judicial officers of experience, or are persons qualified under section 2 of the Indian High Courts Act for appointment as Judges of a High Court, or are advocates of a Chief Court or pleaders of ten years' standing. It is not intended anywhere to supersede the ordinary criminal courts in respect of the ordinary crime of the country; but merely to provide a speedy tribunal for particular cases, or cases of a particular class, with which the ordinary courts are unable to cope. The Judges of the Chief Court of the Punjab have themselves authorised the Lieutenant-Governor to say that, in the opinion of the Judges, the ordinary judicial machinery will not be equal to dealing with the heavy cases which the outbreak of lawlessness in parts of that Province has entailed. Furthermore, the greatest check upon the spread of crime of this kind is the prompt punishment of the offenders. It is only the procedure that we are shortening; the law of evidence is not affected, except in the one particular specified in clause 9, which finds a parallel in the Act of 1908. The Council will readily recognise that the ordinary machinery of law and order in this country is based upon the average volume of crime; when crime increases considerably, that machinery is strained; if the increase is still larger, the machinery may break down. Justice is proverbially slow, and the system which has grown up in this country by its nature interposes so large an interval between crime and its punishment that the ordinary procedure is quite unequal to the suppression of violent crime whenever crime threatens to become of an epidemic character.

"Although, therefore, the special procedure which is created by the Bill may extend to more offences than is the case in England, yet that procedure is in itself much less drastic than that adopted in England. It will extend only to limited areas and to limited cases in notified areas. Except for these limited cases in limited areas, the ordinary courts will continue to deal over the whole of India, with ordinary crime, including even such stray offences against the rules which may happen to be committed in other parts of the country. It will be obvious that no Local Government will wish to refer more cases to special Commissioners than is clearly necessary. If they were to swamp the special courts with cases, they would be frustrating the very objects of these special sections.

"I submit, My Lord, that this procedure in no way goes beyond the necessities of the case, and that no loyal and peaceful citizen need feel any alarm at the introduction of this legislation. If there is any alarm at all felt in this country, it is the alarm caused by the manifestations which I have already described, and the taking of any measure that may be calculated to secure the suppression of those manifestations is likely to diminish that alarm.

"I move for leave to introduce this Bill in the confident hope that it will receive the full support of this Council."

The Hon'ble Lieutenant-Colonel Raja Jai Chand:—
 "My Lord, I fully realise the necessity of this Bill and have not a single word to say against it. I accordingly support it with all my heart."

The Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis:— “ My Lord, I was glad to hear from Your Excellency this morning an account of the gallant deeds of our countrymen in the war. We are all proud of them and their loyalty to their King and Empire, and hope that they will continue to display the same heroism that they have hitherto shown and return back to this country with full laurels of victory

“ Coming to the Bill now before us, drastic though the proposed legislation is, I must support it. Exceptional circumstances justify extraordinary measures. In times of the utmost gravity to the whole Empire like the present considerations of individual rights have to be subordinated to the higher considerations of the good of the State. The greatest good of the largest number is the active utilitarian idea which underlies all legislation and all rules of ordered society. The Bill should be judged by this principle. The whole question is one of utility, of expediency; and Government must be in the best position to decide it. And when they deliberately come to the conclusion that the assumption of extraordinary powers is necessary, we may accept it as correct; we hold Government responsible for the peace of the country and for our safety, not only from foreign aggression, but from internal disorder. If for the due discharge of that responsibility larger powers be necessary, they cannot in fairness be withheld. It is possible, of course, to hold different views about the expediency of the particular measures suggested, but in view of the exceptional situation, it is, in my humble opinion, to our interest not to stand out for the methods that appear most agreeable to our personal ideas. I would accordingly support this legislation, although it means a serious, if not a dangerous, addition to the restrictive laws we have enacted during the past few years, subject to the modification as regards details suggested below. It must, however, be remembered that this is mainly a war measure based upon the peculiar circumstances of this country, and that in these times in the United Kingdom also special legislation of this kind has been found necessary. These all are points in favour of the Bill.

“ But, My Lord, it causes one a pang to think that such legislation has at all become necessary. When in September last I moved in this Council the resolution, expressing our unswerving loyalty to the Throne and our determination to participate in the cost of the war, little did I dream that the situation in any part of India would ever be so bad as to cause anxiety to Government. My Lord, only the other day we reiterated our protestations of loyalty in this very Council, and our sentiments were as genuine as earnest then as in September last. The whole country was with us on the second occasion as on the first. And yet before three weeks are out, disquieting reports have been received about the situation in certain parts of the country. I would fain distrust them, I would fain believe they are greatly exaggerated. But, My Lord, we are passing through critical times, and sentiment has to be put aside. If Government do err, it is much rather they should err now on the side of over-caution. Despite of my support to the Bill, I would, however, request Your Excellency to note that I do not for a moment concede that the great heart of the nation is anything but sound

“ My Lord, though I support the principle, yet I think that some amendments in some particulars are essentially necessary, and may be wisely made without detriment to its main object. I would recommend that in summary trials capital punishment should, as far as possible, be avoided whenever the object of Government can be served by imprisonment or transportation. It would have also been much better if the Government could have seen their way to eliminate from the Bill trial of certain minor offences regarding life and property now included in the Bill.

“ Another recommendation that I wanted to make was that the law should not have retrospective effect.

“ I would have pressed these amendments, but with the assurances given by Your Excellency this morning, it will ill-become me to press them. We were all glad to hear from Your Excellency this morning that there is no one more zealous to maintain the honour of India than yourself. Your Excellency's

past career has shown that you have been India's best friend, and I am sure that India's interests are safe in your hands.

"My Lord, the details of the Bill, apart from its principle, as I have already made it clear, has my support. We cannot forget that even after that dastardly attempt upon your life when Your Excellency suffered terrible agony, Your Excellency commanded that you would not like people to be harassed on suspicion only. This must bring home to the people that if this legislation is found necessary by Your Lordship, it is because the situation is quite exceptional, and should be treated in an exceptional way. We doubt not that this new law, as said by Your Excellency this morning, will be put into operation with as much care and thoughtfulness as the other repressive laws have been in Your Excellency's time. I hope my countrymen will also so conduct themselves as to enable the authorities to allow the law to remain a dead letter and to enable Government to withdraw the measure from the Statute-book as early as possible. My Lord, I regret the urgency of the measure prevents its being sent to Select Committee.

"With these few words, I beg to support the Bill."

The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoj :—"My Lord, I rise to support the Bill now before the Council. I do so, not that I particularly approve of drastic enactments and retrograde laws, much less that I like to see my countrymen deprived of the right of trial by the ordinary courts, or of their heritage—a trial by Jury. My Lord, the Bill has my support for the sole reason that I feel honestly convinced that at a moment of grave national crisis like the present one, political rights of the individual must give way. The one desire of every Indian is to help the Government to the fullest extent to prosecute this war to a victorious termination, and any support that this Bill may receive here to-day is, I am sure, the result of that sincere desire.

"I will not go so far as the noble Marquess of Lansdowne in his speech in the recent debate in the House of Lords, on Lord Parmoor's Bill to amend the Defence of the Realm Consolidation Act, in maintaining that I would be 'prepared rather to risk even an occasional miscarriage of justice', but I am entirely at one with his Lordship in thinking that emergency measures like the Bill now under discussion 'must involve some interference with the privileges to which the country attached the greatest importance and which it venerated and cherished very dearly, and that in times like these we must be prepared to part, if necessary, with some of these privileges for the public interest required it'.

"It might be argued that we are far from the seat of War. As a matter of fact we are. But it must not for a single moment be forgotten that the fortunes of Great Britain in this war are our fortunes, and this is a time, above all others, when it must be right that the troubles and anxieties of Government should be looked upon by my countrymen as their very own.

"My Lord, I have listened with deep interest to the lucid pronouncement just made by Your Excellency, and I hope I am indulging in no idle hyperbole in assuring Your Excellency that your cares and your worries are shared by all right-thinking Indians and have our unstinted sympathy. The gallant deeds of our Indian soldiers in the field and the willing sacrifice of their lives amply prove this.

"My Lord, I admit that sub-clause (1) (c) of clause 2 and clause 3 have occasioned in my mind no small measure of anxiety. They appear to my lay mind of far too sweeping a nature, but I feel confident that even at the moment of greatest emergency and excitement the Executive and, more especially, the Judiciary may be fully trusted to preserve a balanced and dispassionate mind and not to mix up purely civil offences, and that great care and the utmost hesitation will be exercised in putting these clauses into force where there is the remotest trace of the offence being of an essentially civil nature. Clause 3 appears to cover many common crimes which come at present within the purview of the Code of Criminal Procedure and the Indian Penal Code, but

I have full faith that under Your Excellency's argus eye none of these will be permitted to come under the scope of the Bill. Capital punishment also, especially in case of a difference of opinion among the Commissioners, appears unnecessary. The purpose of the Executive can be served by transportation of the accused. I do not think everything has been said or can be said of the reasons which have impelled Government to introduce this Bill, but I hope that, if without impairing the efficiency of the measure in the least, Government can in any way, modify the clauses likely to operate harshly on the people they will do so as of all things I should like to see the Government assured of the co-operation of the people in an unprecedented enactment of this nature. I give my support all the more willingly as we are assured that the Bill is to have currency during the continuance of the war and only for six months after.

"One word more and I am done. One dreadful thought has obsessed my mind all throughout yesterday and to-day. My Lord, I earnestly trust that this Act, in after days, will not be used against us as an argument by interested parties when the time for granting the promised concessions to India arrives. I view with dismay the opposition already presented in the House of Lords to the proposed concession of granting an Executive Council to the United Provinces. My Lord, your opening remarks have greatly relieved my anxiety, as Your Excellency assured us that this Act will in no way mar the good name of India, and we implicitly trust to Your Excellency's statesmanship to save us from that. With these few words I support the Bill."

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy:—"My Lord, I feel I should not give my silent vote in favour of this most unwelcome Bill, and yet I find it difficult to express my feelings adequately on this occasion. I am weighed down with an overpowering sense of duty, duty to my constituents and duty to Government. By my oath of fealty and allegiance I am bound to exercise all my influence and all my power for the promotion of considered schemes of legislation designed to strengthen the position of Government. At the same time I owe it to my constituents, I owe it to my beloved country that I should be watchful of the interests of the people as well, and not be a party to any measure which has the effect of interfering unnecessarily and to an inconvenient degree with their constitutional rights, rights secured to them by Royal Proclamation and despatches, and a long series of benevolent legislation. Ordinarily, there need be no conflict between the two interests, but occasions do arise at times when the faithful discharge of both the duties is a matter of exceptional difficulty. My Lord, the present is one of those occasions, and the action of a non-official Member is liable to be misconstrued.

"The Bill marks another stage, and a stage of grave moment, in repressive legislation. We have already a number of special Acts of this Council, more or less comprehensive in scope, which one would think sufficient for all executive purposes. Two of them, at any rate, the Indian Crimes Act of 1908 and the Indian Conspiracy Act of 1913, are of a drastic nature, and we have yet to learn that they have failed in their purpose. Another law on the top of them all, still more drastic and still more restrictive, certainly justifies a searching examination of the whole position, and the non-official Members of this Council would in ordinary circumstances have reason to hesitate to associate themselves with it. But the present is an exceptional situation. With war raging in Europe with the British Empire as a belligerent party much against her wish, and in view of the unscrupulous methods of the enemy, Government has got to be trusted about the expediency of exceptional legislation of a temporary character. My Lord, I do not feel myself competent to judge of the exigencies of the situation. Government has serious information which is necessarily withheld from the public, and if upon such information Government claims additional powers, I would not take upon myself the heavy responsibility of withholding my support. From the necessities of the position, the whole responsibility of the fresh legislation practically lies with Government, and the non-official Members share in it upon trust. We must confide in Government in the times of

[Mr. Dadabhoi.] [18TH MARCH, 1915.]

stress and emergency, we only act upon trust, in implicit faith and the purity of the motives and the judgment of Government, with the sole intention of maintaining Government in sufficient strength to deal adequately with the situation. It is stated that a new situation has been created in certain areas which cannot be promptly and effectively dealt with under the existing law. We do not know much about it ourselves even after the somewhat exhaustive statement made by Your Excellency and the Hon'ble Home Member, and we are not competent to form any decisive opinion one way or the other. We have not got here a Government like the one they have in England, and no legislative measure, however emergent, is passed by Parliament in such great hurry. But, as it is, we are ignorant of the true state of the facts, and this is not the time for speculation. I feel myself thus bound to accord my support to the general scheme of legislation proposed, in the belief, founded upon the official statement, that it is absolutely necessary in these exceptional times in the interests of law and order and for the good of the country.

"My Lord, my action on this occasion has another, and a more powerful, spring. We have had during Your Excellency's regime two legislative Acts of a repressive character, and the care with which they have so far been worked induces the hope that the proposed law will be enforced only when such enforcement becomes unavoidable. Your Excellency's presence at the head of affairs affords an ample guarantee that the large powers now assumed by the Executive will not be misapplied. My Lord, it is this conviction, it is this belief, that has influenced my vote to-day more than anything else.

"But all said, My Lord, the legislation cannot be agreeable to any Indian. I am glad as Your Excellency said to-day it will not be regarded as a slur on the people. It is a matter of melancholy reflection that, after our loyalty has evoked the admiration of the world, any of our countrymen should have been guilty of any conduct which has created in the country a serious situation, so much so that the responsible Government feel themselves powerless to cope with it satisfactorily except by an abnormal extension of powers and by the supersession, by a court of extraordinary jurisdiction, of the ordinary courts of law. But, my Lord, it is only human to err, and it is sincerely to be hoped that the errors of the few will not be visited upon the whole nation. In the hour of victory one can afford to be generous, and I fervently pray that when success has finally attended British arms and the war is over, this legislation will not be used to frustrate our legitimate hopes and aspirations.

"My Lord, I do not for obvious reasons subject the provisions of the Bill to a critical examination, but before I resume my seat I beg to point out some of the features of the Bill which appear to me unnecessarily severe. We must never forget that the court that will be constituted under the new law will be final, and have extremely summary powers. It is only fair therefore that its jurisdiction should be limited to only such offences as are likely to jeopardise the State. But a careful perusal of the Bill will show that almost all offences of a more or less serious nature, even though not having the least bearing upon the war or upon the conditions introduced by the war, will be triable by the Commissioners, in supersession of the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts. Offences like theft even, if aggravated by previous convictions, rape, dacoity, forgery, and defamation come within the purview of the proposed legislation. It may be that it is not intended that the law should be put into operation in such cases, but when there is the chance of its operation being so extended to offences which can be adequately dealt with by the ordinary courts, all principles of legislation justify the observance of greater strictness in drafting. Every enactment should express clearly and unambiguously the intention of the legislature, and every word in any provision must be taken to have been used deliberately. Clause 3, sub-clause (1) requires therefore considerable modification, with a view to prevent the Commissioners from assuming a jurisdiction which it is intended they should not have. Any assurance from Government that the operation of the law would be limited to particular offences or classes of offences will not cure

DEFENCE OF INDIA (CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT) BILL. 481
[18TH MARCH, 1915.] [*Mr. Dadabhoy; Mr. Abbott; Maharaja Manindra
Chandra Nandi; Mr. Ghuznavi.*]

the defect I have just pointed out. Surely, the ordinary courts cannot be supplanted by this extraordinary court.

“My Lord, I have a few small suggestions to make. In clause 2, sub-clause (1) (b), the intention of Government seems to be to prevent effectively all attempts at interference with recruiting for the Army and the Police, but the language is capable of a wider interpretation. There is nothing to prevent a man being tried by the Commissioners for advising any relation of his not to accept service under Government as clerk. This is obviously not the intention of the legislature. The dissuasion referred to in the clause must expressly relate to military service.

“I do not also think that powers of this extraordinary nature should be exercised by Sessions Judges of one year's standing. We must have more experienced men to do this sort of judicial work. It is an accepted principle of judicial administration that summary powers should be exercisable by officers of experience only. When the scope of the summary jurisdiction is extended reasons of prudence will counsel even a greater strictness in the matter of the qualification of the judicial officer. I accordingly suggest that Sessions Judges, of at least three years' standing only, should be eligible for appointment as Commissioners.

“Clause 5, sub-clause (2) provides for the contingency of disagreement in opinion among the Judges, but I submit that it should further be provided that, in the event of such disagreement taking place in the trial of any offence punishable with death, capital punishment must not be inflicted. In such cases at least the benefit of the doubt can be so far given to the accused as to prevent execution. The difference in opinion connotes the existence of a reasonable doubt about the guilt of the accused, and it is the barest justice to him that he should not undergo the extreme penalty of the law. Under the law as it stands at present, capital sentence passed by the most experienced Sessions Judge has to be confirmed by a High Court bench of two Judges, but the decision of the Commissioners is to be final in the Bill. It is therefore all the greater reason that some such safeguard as mentioned above should be put in. My Lord, I also pray that this Act should not have retrospective effect. At a later stage I shall propose some small necessary amendments. My Lord, I offer you our grateful thanks for placing this Bill in our hands a day before its introduction in this Council.”

The Hon'ble Mr. Abbott:—“I give this Bill my full and whole-hearted support, as I am satisfied that Your Excellency's advisors have just and sufficient reasons for bringing it before this Council. The time has now come for us, the non-official Members, to act up to the loyal resolution we all so heartily supported in September last.”

The Hon'ble Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi:—“My Lord, in view of the fact that this measure is intended to arm the Executive with certain special temporary emergency powers requisite to secure the public safety and the defence of British India, and that it will be in operation during the war and for a period of six months thereafter, I beg to support the Bill before the Council. I recognise that the Government have brought forward this measure to meet a grave emergency, and as such, it is entitled to our loyal support. My Lord, I have no doubt that the greatest care and caution will be taken in the actual application of this measure, and that it will subserve the special purposes for which it is being enacted.”

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi:—“My Lord, I have not the least hesitation in supporting the principle of the Bill which has just been introduced in this Council by the Hon'ble the Home Member. At the outset I desire to express my thanks to Government for having postponed the introduction of this Bill till to-day and for having given us an opportunity to acquaint ourselves with the contents of the Bill before we came into this Chamber this morning.

[*Mr. Ghuznavi.*] [18TH MARCH, 1915.]

If I am not mistaken the practice that prevails in England in the House of Commons at an emergency like this is to introduce a Bill in the House without previous circulation to the Members.

“ The advantage of the procedure, adopted in this instance I trust, will be fully borne out; for on reading section 1, clause 4, where it is stated that ‘ this Act shall be in force during the continuance of the present war and for a period of six months thereafter,’ ought to have the effect of inducing even those of our colleagues who are always ready to criticise any and every Government measure to give their unstinted support to a measure of this kind which at the very outset is purported to be only a temporary one. My Lord, we are in the throes of a most hideous and a terrible war. Ever since the dawn of civilisation, nay, even in pre-civilised times throughout the history of mankind there has never been a war such as this, which has demanded and is demanding an appalling toll of human life, and which has already had the effect of decimating in hundreds, thousands and tens of thousands the flower of civilised manhood in the heart of the boasted civilisation of the West. In this world-struggle our glorious Empire has been plunged and in this *guerre à la mort* England has had to unsheathe her sword in defence of honour and in the interest of a loftier civilisation against the barbarous hordes of the Germanii of the times of Julius Caesar. From all corners of our Empire our fellow citizens have marched forth in defence of England’s prestige and England’s cause. Nearly eight months have rolled by, yet the struggle goes on in terrible intensity and unparalleled ferocity, and no one is yet able to foreshadow the end. No one can therefore deny that the exigencies of the times are such that must call forth extraordinary measures. In England, the Defence of the Realm Act has already been passed, and it is only proper that here a similar measure should be taken and that without delay, and the Executive should be given more power to deal promptly and effectively with circumstances that may arise in the defence of India and the Empire at large.

“ Therefore, My Lord, I trust there will not be found a single member in this house who will hesitate a single moment in giving his whole-hearted support to a measure of this kind which has for its justification the needs of the hour in the defence of our realm.

“ My Lord, this Act seems to have, however, a twofold object, the first object being as I have already endeavoured to delineate, namely immediate measures that may be necessary owing to the exigencies of the war, and the second object being the stamping out of lawlessness, sedition and anarchy which have unfortunately found their way—may I say from the West—into this otherwise peaceful and peace-loving land of the East to tarnish the fair name of Hind. It should be a matter of extreme regret to all of us that this lawlessness instead of receiving a check from the repressive measures that have already had to be passed, is still growing apace and is still breaking out into various fantastic and undreamt of ways. Well I remember how we all regretted two years ago that during the very first session of this Council in the new Capital of India, this historic city of Delhi which is yet I hope destined to eclipse her former glories, it should have been found necessary to introduce another measure, I mean the Criminal Law Amendment Bill of 1913. During the passage of that Bill, while it met with unanimous support from the majority of all of us, it at the same time met with considerable opposition from one or two members, of whom at least one I am sorry to find is not present to-day. The opposers of that Bill at the time painted in glowing colours what the terrible effects of it would be, and to what an amount of abuse it would be put in the hands of the Executive, especially of the police who have always enjoyed the distinction of being the butt of a considerable amount of adverse criticism. When the police go out of the way and commit an abuse of their powers, I have ever been and always am ready to draw the attention of Government to their misdemeanours. At the same time, I would desire my friends who are habitually opposed to them to remember that they are officers of Government who have to carry their lives in their hands, and whose duties are about the most arduous that can be imagined. Robberies, dacoities, murders are constantly in the air, and it is a matter of great misfortune that a section of our people, how-

ever infinitesimally small, has become utterly irreconcilable and wedded to the idea that terrorism is the surest way to the progress of the country. I must therefore emphatically assert that amid terrorism liberty only dwindles, and liberalism is doomed to decline, and it behoves every man of education, every true lover of his country, to take his share in the fight against an evil which is small enough at present, but which if it were allowed to grow without being checked, its consequences will lead to most undesirable developments in the future. The recurrence of these deplorable crimes is certainly the greatest evil that confronts the party of Indian reform of to-day. The continuance of anarchical crimes is not less prejudicial to the people than to the Government. It is indeed doubly cursed for it hardens the Government and brutalises the people, and it leads to the gradual decline of liberalism, and it is injurious both to Government and the people. It affects the people perhaps far more adversely and prejudicially than the Government, and therefore it is the duty of our public men and of our public press to speak out and to stem as far as it lies in their power the course of this grave evil. Every one who has the real good of his country at heart must admit that the weapons which have been forged in the legislative armoury have not proved to be sufficiently effective in dealing with this evil. Criminals are apprehended, they are put on their trial, the trial is prolonged from months to years, and in the end the tax-payer's money is wasted, perhaps to no advantage at all. This is an aspect of the question which certainly deserves our careful attention and which certainly calls for some new kind of legislation which might stop this abuse. The country has just lost one of her greatest statesmen, I mean Gopal Krishna Gokhale. The policy which he always endeavoured throughout his career to follow is the policy which ought to commend itself to all our public men, and that policy was association *cum* opposition so far as Government was concerned. If the interests of his country and the interests of good government demanded that he should associate himself with Government in any measures, that association was always generous, frank and whole-hearted; but when the interests of his country and countrymen demanded that he should oppose the Government, that he should draw the attention of Government to an error into which the Government had fallen, then he never faltered for one moment in doing his duty to his country and in raising his voice in no uncertain manner so as to explain to Government where the error was; that, My Lord, in my humble opinion, is the policy which should commend itself to all lovers of our country. Criticism should always be constructive, for nothing is gained by destructive criticism except waste of our time and that of Government.

"In times of war criminals are tried by court martial. In this instance a special tribunal is proposed to be founded consisting of three Commissioners, of whom one is to be a non-official and must be an advocate or a pleader of ten years' standing. This is a safeguard which I heartily welcome. I would only say that with regard to this I wish to suggest that in clause 4 (3) the words 'at least' should be omitted so that in every special tribunal contemplated by this Act, there shall always be present a non-official well versed in law. There are other alterations which I should like to suggest. I would draw the attention of the Hon'ble the Home Member to clause 3 (1) where it says that 'any person accused of any offence punishable with death, transportation or imprisonment for a term which may extend to seven years' may be tried by this tribunal. My friend, the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy has already pointed out that if this is left as it is, it would mean that offences relating to counterfeiting of coins, voluntarily causing grievous hurt, kidnapping, abduction and mischief and many others of a similar kind will all come under the purview of this new tribunal. I would therefore suggest that offences triable by this special tribunal should be clearly defined.

"I should also like to support my Hon'ble friend, Mr. Dadabhoy, in his suggestion, namely that in clause 4 (3), where it is stated that 'All trials under this Act shall be held by three Commissioners, of whom at least two shall be persons who have served as Sessions Judges or Additional Sessions Judges for a period of one year,' in place of 'one year' at least 'three years' must be substituted.

[*Mr. Ghuznavi ; Rai Bahadur Sita Nath Ray ; Raja [18TH MARCH, 1915.]*
Kushalpal Singh ; Mr. Das.]

"In conclusion, My Lord, I should like to express the hope that better sense might yet prevail amongst the misguided ones in our country, and though this Bill may be enacted into law, that it may yet remain a dead letter. With these few words I give my whole-hearted support to the introduction of this Bill."

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Sita Nath Ray :—"My Lord, considering the gravity of the situation and the emergency which has arisen and the dacoities and murders which are being openly committed from day to day, in several parts of Bengal, and even in the streets of Calcutta, I feel no hesitation in giving my humble support to the Bill. I am sure that, under this Act, nothing will be done, no steps not absolutely necessary will be taken which may go to create alarm and stir up public feelings. Considering Your Excellency's broad sympathies, and how jealous Your Excellency has always been not to take any action which may go to cast a slur upon the admitted loyalty of my countrymen and upon the fair name and reputation of India, I am sure that the Act will not be put into operation everywhere and anywhere and unless it becomes absolutely necessary. With these few words, I beg to give my humble support to the Bill."

The Hon'ble Raja Kushalpal Singh :—"My Lord, on behalf of the large landholders of the province of Agra, whom I have the honour to represent on this Council, I beg to give my cordial support to this Bill in all its essential features. The speech of the Hon'ble the Home Member leaves no doubt in my mind that effective action of the kind proposed by the Bill is imperatively needed at the present juncture. In the present grave situation which has arisen in some parts of the country it is our bounden duty to lend every assistance in our power towards the suppression of anarchy, violence and sedition. For exceptional circumstances, exceptional remedies are required and are permissible. In view of the serious actually existing evil, the extraordinary powers asked for by the Executive cannot be withheld.

"Nobody can deny that exceptional times like the present necessitates the adoption of a more summary procedure and sharper methods than what are suitable for ordinary times. We have the precedent of the English Defence of the Realm Act.

"I sincerely hope and trust that these measures will effectually extirpate sedition and the anarchist propaganda, and that ere long the atrocious acts of lawlessness described by the Hon'ble the Home Member will become things of the past and be nothing more than matter for history."

The Hon'ble Mr. Das :—"My Lord, we passed the other day a unanimous resolution, which was intended to be communicated to His Gracious Majesty, in which we gave expression to the determination of the immense population of this country to secure success in the war at any sacrifice, and Your Excellency was pleased to communicate to this Council to-day the fact that this resolution was communicated to His Majesty and read by him with pleasure. We have also just received the news from Your Excellency that the Indian troops are behaving in a manner at the front which has won for them the admiration and praise of European officers. It is really very painful, My Lord, that, at a time like this, this Council should have been under the necessity of passing a Bill which is of an emergent character and which has been demanded on account of the gravity of the situation, the nature of which is known to Government.

"Those people who at a time like this do anything which casts a slur on the loyalty, the past history and the traditions of the Indians are to be considered as the worst of miscreants and in my opinion no drastic measure ought to be considered as too severe for them. There is also, no doubt, from what has transpired these last few years, that there is a class of men who are gather-

ing numbers round them, growing in numerical strength and perhaps in influence too. A measure of this nature, as is before the Council, a measure of this character ought not to be considered from our point of view only, but it has also to be looked at from the point of view of that class of men whom I can best call our enemies. From the fact that this class is growing by converts from peaceful citizens and they are using their influence to increase their number, anything in a measure of a legislative character which is ambiguous or which is of such a nature as would give them an opportunity to make people believe that this Government is of an arbitrary character would be an instrument in their hands, which they would use to their advantage. I have looked at the Bill from that point of view; and while I consider it my duty to give my whole-hearted support to the Bill, I should like the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Bill to look at it or certain portions of the Bill from this point of view and see whether it is not likely to be an instrument in the hands of our enemies and used by them as evidence of the arbitrary power of the Government. One section provides that this special Tribunal will try offences which are tried in the ordinary courts and are punishable under the Penal Code. I find that there is a provision for cases in which punishment is ten years rigorous imprisonment and there may be cases of criminal breach of property or ordinary cases of arson, and yet at the same time I find that this clause does not include cases of rioting which are more likely to have a political aspect; consequently, the section ambiguously or carelessly worded as it stands would be considered by our enemies as an instance of Government's object to have an arbitrary power in regard to ordinary offences which are ordinarily triable in the ordinary courts. Another instance to which the attention of Your Lordship has already been drawn is that the judge should be one of longer experience than one year, and also that capital punishment should not be awarded in cases when there is any doubt. But in the circumstances, as I consider that no punishment could be too severe for these men and as we have full faith and confidence that under Your Excellency's Government this Act will never be used in such a way as really to bring under its purview men who are really friends and loyal subjects of the Empire, I do not consider it necessary to repeat amendments which have been made. I do really hope that the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Bill will take into consideration this fact as to whether section 3 might not be amended so as to give no occasion to our enemies to consider it as evidence of the arbitrary power of the Government and at the same time it should include those cases of rioting which are liable to have a political aspect attached to them.

"With these words, My Lord, I give my whole-hearted support to the Bill."

The Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee.—"My Lord, I have listened with attention, I may add with respectful attention, to the speech of the Hon'ble Member in charge of this Bill and to the speeches that subsequently followed, including the lecture which my Hon'ble friend to the left* read to our public men who are members of this Council. I will say this that I am not convinced as regards several of the provisions in the Bill, which to my mind do not seem to be justified by the exigencies of the country or by naval and military considerations. My Lord, we have been told, and I accept the statement in an unqualified form, we have been told that the situation in the Punjab is grave and the situation in Bengal also is serious, though perhaps not to the same extent. The object of the Bill is to improve the situation. The end is one which will commend itself to all, no matter to what school of politics he may belong, for we know that order—stable order—is the fundamental condition of all real progress. But when we come to consider the means to be devised for the purpose of attaining this object differences of opinion arise. My Lord, I say at once that so far as the provisions of the Bill are concerned arising out of the war and relating to naval and military considerations, it is the duty of every patriotic Indian to accord to them his whole-hearted support, and I am sure that this will be the sense of the country.

* The Hon'ble Mr. Ghumavi.

[*Mr. Banerjee.*] [18TH MARCH, 1916.]

" But, My Lord, the Bill traverses ground beyond military and naval considerations, raises issues of a highly controversial character in regard to which many of us will not be able to see eye to eye with the Government. It has been stated by the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Bill that it is framed upon the English Act. Well, in many respects it traverses beyond the English Act, and I will mention one or two points. I am not considering the sections in detail, but section 2 creates an offence which is not to be found anywhere in the English Act, namely, promoting feelings of enmity and hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects. That is altogether new in this Bill; it is nowhere to be found in the English Act, and I think the Hon'ble Member in charge recognises the fact.

" Then, My Lord, there is section 3 which creates a particular tribunal and lays down specifically the offences which are to be tried by that tribunal.

" My Hon'ble friend in charge of the Bill has said that the tribunal in England is the court martial: here the tribunal is to be a Commission to be constituted by the Local Government. Undoubtedly the provisions of the English Act as regards this matter are far more drastic than the provisions of the Bill that is before us. But, My Lord, an amendment was moved in the House of Lords the other day—and I believe the underlying principle of it was accepted by the Lord Chancellor and the Government,—under the terms of which, when members of the civil population would be affected, they would have the right of claiming trial by a civil court and by a jury. But what I desire to point out is this, that it is only specific offences that are covered by the English Act, whereas we have a large number of offences under the head of Public Safety included in the Indian Penal Code which find a place here and which are to be tried in a summary fashion by a specially constituted tribunal.

" Therefore, My Lord, the contention that this Bill is framed upon the basis and the model of the English Act is only correct in a qualified sense. It is far more comprehensive than the English Act, and because it is so, I fear there will be a great deal of agitation and controversy in the country regarding its provisions.

" My Lord, reference has been made to the growth of anarchism in Bengal, to the recrudescence of crimes of violence in our province. My Lord, we, the educated community of Bengal and the leaders of the moderate party, hold anarchism in absolute horror and detestation, and we are doing what we can to put it down so far as it lies in our power. On the 13th of this month we held a Conference in the rooms of the British Indian Association, presided over by the Maharaja of Burdwan and attended by many men of light and leading, including a European gentleman who is the principal of an important college in Calcutta. My Lord, it was the unanimous sense of that Conference that restrictive measures would not be suitable, and that they would aggravate the situation. My Lord, that is the deliberate judgment of the people of Bengal. We feel that the effect of restrictive measures in Bengal would be to add to the uneasiness of the community and perhaps help the breakers of the law, who would welcome them. What is needed is not new legislation, but greater efficiency in the police. I freely admit that the efficiency of the police has been added to and improved in recent years, but a great deal more remains to be done. My Lord, it is the immunity of the offenders and the helplessness of the community who are defenceless and unarmed, that encourage these breakers of the law in the perpetration of their foul deeds. I may remind the Members of this Council that there was a formidable conspiracy soon after the outbreak of Fenianism in London, the object of which was to blow up the public buildings with dynamite. In one year's time the London police shadowed every conspirator, hunted down the gang and the country was purged of the scourge. Of course I know India is not England, but still, what we feel is that if the Government is to deal with the outward symptoms of these unhappy developments the efficiency of the police has to be greatly improved. With regard to the root causes, My Lord, they have to be dealt with in that spirit of conciliatory statesmanship for which Your Excellency's Government has obtained a name and fame.

“ My Lord, I feel that in this matter the Government should have proceeded by Ordinance. Your Excellency was pleased to refer to this matter in the course of your speech. We of course bow to Your Excellency's decision, but what some of us felt, what I at least felt, was this, that in this matter the Government could not admit us into their fullest confidence, that they could not perhaps disclose to us, in all their details, the information upon which their judgment was based, and that therefore it was impossible for us to record an intelligent vote. That being so, I felt that it was the clear duty of the Government to have assumed the entire responsibility of these measures by issuing an Ordinance. However that may be, My Lord, we are grateful to Your Excellency for the assurance which Your Excellency has given us to-day, that the crimes of a few fanatics, and this law which Your Excellency's Government thinks necessary to enact for their prevention, will not be regarded as a slur upon our loyalty. I hope and trust that this measure will in practical operation be administered with moderation and self-restraint. I hope and trust that it will not be a weapon in the hands of the enemies of Indian advancement for the purpose of blasting those prospects and frustrating those hopes which have been roused in our hearts by the loyal devotion of our countrymen consecrated by their blood on the battlefields of Europe. For the faults of a few fanatics the millions of our countrymen who are loyal to the core of their hearts should not suffer.”

The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola:—“ My Lord, I think Your Excellency will have, with your great gifts, realised the prevailing sentiment amongst the non-official members of this Council in regard to this Bill. That sentiment, Your Excellency, is unanimous in offering to cooperate and assist in the passing of any legislation which Government may regard to be necessary, under present conditions, and I am sure you will appreciate from the views to which non-official members have given expression, how whole-hearted they are in their support of a measure to deal with the prevailing condition of the war. However, we may disguise it, it is painful to reflect that any occasion for legislation of this character should have arisen and that Government should have considered it necessary to bring it forward for the approval of this Council. There is one thing, however, which has clearly come out of the debate that has taken place, and that is that while wholeheartedly in favour of any legislative measure which may be considered necessary by Government to meet existing circumstances in different provinces, the non-official members feel that the provisions of the Bill need some alteration and amendment.

“ It is stated in the Statement of Objects and Reasons that this Bill deals with two distinct classes of cases. The first is in regard to all military and naval matters, or, more distinctly speaking, all matters in connection with the war. Not only the non-official members of this Council, but, I venture to think, the whole of the people of this country are willing to arm Government with all executive powers by legislation which may be considered necessary to meet the naval and military circumstances of the case. The Bill, however, essays to go a little further than that and it deals with certain things other than can be directly brought under the designation of 'war measures.' Even in regard to that part of the Bill there is a concensus of opinion to support Government, to enable them to deal with what the Hon'ble the Home Member referred to, namely, the special circumstances prevailing in the Punjab and in Bengal, but restricted to the lawlessness in the one case and dacoities in the other. If this measure was restricted to all matters in connection with the war and also in regard to the lawlessness in the Punjab and the dacoities in Bengal, I think the whole Council would be practically unanimous in supporting Government and when I see that that is the whole object with which this legislation is introduced, according to the lucid explanation which Your Excellency graciously supplied to the Council, and the speech which the Hon'ble the Home Member has made, it appears to me that, so far as the principle underlying this legislation is concerned, there is no real difference of opinion. It appears to me however, that, in giving effect to the intention which Government have in view in legislating in these two directions, the wording actually employed

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goes much beyond it, and it is with some feeling of apprehension that I regard the all comprehensive character of the provisions which are embodied in the Bill. Your Excellency will observe that the first part of clause 3, sub-section (1), deals with matters relating to the war, while the second part is worded as follows:—

‘Or accused of any offence punishable with death, transportation or imprisonment for a term which may extend to seven years, or of criminal conspiracy to commit, or of abetting, or of attempting to commit or abet any such offence shall be tried by Commissioners appointed under this Act.’

“Your Excellency can appreciate that there are grounds to apprehend that powers conceded in words so wide and comprehensive may be exercised in matters other than those for which the present legislation is being enacted, and the reason why we consider it necessary to restrict the terms of the Bill specifically to the objects with which it is undertaken

“The preamble to the legislation says:—

‘Whereas owing to the existing state of war, it is expedient to provide for special measures to secure the public safety and the defence of British India and for the more speedy trial of certain offences’

“The objects of this Bill are here clearly indicated. I have already pointed out, that so far as special measures to secure public safety and the defence of the British Empire are concerned, there is absolute unanimity in this Council. Then as regards the more speedy trial of certain offences, offences which have been indicated by the Hon’ble the Home Member in his speech, there is also a practical unanimity. If that is so, Your Excellency, may I venture to suggest that the wording of the measure be restricted to what Government themselves desire, instead of employing such comprehensive terms as to embrace all such offences as ought to be allowed to be tried in the ordinary procedure of the existing law courts. Your Excellency, though the principle underlying this Bill has been whole heartedly supported, it has been clearly pointed out by many members that there are certain provisions of the Bill which go much beyond the intention with which this legislation has been brought forward. If that is so, I do not know whether it would not be desirable to ask the Hon’ble Member to consider whether he would not agree to so modify the provisions of this Bill as to restrict their application to offences contemplated by Government, and thereby ensure the unanimous opinion of this Council in favour of the measure.

“Sir, it need hardly be said that offenders coming either under the first part of this Bill dealing with the war, or those who fall within the second classification, namely, who are responsible for organized lawlessness and dacoities, can have no sympathy from any quarter whatsoever, and it appears to me that if there is any justification for an emergency measure to be carried at one sitting in this Council, it can only be supplied by the fact that the requirements of peace and order require summary treatment in the trial of special and extraordinary offences. I do not think that it would be justifiable to provide in such special legislation for any class of offences which ought ordinarily to be brought before the existing law courts.

“As I have already said, I wish to associate myself with my Hon’ble Colleagues in supporting the principle of the measure, the object of which is to provide additional powers to the Executive Government for the purpose of dealing with the situation. I do hope that armed with the special powers which the present legislation, with such amendments as may be made, will confer upon Government, they will be able to prevent the lawlessness in the Punjab from assuming epidemic form. I need hardly assure Your Excellency that the people of India heartily desire to co-operate with Government in their efforts to promote the cause of peace and order.”

The Hon’ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—“My Lord, in the course of the remarks which Your Excellency was pleased to make at the beginning of this debate, you were pleased to tell us that the measure before the Council is a war measure, and you were also further pleased to assure us that no slur would be cast on the fair name of India by the passing of this measure. In spite of this assurance

from Your Excellency, some fears have been expressed that the passing of such a measure as is before the Council may throw a sort of reflection upon the loyalty of the people of India in general. I have no such fear. I am certain, My Lord, that the misguided action of a few young men or old men, whoever they may be, will not, cannot, weigh in the balance against the deliberate, deep-seated and pervading loyalty of the people of India throughout this crisis. Hopes have also been expressed that, when the crisis is over, the good that has been done by Indians will be remembered and the evil perpetrated by a few will be forgotten. I do hope it will be so. But I think, My Lord, that at this juncture neither fears nor hopes should guide our action. I would 'trust no future, howe'er pleasant,' would 'let the dead past bury its dead,' 'act firm in the living present, heart within, and God o'er head.' The living present demands from us that in the exceptional circumstances which have been created by the war, we should lend our loyal support to the Government in adopting every measure which is necessary in order to prevent and crush mutinous acts, to preserve public peace and to protect the civil population, the law-abiding people, from the evils of the misguided action of a few ill-balanced minds. We are all agreed, as the debate has shown, to the principle of the measure so far as it is needed by the exigencies of the situation for securing the public safety and the defence of the realm. But, My Lord, while it is the duty of us, non-official as much as official members of the Council, of rendering support to the Government in the emergency measure which they find, in the special circumstances of the country, necessary to enact, it is also the duty of the Government strictly to limit the measure to the requirements of the situation. Mention has been made of the fact that the Defence of the Realm Act received the unanimous support of both parties in the House of Commons and throughout the country in England. It rightly did so, because the provisions of the Defence of the Realm Act were studiously confined to the requirements of the situation created by the war. I am sorry to say, My Lord—I say it with much regret, but I feel it my duty to say so—that in framing the Bill which is before the Council the advisers of the Government have not confined themselves to the requirements of the situation. I am sorry to say, as many previous speakers have pointed out, that the framers of the Bill have travelled much beyond the requirements of the situation; and this, My Lord, is the reason of the dissentient voices which have been mingled in the speeches made before Your Excellency in offering support to the principle of the Bill. My Lord, I will make my meaning clear. In the Defence of the Realm Act it is laid down that 'His Majesty in Council has power, during the continuance of the present war, to issue regulations as to the powers and duties of the Admiralty and Army Council, and of the members of His Majesty's forces, and other persons acting in his behalf, for securing the public safety and the defence of the realm; and may, by such regulations, authorise the trial by courts martial and punishment of persons contravening any of the provisions of such regulations designed—

- (a) to prevent persons communicating with the enemy or obtaining information for that purpose, or any purpose calculated to jeopardise the success of the operations of any of His Majesty's forces, or to assist the enemy; or (and this was added by a subsequent Act) to prevent the spread of reports likely to cause disaffection or alarm
- (b) to secure the safety of any means of communication, or of railways, docks, or harbours; or of any area which may be proclaimed by the Admiralty or Army Council to be an area which it is necessary to safeguard in the interests of the training or concentration of any of His Majesty's forces;

in like manner, as if such persons were subject to military law, and had on active service committed an offence under section 5 of the Army Act; and may by such regulations also provide for the suspension of any restrictions on the acquisition or user of land, or the exercise of the power of making byelaws, or any other power under the Defence Acts, 1842 to 1875, etc.'

"Now, Your Excellency will be pleased to note that the entire power which is given by the Defence of the Realm Acts, 1 and 2, is confined to enabling

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the Admiralty or the Army Council to deal with cases where the public safety or the defence of the realm may be endangered and to enable them to remove restrictions on the acquisition or user of land which may be needed for military and naval purposes.

"My Lord, the Bill before us goes, as I have submitted, much beyond the provisions of that Act. I have no doubt not seen the regulations which have been framed under those Acts. Last evening I requested the Hon'ble the Home Member—I hope he will pardon my mentioning it—for a copy of these regulations, but he could not spare it. I quite understand that he could not, and I do not complain of it. I wrote this morning to the Hon'ble the Secretary to the Legislative Department (who, I was told by the Hon'ble the Home Member, had a copy of the regulations) asking for it, but he, too, said he could not spare it. Now, My Lord, we are in this position, that a copy of the Bill was given to us during the course of another debate here yesterday. We have not been given a copy of the regulations on which we are told this Bill has been modelled to enable us to arrive at a judgment in regard to the provisions incorporated in the Bill. And we must, therefore, act according to the light which is within us. I feel that the regulations which have been made under the Defence of the Realm Act cannot go beyond the clear provisions of that Act, and judging from the clearly defined and strictly limited provisions of that Act, we think that the provisions embodied in the Bill before us go much beyond them. If, therefore, My Lord, there is this general note in the speeches of non-official members to-day of a desire to see changes introduced in the Bill, and to have a discussion regarding some of its provisions, I hope it will not be set down to any reprehensible wish on the part of the non-official members, or of those who have raised a dissentient voice or asked for some modification, to unnecessarily oppose the Government. In the special circumstances in which the Bill has been introduced, we are all united in rendering our dutiful support to the Government in all that is needed for the exigencies of the war. But we feel it our duty as well to the Government as to the public to request the Government to strictly confine the provisions of the proposed law to the needs of the situation,—and not to allow, under the garb of a war measure, provisions to be enacted which are not required by the situation and are likely unnecessarily to disturb the public mind.

"My Lord, there are a few points to which I will invite Your Lordship's attention. Beginning with the Hon'ble Raja Jai Chand and the Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis, and ending with the last speaker, if I am not mistaken, every speaker has asked that certain provisions should be revised.

"The criticism may be classified under three heads: the scope of the measure, the constitution of the special tribunals proposed, and the punishments to be inflicted in certain cases. As regards its scope, attention has been drawn to a provision which has been incorporated in section 3 of the Bill, by means of which any person accused of any offence punishable with death, transportation or imprisonment for a term which may extend to seven years, has been brought under the purview of the present Act. Now, that practically abolishes the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code for the trial of these ordinary offences. The Hon'ble the Home Member stated that it is not intended, and I do hope it is not intended, that the ordinary law should be superseded for the trial of ordinary offences. How, then, has this very important provision crept into the Bill, or has been allowed to come into the Bill, which does in clear words supersede the ordinary law for the trial of ordinary offences?

"In other respects also the Bill has been extended beyond the needs of the situation, as some other members have pointed out. I may draw attention to one other such provision. Under the English Act, as I have already said, the King in Council may make regulations, among other purposes, 'to prevent the spread of reports likely to cause disaffection or alarm.' In the Bill before us rules may be made to 'prevent the spread of false reports or reports likely to cause disaffection or alarm.' The words 'false reports' have been put in. Now, My Lord, in this country, with a population so ignorant as it unfortunately generally is—with the people not trained to such a degree as to be able to discriminate between what reports should be repeated and what reports should

not be repeated, a provision like this is likely to cause trouble and may possibly lead to injustice. I hope the Hon'ble the Home Member will explain to us why it was necessary, having the precedent of the English Act before us, to introduce the words 'false reports' into this Act. So much as regards the scope of the measure.

"The second point of difference which arises from the debate is the constitution of the tribunals which are to be constituted under the Act. It has been said on behalf of Government that the provision of special tribunals of three Commissioners is a much better measure than leaving Courts Martial to deal with persons to be tried under the Act. That, My Lord, is only one aspect of the question. The other aspect is that Courts Martial could not possibly be expected or called upon to deal with the numerous offences which have been brought under the purview of this Act and made punishable under it, and therefore the framers of the Act found it necessary to provide for special tribunals of Commissioners appointed under the Act. There is reason, My Lord, in support of the view that there is no clear necessity or justification for creating special tribunals of the kind proposed by the Bill, and that special benches, constituted under the provisions of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908, would have inspired more confidence and ensured a more satisfactory administration of justice. The constitution of the tribunals proposed under the Bill is only in one respect, but in a material respect, different from the constitution of the tribunals under the Act of 1908 to which I have referred. Under the Bill at least two of the Commissioners may be of much less experience than a Judge of the High Court, who alone can constitute a Special Bench of three Judges under the Act of 1908. Your Lordship will please note that several Members have expressed the opinion that it would not be right to allow Sessions Judges or Additional Sessions Judges who have served only one year as such to be members of the special tribunals which would deal with special offences under a special and somewhat summary procedure. That much with regard to the constitution.

"The third point to which attention has been drawn is the punishment of death provided for certain cases. A sentence of death may be a proper sentence in certain cases, and no one may object to this punishment being inflicted under certain circumstances upon those who conspire against the King. But when a summary procedure is prescribed for the trial of such cases, it does seem to be a matter for consideration whether a sentence of death should not be omitted from the category of punishments provided in such cases. Section 2 (2) of the Bill says—

Rules made under this section may provide that any contravention thereof or of any order issued under the authority of any such rule shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to seven years, or with fine, or with both, or if the intention of the person so contravening any such rule or order is to assist the King's enemies or to wage war against the King, may provide that such contravention shall be punishable with death, transportation for life or imprisonment for a term which may extend to ten years, to any of which punishments fine may be added.

"Now, My Lord, to my mind it is questionable—I may be wrong, I speak subject to correction—whether a person proved guilty of contravening any of the rules made under this section, even with the intention of waging war against the King, should not be regarded as a person deserving of worse treatment than a man who has been openly fighting against the King's forces. A prisoner taken in war is not shot down—not by our Government at any rate, and I thank God he is not. A prisoner taken in war is interned, and will not the ends of public safety and of justice be fully met if an offender of the type we are considering is so interned, or transported for life, or imprisoned for any term which the Court may think proper. My Lord, there is always a danger of irrevocable injustice in the case of a death sentence. Such danger is enhanced where the trial is more or less of a summary character. I may refer here to the Pansey murder case, in which a man was ordered to be hanged by the High Court of Madras, but was acquitted by their Lordships of the Privy Council—a case in which my friend Mr. Eardley Norton rendered memorable service to the cause of justice. There is also another case, the Mahta

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case of Manbhun, where a person who had been sentenced to be hanged by the neck until he was dead, and whose conviction had been upheld by the High Court, and whose appeal to the Local Government and the Government of India for mercy had been refused, was yet saved from the gallows by the truth being disclosed by the very person in whose interest he had been convicted and condemned. These, My Lord, are cases which have occurred in this country. In the House of Commons Lord Parmoor referred to the case of the German Consul at Sunderland, who had been tried for high treason before a Judge and Jury and convicted and sentenced to death, and in whose case the Lord Chief Justice and other Judges had found unanimously that the crime had not been proved. These cases afford us some guide and ought to make us pause to think whether in summary trials it would be right to allow sentences of death to be passed when in such cases the injustice that may be done must be irretrievable.

"These are some of the points which have been troubling my Honourable friends who have spoken before me, and these are the points which have troubled me also. The result is that while we give our loyal support to the measure as a war measure, in so far as it is necessary to meet the exigencies of the war, we request Government to be pleased to have the measure thoroughly considered in order that those provisions which are not necessary should be taken out of it. My Lord, I see from the Agenda paper of the business before the Council to-day, that it is proposed to ask for leave to have this measure passed to-day. Yesterday we made a representation to the Hon'ble the Home Member that the measure might be referred to a Select Committee in order that it should be there discussed and that points of difference may be better appreciated and understood. I hope that the request will meet with Your Excellency's approval and with the acceptance of the Government, and that an opportunity will be given to the representatives of Government and the representatives of the people to sit down together to retain as much of the measure as is needed, and as much as it is our duty to support at this juncture in view of the war, and to remove such provisions as do not seem to be called for by the exigencies of the situation.

"With these words, My Lord, I give my support to the principle of the Bill, and I hope that the Bill will be referred to a Select Committee and not passed in its present form."

The Hon'ble Raja Abu Jafar :—"My Lord, it is obvious that the present state of affairs has rendered it necessary to provide for emergency measures, and the Bill brought before the Council to-day is one of them. Considering the unusual state of things which has been brought about by the present war, no reasonable person will oppose the principle of this Bill (though there is some difference of opinion as to some of its details). There was not sufficient time for us to think over the details of the Bill in the usual manner, but the Government cannot be reasonably expected to observe the ordinary rules of legislation on such an extraordinary occasion. I believe there are circumstances that justify such a measure. I have full confidence in the Government taking this action, and I trust that the powers provided by the Act will not be misused by the authorities entrusted therewith, and its application to the civil population would be made with the utmost caution and deliberation.

"It is clear from the provisions of the Bill that it is only a temporary measure taken as a precaution against the exigencies of the existing war, and it will cease to have effect six months after the termination of the war.

"Taking into consideration the emergency of the situation and the limited duration of the measure, I think myself quite justified in giving my whole-hearted support to it."

The Hon'ble Raja Sir Muhammad Ali Muhammad Khan :—"My Lord, I submit my grateful thanks to you for the manner in which you have given expression to your feelings towards my country and my

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countrymen. This is not a Bill that could enlist the support of any Indian in normal times I personally would regard it as a great misfortune if its provisions were considered necessary in ordinary times for governing a loyal and peaceful country like India, for the provisions contained in the Bill are subversive of the wise and beneficent methods of administration with which British rule is associated. It is a serious matter, My Lord, to supersede the ordinary judiciary of the country and to introduce sudden and revolutionary changes in the criminal law of the country without consulting the people. The Bill is highly drastic, and were it not that we are going through critical and abnormal times, and that the proposed legislation is put forward as an exceptional and temporary measure, I would have certainly opposed its passage through this Council. In the peculiar circumstances, however, of the position of the Empire, I recognise that it is not open to us to offer any opposition to the principle of the Bill; but I am gratified that our consent will not be regarded here or in England as an admission that India is disloyal or even lukewarm, for nothing can be more untrue to the real facts. My Lord, I refrain from opposing the principle of the Bill, because our Viceroy, who is beloved and trusted by the Indians and who has unstinted confidence in them, has considered it essential to put forward the Bill as a war measure and a war measure only. My Lord, it is to be hoped that the Empire will soon emerge from this struggle and that the Statute-book will not suffer for long from the disfigurement which this legislation will inflict upon it. I also sincerely trust, since the Bill can obviously be a double-edged weapon, that Your Excellency's Government will use the utmost care and vigilance to guard against any misuse of its provisions by the local authorities concerned. I also appeal to the Hon'ble Mover that he would give sympathetic consideration to the points raised by many Hon'ble non-official Members."

The Hon'ble Maung Mye :—"My Lord, speaking on behalf of the people of Burma, I beg to give my full and hearty support to the Bill."

The Hon'ble Mr. Rayanigar :—"My Lord, I sincerely support the Bill in all its essential features, however much I may regret the circumstances which necessitate its introduction. Though we cannot have an exact idea of the real situation, we have the fullest confidence in Your Excellency's Government and when the Government finds itself unable to cope with the situation, we must co-operate with it in strengthening its hands. My Lord, in a crisis like the present, we may, by showing any reluctance on our part in supporting the measure, be doing more harm than good to our interests. We want peace and order, and if for the maintenance of peace and order an emergency measure is required, we cannot but adopt it. That is the consideration, My Lord, which underlies our vote to-day. We are taking upon ourselves a serious responsibility; our people's interests are in our hands, and when we support the Government in this new measure, we do so in the fervent hope that the new law would be put into operation in as few cases as possible, and that under the pressure of extreme necessity. My Lord, I think the Bill requires modification in a few particulars. I think that the provision which gives retrospective effect to the law is unnecessary. I am also of opinion that capital punishment, except in extreme cases, is too much. I would suggest, for the consideration of Government, if clause 3 can be so amended as to be more acceptable. My Lord, we are deeply grateful to Your Excellency for the assuring words which Your Excellency has given expression to on this occasion."

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock :—"My Lord, I feel sure that Your Excellency will be gratified by the manner in which the non-official members of this Council have supported the principle of this Bill. Neither we nor they take any pleasure in putting forward and passing any drastic measure of this kind. As I explained in my opening speech, a long period has elapsed before this step was found to be necessary, and Your Lordship has

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stated, to which I need add no words of my own, that you do not consider that legislation of this kind involves the slightest slur upon the loyalty of India. In a country with such a vast population, there must be some lawless elements; as long as they keep quiet no drastic action is found necessary. When they begin to show signs of disturbance, then public safety and security demand that action should be taken to meet that attitude on their part. On the whole, I think that practically every member has supported the principle of the Bill. Even in the case of the Hon'ble Mr. Banerji, I was not able to gather for certain whether he was actually opposing the Bill or merely giving it a reluctant support.

“There were several points of criticism brought forward, and as regards some of these if at a later stage they take the shape of specific amendments, we shall be able to consider whether we can accept any of them, or if we are unable to accept them, will be able to explain the reasons for non-acceptance. As to the objection taken that clause 3 of the Bill extends far too wide the scope of the Bill including, besides offences that would be created under clause 2, all offences punishable with death, transportation or imprisonment for a term which may extend to seven years, in respect to that, the difficulty felt was to find some comprehensive term which would allow offences punishable under various Acts to be referred, if necessary, to a tribunal of this kind, and a long schedule of offences which even with much care might still fail to comprise all the cases that it might be necessary to refer to the tribunal was not considered a satisfactory method, because it is not merely a particular class of offences, it may be the class of offender whose speedy trial is required. Possibly, if some less comprehensive term can be found to include all we want, the objection might be considered, but I am not able offhand to give any assurance in this matter. I may just add a few remarks with respect to one or two criticisms that have been made by the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee and the Hon'ble Pandit M. M. Malaviya. As regards the criticism against sub-clause (c) regarding the promotion of feelings of enmity and hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects, the English Regulation does not of course refer explicitly to that particular class of report. We have generally followed Regulation No. 27, which runs as follows :—

‘No person shall by word of mouth or in writing or in any newspaper, periodical, book, circular, or other printed publication spread *false reports* or make *false statements*, etc., etc.’

“This—*i e.*, in regard to false statements—is one of the objections which the Hon'ble Pandit Malaviya took to the wording of sub-clause (c) of clause 2; but as regards the reference to promotion of feelings of enmity and hatred towards His Majesty's subjects to which the Hon'ble Pandit took exception, I wish to point out to the Hon'ble Pandit that the rules are intended to prevent the spread of false and injurious reports; and power is taken to make rules to prevent the spread of reports which are likely, amongst other things, to promote feelings of enmity and hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects. Now, in the circumstances of this country, it is natural that when dealing with the public safety, we should safeguard the spread of reports that are likely to endanger the public safety. The prevention of reports which promote feelings of enmity and hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects is essential as they may seriously prejudice the public safety.

“I do not wish, my Lord, to go into further detail regarding the criticisms that have been passed because they will be considered at a later stage; I would only ask that, as we have received such full support to the principle of the measure, Your Lordship will put the motion to the Council.”

The motion that leave be given to introduce the Bill was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock :—“My Lord, I now beg to introduce the Bill and to ask Your Excellency to suspend the Rules of Business to admit of the Bill being taken into consideration.”

His Excellency the President :—“ I suspend the Rules of Business, and I think that the most convenient method of procedure would be, when the motion that the Bill be taken into consideration has been carried, to put the Bill to the Council clause by clause under Rule 31. Each clause will then have to be dealt with separately, and when the amendments relating to it have been discussed, I shall put the question to the Council whether that clause stand as part of the Bill.”

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock :—“ My Lord, I beg to move that the Bill be taken into consideration.”

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock :—“ My Lord, I beg to move that clause 1 of the Bill do stand as part of the Bill.”

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock :—“ My Lord, I now beg to move that clause 2 do stand as part of the Bill.”

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoj :—“ My Lord, I beg to move a small amendment as regards clause 2 (h). Clause 2 (h) at present reads as follows :—

‘ (h) to prohibit anything likely to prejudice the training or discipline of His Majesty's forces and to prevent any attempt to tamper with the loyalty of persons in the service of His Majesty or to dissuade persons from entering the service of His Majesty.’

“ My amendment, My Lord, is that after the words ‘ entering the ’ the words ‘ military or police ’ be added. The object of this clause, as I understand it, is not to prevent people from dissuading their friends and relatives entering the service of His Majesty generally, but to facilitate recruitment, and as I understand that there is some opposition shown in some parts of the country in the matter of military recruitment and also in the recruitment of the police, this clause is rendered indispensable.

“ My Lord, the non-official members of this Council are as anxious as the Government that the recruiting in the country should not be in any way hampered, or any impediment put in the way of recruitment both for the Army and for the Police. But as this clause stands at present, there is a likelihood of its being extended to other departments. If I have a brother, a son, or a nephew, and he wants to become a munsiff or join the Educational Department, and if I dissuade him from doing that, I may be hauled up and brought within the pale of this law. It is not the intention, My Lord, of your Government to bring these cases within the Act. The intention is, I understand, to prevent undue interference with the question of recruitment for the Army and the Police. The Police is, of course, a civil department, but as this is a piece of legislation of an emergent nature, I am prepared to agree that the word Police be also added, and I am sure the Hon'ble the Home Member will see his way to accept the amendment.”

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock :—“ My Lord, I may say at once on behalf of the Government that I will accept that amendment.”

The question that in clause 2 (h), after the words ‘ entering the ’ the words ‘ military or police ’ be inserted was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—“ My Lord, I propose that in clause 2 (1) instead of the words ‘ public servants and other persons,’ the words ‘ District Magistrates, Sub-Divisional Officers or other competent military authority ’ be substituted.

“ My Lord, in the Defence of the Realm Act, as I have already submitted, the special emergency powers conferred by the Act are conferred upon the ‘ con-

[*Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya ; The President ;* [18TH MARCH, 1915.]
Sir Reginald Craddock ; Mr. Banerjee.]

petent naval or military authority', and the regulations which have been made under that Act, a copy of which, thanks to the courtesy of Mr. Muddiman, I now have before me, distinctly provide that the powers conferred by them shall be exercised only by the competent naval or military authority. My Lord, the words 'public servants or other persons' used in the Bill before us are extremely wide, the whole object of the war legislation is to secure that the competent naval or military authority—"

His Excellency the President:—"Will the Hon'ble Member kindly let me see his amendment" ?

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—"Your Excellency will pardon me. We have had to work against time. I have introduced the words 'and other competent military authority' in the amendment I propose".

His Excellency the President:—"You should have given notice of it beforehand"

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—"I gave notice of it this morning, as soon as I came here. My object is that the special powers with which the Bill proposes to arm the Executive should be confined to District Magistrates, Sub-Divisional Officers and any competent military authority. The language used in the Bill is very wide, and, as I have submitted, there is no sanction for it in the regulations which have been framed in the United Kingdom in which the competent military or naval authority only is authorized to exercise the special powers conferred by the Act. That is my amendment."

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock:—"I am afraid that I cannot accept the amendment on behalf of the Government. A reference to the clause will show at once that the Governor General in Council makes rules as to the powers and duties of public servants and other persons in furtherance of that purpose. The Hon'ble Mr. Malaviya at the last moment has inserted in his amendment 'or competent military authority' because he has recognized that, but for that, he would be striking at the very root of the Bill which is based on the Defence of the Realm Act wherein military and naval authorities are given such extensive powers. But, apart from that, it is a question of powers and duties of all sorts of public officers. District Magistrates and Sub-Divisional Officers may very likely be given powers and duties and so may many other officers; the police and even village-officers may have duties assigned to them; and even private citizens. Therefore it is quite impossible to accept the amendment."

The amendment was put and negatived.

The Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee:—"My Lord, I beg to move that after clause 2 (1) (c) the following proviso be added:—"Provided that the latter part of clause (c) beginning with the words 'or to' in line 4, up to the end, be not given effect to in any province except by a vote of the local Legislative Council." My Lord, I might have moved for the deletion of this part of the clause because these words are a reproduction of the provisions of section 153 (a) of the Indian Penal Code. I need not read that section. Then, as regards offences committed by newspapers, we have a similar section in the Press Act. Therefore, I might have moved for the omission of these words altogether. But I find that there is a desire in the Punjab for a speedy procedure in dealing with these matters. Therefore, My Lord, I have ventured to put in the proviso that I have read out, so that in case local opinion should support the Government in adopting this procedure then only they should be empowered to do so. The object is, to some extent, to have the action of the Executive Government controlled by the authority of local opinion, so that nothing should be done under the provisions of this section except with the consent of the local legislature. In my province the local legislature undoubtedly has a non-official majority; but I am a member of the Bengal Legisla-

tive Council, and I have been there for the last two years and more, and I find that only on one occasion was the Government defeated. During the whole of that time every measure of the Government, every Resolution that the Government supported was carried, and every Resolution which it opposed was lost. Therefore, really, there would be no risk whatsoever, but, on the contrary, some slight association of the local representatives with the operation of a measure like this would, I think, tend to facilitate the administration of this law.

“ With these words, I beg to move the amendment.”

The Hon'ble Mr. Wheeler :—“ My Lord, I venture to think that this amendment is not one which should commend itself to this Council or be accepted by Your Excellency's Government. It overlooks the whole fundamental basis of section 2, and, considering that the conditions which necessitate the passing of these rules do not differ materially in different parts of the country, it would be a most curious and unusual state of affairs to have an act declared to be an offence in one province and not in another. Neither are the particular matters with which the rules will deal confined within provincial boundaries, while there is the third objection that nothing could be more prejudicial to the speedy disposal of offences, which it is sought to secure by this measure, than having to wait until the approval of the Legislative Council in any one province could be obtained before a particular rule was enforced.

“ I would, therefore, beg to oppose the amendment.”

The amendment was put and negatived

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—“ My Lord, I do not press my first amendment to clause 2 (1) (c) that the words ‘ False reports or ’ be omitted from the first line. I beg Your Lordship's leave to withdraw it.”

The amendment was by permission withdrawn.

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—“ My Lord, I move that from clause 2 (c) the words ‘ or to promote feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects ’ be omitted. I do not think, My Lord, that there is any need for any special provision of this kind in the emergency measure before us. There is already sufficient provision in the existing enactments to deal with a case which might arise under the clause in question. I therefore move that these words be omitted.”

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock :—“ My Lord, I cannot accept this amendment on behalf of the Government. Before the adjournment I made some remarks on the subject in answering the Hon'ble Pandit's speech. This particular kind of report, *viz.*, one which is likely to promote feelings of enmity and hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects, is no doubt not a kind of report which would be very common in England, and, therefore, the English Act did not take cognizance of such reports. But there is no kind of report in this country which is more likely to be spread than the one mentioned in this clause, and there is no kind of report which is likely to do more harm and damage, and possibly excite more serious breaches of the peace than a report which is likely to promote feelings of enmity and hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects. Therefore, My Lord, I submit that this is a very proper inclusion in this clause among the reports which we wish to check, and that this amendment therefore cannot be accepted.”

The amendment was put and negatived.

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—“ My Lord, I beg leave to withdraw my amendment to clause 2 (1) (e), that after the word ‘ purposes ’ the words ‘ subject to the payment of compensation ’ be introduced ”

The amendment was by permission withdrawn.

498 DEFENCE OF INDIA (CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT) BILL
[*Mr. Banerjee; The President; Mr. Wheeler; [18TH MARCH, 1915.]*
Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.]

The Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee :—"I beg to move this proviso to clause 2, sub-clause (1) (f) :—

'Provided that a person feeling aggrieved at such an order may appeal to the Commissioners appointed under section 3, or the District Magistrate or the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta, as the case may be.'

"The object of this proviso is to give the right of appeal to a person who feels aggrieved—"

His Excellency the President :—"Are those the words in your motion as submitted to the table?"

The Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee :—"No, My Lord, I have added the words 'Chief Presidency Magistrate or the Magistrate of the District.' I had a consultation with Mr Muddiman (Deputy Secretary to the Government of India in the Legislative Department), and I put in these words to meet a legal difficulty. The text, as before Your Excellency, reads as follows :—

'Provided that a person feeling aggrieved at such an order may, where sections 3 to 11 of the Act have been extended to any area, appeal to the Commissioners appointed under section 3'

"That, My Lord, is my amendment. The object of the proviso is to give a person feeling aggrieved at an order of internment the opportunity of submitting his case to a competent tribunal in order to have the facts tested upon which the internment has been ordered. And this is only a matter of fair play and justice to an individual who has been subjected to this disability. I understand that this proviso is not in the English Act. But, My Lord, we have not been following the English Act section by section or clause by clause. We have been making some departures in a restrictive direction. I think we may make one in a liberal direction also."

The Hon'ble Mr. Wheeler :—"I venture to think that there is some misunderstanding underlying this amendment. In the form in which it has been moved, it would not be workable. The Commissioners to whom the Hon'ble Member has referred will be appointed for the trial either of an offence committed by a breach of the regulations or of the other wider offences which have been made cognizable by the tribunal. It might very well happen, and would ordinarily happen, that at the time an order was passed under clause (f) there would be no Commissioners in existence. It is quite contrary to the whole spirit of the Bill to convert the three Commissioners into an Appellate Court against the orders of executive officers, and would seriously impede the passing of those orders, which is the object for which the Bill provides. I would, therefore, oppose the amendment."

The amendment was put and negatived.

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—"My Lord, I beg leave to withdraw the amendment to clause 2 (1) (h), i.e., that the word 'military' should be inserted before the word 'service', as an identical amendment has, I understand, already been accepted."

The amendment was by permission withdrawn.

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—"My Lord, I beg to move that from clause 2 (2) the word 'death' be removed. I stated the reasons for this amendment earlier in the day. I think, My Lord, that in cases where there is provision made for a summary trial, it is desirable that the extreme sentence should not be passed; the ends of justice will be met by transportation for life or imprisonment for a term which may extend to ten years, as the section provides."

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock :—“ On the subject of this amendment I think it is very likely that the cases will be rare in which a sentence of death will be passed. But it would be a mistake to withdraw the power of inflicting capital punishment, because there might be cases in which no other punishment could adequately meet the crime. In the remarks that he made in his speech this morning, the Hon'ble Pandit suggested that men who assist the King's enemies or wage war against the King ought to be treated like prisoners of war, namely, enemy subjects who are fighting for their own King and who happen to have been captured. This is a contention which it is impossible to accept. The prisoner of war is a subject of a foreign power who owes no allegiance to the Sovereign of the country in which he is interned. But if a subject be found, in contravention of those rules, to have either assisted the King's enemies or waged war against the King, he is nothing but a rebel or a traitor, and all civilised countries provide that in extreme cases the penalty of death may be inflicted on such persons. Therefore, My Lord, we cannot accept this amendment.”

The amendment was put and negatived.

The question that clause 2 as amended stand as part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock :—“ I now move that clause 3 stand as part of the Bill.”

The Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee :—“ My Lord, I move that in clause 3(1), after the words 'in writing' the words 'subject to a vote of the local Legislative Council' be inserted.

“ The appointment of Commissioners is left to be decided by the Local Government, which means the Executive Government. I am sure Your Excellency's Government would like to have educated opinion associated with them in the appointment of the Commission. If this is done, the work of the Commission, by enlisting public opinion on its side, will be facilitated.

“ It seems to me that no harm can accrue and there is no risk of friction or collision. For in the local Legislative Council the Government will practically have its own way. The views of the Executive Government will nearly in all cases be accepted by the Legislative Council. It would be a distinct advantage if the decision of the Executive Government were confirmed by the Legislative Council. These are my reasons for submitting this amendment to the acceptance of this Council.”

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoj :—“ My Lord, in connection with the consideration of Mr. Banerjee's amendment, I take the liberty to place before the Council a somewhat modified proposal. I would put my amendment in a form which I have no doubt will be acceptable to the Hon'ble the Home Member. We have heard a great deal this morning about this section and the great and sweeping powers that this section allows. I think that, if my amendment is accepted by Government, it will in a way allay the feeling that the Hon'ble Members here as well as the public generally have, and it will also serve as an effective check on the executive. I disagree with my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee and propose the following amendment, namely, that after the words 'Local Government' the words 'with the previous sanction of the Governor General in Council' be added.”

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock :—“ My Lord, I beg to rise to a point of order. This amendment of Mr. Dadabhoj's has apparently no connection whatever with the amendment put forward by Mr. Banerjee.

“ Mr. Banerjee's amendment, as I understand it, is that in clause 3 (1) the words should run as follows :—‘ The Local Government may, by order in writing

[*Sir Reginald Craddock*; *Mr. Dadabhoj*; [18TH MARCH, 1915.]
Mr. Rayaningar; *Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.*]

subject to a vote of the local Legislative Council, direct that any person, etc., Well, My Lord, the whole scope of the provision is that wherever it is in force in a province, the Local Government may, finding disorder gaining ground, direct the constitution of a special tribunal and direct that any person accused of a serious offence which it is considered should be speedily tried, should be tried by that tribunal. It is clearly a matter on which it is quite impossible for us to take the vote of a local Legislative Council. It might not even be sitting, and in any case it is quite impossible to refer individual cases to the consideration of a local Council. Therefore, My Lord, I cannot accept the amendment."

The amendment was put and negatived.

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoj :—My Lord, I now press my objection. I suggest that the words 'with the previous sanction of the Governor General in Council' be added after the words 'Local Government' I have already said what I had to say on the subject a few minutes ago. I have heard the Hon'ble the Home Member who stated that the object of this legislation is to expedite matters. That is a very important object, but in these days of rapid communication, railways and telegraphs, the Governor General in Council's order could be obtained within a few hours, and I hope, therefore, the Hon'ble the Home Member will see his way to accept this modest suggestion of mine. It will allay public feeling on the subject. The section is of a very drastic character. A lot has been said on it this morning, and I do not wish to repeat what has been said, as it is still fresh in the minds of Hon'ble Members. I therefore request the Hon'ble the Home Member to see his way to accept this, and, as I said before, it will be a very valuable check on the Local Governments, and it will allay public feeling considerably on the subject."

The Hon'ble Mr. Rayaningar :—" My Lord, I support the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoj's amendment."

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock :—" My Lord, I am very sorry, but I cannot possibly accept this amendment. In the first place, the Hon'ble Member seems to overlook that section 3 can only come into force at all by notification of the Governor General in Council. That being the case, the Local Government will have had to establish a case to the satisfaction of the Governor General in Council that this procedure of speedy trial has become necessary within a part or whole of a province. When once that is done, it is surely superfluous to require the Local Government to refer every case, when they wish to send a criminal case to the special tribunal, for the orders of the Governor General in Council. If a Local Government is fit to administer its province at all, it can surely be trusted to see that a special tribunal of this kind is used only for the cases for which this Bill has been designed. It would cause much irritation and it would be quite impossible for the Governor General in Council to dictate all the circumstances that might make a trial of this kind desirable; once the power has been given to the Local Government on good case established, it would be quite unreasonable to require the Local Government to apply for further sanction from the Governor General in Council. I am sorry that I must oppose this amendment."

The amendment was put and negatived.

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—" My Lord, I beg to move that from clause 3(1) the following words be omitted :—' or accused of any offence punishable with death, transportation or imprisonment for a term which may extend to seven years.' My Lord, I fail to see why the insertion of this clause is needed in this emergency measure. There is already sufficient provision in the existing enactments of the country to deal with cases, which may arise, of this character, and I hope that the Hon'ble the Home Member will see his way at any rate to omit this clause from section 3(1)."

The Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee :—" My Lord, I had the same amendment, and I thoroughly associate myself with the observations which have fallen from my friend. A large number of cases, such as burglary, roting and so forth, which are included in the Penal Code, will be tried by the Commissioners under this section and under a summary procedure, which I think would be dangerous to the liberty of the subject, there is no occasion for introducing this large class of cases in this clause, and subject to a summary procedure in which there is some chance of justice not always being done, I thoroughly associate myself with the observations of Mr. Malaviya."

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock :—" My Lord, the Government cannot possibly accept this amendment, because it would strike at the root of the whole object for which these speedy trials are designed. I mentioned in my opening speech the various kinds of lawlessness which it was desired to suppress; and among those were outbreaks of lawlessness in which large bands of men plundered whole villages, wrecked shops and destroyed houses and property. When gangs of men go abroad in this manner they may commit very many different offences under the Penal Code, and of course it would be impossible to make a scheduled selection of offences that might be tried or might not be tried by this tribunal. As a matter of fact although Hon'ble Members have chosen to describe this trial as a very summary one, as if in fact it was a summary one under the Criminal Procedure Code, the trial will differ very little from the ordinary trial of warrant cases before a Magistrate, or a sessions case before a Sessions Judge. It may be that the evidence is not recorded in full detail, but all the other features will be the same; and it would be quite impossible, therefore, to exclude these serious offences from the jurisdiction of a special tribunal of this kind. If we were to do so we should be taking away from a Local Government the power to deal with those very cases for which it is specially asked for powers to be given under this Bill. I have already explained once that it was not intended to withdraw the ordinary criminal business of the country from the ordinary criminal courts of the country. And surely a Local Government may be trusted to send to this tribunal only those cases which it considers the ordinary courts are unable to deal with, either because they are choked with business or because the offences are so serious that the delays incidental to the ordinary hearing of cases would fail to check the outbreak of lawlessness. After this explanation I feel sure that the Council will agree with me that it is quite impossible to exclude these serious offences from this clause. The Government cannot accept this amendment."

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—" My Lord, every one of us desires that the wicked gangs to which the Hon'ble Member has referred should be got hold of as early as practicable; but obviously what is needed for that purpose is better arrangements for their speedy arrests; there is not the same need for a speedy trial, for once an evil-doer is arrested his mischievous activities are stopped. But the Act provides for a speedy trial; everything that the Hon'ble Member has said has been in support of special provisions for a speedy trial; but as I have said, once an offender is arrested a little delay in his trial can lead to no injury to the cause of public peace or safety. The Hon'ble Member says that if we take away this clause from the Bill, we shall be taking away the very power that the Local Governments most desire to be given to them. I regret I do not at all see why the Local Governments should so particularly desire to have this clause in the Bill. The Hon'ble the Home Member says that ordinary courts are not able to deal with cases like this, that these courts are choked with business and that the disposal of such cases is unduly delayed. If that is so, that is, if the courts are choked with business, the remedy would appear to be to appoint additional Judges, and not the enacting of a drastic measure like the one before us. If there is no other reason and no other than what has been stated by the Hon'ble the Home Member for inserting the clause in question in the Bill, it seems to me that that object will be better served and can only be served by the provision of a

stronger and better police and not for the speedy trial which has been provided in the Bill.

" I hope Government will reconsider the matter and see its way to drop the clause to which, along with several other Hon'ble Members, I have drawn attention."

The motion was put and the Council divided with the following result :—

Ayes.—7.

- 1 The Hon'ble Mr Ghuznavi
- 2 The Hon'ble Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar
- 3 The Hon'ble Pandit M. M. Malaviya
- 4 The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola.
- 5 The Hon'ble Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee.
- 6 The Hon'ble Raja of Mahmudabad.
- 7 The Hon'ble Mr. M. S. Das.

Noes.—46

1. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.
2. The Hon'ble Sir Robert Carlyle.
3. The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler.
4. The Hon'ble Sir Ali Imam.
5. The Hon'ble Mr Clark.
- 6 The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock.
7. The Hon'ble Sir Wilham Meyer.
8. The Hon'ble Mr. Halsey.
- 9 The Hon'ble Mr. Gillan.
10. The Hon'ble Mr. Cobb.
11. The Hon'ble Mr Brunyate
12. The Hon'ble Mr Wheeler.
- 13 The Hon'ble Mr. Low.
14. The Hon'ble Mr. Sharp.
15. The Hon'ble Mr. Portei.
16. The Hon'ble Mr. Kershaw.
17. The Hon'ble General Holloway
18. The Hon'ble Mr. Michael.
19. The Hon'ble Surgeon General Sir C. P. Lukis.
20. The Hon'ble Mr. Russell.
21. The Hon'ble Mr Maxwell.
- 22 The Hon'ble Major Robertson
23. The Hon'ble Mr. Kenrick.
- 24 The Hon'ble Mr Kesteven.
25. The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent.
26. The Hon'ble Mr Carr.
27. The Hon'ble Sardar Khan Bahadur R. J. Vakil.
28. The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy.
29. The Hon'ble Mr. Donald.
- 30 The Hon'ble Maharaja M. C. Nandi of Kasimbazar.
31. The Hon'ble Raja Abu Jafar of Pirpur.
32. The Hon'ble Mr Maude
33. The Hon'ble Mr. Huda.
34. The Hon'ble Mr. McNeill
35. The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Sita Nath Bay.
36. The Hon'ble Lieutenant-Colonel Brooke Blakeway.
37. The Hon'ble Raja Kushalpal Singh.
38. The Hon'ble Raja Jai Chand.
39. The Hon'ble Mr Maynard.
40. The Hon'ble Mr Walker.
41. The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy.
42. The Hon'ble Sir G. M. Chitnavis.
43. The Hon'ble Lieutenant-Colonel Gurdon
44. The Hon'ble Mr. Arbuthnot.
45. The Hon'ble Maung Mye.
46. The Hon'ble Mr Abbott.

So the amendment was negatived.

The Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee:—"My Lord, mine is the next amendment, but as it covers the same ground, I beg leave to withdraw it."

The amendment was by permission withdrawn

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.—"My Lord, I beg to move that in clause 3 (1) for 'Commissioners appointed under this Act' the following be substituted 'Special Bench constituted in accordance with the provisions of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908'

"My Lord, the constitution of special courts is proposed in section 4 of the Bill. It is said that all trials under this Act shall be held by three Commissioners of whom at least two shall be persons who have served as Sessions Judges or Additional Sessions Judges for a period of one year, or are persons qualified under section 2 of the Indian High Courts Act, 1961, for appointment as Judges of a High Court or are advocates of a Chief Court or pleaders of ten years standing. The object evidently is to provide a court constituted by men with special qualifications, possessing both experience and ability, and that is right. But I submit that if instead of what is proposed in the Bill, the provisions of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act for the constitution of a special Bench of the High Court will be substituted, the Court before which offences made punishable under the proposed enactment will go, will be constituted of three judges of the High Court, who would not merely fully answer the description given in section 4 of the proposed Bill, but who would be much better qualified by experience and ability to deal with cases of exceptional character. I think, My Lord, the constitution of the Bench as I suggest will inspire a great deal more confidence and will remove much of the apprehension which may be felt otherwise over the Act."

The Hon'ble Mr. Wheeler:—"My Lord, the acceptance of the amendment would almost imply that a large portion of this Bill is not required, since the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, already stands in the Statute-book, and these tribunals which the Hon'ble Member seeks to introduce in this Bill can already be constituted. I think it is a matter of common knowledge that the special tribunal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, has been very sparingly used, and that when it has been used it has proved a somewhat cumbrous machinery. It would absolutely frustrate the efficient administration of the procedure contemplated by this Bill for it to be requisite to bring the parties and witnesses to the provincial headquarters to be tried by a Bench of three judges of the High Court. There would never be enough judges to sit upon such tribunals concurrently with the discharge of their regular duties, and the expense and trouble to the parties and the delay involved would be tremendous. Also, it would be out of all proportion to the requirements of the efficient hearing of the sort of offences that will be brought before the three Commissioners to hold that they should be brought in the first instance before three judges of the chief provincial Court. I regret, My Lord, that we cannot accept the amendment."

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.—"My Lord, all that I would say is that the result of the amendment that I propose would be to constitute a Bench of three judges who would be far better qualified by experience and ability to deal with exceptional cases. My friend says there are not sufficient judges at present. Well, you have to appoint three Commissioners under the Bill, I ask that instead of appointing three Commissioners you should appoint three judges who would fully answer the description given in the Bill. If my amendment were accepted, three judges who are qualified to be judges of the High Court or Chief Court would be appointed. It would mean a little extra expense, but a great deal more satisfaction from the point of view of Government and the public that justice will be done and that there should be provision against the miscarriage of justice so far as it is possible."

The amendment was put and negatived.

[*Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya; Sir Reginald Craddock; Mr. Banerjee.* [18TH MARCH, 1915]

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—" My Lord, I beg to move that in section 3 (2) the words ' or in respect of persons or classes of persons accused ' be omitted. As it stands an order may be passed by the Local Government regarding a whole class of persons to be tried under the Act. There is danger that injustice may in such cases be done to any particular person who may fall within that class, and there would be no difficulty in the Government issuing orders in every individual case as it may arise. If the words are omitted it will result in this, that the Government will be able to pass orders in every single case of a person or persons whom it may be considered expedient to try under the Act. I therefore propose that these words be omitted."

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock:—" My Lord, it is not possible to accept this amendment because it is unnecessary to require that the case of every individual man shall be reported to the Local Government before it passes orders for his trial by these tribunals. These cases are committed in various districts, there may be large numbers of accused, and it is not a workable arrangement that in respect of every man, some of whom might be arrested at various times, special orders should be required. The wording of the section is necessarily drawn so as to enable the Local Government to pass general orders which would apply to the kind of cases for which it is contemplating this speedy trial. I cannot see how in any way any class of person can be prejudiced because the order is given in a particular form. If, for example, it was stated that all persons of a certain class committing dacoity in a certain district should be tried by the Commissioners, it certainly would not prejudice any of these individuals. It merely enables the Government to deal with a type of case, instead of dealing with every individual one when they find that the state of the district requires resort to this speedy method of bringing offenders to justice. I am, therefore, unable to accept the amendment."

The amendment was put and negatived

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—" My Lord, I do not press the second amendment, *viz.* that in clause 3 (2) the words ' or classes of persons ' be omitted, because as the first one has not been accepted this will not be. I beg leave to withdraw it. "

The amendment was by permission withdrawn.

The Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee:—" My Lord, I beg to withdraw the amendment which stands against my name, that is that in clause 3 (2) the words ' or classes of persons ' be omitted."

The amendment was by permission withdrawn.

The Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee:—" My Lord, I beg to move that in clause 3 (3) the words, ' but, save as aforesaid, an order under that sub-section may be made in respect of or may include any person accused of any offence referred to therein whether such offence was committed before or after the commencement of this Act, ' be omitted.

" My Lord, the effect of these words is to make this Act retrospective. A man commits an offence to-day : two months hence, a Commission is appointed : he will be tried by that Commission, and he will thus be deprived of those rights which, at the time the offence was committed, he undoubtedly possessed. Those rights were trial according to the ordinary law and a right of appeal if he was convicted as a result of that trial. All those rights will be taken away from him although at the time when he committed that offence the Commission had not been formed. To give retrospective effect to any legislation is a very unusual proceeding, and I do hope that, in the circumstances, the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Bill will see his way to accept the amendment which I have laid before this Council "

[18TH MARCH, 1915.] [*Mr. Ghuznavi; Mr. Wheeler; Sir Reginald Craddock; Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya*]

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi :—" My Lord, I beg to support this amendment."

The Hon'ble Mr. Wheeler :—" My Lord, it might have been possible to accept this amendment had Your Excellency's Government, with great prescience, many months ago, foreseeing that circumstances might arise which would necessitate this legislation, introduced and passed it then. But as was explained by the Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock this morning, it has been the policy of Your Excellency's Government to maintain the administration of the country on the ordinary lines for as long as possible, with the result that this measure is being introduced after the circumstances which necessitate its introduction have actually arisen. There may be cases which have already occurred which are of the kind to which it is desired to apply the procedure of this Bill, and for that reason that clause was inserted, and it is submitted that it should stand."

The amendment was put and negatived.

The question that clause 3 stand as part of the Bill was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock :—" I now move that clause 4 stand as part of the Bill."

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—" My Lord, I beg leave to withdraw the next amendment, namely :—

'That from clause 4 (2) the words 'class of accused' be omitted

The amendment was by permission withdrawn.

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi :—" My Lord, I desire to move an amendment which stands against my name. It is this, that in clause 4 (3) the words 'at least' be omitted.

"The reason why I move this amendment is as follows. As far as I have been able to judge from reading this Bill and as far as I have been able to gather the intention of Government, I take it that the Government intend to create a special tribunal consisting of three Commissioners, of whom one shall always be a non-official. If therefore these two words 'at least' are allowed to remain, it will be possible in that case on some future occasion to constitute a special tribunal with three official judges or three officials. Therefore, if these two words are omitted, it will go a long way to reassure the public outside this Council as well as perhaps some of my friends within this Council who are of the opinion that I occasionally read them a lecture, although I think that my lecture is always wholesome and on this occasion it will do them good.

"With these words I beg to express the hope that the Hon'ble the Home Member will accept this little amendment which I have moved."

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—" My Lord, I beg to support this amendment. Under the High Courts Act there is a provision for the appointment of a certain number of Barrister Judges to every High Court. Parliament has considered it desirable in the interests of maintaining the best standard of justice, that this provision should be in the Act and this has been in force throughout up to this time. The tribunal proposed under the Bill is going to be a special tribunal, and it is highly desirable that there should be provision for the appointment in such a court of a lawyer who had not served either as a Sessions or Additional Sessions Judge, and who would therefore be either a person who is a barrister or a vakil practising independently in the courts. From that point of view, it is very desirable that the words 'at least' should be omitted."

[*Sir Reginald Craddock* ; *Mr. Dadabhoy* ; *Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya*.] [18TH MARCH, 1915.]

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock :—"My Lord, the insertion of the words 'at least' was intended to insure that two of the three persons who constituted this Court—it might be all three—but at least two should be persons who had some judicial experience, or were qualified as described in sub-clause (β). It may not always be possible to constitute a tribunal in which all three shall be judges who answer to certain tests of service or other qualifications, and the number of judges available at any one time in a Province are not so numerous as to make it possible to constitute a number of these tribunals if all three Commissioners have to have these qualifications. The Government, therefore, considered it to be a very adequate safeguard in the constitution of these courts that at least two of these Commissioners should be qualified in this way, and therefore they are not prepared to accept an amendment of this kind if the intention of the amendment is that all three should have these special qualifications"

The amendment was put and negatived.

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy :—"My Lord, I beg to move that, in clause 4 (β), for the words 'one year' the words 'not less than three years' be substituted. I have very few words to say in support of this amendment, and I do hope that this amendment of mine will commend itself to the Hon'ble the Home Member who has very extensive administrative experience. I do not desire to say anything more to-day on this subject than is absolutely necessary. I am firmly of opinion that when, under this Bill, summary powers have been given to the three Commissioners, it is necessary that judges of experience should be chosen. In clause 11, the last clause of this Bill, Hon'ble Members will perceive there is a distinct provision that 'no order under this Act shall be called in question in any court, and no suit, prosecution or other legal proceedings shall lie against any person for anything which is in good faith done or intended to be done under this Act.'

"Hon'ble Members will therefore see what wide and extensive powers the Commissioners will have, and it is only right and proper that judicial officers of experience should be on this Commission. My Lord, I myself have been at the bar for many years; I have come in close contact with the judicial work in my own Province; and I for one would not trust Additional Sessions Judges and Sessions Judges of one year's standing with this great work"

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock :—"I may save time by intervening to say that the Government are prepared to accept this amendment and provide that the judges shall have these three years' experience which the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy desires"

The amendment was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—"My Lord, I beg to move that in section 4 (β) the following words be omitted,— 'Of whom at least two shall be persons who have served as Sessions Judges or Additional Sessions Judges for a period of one year' (or three years as now).

"The section will then run :—

'All trials under this Act shall be held by three Commissioners qualified under section 2 of the Indian High Courts Act, 1861, for appointment as Judges of a High Court or are Advocates of a Chief Court or Pleaders of 10 years' standing'

"My Lord, it is not surprising that the Hon'ble the Home Member should have more faith in members of the Service of which he is a distinguished representative than in the members of the Bar. But, My Lord, a more sound rule than the one which appeals to the Hon'ble Member prevails in England, where a large number of appointments of Judges are made from among lawyers who are practising and have practised for some time at the Bar. The result of the amendment which I propose would be to secure a much better class of lawyers as Judges on the proposed Bench. I commend the amendment to the consideration of the Government."

The Hon'ble Mr. Wheeler :—"My Lord, I had hoped that after the acceptance of the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoj's amendment, which goes far to secure the experience of the Sessions and Additional Sessions Judges who may be appointed to this tribunal, this amendment might have been withdrawn. Its effect is to further tie the hands of the Local Government, who may have to select Commissioners, to people of particular qualifications, and I think it should be judged largely on its administrative merits. The section, as it at present stands, insures the essential point that on the tribunal the trained judicial element will always preponderate. That being so, it is surely not an unreasonable measure of elasticity to prescribe no special condition in respect of the third member. Should the cases to be heard be numerous it may not always be administratively easy to find the requisite two Commissioners of particular qualifications, and a certain amount of discretion as to the person who can most suitably be appointed as third Commissioner may well be left. With the safeguard of the necessary retention of the judicial majority, the discretionary power as regards the third member can really give little cause for complaint."

The amendment was put and negatived

The question that clause 4 as amended stand as part of the Bill was then put and agreed to."

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock :—"I now move that clause 5 stand as part of the Bill."

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—"My Lord, I beg to move that from the proviso to clause 5 the following words be omitted, *viz*, 'shall make a memorandum only of the substance of the evidence of each witness examined, and'. The result of which will be that the proviso will stand thus :—

'Provided that such Commissioners shall not be bound to adjourn any trial for any purpose unless such adjournment is, in their opinion, necessary in the interests of justice'

"My Lord, under section 9 a special rule of evidence is provided. That rule of evidence is very much what we find in the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, section 13. The Legislature thought fit in passing the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act to lay down that 'notwithstanding anything contained in section 33 of the Indian Evidence Act, 1872, the evidence of any witness taken by a Magistrate in proceedings to which this Part applies shall be treated as evidence before the High Court if the witness is dead or cannot be produced, and if the High Court has reason to believe that his death or absence has been caused in the interests of the accused'. This has been practically reproduced in section 9 of the Bill before us. But the Bill goes far beyond this in the proviso to section 5. To lay down that the Commissioners shall make only a memorandum of the substance of the evidence of each witness, is, I submit, unnecessary and dangerous. The Commissioners may hear a case, and if they take down only the substance of the statements of witnesses, they may, when they come to read the evidence as a whole, miss some point which may lead to grave injustice. I think, as no appeal is provided for, as the judgments of the Commissioners are to be final and conclusive, it is desirable that the evidence should be recorded in full as it is required to be recorded under the Criminal Procedure Code"

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock :—"My Lord, the procedure provided under section 5 is intended to facilitate a speedy trial, which is the object of this legislation. The detailed record of evidence that is taken down in our courts is taken down in full in order that the appellate court may have the means of judging the facts upon that record. When, however, no appeals are allowed from the decision of the court, it is clear that a very long and detailed statement of evidence is not necessary. It has to be judged in this

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[*Sir Reginald Craddock* ; *Mr. Dadabhoj* ; *Mr. Das* ; *Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola*.] [18TH MARCH, 1915.]

case by the people who hear that evidence and not by people who have not heard the evidence and who have to judge on a written record. Therefore, to provide that the Commissioners should have the whole of the evidence taken down in detail, would be to interfere considerably with the object of the trial, which is to be a speedy one. No doubt, in practice, the Commissioners would record such evidence as they thought proper in order to assist their judgment in the case. But it is in accordance with the whole object of this legislation to give them the option of making a memorandum only of the substance of the evidence, and I think that the discretion as to the exact amount the Commissioners should take down in writing may well be left to them.

"I am unable, therefore, on behalf of the Government, to accept this amendment."

The amendment was put and negatived.

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoj :—"My Lord, I beg to move that in clause 5 (2) after the word 'prevail', the following words be added 'But in no case of difference of opinion shall a sentence of death be passed.'

"My Lord, the amendment which I now press upon the attention of the Council is not purely a sentimental one. It is founded on the traditions of British justice; it is based on the wide principles of British justice, it goes to the root, I say, of British justice. In this case summary powers are given to these Commissioners; they will have powers of life and death; the inquiry which they will have to make will be of an extremely summary nature and character; they will not be bound to observe fully the rules of evidence which the Evidence Act imposes in ordinary procedure. Even under clause 9 of the Bill very extensive powers have been given to use the statement of a person who is dead or, whose disappearance or incapacity to give evidence has, in the opinion of the Commissioners, been caused in the interests of the accused. My Lord, I am perfectly aware that under the Crimes Act the Special Tribunal enjoys a similar privilege; that is, in case of a difference of opinion the judgment of the majority of the judges prevails, even when a sentence of death is passed.

"But, My Lord, you can hardly compare the experience, the profound legal knowledge of High Court Judges with those of the Commissioners that will be appointed; and I therefore contend that it will be not quite safe for people going up for their trial before these tribunals that in the case of a difference of opinion the maximum penalty of the law should be pronounced.

"My Lord, the object of this legislation is doubtless a deterrent one; but will its deterrent effect be taken away if, instead of the maximum penalty of the law, a sentence of penal servitude for life is substituted? My Lord, we are all desirous of co-operating with Government in passing this emergent piece of legislation. We have all shown this morning how anxious we are to help Government in this crisis, in this hour of the Empire's need. But, My Lord, at the same time, I do think that justice should be combined with clemency, and where there is a difference of opinion between the Judges as regards the guilt of an offender, it is in consonance with the principles of British justice, it is in consonance with the ideas of all Englishmen, that the benefit of the doubt in that case should be given to the accused, and the maximum penalty of the law should not be pronounced.

"With these words, my Lord, I request that clause 5 (2) be amended in the way I suggest, which can be done without detriment to the provisions of this Act."

The Hon'ble Mr. Das :—"My Lord, I support the amendment."

The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola :—"My Lord, I should also like to support the amendment. When the proceedings under this Act are going to be largely of a summary character, I think it is very desirable

[18TH MARCH, 1915.] [*Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola; Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis; Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy; Mr. Banerjee; Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya; Mr. Ghuznavi; Sir Reginald Craddock.*]

that the extreme penalty of the law should not be allowed whenever there is a difference of opinion among the judicial officers charged with the trial of the cases. I trust that the appeal which we are making to Your Excellency will be accepted and that the extreme penalty of the law will not be awarded in cases in which the Commissioners appointed under this emergency legislation are divided as to the guilt of the accused."

The Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis:—"My Lord, I support the amendment."

The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy:—"I fully endorse the views expressed by the Hon'ble Mover and the other Members, and I support the amendment."

The Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee:—"My Lord, I have given notice of the same amendment and I thoroughly associate myself with the observations made by the Hon'ble Mover. Here is a man tried under a summary procedure, and there is no appeal for him against the sentence of the Commissioners; and when there is a difference of opinion there is always an element of doubt introduced as to the soundness of a conviction. Under these circumstances, it seems to me to be hard—almost unfair—to pass the extreme penalty of the law upon a man thus situated. I hope, therefore, that the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Bill will see his way to accept this amendment."

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—"My Lord, I have given notice of a similar amendment, and I beg to support the amendment before us. My Lord, if the amendment is accepted the result will be that where out of three judges one would be in doubt as to whether the accused was guilty or not, in that case the accused will have, and he should have the benefit of the doubt. That is a principle of English law for which Englishmen have justly claimed great credit. We admire the system of English justice because of that principle. I fear, My Lord, that if the section 5 (2) of the Bill stands as it does in the Bill, there will be a very great departure from the aforesaid established principle for which there is no justification. I hope the Government will see their way to accepting the amendment."

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi:—"My Lord, I desire to endorse every word which has been uttered by my friend Mr. Dadabhoy with regard to his amendment. Justice should always be tempered with mercy in a case of this kind, and I hope that Government will see their way to accepting this amendment."

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock:—"My Lord, this amendment has received a certain amount of support from several Hon'ble Members of this Council, and I should like to view it sympathetically; but I think there is to some extent a confusion of ideas in this matter. The clause provides that, in the event of any difference of opinion between the Commissioners, the opinion of the majority should prevail. That difference might be in respect of the conviction; but the amendment bears no relation whatever to the question of conviction. No doubt it is possible that in some cases one member of the Court might wish to give the benefit of the doubt to the accused person, and the majority of the Court (*i. e.*, the other two members) might find him guilty. It would be entirely contrary to all the principles on which all tribunals are constituted that the opinion of the minority should decide as to whether the man is guilty or not. Nor does the amendment moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy actually amount to that, although the arguments that he put forward would appear to suggest that that is what he really contemplates. In effect, what the amend-

ment really proposes is that, in the event of a difference of opinion, whether it be of sentence or of conviction, no sentence of death should be passed. Well, there would possibly be some case for that if you took a hasty opinion on it. At first sight it might seem a reasonable proposition. As a matter of fact, under our existing law, a Sessions Judge may sometimes refrain from passing a sentence of death, and it may be enhanced to a sentence of death by a High Court. So that our existing law recognises that there may be a difference of opinion about a sentence in which the opinion in favour of a sentence of death shall prevail. Now, in this particular case, what may often happen may be that there may be a conviction for murder, perhaps of an aggravated kind, and the majority of the tribunal may consider that the capital sentence is the only one which will meet the case. One of the Judges may think that the case might be met by the sentence of transportation. In that case of course the opinion of the two must, in accordance with all precedent, prevail. But there is a very considerable safeguard in such cases, and in respect of that I would draw the attention of the Council to sub-clause (2) of clause 8, where it is made quite clear that the power of the Governor General in Council or the Local Government to make orders under section 401 or 402 of the Code of Criminal Procedure will remain unimpaired by the Bill. Clearly, then, in such a case the accused person who has been sentenced to death would have a strong point in his favour in a memorial to the Local Government and then to the Governor General in Council, that one of the members of the Court had not been in favour of inflicting the death sentence, and the fact that this third Judge had been in favour of the more lenient course would be on record and would receive due weight from the Local Government and from the Governor General in Council. We consider, my Lord, that these safeguards are ample to ensure that a man for whom the capital sentence might be considered to be extra severe should have ample opportunity of having considerations in his favour given weight to by the executive authority, and that the existence of this safeguard renders it unnecessary to depart from all precedent in the case of these tribunals in such a way as to prescribe that the opinion of the minority shall prevail over the opinion of the majority.

" I hope, My Lord, that the Council will rest satisfied with this explanation of the case, and will feel re-assured that it is improbable that extra severity will ever be exercised in the case of persons convicted of crimes by this procedure."

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoj:—" My Lord, I have heard with great interest what the Hon'ble the Home Member had to say in reply to my amendment, but, with great respect for his opinion, I beg to say that the Hon'ble the Home Member is under some misapprehension as regards the interpretation of sub-clause (2). In that clause a difference of opinion is provided for both as regards the finding of the Court and the sentence to be passed by it. I am not at present questioning the finding of the Commissioners. In the matter of sentence only my amendment will apply. Clause 8 (2), no doubt, gives powers to the Local Government to interfere in this matter; but my Hon'ble friend has probably not noticed that this inquiry will be of a very summary nature. The evidence that will be recorded will be brief, and the provisions of the Evidence Act and the Criminal Procedure Code will not be rigidly followed. Will the Local Government be in a position to form, on such an imperfect record, their decisive opinion on the case? Who will be the best judges, the Commissioners who heard the case, who heard the evidence and who recorded brief notes of the evidence, but who also had the opportunity of marking the demeanour of the witnesses, or the Local Government which has before it an imperfect record of the case? I submit, therefore, that the objection that has been raised to my amendment is neither valid nor convincing. I appeal to this Council, to the Hon'ble Members, in the name of justice, in the name of humanity, to accept my amendment. As you are all aware it is a cardinal principle of British justice that a hundred guilty persons may go off scot-free rather than one innocent man should be hanged; and I therefore ask you to give your support to this most reasonable amendment. My Lord, I now request you to put my amendment to the vote."

[18TH MARCH, 1915.] [*Mr. Dadabhoj; Mr. Banerjee; Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya; Sir Reginald Craddock*]

"The amendment was put and the Council divided with the following result :—

<i>Ayes—18.</i>	<i>Noes—36.</i>
1. The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi.	1 His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.
2. The Hon'ble Pundit Bishan Narayan Dar	2 The Hon'ble Sir Robert Carlyle
3. The Hon'ble Pandit M. M. Malaviya	3. The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler
4 The Hon'ble Mr. R R Venkataranga.	4. The Hon'ble Sir Ali Imam
5 The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola.	5 The Hon'ble Mr Clark.
6 The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoy.	6. The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock.
7 The Hon'ble Mr Surendra Nath Banerjee.	7. The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer.
8 The Hon'ble Maharaja M. C Nandi of Kasimbazar.	8 The Hon'ble Mr Hailey.
9. The Hon'ble Raja of Mahmudabad	9. The Hon'ble Mr Gillan
10 The Hon'ble Raja Abu Jafar of Pirpur.	10. The Hon'ble Mr. Cobb
11. The Hon'ble Mr. M S. Das	11. The Hon'ble Mr Brunyate
12. The Hon'ble Mr Huda	12 The Hon'ble Mr. Wheeler.
13. The Hon'ble Raja Kuchalpal Singh	13 The Hon'ble Mr Low.
14 The Hon'ble Raja Jai Chand.	14 The Hon'ble Mr. Sharp
15 The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoj.	15 The Hon'ble Mr Porter
16 The Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis.	16 The Hon'ble Mr. Kershaw.
	17. The Hon'ble Mr. Michael.
	18. The Hon'ble General Holloway.
	19. The Hon'ble Surgeon-General Sir C P Lukis
	20. The Hon'ble Mr. Russell
	21. The Hon'ble Mr Maxwell.
	22 The Hon'ble Major Robertson.
	23 The Hon'ble Mr Kenrick.
	24. The Hon'ble Mr Kesteven
	25 The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent.
	26. The Hon'ble Mr Carr
	27 The Hon'ble Mr. Donald.
	28 The Hon'ble Mr Maude.
	29 The Hon'ble Mr. McNeill.
	30. The Hon'ble Lt.-Col. Brooke Blakeway.
	31. The Hon'ble Mr Maynard.
	32 The Hon'ble Mr Walker.
	33. The Hon'ble Lt-Col Gardon.
	34. The Hon'ble Mr Arbuthnot
	35. The Hon'ble Maung Mye.
	36. The Hon'ble Mr. Abbott.

So the amendment was negatived.

The Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee :—" My Lord, I beg to withdraw the amendment as regards this particular section, namely :—

' That to clause 5 (2) the following words be added, namely :—' but in such a case sentence of death shall not be passed '."

The amendment was by permission withdrawn.

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—" My Lord, I beg to withdraw my proposed amendment to this section, namely, that to clause 5 (2) the following words be added, namely :—' But no sentence of death shall in such a case be passed ' "

The amendment was by permission withdrawn.

"The motion that clause 5 stand as part of the Bill was then put and agreed to."

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock :—" My Lord, I now move that clause 6 stand as it is in the Bill."

The Hon'ble Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—" My Lord, I beg to withdraw the amendment, of which I have given notice, *vis*, that the words ' and conclusive ' be omitted."

" The amendment was by permission withdrawn."

[*Mr. Banerjee; Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya; [18TH MARCH, 1915.]*
Sir Reginald Craddock.]

The Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee:—"My Lord, I beg to withdraw the amendment as to clause 6 that stands against my name."

The amendment was by permission withdrawn.

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—"My Lord, I beg to move that the last two lines of clause 6 (1) be omitted, *viz.* :—

'And no order of confirmation shall be necessary in the case of any sentence passed by them''

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock:—"My Lord, the last two lines of clause 6 (1) that the Hon'ble Mr. Malaviya wishes omitted are 'no order of confirmation shall be necessary in the case of any sentence passed by them' My Lord, if this amendment were accepted it would have the practical result of giving a power of appeal, because if the sentence is subject to confirmation it is practically impossible for the question of the guilt or innocence of a man to be left out of consideration. The Sessions Judge can ordinarily pass all sentences except the sentence of death without confirmation, and the Bill provides that in lieu of the sentence of confirmation which is now required you have a Court of three Judges to decide a man's guilt or innocence and the propriety of the sentence. The introduction of a confirmation procedure would therefore strike at the root of the speedy trial procedure which the Bill is intended to provide, and therefore it cannot be accepted by Government."

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—"My Lord, after all that the Hon'ble the Home Member has said it yet seems to me that there would not be much loss of time caused by the adoption of the amendment proposed. The accused would have been convicted by the Special Commissioners and if the extreme sentence is carried out after fifteen days, there would not be any loss to the country or to the cause of justice. In the case of a death sentence the accused ought to be given an opportunity of having his case revised by the High Court because it may sometimes prevent a grave injustice. This, as I mentioned before, is what happened in the case of the German Consul at Sunderland, in which the Privy Council upset the decision of the High Court of England who had convicted and sentenced him to death. Cases of a similar miscarriage of justice ought to be provided against. Nothing would be lost by providing for them in this Bill."

The motion was put and negatived.

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—"My Lord, I move that clause 6, sub-clause (2), which runs as follows, be omitted :—

'6 (2) If in any trial under this Act it is proved that the accused person has committed any offence whether referred to in section 3, or in any order under that section or not, the Commissioners may convict such accused person of such offence and pass any sentence authorised by law for the punishment thereof.'

"Now, my Lord, this Act purports to provide for the trial of certain offences to which a special significance attaches by reason of the extraordinary circumstances of the war. But by virtue of this provision every offence of an ordinary nature, which may be triable otherwise by the ordinary courts of justice is brought under the purview of this Act. Suppose a person has been tried for one of the offences referred to in section 3 and an order is made sentencing him to 5 years' imprisonment; and suppose that there is another offence of an ordinary kind of which he has been guilty. If he is tried for this other offence in the ordinary courts, he will have the advantage of an opportunity of defending himself according to the ordinary regular procedure which the law has provided, but if the Special Commissioners are empowered to convict such an accused person of such an offence not falling under the purview of this special measure, then the man is unjustly deprived of the right of being tried for ordinary offences by the ordinary courts of law, which the Hon'ble Member has told us this Act does not purport to take away. My Lord, I submit that this clause should not find a place in the Bill, and should be omitted."

The Hon'ble Mr. Wheeler :—“ My Lord, the sub-clause merely provides for a point of procedure which may arise and enables it to be dealt with-out prejudice to anybody. It frequently happens that accused persons are sent before Courts on certain charges; after hearing the evidence and weighing the whole matter the Court considers that an offence, other than that charged, has been committed and convicts of that. If the clause were omitted, and if the Commissioners were able only to convict a person of one of the specific offences mentioned in the Bill, then if they are of opinion that the offence actually committed is not specifically covered by the Bill, the whole proceedings would presumably have to be re-opened, it may be before a Magistrate, and the accused instead of having had one trial before three Commissioners, of whom two must have had considerable judicial experience, would have to be re-tried by a single Magistrate. That would surely neither help the man nor benefit the cause of justice. I submit, My Lord, that the clause is reasonable ”

The amendment was put and negatived.

The motion that clause 6 stand as part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock :—“ My Lord, I now move that clause 7 stand as part of the Bill. ”

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock :—“ My Lord, I move that clause 8 stand as part of the Bill ”

The Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee :—“ My Lord, I beg to move the following amendment, that in clause 8 (1) for the words ‘and no Court’ the words ‘the High Court alone’ be substituted. The effect of that would be to give a right of appeal to the High Court in the case of the conviction of an individual. The section takes away the right of appeal. Under my amendment it is proposed that the right of appeal should be given. My Lord, the sentence in many cases would be so heavy and the procedure so summary that it seems to me as a matter of justice that there ought to be some authority to which an appeal might be preferred. The High Court is the highest authority and, having regard to this consideration, the summary nature of the procedure, and also to the absence of the safeguards which are provided by the ordinary law, I submit that it is only fair to the convicted person that he should have the right of appeal and that that right of appeal, I recommend, should be exercised by the High Court. ”

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock :—“ My Lord, the amendment moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee is to substitute the words ‘the High Court alone’ for the words ‘and no Court.’ He argued that it was necessary to give the right of appeal to the convicted persons in such cases, although, as a matter of fact, his amendment would not have that effect at all. It would give certain powers of revision to the High Court, and that is all. Well, My Lord, in introducing the Bill and explaining the necessity for a speedier method of administering justice, I dwelt strongly upon the necessity that there was that punishment should follow quickly on the crime, and that all the proceedings which are allowed in ordinary times to pursue their leisurely course, should be quickened up. Therefore to give powers of revision to the High Court in cases of this kind, or powers of appeal as the Hon'ble Member wanted, though his amendment did not convey that, would be merely to once more introduce the same kind of delay which by this legislation it is sought to avoid. I cannot imagine anyone who has voted for the principle of the Bill supporting this amendment. If the principle of this Bill is accepted, then the amendment cannot possibly be accepted. ”

The amendment was put and negatived.

The motion that clause 8 stand as part of the Bill was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock :—“ My Lord, I now move that clause 9 should stand as part of the Bill. ”

The motion was put and agreed to.

514 DEFENCE OF INDIA (CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT) BILL.
[*Sir Reginald Craddock; Mr. Banerjee; Pandit* [18TH MARCH, 1915.]
Madan Mohan Malaviya.]

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock:—"My Lord, I now move that clause 10 should stand as part of the Bill."

The Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee:—"My Lord, I beg to withdraw the amendment to clause 10 (ii) that stands against my name."

The amendment was by permission withdrawn.

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—"My Lord, I also beg for leave to withdraw my two amendments to clause 10 (ii) "

Both amendments were by permission withdrawn.

The motion that clause 10 should stand as part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock:—"My Lord, I now move that clause 11 should stand as part of the Bill "

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock:—"My Lord, I now move that the Bill be passed. It has been a source of satisfaction to the Government to find how hearty has been the support accorded by the Council to this measure. There have been points in it upon which amendments have been suggested, and in one or two cases we were able to accept those amendments. There were others in which I should have been glad to agree to some of the amendments had it been possible to do so without interfering with the efficiency of the new law. I think it is most gratifying to find how heartily, and how loyally—although the task is never a pleasant one—the Hon'ble Members have come to the help of Government in this matter

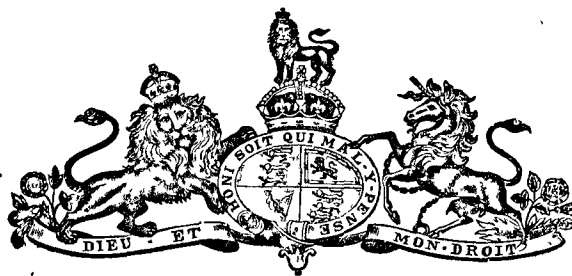
"My Lord, in the course of the debate remarks have now and then been dropped which would indicate that some members have rather over-estimated the character of the trial before these tribunals as being of a very summary nature, and I should like to repeat and lay some stress upon it that the law of evidence in this case is not altered except in one particular, for which we have a precedent in the Act of 1908, namely, that when a witness has clearly been got rid of in order to avoid his giving evidence, then any statement of his recorded before a Magistrate may be put in as evidence. With that one exception which, as I have said, has a precedent, the law of evidence will continue to guide these Special Commissioners in the trial of cases, and although the powers given are drastic, yet, as most Hon'ble Members will, I think, readily admit, this criticism has been levelled against many measures that have been brought before our Councils, and in nearly every case—perhaps in every case—many of the fears expressed at the time have been found to have been groundless. In the administration of an Act of this kind they may rest assured that under Your Excellency's direction the action taken will be not more stringent than the necessities of the case warrant, and I think that Local Governments may be fully trusted not in any way to abuse this power of handing cases over to special tribunals. With these remarks, My Lord, I ask that the Bill be passed"

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Council adjourned to Monday, the 22nd March, 1915.

W. H. VINCENT,
Secretary to the Government of India,
Legislative Department.

DELHI:
The 26th March, 1915.



GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.
LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COUNCIL OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA
ASSEMBLED FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING LAWS AND REGULATIONS
UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF THE INDIAN COUNCILS ACTS, 1861 to 1909
(24 & 25 Vict., c. 67, 55 & 56 Vict., c. 14, & 9 Edw. VII, c. 4).

The Council met at the Council Chamber, Imperial Secretariat, Delhi, on
Monday, the 22nd March, 1915.

PRESENT :

His Excellency BARON HARDINGE OF PENSHURST, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.,
G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., I.S.O., Viceroy and Governor General, *presiding*,
and 58 Members, of whom 50 were Additional Members.

OATH OR AFFIRMATION OF OFFICE.

The following Additional Members made the prescribed oath or affirmation
of allegiance to the Crown :—

The Hon'ble Dr. Sundar Lal, Rai Bahadur, C.I.E.
" " Mr. Chimanlal Harilal Setalvad.

STATEMENT LAID ON THE TABLE.

The Hon'ble Sir Robert Carlyle:—" As I promised in speaking
on the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's Resolution of 9th March,
regarding an increased grant for irrigation, I lay on the Table a statement*
showing the provision for Irrigation Major Works in the Budget Estimate for
1915-16.

* *Vide* Appendix, page 565 post.

516 STATEMENT LAID DOWN ON THE TABLE; QUESTIONS
AND ANSWERS.

[*Sir Robert Carlyle; Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola; [22ND MARCH, 1915.]*
Sir Ali Imam; Mr. Reid; Mr. Clark; Pandit
Bishan Narayan Dar.]

"I include in the table a statement showing the actual expenditure on Major Irrigation Works in India for the last 9 years, and the Revised Estimate figures for 1914-15. The average for 11 years is a little over Rs 227 lakhs per annum as compared with the Irrigation Commission's programme of Rs. 44 crores spread over 20 years, or an average of Rs 220 lakhs per annum".

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola asked :—

Practice in regard to legislative measures proposed to be introduced in Provincial Councils.

1. (a) "Will the Government be pleased to state what practice prevails at present in regard to legislative measures proposed to be introduced in Provincial Councils by (i) the Provincial Governments, and (ii) the non-official Additional Members ?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the Government of India require every Provincial Government to submit for their previous approval and sanction every legislative measure intended to be introduced by them in Provincial Legislative Councils ?

(c) If the answer to question No. (b) is in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state what legal authority there is empowering them to do so ? "

The Hon'ble Sir Ali Imam replied :—

"(a) The introduction of all Bills in Provincial Legislative Councils is regulated by rules made under the Indian Councils Act, 1861, for the conduct of business at meetings of the Legislative Councils concerned.

(b) Before a Bill is introduced in a Provincial Council by a Local Government it is, save in exceptional cases, submitted for approval to the Government of India.

(c) The legal authority for this practice is to be found in the various statutes which confer upon the Government of India powers of superintendence and control over Local Governments. It is assumed that the Hon'ble Member does not refer to cases in which under the law the specific sanction of the Governor General is necessary to the introduction of a Bill in a Local Council".

The Hon'ble Mr. Reid asked :—

Punjab Cement Concessions

2. "Will Government be pleased to state how matters stand with regard to what is commonly known as the 'Punjab Cement Concession' and regarding which a question was asked and replied to in this Council on 17th March, 1914 ? "

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark replied :—

"Certain difficulties have been found in the scheme proposed for the transfer of the concession, which has accordingly not been sanctioned by the Secretary of State. It is understood that the original concessionaires have not yet commenced operation".

The Hon'ble Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar asked :—

Revision of the Regulations governing elections to Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils.

3. "Will the Government be pleased to state if it is intended to revise the regulations governing elections to this Council and the Provincial Legislative Councils before the next general elections are held ? "

[22ND MARCH, 1915.] [*Sir Reginald Craddock; Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar; Mr. Clark; Mr. Barua; Mr. Gillan; Sir Robert Carlyle.*]

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

"The Government of India, as at present advised, do not intend to undertake a general revision of the Regulations before the next election".

The Hon'ble Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar asked :—

4. "Will the Government be pleased to state if any negotiations have been proceeding between them or His Majesty's Secretary of State for India and the Governments of the Self-Governing Dominions of the Empire on the subject of Indian Emigration thereto? If so, will the Government be pleased to state the proposals made by them?" and an emigration to the self-governing dominions of the British Empire.

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark replied :—

"No proposals have yet been laid before His Majesty's Government for negotiations with the Self-Governing Dominions. The Hon'ble Member will recollect that His Excellency intimated in his speech in Council on the 8th September, 1914, that the Government of India, before approaching the Secretary of State, wished to ascertain whether the policy which he then outlined commended itself to the people of India".

The Hon'ble Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar asked :—

5. "Will the Government be pleased to consider the desirability of appointing to the office of Legal Remembrancer in provinces where it exists, members of the legal profession of a certain standing, instead of members of the Indian Civil Service?" Recruitment of Legal Remembrancers from members of the legal profession.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

"There is no statutory bar to the appointment of barristers or other members of the legal profession to the office of Legal Remembrancer in provinces where such a post exists, and occasional appointments have been made with the Secretary of State's sanction from this source in cases where the Government of India have been satisfied that the nominee of the local Government is clearly the best candidate available. As, however, for the proper performance of his duties the holder should possess some administrative experience as well as legal knowledge, it is frequently the case that the selection can best be made from the ranks of the Indian Civil Service".

The Hon'ble Mr. Barua asked :—

6. "Has Government under consideration any programme for converting the metre gauge lines of the Eastern Bengal State Railway on the north side of the Hardinge Bridge to broad gauge lines? If not, do the Government propose to consider the advisability of examining this question?" Conversion of metre gauge lines on the north side of Hardinge Bridge to broad gauge lines.

The Hon'ble Mr. Gillan replied :—

"The Government of India have under consideration the question of converting to broad gauge certain of the Eastern Bengal Railway metre gauge lines north of the Hardinge Bridge".

The Hon'ble Mr. Barua asked :—

7. "Will Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the different rates charged for grazing cattle in State forests in the different provinces?" Rates charged for grazing cattle in State Forests.

The Hon'ble Sir Robert Carlyle replied :—

"The Government of India are not in a position to give the rates now charged for grazing in State forests as these vary in the different provinces and are altered from time to time. A statement* which was compiled in 1913 is, however, laid on the table."

* Not published with these Proceedings.

[*Mr. Dadabhoy; Sir Harcourt Butler; Mr. Das; Sir Reginald Craddock.*] [22ND MARCH, 1915.]

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy asked :—

Indian Edu-
cational
Bureau of
London

8. "Will Government be pleased to state :—

(a) What amount is spent annually for the maintenance of the Indian Educational Bureau of London and its branches in India with available details?

(b) In how many cases has the Bureau since its creation succeeded in securing for Indian students admission into the various educational institutions of the United Kingdom?

(c) How many Indian young men going abroad for education apply to the Indian branches of the Bureau every year for information, advice and guidance?"

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied :—

"(a) The details of the cost of the Secretary for Indian students, of the Educational Adviser in London, his assistants and the London Bureau, and of the local assistants will be found on page 17 of the Report on the work of the Indian Students' Department ending June, 1915*, which was recently published as a Parliamentary paper and placed in the Press Room in India. The Government of India have no precise knowledge of the cost of the provincial advisory committees. There are now eleven of these. Local Governments have been authorised to grant to the secretaries of these committees allowances not exceeding Rs. 200 a month.

(b) The Government of India have no precise information. But the Hon'ble Member is referred to pages 4 and 8 to 10 of the same report.

(c) Information is to be found on pages 6 to 7 of the same report".

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy asked :—

Admission of
Indian stu-
dents into
the educa-
tional insti-
tutions of
the United
Kingdom.

9. "(a) Has any correspondence passed between this Government and the Secretary of State for India for the freer admission of Indian students into the educational institutions of the United Kingdom?

(b) If so, do the Government propose to lay such correspondence on the table?"

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied :—

"(a) and (b) The Hon'ble Member is referred to the reply given to a similar question asked by him on the 16th September, 1914. He is also referred to the Report on the work of the Indian Students' Department ending June, 1914*, which was recently published as a Parliamentary paper and placed in the Press Room in India. A few copies of the Report* are placed on the table for the convenience of Hon'ble Members".

The Hon'ble Mr. Das asked :—

Signification
of expres-
sion "Local
Govern-
ment" in
rules
regarding
the
submission
of petitions
to Govern-
ment
of India.

10. "(a) Will the Government be pleased to state whether the expression 'Local Government' in paragraph 1, rule 1, of Home Department Notification No. 147, dated the 19th January, 1905 (regarding the submission of petitions to the Government of India by private persons or public bodies) has a wider signification than its statutory definition?

(b) If the expression is used in the above-mentioned notification in a wider sense, do the Government propose to give references which may help the public to know the exact connotation of the expression in the above-mentioned rule?"

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

"Note 1 to the preamble given in the notification referred to explains the scope of the term 'Local Government' as employed in the rules, and this note appears to answer the Hon'ble Member's inquiry".

* Not published with these Proceedings.

[22ND MARCH, 1915.] [Mr. Das; Sir Robert Carlyle; Sir William Meyer.]

The Hon'ble Mr. Das asked:—

11. "Has the attention of Government been drawn to an article headed ^{Case of Raja of Puri} 'The case of the Raja of Puri' which was published in 'The Bengalee' on 12th February, 1915?"

The Hon'ble Sir Robert Carlyle replied:—

"The answer is in the affirmative."

BUDGET FOR 1915-16.

The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer:—"My Lord, I rise to present the Budget of the Government of India for 1915-16. The preliminary estimates which I laid before the Council on the 2nd March have been revised in the light of our latest information. The Financial Secretary's explanatory memorandum has also been checked and brought up to date.

"2. The final figures of the Revised estimate for 1914-15 and of the Budget estimate for 1915-16 are given in the statements which I have to-day laid before the Council. The broad results of the revenue account are brought out in the table below, the figures in brackets, now superseded, being those given in the corresponding tables appearing in paragraphs 24 and 39 of my speech introducing the Financial Statement:—

[In millions of £]

	Budget, 1914-15.			Revised, 1914-15.			Budget, 1915-16		
	Imperial.	Provincial	Total.	Imperial.	Provincial	Total.	Imperial.	Provincial	Total.
Revenue . . .	54·237	30 842	85 079	49·929 (49·927)	30 228 (30 229)	80 157 (80·156)	49·650 (49·655)	30·750 (30·692)	80 400 (80·847)
Expenditure	52·981	34 048	87 029	52·715 (52·6)	32 458 (32 446)	85 198 (85 115)	52·607 (52·425)	31 838 (31 756)	84 435 (84 180)
Surplus (+) or deficit (-)	+1·256	-3 206	-1 950	-2·786 (-2·742)	-2 235 (-2 217)	-5 041 (-4 959)	-2·957 (-2·770)	-1 078 (-1 063)	-4 035 (-3 833)

"The alterations which have been made in the figures of the Financial Statement are not important and can be very briefly explained.

"3. The effect of our corrections in the Revised estimate for the current year is to increase the Imperial deficit previously announced by £44,000, and the Provincial deficit by £38,000. The Land Revenue is not coming in quite so rapidly as we anticipated in Burma and Madras. We have also had to allow under the new adjusting head for transfers between Imperial and Provincial, for the grant of £87,000 (10 lakhs) to the Calcutta University, for hostels, which was announced by Your Excellency a few days ago at Calcutta. On the other hand, the salt revenue has been increased by further advance payments of duty in February, and the latest figures indicate an increase of Customs receipts under silver and petroleum. The net effect of these changes is to leave the total revenue, whether Imperial or Provincial, almost unchanged, and the slight increase in the deficit of the year to which I have already referred is due to minor variations in the expenditure figures.

"4. As regards the Budget of next year, the effect of the changes made is to raise the Imperial deficit by £187,000 and the Provincial deficit by £15,000. Here again, there is very little change on the Revenue side. Under Land Revenue we allow for some increase of arrear collections (£42,000 more under Imperial and £53,000 more under Provincial) in view of the short collections at the end of the current year. But this is counterbalanced, in the case of Imperial Revenues, by a reduction of our anticipated Salt revenue in consequence of the higher figure taken for advance payments in the current year. An increase of £182,000 under Imperial expenditure is almost wholly explained by our having been obliged to raise the total net grant for Military

520 BUDGET FOR 1915-16; THE INDIAN PAPER CURRENCY
(TEMPORARY AMENDMENT) BILL.

[*Sir William Meyer.*] [22ND MARCH, 1915.]

Services by £169,000 as the result of increased expenditure now advised by the Secretary of State in England owing mainly to a rise in the prices of military stores. On the Provincial side the total allotment for expenditure has been raised by £73,000. This represents in the main the provincial outlay involved in the transfer to the Calcutta University of the grant of £67,000 for hostels already referred to, which in the current year is treated as a provincial receipt.

"5. Turning now to Ways and Means, we expect the total cash balance, in England and India, at the end of the current year to be some £238,000 higher than the figure taken in the Financial Statement. This is due to recoveries from the War Office being effected more promptly than we had anticipated, and to larger outstandings of Council Bills. We must expect, however, to lose this temporary addition to our resources during 1915-16. In addition, we have to finance the slightly larger Imperial and Provincial deficits which I have just explained. On the whole, therefore, we expect the closing balance on the 31st March, 1916, to be about £235,000 less than we anticipated in the Financial Statement, but this relatively slight divergence does not require any modification of our previous arrangements.

"6. A larger share (to the extent of some £700,000 more) of the lump provision of £8 million for Railway capital outlay is now expected to be incurred in India; and the effect of this, with other minor variations, is that we now estimate that we can meet the Secretary of State's actual remittance requirements in 1915-16 by the sale of £7.1 million of Council Bills, *i.e.*, some £600,000 less than the amount previously allowed for."

**THE INDIAN PAPER CURRENCY (TEMPORARY
AMENDMENT) BILL.**

The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer:—"My Lord, I move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend—temporarily—the Indian Paper Currency Act, 1910.

"On the 16th of January last Your Excellency passed an Ordinance, No. 1 of 1915, which, for the time being, amended the Paper Currency Act by substituting for the figure 140 million of rupees under section 22 of the Act the figure 200 million; that is, to put the matter in non-technical language, the portion of the Paper Currency Reserve which can be invested instead of being actually held in coin or bullion was thereby raised to six crores of rupees or £4 million. The object of this measure was explained in a *Communiqué* issued on the 5th January subsequent to the Cotton Conference. It was further referred to by Your Excellency in your speech opening the present legislative session, and was again dealt with in my recent speech introducing the Financial Statement. In brief, we desire to give temporary application to a recommendation of the Royal Commission on Indian Finance and Currency with the object of raising the fiduciary portion of the Paper Currency Reserve so as to allow us to give special assistance to trade through the Presidency Banks, or, if necessary, to supplement our own resources during the present abnormal period. As I said in another portion of my Budget speech we do not by this prejudice in any way the final decisions which will have to be come to with reference to the proposals in respect of our Currency policy and methods contained in the report of the Royal Commission.

"The Ordinance by itself, however, can only cover a period of six months, and obviously that is too short a time for the temporary measure that it authorises. We must provide, as in the case of other Ordinances, for it remaining in force during the period of the war, and for six months there after so as to allow things to settle again into a normal state. Had the Ordinance been issued a few days previously, this result would have been automatically achieved by its coming within the purview of the recently passed Emergency Legislation Continuance Act. As it is, it becomes necessary to obtain the same result by specific legislation.

THE INDIAN PAPER CURRENCY (TEMPORARY AMENDMENT) 521
BILL; BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY BILL.

[22ND MARCH, 1915.] [*Sir William Meyer; The President; Sir Harcourt Butler.*]

"The Bill which I now ask leave to introduce will achieve precisely the same effect that the Emergency Legislation continuance Act would have accomplished. It definitely amends the Paper Currency Act of 1910 in the way in which the Ordinance has hitherto done, but at the same time the force of this legislation is specifically limited to the continuance of the present war and for a period of six months thereafter

"In the circumstances I have explained, and in the absence of any previous criticism in regard to the temporary policy we have adopted with reference to the Paper Currency Reserve, we consider this measure to be so non-contentious, as well as essential, that I propose to ask for a suspension of our ordinary rules of business so as to allow the Bill to be passed into law at once. But I must begin by moving for leave to introduce it, which I now do."

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer :—"My Lord, I now beg to introduce the Bill, and I also beg, for the reasons which I have already stated, that Your Excellency may be kind enough to suspend the Rules of Business so as to allow of the Bill being taken into consideration at once."

His Excellency the President :—"I suspend the Rules of Business."

The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer :—"My Lord, I now beg to move that the Bill be taken into consideration. I need add nothing more to what I have already said on the subject."

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer :—"I now beg to move that the Bill be passed."

The motion was put and agreed to.

THE BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY BILL.

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler :—"My Lord, I move for leave to introduce the Benares Hindu University Bill. It is the earnest desire of the University Committee that this measure may be placed upon the Statute-book during the viceroyalty of Your Excellency with whose name the University will be for ever associated. It is the bare truth that without Your Excellency's constant interest, support and approval, this measure could not have been introduced to-day. By a series of compromises the Government and the Society have arrived at conclusions which, I hope, may take the measure out of the domain of controversy. It is intended to publish the Bill now for general information, and to take Select Committee stage and pass the Bill into law during the September session. Before I go further I must congratulate the Committee and especially the Maharaja Bahadur of Durbhanga, Mrs. Besant, Dr. Sundar Lal, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the late Rai Bahadur Ganga Prasad Varma, Sir Gooroo Das Bannerjee, Dr. Rash Bihari Ghose, and, outside the Committee, such active helpers as His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir and His Highness the Maharaja of Benares, on the success which has already crowned their efforts. I need not review the history of the movements which resulted in the proposals for a Hindu University at Benares and a Moslem University at Aligarh. I will deal with the results that have emerged from long discussion. The facts are well known, but I will confidently say this that if anyone had predicted ten years ago that the idea of a university of this kind, then in the air, would take practical shape, he simply would not have been believed. The University Commission, an influential body, had recently

[*Sir Harcourt Butler.*] [22ND MARCH, 1915.]

pronounced against such a university and there was widespread opposition and hostility to any scheme which threatened to cut into existing territorial and federal universities. It would have seemed incredible ten years ago that the Government of India should associate itself with a movement of this kind. That the difficulties have been overcome is in large measure due to the genuine spirit of co-operation which has inspired the University Committee.

"My Lord, this is no ordinary occasion. We are watching to-day the birth of a new and, many hope, a better type of university in India. The main features of this university which distinguish it from existing universities will be, first, that it will be a teaching and residential university, secondly, that while it will be open to all castes and creeds, it will insist upon religious instruction for Hindus, and, thirdly, that it will be conducted and managed by the Hindu community and almost entirely by non-officials. I say that this is a new type and, many hope, a better type of university. Let not this be taken as disparaging the work of existing universities. That would, indeed, be gross ingratitude and sheer injustice. India owes much to her universities in every department of intellectual life and energy. They were based on the latest model, the London University then recently founded and much admired and only lately condemned by Lord Haldane's great Commission on university education in London as fundamentally defective. The best minds in India are, I think, now in agreement that teaching and residential universities are the special need of India to-day.

"At the same time, there is naturally very little knowledge in the country of what a teaching and residential university is. To this want of knowledge I attribute much criticism which has been levelled against the constitution of the Benares Hindu University. Conditions which are appropriate and necessary in a teaching and residential university have been viewed away through the glasses of minds habituated to the existing universities. This is only natural in the circumstances of India. I wish it were possible to say in a few words what a teaching and residential university really means. Probably, the best idea will be obtained from Cardinal Newman's Idea of an University. May I quote a passage from the report of Lord Haldane's Commission on university education in London, the most authoritative statement of modern times on university education? It runs as follows:—

'In the first place, it is essential that the regular students of the University should be able to work in intimate and constant association with their fellow students, not only of the same but of different Faculties, and also in close contact with their teachers'. The University should be organised on this basis, and should regard it as the ordinary and normal state of things. This is impossible, however, when any considerable proportion of the students are not fitted by the previous training to receive a university education, and therefore do not and cannot take their place in the common life of the university as a community of teachers and students, but, as far as their intellectual education is concerned, continue in a state of pupillage and receive instruction of much the same kind as at a school, though under conditions of greater individual freedom. It is good that the students should be brought together if only in this way, and Newman, writing in 1852, even went so far as to say:—

'I protest to you, Gentlemen, that if I had to choose between a so-called University, which dispensed with residence and tutorial superintendence, and gave its degrees to any person who passed an examination in a wide range of subjects, and a University which had no professors or examinations at all, but merely brought a number of young men together for three or four years, and then sent them away as the University of Oxford is said to have done some sixty years since, if I were asked which of these two methods was the better discipline of the intellect, . . . which of the two courses was the more successful in training, moulding, enlarging the mind, which sent out men the more fitted for their secular duties, which produced better public men, men of the world, men whose names would descend to posterity, I have no hesitation in giving the preference to that University which did nothing, over that which exacted of its members an acquaintance with every science under the sun'.

'Nevertheless, this is only one side of the question, and in any case Newman does not refer to the kind of student life that can be reproduced in London. But for this very reason it is the more essential that in such a University as London can have, the students and teachers should be brought together in living intercourse in the daily work of the University. From the time the under-graduate enters the University he should find himself a member of a community in which he has his part to play. The teaching and learning should be combined through the active and personal co-operation of teachers and student'.

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The active and personal co-operation of students and teachers, their association on more or less fraternal lines, that is the keynote. A teaching and residential university does not aim at mere intellectual attainment; it is a way of life, and a way of corporate life. Those of us who have been at Oxford and Cambridge can appreciate the force and meaning of Newman's vivid words. But Oxford and Cambridge are not the only models. There is much to be learned in India from other universities which are more definitely practical in aim. They are all, however, alike in this that they pursue an outlook on life, form an atmosphere, concentrate thought and by friction of mind get truer perspectives, no matter whether the dominant note be philosophical or technical. So much for the teaching and residential aspect of the University. There remains the question of religious instruction. You know the history of religious instruction in India, the fixed and unalterable neutrality of the British Government, and how, in every province at the present time, earnest men are seeking to find some means of infusing religious and moral ideas into the swiftly onrushing intellectualism of the day. It is a matter which we much leave to the Hindu community to work out on lines which best commend themselves to it. The theological faculty must be a purely Hindu faculty. On behalf of the Government of India I can only assure the Committee that they have our fullest sympathy in this new and, I believe, important venture.

" I turn now to the measure itself. This consists of the Bill and the original statutes. The regulations are in course of preparation. It was only by a *tour de force* on the part of Mr. Sharp, Dr. Sundar Lal and Mr. Muddiman that the Bill and the statutes have been prepared in the time. In the first place, as regards the form of the Bill, I must explain that its apparent brevity is due partly to the accepted practice conducive to the maximum of elasticity, whereby only essentials are included in a legislative measure, partly to the desirability of relegating much to statute and regulation. Schedule II is very full and can be still further extended by the addition hereafter of such statutes as are not required for permitting the University to get immediately to work, and the regulations have still to be framed.

" I will now try to give you a brief account of the organisation of the new University. You will see that it is a somewhat complicated organisation and it has been necessary to define and adjust functions with some care. The University is an all-India University. It is incorporated for the teaching of all knowledge, but will commence with five faculties, Arts, Science, Law, Oriental studies and Theology. I know that many of the promoters desire to add a faculty of Technology. This desire has my full sympathy and I trust that adequate funds will soon be forthcoming. The University will be open to students from all parts of India on conditions which I shall specify hereafter. The Governor General is Lord Rector of and the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh is the Visitor of the University. Among those whom the University will delight to honour are Patrons, Vice-Patrons and Rectors. The governing body is a numerous and very representative Court, with an executive body in a Council of not more than 30 Members, of whom five will be members of the Senate. The academic body is the Senate consisting of not less than 50 members, with an executive body in the Syndicate. The Senate will have entire charge of the organisation of instruction in the University and constituent colleges, the curriculum, and the examination and discipline of students and the conferment of ordinary and honorary degrees. Except in matters reserved to it the Senate is under the control of the Court working through the Council. The Senate will be constituted as follows:—

" I. *Ex-officio*.—(a) The Chancellor, the Pro-Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor and the Pro-Vice-Chancellor for the time being; (b) The University Professors; (c) The Principals or heads of constituent colleges of the University.

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" *II. Elected.*—(a) Five members to be elected by the Court. (b) Five members to be elected by the registered graduates of the University from such date as the Court may fix. (c) Five representatives of Hindu religion and Sanskrit learning to be elected by the Senate. (d) Should the Vice-Chancellor declare that there is a deficiency in the number of members required in any faculty or faculties, then five or less persons elected by the Senate, eminent in the subject or subjects of that faculty or those faculties.

" *III. Nominated.*—And five members to be nominated by the Visitor. The Syndicate will consist of the Vice-Chancellor, Pro-Vice-Chancellor and fifteen members of whom not less than ten shall be University professors or principals or professors of constituent colleges. The object aimed at is to secure that purely academic matters should be decided by a body mainly expert while the Government and supervision of the University rests with the Court and the Council. It is necessary to represent the Senate on the latter in order that the academic view may always be before it. The Court will elect its own Chancellor and Pro-Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor and Pro-Vice-Chancellor. In the first instance these officers will be scheduled. The Vice-Chancellor will be *ex-officio* Chairman of the Council, the Senate and the Syndicate. He will be the Chief Executive officer of the University. The University will through the Council and the Board of Appointments appoint its own professors and staff and have entire control over them. Stability is given to the constitution by requiring the sanction of external authority to changes in the statutes and the regulations. This is the outline of the constitution of the University. The Government binds itself to accept the degrees, etc., of this University as equivalent to the degrees, etc., of existing Universities. This in itself is no mean concession.

" My Lord, I have seen this constitution described as ill-liberal and I have rubbed my eyes in amazement. It is far more liberal than the constitution of existing universities. No Government can allow universities to grow up without control. In most European countries the universities or at least the majority of them are entirely State universities. In the course of these discussions two policies emerged. One was a policy of trust. The other a policy of distrust. The Government might well have said to the Society—You are starting a new kind of University without any experience of it in India. We must leaven the lump with officials who have the requisite experience. We must guide you from within at any rate until you prove your worth and the value of your degrees. That would not have been an unreasonable attitude. But we preferred to trust the Society, to leave them large autonomy, and to reserve to Government only the necessary powers of intervention if things go wrong. I hope that things will not go wrong but you will not misunderstand me when I say that the taking of these powers is a necessary precaution. You will also realise that to some extent this is a leap in the dark and that the machinery which is being provided is very complicated, and might in conceivable circumstances produce friction. I hope that intervention will not be required. We desire and Sir James Meston desires that you should manage your own affairs; we are anxious to maintain the dignity and independence of the University. But we must in the public interest, in the interests of the rising generation, in your own interest, have powers to interfere should things go wrong. We could not contemplate the existence of a university or recognise its degrees on any other terms. But with this one reservation, we wish to see you realise your own way of life, your own way of corporate life.

" I ask Hon'ble Members to compare the constitution of this University with that of the oldest University in India. And yet who will deny that the University of Calcutta has had in practice a measure of independence that is not accorded to universities in most countries? In Calcutta 80 of the 100 ordinary members of the Senate are nominated by the Chancellor who is *ex-officio* the Governor General, while the election of the remaining twenty is subject to the approval of the Chancellor. In the case of this University only 5 out of a minimum of 50 are nominated by the Visitor, who is *ex-officio*

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the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, and this provision was suggested by yourselves in order to secure expert official help and co-operation. In Calcutta the appointment of professors requires the sanction of the Government of India. In this University no such sanction is required. There will be, in this University under normal conditions, no interference whatever from outside with the University staff. In Calcutta the Vice-Chancellor is appointed by the Governor General in Council. In this University the Court elects the Vice-Chancellor subject only to approval by the Visitor. The Court has power to elect its own Chancellor and Pro-Chancellor. In the Court and the Council the Government has no voice or representation whatever. The ordinary powers of intervention are vested in the Visitor. The Visitor will be close at hand. You will need his help at every turn, in the acquisition of land and in many other ways. And you will not appeal to Sir James Meston in vain. The extraordinary powers are vested in the Governor General in Council. You need not be alarmed lest they be exercised unduly. The tendency will be the other way. It will not be in human nature that the Visitor should seek lightly the intervention of the Governor General in Council. I have not noticed such a tendency in Local Governments. In the Government of India the tendency is all the other way, to avoid interference in the details of administration. The terms are necessarily general, but it is made quite clear that they are extraordinary and emergent powers, and considering how much this movement already owes to the Government of India, I confidently ask you to believe in our *bonâ fides*. We have trusted the promoters so much that I think we ourselves may claim some trust at your hands.

“ So much for the constitution of the University. There remains the question of admission to the University and this raises the whole question of the recognition of schools and matriculation. This will be dealt with in the regulations but I will tell you exactly what is our policy in the matter and what principles underlie it.

“ Some of the promoters, I understand, desire to keep the recognition of schools in the hands of the University and to conduct their own matriculation examination. This wish is opposed to all the best modern view on the subject. This view, strongly emphasised by the Commission on University education in London, is this—that it is the central educational authority which is concerned to see that its grants are effectively used and that it is that authority also which must provide for the co-ordination of secondary schools and universities and must give the necessary assurance to the latter that the pupils seeking admission to their degree courses have reached the required standard of education. The Committee, I may mention, accept the recognition of schools by Local Governments and Durbars. As regards matriculation, I must remind the Council that this is not a federal territorial university but a teaching and residential university. In the case of Dacca, the Dacca University Committee decided that it could not conduct its own matriculation examination. It was recognised that most of the high school students would be reading for admission to colleges of the Calcutta University and that therefore the requirements of that University must regulate the course of studies in those schools. In the case of the Benares Hindu University, the pupils of high schools will similarly be reading for admission to existing universities and the new university could not with advantage set up a different standard or prescribe a new course. Again, it was recognised that a separate entrance examination for Dacca held at the head-quarters of Dacca would be cumbrous and difficult to carry out and would be likely to cause confusion. These reasons are applicable with even greater force to the Benares Hindu University. Probably before many years have passed the external matriculation examination, the octopus which digs its tentacles into all limbs and parts of our secondary English schools, will have been replaced by some system of school-leaving certificate. The most weighty authorities of modern times, the Consultative Committee on Examinations in secondary schools, and Lord Haldane's Commission on University education in London alike contemplate the abolition of the purely external matriculation examination.

“ Meanwhile the position will be this :—The Benares Hindu University will accept for admission to its courses all candidates from schools at present recognised by an existing university or by a Local Government or by a Durbar, who have passed the matriculation examination of such university or obtained a recognised school-leaving certificate. The Benares Hindu University will also be able to impose any additional test on such candidates that it may think desirable. The Benares Hindu University will hold its own matriculation examination at Benares for all candidates for the faculties of Oriental Studies and Theology, and for private candidates (on usual conditions) in other faculties. Finally, in order to meet the strong desire of some of the promoters that certain schools should prepare exclusively for the Benares Hindu University it has been decided to allow such a course provided that such schools are recognised by the Local Government of the province or, by arrangements which will have to be decided hereafter, by the Durbar of the State in which they are situated and provided also that such schools are not allowed to send up candidates for matriculation at any other university. Only in this way can complication of school curricula and confusion in the examination system be prevented. The Secretary of State allows this large concession involving some breach of principle in deference to the sentiment of the promoters. It will come under reconsideration if at any time the school-leaving certificate generally ousts the matriculation examination of other universities.

“ I have now dealt fully and frankly with the two main points on which there have been differences of opinion. There remains yet another point on which there has been misunderstanding that is easily removable. It is said that this University has ceased to be an all-India University. This is not the case. It is open to students from every province and Native State in India. Schools preparing for admission to it may be situated in any province or Native State in India. Its governing body is recruited from the length and breadth of India. It will send forth its *alumni* to every quarter of India. It will number among its patrons Governors and Heads of Provinces, Ruling Chiefs and other eminent benefactors in all parts of India. I am informed that the following large subscriptions have already been paid. His Highness the Maharana of Udaipur 1½ lakhs, His Highness the Maharaja Holkar of Indore 5 lakhs, His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur 2 lakhs with a grant in perpetuity of Rs. 2,000 a month, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir one lakh with a grant in perpetuity of Rs. 1,000 a month, His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir a grant in perpetuity of Rs. 1,000 a month, His Highness the Maharao of Kotah one lakh, the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga 3 out of 5 lakhs, Dr. Rash Behari Ghose one lakh, Dr. Sunder Lal one lakh, Maharaja of Kasimbazar one lakh, Babu Bijindra Kishore Roy Chaudhri of Ghorepur one lakh and Babu Moti Chand one lakh. His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior has promised 5 lakhs of rupees. Others have promised liberal donations of which in many cases part payment has been made. If there ever Was an all-India University, it is this.

“ I think that on a review of all the facts Hon'ble Members will agree that the Government has dealt in a large and liberal spirit with the movement. The conduct of the negotiations has not been easy. It has been complicated by the fact that the movement started on lines of its own without reference to Government and without knowledge of the conditions which Government considered essential to its success. It was further complicated by criticisms from opposing points of view. If to some it has seemed that the Government was granting too little, to others it has seemed that the Government was granting too much. I do not conceal from Hon'ble Members that in some quarters it has been considered that the Government was taking grave risks, risks graver than any Government ought to face. I can understand this view but I do not myself share it. We know that we are taking a certain amount of risk. We know that there is danger lest this University or similar universities elsewhere develop undesirable tendencies or lower standards of education. We deliberately face that risk, believing in the loyalty and good sense of India and the growing desire to co-operate with Government on the part of the Hindu and other com-

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munities in India. For my part, I am hopeful of success I earnestly trust that the introduction of this Bill and the removal of misunderstanding will lead to further enthusiasm and the provision of funds sufficient to build and equip the University on a worthy scale, a scale worthy of the great Hindu Community. I confess that the other day when I was standing opposite Ramnagar, on the site where your University buildings will, I hope, soon be rising in stately array, and looked down the river Ganges to the ghats at Kashi, which swept before me in the distance, I felt that if I was a Hindu I should be proud indeed of the achievement of my people, and at the same time I felt some little pride myself that I was a member of a Government which had joined in one more large endeavour to combine the ancient and honoured culture of India with the culture of the modern western world"

The Hon'ble Dr. Sundar Lal:—" My Lord, on behalf of the Hindu University Society I beg leave to offer our grateful thanks to Your Excellency's Government, and more particularly to Your Excellency, and to the Hon'ble the Member for Education for all the encouragement and help that the Government have given to the proposal for the establishment of a Hindu University at Benares. The supporters of the University will rejoice to learn that a Bill for the establishment of the University has to-day been introduced in the Council.

" My Lord, if I may be permitted to say so, the Bill before us marks a memorable epoch in the history of University education in India. It constitutes a very important step forward, in the extension of the system of establishing residential and teaching universities in India managed mainly by the people themselves. It emphasises the desirability of combining religious with secular education under their own control, and it will ever be remembered as one of the most beneficial acts of Your Excellency's Government.

" Sixty years ago, when the Court of Directors of the East India Company, impelled by the noble desire of bringing to 'the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the diffusion of knowledge' decided to establish universities in India 'which may encourage a regular and liberal course of education by conferring academical degrees as evidences of attainments in different branches of Arts and Sciences,' they directed that the new universities should be modelled after the then recently established University of London. Like their prototype they were to be merely examining universities 'not so much to be in themselves places of instruction as to test the value of education imparted elsewhere'. They could not by reason of the principle of strict neutrality in religion invariably followed by the Government in the examination for degrees 'include any subjects connected with religious belief'

" Limited though their functions were the Indian universities have more than fulfilled the expectations that were formed of them. Evidence of the excellent work done by them greets the eye in all directions and in almost every part of the country. In the years that have rolled by the opinion of those best qualified to speak on that subject has been steadily growing in the western countries in favour of Universities which should not merely be institutions for holding tests of education but which should themselves be the homes of knowledge and learning, where their *alumni* should be trained and educated under the direct guidance of their teachers, and where their pupils may not only live in an atmosphere of learning, but inspired by the influence of their teachers, they should be imbued with and animated by the spirit of progress and research pervading therein. The view has naturally found many votaries in this country both among Hindus and Mahomedans. There has also been a wide-spread feeling that a system of education which makes no provision for religious teaching is essentially imperfect and incomplete. It is of course impossible to provide for it in the existing State universities. It is to these considerations, as also to the very keenly felt desire of resuscitating the study of the ancient learning of India of

enriching its vernaculars, and of imparting some knowledge of the practical applications of modern science to the industries, that the proposals for the establishment of denominational universities owe their genesis, and it is to Your Excellency's Government that we are so greatly indebted for the initiation of so important an experiment. It is a matter of much gratification to us that the proposals for the establishment of the Hindu University at Benares have met with the ready sympathy and support of Sir James Meeson, to whom we are no less indebted.

"It is, of course, not permissible at this state for me, to dwell upon the provisions of the Bill, and with Your Excellency's leave I propose to reserve any observations I may have to make on them to a later and more suitable stage, but I would crave the indulgence of the Council to permit me to refer to some of the features of the Bill, to remove any possible room for misapprehension and to place side by side some of the more prominent aspects in the constitution of the new university, along with those of the existing universities in India, to enable the public to form a clear idea of what the Bill proposes to give to us.

"I have already pointed out the essentially non-official character of the governing bodies of the new universities. I will now explain more fully what I mean. The government of the University is entrusted to—

- (1) the Court on the administrative side ;
- (2) the Senate on the academic side.

"The Court is to consist of donors and their representatives, as also of representatives of learning and of bodies interested in the education of the Hindu Community. Every one of these persons must, in future, be Hindu. Not one of them need be a servant of the Government unless he comes in as a donor or is elected by one of the electoral bodies. It will be presided over by the Chancellor and Pro-Chancellor, who will be elected by it.

The Senate is so constituted that no less than three-fourths of its members must be Hindus. The Government will nominate only five of its members. The *ex-officio* members of the Senate besides the Vice-Chancellor and the Pro-Vice-Chancellor will be servants of the University or of its constituent colleges. The Vice-Chancellor and the Pro-Vice-Chancellor will be elected by the Senate, subject to the approval of the Visitor, who will be the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces. The University will be competent to appoint its own professors and teachers. Their appointment will be solely in the hands of the university and will not, as in the case of some of the existing Indian universities be subject to the approval of the Government. It will also appoint its own Boards of Examiners.

"Let us now compare it with the constitution of the existing Indian universities. The donors in these Universities have no place in the constitution of these Universities, unless the Government appoints any one of them as an honorary member of the Senate, who, as such, can take no part in the affairs of the University. Four-fifths of the members of the Senates of them all must be nominees of the Government; only one-fifth being left to be appointed by election by the graduates, the senate and the faculties. A very large number of the Government nominees are, as a rule, officers of the Government. The Vice-Chancellor is appointed by the Government. It will be then evident that the constitution of the new University is conceived on a considerably more popular and liberal basis. It is, as I have said, essentially non-official in its character and I may, I venture to think, claim for it that it will be the university of the people in full contact with and responsive to their intellectual aspirations.

"I may now touch upon its relation with the Government. As in the case of the existing universities, its Statutes and Regulations and the amendments thereof will be subject to the approval of the Government. The admission of outside colleges to the privileges of the University will, as in the case of institutions affiliated to the existing universities, be subject to the approval of the Visitor, who will have also the right to inspect the university and its colleges at pleasure. If

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any action of the University is contrary to the provisions of the Act, the Statutes and Regulations, and therefore *ultra vires*, the visitor will have power to annul them.

"The Governor General in Council will have certain emergency powers which have been reserved to him.

"It will thus be evident that the constitution of the University is as liberal as we can expect it to be.

"The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler has been pleased to mention the names of some of the larger donors. I may be permitted to say that in addition to them, there is a large body of donors who have already paid substantial amounts, or who will pay them in the course of a short time, and I have no doubt that, now that the Bill has been introduced, it will not be difficult to collect a large sum of money.

"I have much pleasure therefore in supporting the motion for the introduction of the Bill."

The Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis :—"My Lord, I need not say much after the speeches which have been delivered in this connection. It is a matter of genuine satisfaction to the great Hindu community that the labours of the promoters of the Hindu University movement have, thanks to Your Excellency's sympathetic help and attitude, borne fruit, and that a stage has been reached when Government is pleased to extend to it legal recognition. It is only just to mention, and it is a matter of common knowledge that the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Maharaja of Dharbhanga, Dr. Sunder Lal, and Mrs. Besant, have now for some time worked in the cause with admirable devotion and singleness of purpose, at times at great personal inconvenience and sacrifice. The people have some idea of their work, but few outside the organisers know the great services the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler has rendered to the cause.

"The Bill now introduced marks an important step in the educational history of India which is full of possibilities, and let us all hope that the Hindu University will be as great a success as its supporters expect it will be. It is permissible also to indulge in the hope that this University, imparting as it proposes to do, sound religious instruction, will inculcate in the youthful mind a due sense of proportion, of duty and responsibility, and respect for authority which will make the graduates useful, virtuous, loyal and contented citizens. A thing well begun is half done and we hope that this coming University will soon rise to a position when it will be possible for the products of this University, modelled as it will be on the basis of the ancient religions of this great land, to come out of its portals what model University students should be equipped with the best that the East can teach and helpful both to Government and the large community to which they belong."

The Hon'ble Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi :—"My Lord, as one interested in the Hindu University scheme, may I be permitted to express my gratification at the introduction of the Bill which crowns the efforts made for the establishment of this University? The realisation of our hopes is now in sight and we are deeply grateful to the Hon'ble the Member for Education and the Government of India for the kind help and sympathy accorded to this scheme and the legislative sanction which is being initiated to-day. My Lord, I hope there will be no jarring note and this Bill will receive the same unanimous support in the Council that the scheme has received in the country."

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy :—"My Lord, as the only member of the Parsee community on your Legislative Council, I rise to join in the chorus of congratulations welcoming this Bill. My Lord, outside this Council there were many misgivings about this Bill, but after the luminous and very

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instructive speeches of the Hon'ble the Education Member and Dr. Sundar Lal, most of these misgivings have been dispelled. I keep an open mind about the provisions relating to the Constitution, in respect to which this Council will have a suitable opportunity later on to express its opinion. But I must admit that this Bill concedes many important privileges. The constitution, the details of which have been indicated by the Hon'ble the Education Member, fully prove this and further that the new University will be in advance of the existing universities in many matters. I am glad that this will not only be a teaching, but also a residential university, that it will be free from official control, and also that religious instruction will be imparted in it.

" My Lord, I have no hesitation in stating, as the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler has already stated, that when this University comes into existence a few years hence, it will be an imperishable monument to the educational policy pursued by Your Excellency.

" My Lord, before I sit down, I wish to say a word with reference to the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler. He only stated that he had pleasure in being a member of the Government which had associated itself with this important measure. He might, with pardonable pride, have referred to the most important share that he has taken in the preparation of this Bill and for the matter of that, in working the whole scheme. It was his laborious and sympathetic work and it was his desire to make certain concessions to the educated Indians that has brought about the promise of the Hindu University, and has led to the University Bill being presented in its present form."

The Hon'ble Mr. Rayanngar :—" My Lord, the Hindu University Bill has been for some time past looked forward to with eagerness by the Hindu public, and although we have not before us the detailed provisions and have not had time to consider them, the eloquent speech of the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler gives us an outline of the scope of the Bill. We shall have later an opportunity to discuss the provisions of the Bill in detail. For the present we are glad to note that Your Lordship's Government has been pleased to view the movement with favour, and proceeds to take practical steps to give us a national University, and, as has been remarked by the Hon'ble the Education Member, a residential and teaching university, a university to teach the essential points of Hinduism to all classes of Hindus.

" My Lord, Hindus in common with Muhammadans have always felt the need of secular education being supplemented by religious education. A Hindu knowing the real essence of his religion will be an acquisition to the country. Ever mindful of his duties to God and man, to all his fellow-beings, he will be a desirable citizen. My Lord, the circumstances attending the introduction of English education into India made it incumbent on the Government to favour secular education. This is a defect which must sooner or later be removed and beyond all doubt the defect can only be removed with the co-operation of the community concerned. The introduction of the Bill is significant. It is a great practical step towards National Education in India.

" My Lord, I support the motion before us. "

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi :—" My Lord, with Your Excellency's permission, I should like to draw Your Excellency's attention to the fact, that it is a matter of some inconvenience to non-official members, that when a Bill is about to be introduced into Council it is not previously circulated to Members. On the last occasion I made the remark that because the Defence of India Bill was circulated even 24 hours before it was introduced into this Council, it had the effect of allowing us to make ourselves acquainted with its contents, and, therefore in a measure resulted in our being able to give it our practically unanimous support, particularly when we discovered at the very outset that the Bill was only going to be enacted into law for a specified short period of time. On this occasion, when a Bill of such importance as the Hindu

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University Bill is about to be introduced, we non-official members feel that as we have not had copies of this Bill beforehand we are not able to make any observations which we would consider to be absolutely pertinent to the subject. Such being the case, My Lord, I should only like to say at the present moment that there is some amount of feeling in the country that neither a Hindu University nor a Mussulman University will be of any real advantage to the people, because, I take it, that the desire of true Indian patriots is, above all else, to bring about the unification of the two great communities of this country, namely, the Hindus and Mussulmans; and a Hindu University and Mussulman University will, I am afraid, tend to produce ultra Hindus and ultra Mussulmans. But, if my Hindu friends in this Council, the promoters of this University and the Hindu public outside, are enamoured of their University, and if they are satisfied with the constitution which the Government has been pleased to grant them, I for one wish them all joy. Therefore, I desire to congratulate my Hindu friends as well as the Government, and particularly my Hon'ble friend Sir Harcourt Butler on introducing this Bill, and I desire to thank Your Excellency and the Government of India for having introduced this Bill out of deference to the wishes of our friends the Hindus."

The Hon'ble Mr. Das:—"My Lord, with regard to the objection that has been made by the Hon'ble Member who spoke just now (Mr. Ghuznavi) that we have not been furnished with a copy of the Bill beforehand, I should like to observe that this objection, which would apply in the case of some other Bills, does not apply in this case, because it appears from the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler's speech that there has been consultation and discussion on the subject-matter between the Government on the one side, and those who are interested in the scheme on the other. Though I am one of those who did not see the Bill or did not know the contents or the details of the Bill, yet the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Bill has explained to us that it is not confined to Hindus only: the only peculiarity of the University will be that Hindus will be taught the Hindu religion, but the University will be open to persons of other religious persuasions.

"The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler said in his speech that ten years ago nobody would have considered this Bill a possibility. That shows, My Lord, that under a sympathetic rule, under a sympathetic Government, when the policy of the Government is to trust the people and to take the people into their confidence, Government can actually wipe away, as it were, from the history of the nation ten years' time, and bring them nearer the goal of their aspirations. That means a statesmanship for which Your Excellency's rule will ever be remembered. Sir Harcourt Butler in the course of his speech has taken a very modest share of the praise that is due to him, but let me assure him and the Government of India generally that we shall all be thankful for the step that he has taken, for it establishes the principle that the people, when they realise the responsibility of any steps they are prepared to take, may count on the Government's willingness to give them a helping hand. So long as education stands on a religious basis, it stands on a safe foundation. So long as the heart which sends up blood to the brain pulsates with the fear of God, no matter whatever be the religious persuasion of the student,—Hindu, Muhammadan or Christian—when his heart pulsates with the fear of God, the nutrition which the brain receives, the education which the mind receives, must be good and useful. And even in an atmosphere where there are a large number of Hindu boys who are educated under a system which attaches an importance to religious principles and teaches us that man is a creature of God, I have no doubt that better results will follow.

"I have heard in certain quarters and it is borne out by the remarks which have been made by the Hon'ble Member who spoke last (Mr. Ghuznavi) that this University will have a tendency to develop bad feeling between Hindus and Muhammadans and produce ultra Hindus and other evils which are the results of institutions standing on a denominational basis. I feel, my Lord, that people—educated people especially—are learning to discriminate

[*Mr. Das ; Mr. Banerjee.*] [22ND MARCH, 1915.]

between the articles of a man's faith, of a man and the reflection of his faith on his life and character in daily life; and as education grows, as time advances, this power of discrimination will increase and Hindus, Muhammadans and Christians will more readily co-operate in public life and in works of utility than they do now. With these remarks, My Lord, I support the Bill."

The Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee:—"My Lord, I frankly confess that I do not in the smallest degree sympathise with the observations and criticisms which have been made by my friend to my left (Mr. Ghuznavi). His grievance is that we have not seen the Bill before I venture to submit that that is no grievance at all. If this Bill were introduced, if the rules of business were suspended, if no Select Committee were to be appointed, if the Bill was not to be placed before the country, that would be a real and tangible grievance. But, My Lord, the Bill has now only been introduced, it will go before the country, it will be considered in Select Committee; and criticisms will pour in from all sides. Where, may I ask, is the grievance? In the House of Commons, so far as I have been able to understand the procedure and the rules of that House, when leave is given to introduce a Bill the text is not placed before Members of Parliament: it is only the Statement of Objects and Reasons that is laid before them. Therefore I do not sympathise with the observations of my Hon'ble friend to the left. When we have a grievance, by all means let us ventilate it in this Council; but when we have none I think it is our business not to bolster up one and indulge in criticisms.

"Then, My Lord, my friend blesses the Hindu University in a somewhat left-handed fashion. He says the effect of the establishment of this University would be to perpetuate differences between Hindus and Muhammadans. My Lord, if that was to be the likely result of the creation of this University I for one would oppose it whole-heartedly; but I do not believe that a result of that kind will at all follow. My Lord, Hindus and Muhammadans to-day are far more united than they were ten years ago. Ten years ago there was far greater friendliness and solidarity of feeling between them than twenty years ago. What is the secret of this daily growing feeling of friendliness between the two communities? Knowledge, learning, the spread of light and illumination. We are being taught; schools and colleges are growing up in all directions; we are beginning to realise what our common interests are, and I do believe that this University, this Benares College, instead of helping to create any alienation of feeling between Hindus and Muhammadans, will by the spread of knowledge bring them closer together in those bonds of friendship, good-will and amity upon which the best prospects of Indian advancement depend. Therefore, I find myself in complete disagreement with the observations which have fallen from my Hon'ble friend in regard to the two main points which he has placed before this Council.

"My Lord, I desire to congratulate the Government of India and the promoters of the University project upon the introduction of this Bill and upon the culmination of their labours so far. My Lord, I have heard many speeches in this Council Chamber, but I will say this in reference to that splendid oration which it was our pleasure to listen to to-day, that I have hardly ever heard a speech in this Council Chamber more deeply sympathetic, more attuned to the love of India and her people than that made by the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Bill. I feel, My Lord, that the special thanks of the Hindu community—and I am a Hindu of Hindus though perhaps my Hon'ble friend over there will not give me that character—as a member of the Hindu community I will say this that our special thanks are due to Your Excellency and to the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Department for the Bill which has been introduced. It will represent a crowning achievement of Your Excellency's Government and of the administration of the Department over which the Education Member has presided for a period of now over three years.

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"My Lord, when I say all this, I must not be imagined as passing a judgment upon the details of the Bill. The Bill has been just placed before us. We have heard the details. Those details will be placed before the country and the country will judge, and then the Select Committee will sit and deliberate over those details. Therefore, so far as those details are concerned, I do not express any opinion. But I do hope and trust that the constitution which will be given to the University will be a liberal one, that a large measure of independence will be accorded to the University authorities so as to enable them to do the fullest justice to the great work in which they will be engaged. For, My Lord, without real power there can be no sense of responsibility, and without responsibility there can be no efficiency. My Hon'ble friend, the Member in charge of the Education Department, has told us that 'trust' is the policy of the Bill. I welcome this. And he has asked us to believe in the good faith of the Government of India. Speaking from my place in this Council Chamber, weighed down by the sense of my responsibility as a member of the Council, I will say this, that we accept the assurance with alacrity and enthusiasm. We feel that if the Government of India did not interest itself in this matter, this project would not have reached the degree of success which it has attained.

"My Lord, my Hon'ble friend referred to one or two objections with regard to the Hindu University. But there are certain objections which have been urged by responsible people—at least in my Province, and I think it is only right and proper that I should allude to them, not, indeed, that I share them, but I should like the Council to know what they are. It has been said in some of the Bengal newspapers that this University will be a 'Citadel of Reaction.' I have no fears, no misgivings on that score. Knowledge, be it from the West or be it from the East, elevates and liberalises the mind, breaks down all narrow barriers. The Temple of Learning is the temple of brotherhood and of catholicity. Here within the walls of this University, the East and the West will meet; two parallel streams of knowledge will commingle and roll on a mighty and fertilising river scattering broadcast its richest blessings.

"Another objection which has been taken to this University is that it is going to be a sectarian University. Be it so. All education is useful. If you look at the history of educational institutions in the past you will find that they were sectarian to begin with—dominated by religious considerations and religious motives.

"In the middle ages the Moslem universities of Seville and Cordova in Spain held aloft the torch of knowledge. Later on the monkish institutions kept alive the flame. I am perfectly certain there are many who give a wide berth to our educational institutions at the present moment who will come and join this University. I have in view especially the Marwaris and the extreme section of the orthodox community. My Lord, in this country we want more schools, more colleges, more light, kindly light amid the encircling gloom.

"That was the gracious message of His Majesty to the people of India. The wish that was nearest to his heart was that there should be a net-work of schools and colleges spread over the land from which there might issue loyal, useful and manly citizens, able to hold their own in the varied vocations of life. Here is a definite substantial addition to the schools and colleges of this country. My Lord, this institution also will partly fulfil the recommendations of the Education Commission of 1882. They urged that there should be different types of educational institutions, and it was mainly upon this ground that they urged the encouragement of private enterprise in matters educational. This University, My Lord, will impart religious education which is necessarily absent from the Government institutions. For these among other reasons, subject to an examination of details, and in the hope that the constitution of the University will be liberal, I desire to accord my whole-hearted support to the Bill which has been introduced."

[Rai Bahadur Sita Nath Ray.] [22ND MARCH, 1915.]

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Sita Nath Ray :—“ My Lord, I am a Hindu and an orthodox Hindu, and as such take particular interest in the present Hindu University scheme; and in rising to give my humble support to the Bill just introduced, I may say that it will be hailed with intense satisfaction by my countrymen. It will open a new era in the history of the great educational movement in this country and so far as I can take a mental survey of the future, I see it has a bright prospect before it. I beg to take advantage of the present occasion to express our feelings of heart-felt gratitude to Your Excellency and the Hon'ble Member for Education for the kind permission accorded to the introduction of the Bill before us, for the establishment of a teaching and residential Hindu University at Benares. A better and more appropriate site than Benares could not have been chosen by the promoters for the location of the proposed University. The distinctive features of the proposed University will be that it will not only be a teaching and residential University; it will not only teach different kinds of literature, philosophy, science, technology, etc., it will not only promote research work in different branches of learning, but, what is more, it will also 'Promote the study of the Hindu *Shastras* and of Sanskrit literature generally as a means of preserving and popularising the best thoughts and culture of the Hindus and all that was good and great in the ancient civilisation in India, and it will also promote the building up of character in youth by making religion and ethics an integral part of education', which are so very necessary to build up a boy's character. My Lord, I say that nothing can be more deplorable, more subversive of discipline, more detrimental to the development of true manhood and character than to rear up tender boys in godless education, for I beg to assert that it is education dissociated from religion which is at the root of all anarchy and disregard for constituted authority. It may not be out of place to mention here that one of the cardinal principles of the Hindu religion is absolute obedience and respect to the Sovereign who is regarded as a part of Divinity. It is therefore well that the promoters of the scheme have made religion the bed-rock of education.

“ My Lord, I cannot sufficiently admire the boldness and liberality of spirit which has permitted a sectarian University to spring up, but I have no hesitation in predicting that nothing but absolutely good results will be the rewards of such generosity and high-mindedness.

“ Now, a word or two about the promoters and initiators of this Hindu University Scheme. We shall be wanting in gratitude if, on this happy occasion, when the disinterested labours of the promoters are about to fructify, we were not publicly to declare our deep obligations to them and express our sincere appreciation of their disinterested labours. The initiation of the scheme is wholly and solely due to the genius and bold conception of our distinguished and much respected countryman and colleague, the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, a man whom to know is to love and respect. Now, as the Panditjee is more a saint, a *sadhu* in the true sense of the word, and does not care for any pecuniary reward from his countrymen, the only other reward that I can promise him in abundance is that besides securing the unstinted regard and love of his countrymen, he will have his name enthroned in the hearts of his ever grateful countrymen.

“ Next to my Hon'ble friend, another distinguished countryman of ours, who deserves prominent mention in this connection, is the illustrious and much respected head of an illustrious and princely house, I mean the Hon'ble Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga, for we owe the materialisation of the scheme primarily to the unceasing efforts and disinterested labours of the Hon'ble Maharaja Bahadur and the Hon'ble Pandit and our much respected friend the Hon'ble Dr. Pandit Surdar Lal; for it was they who did their utmost and it was their powerful advocacy and personal influence which succeeded in inducing the powers that be to give sanction to the scheme and it was they who at great personal sacrifice moved from place to place, from door to door, to raise subscriptions and I must say that it was the commanding personality of the noble Maharaja Bahadur and the influence of his high rank and position

[22ND MARCH, 1915.] [*Rai Bahadur Sita Nath Ray; Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy; Mr. Setalvad.*]

combined with the persuasive tongue of our friend here that induced our generous and noble-hearted feudatory Chiefs and others to unloosen their purse strings in the cause of this noble scheme. It must be admitted that both by his princely generosity and personal and unselfish labours the noble Maharaja Bahadur has done much to have his name gratefully remembered by the present generation and the generations yet unborn.

"My Lord, I have to mention another prominent name in this connection. I come to it last, not because it is the least, but because it is difficult for me to find words in which to express all the feelings which rise in my heart in mentioning the name of one who though not of our own blood, though not of our own land, is still regarded as one of us. Her love for us and our ancient ideals and culture, her unremitting efforts and ceaseless activities to bring the spirit of that ideal and culture again into this ancient land of ours, her steadfast devotion to that purpose have made the name of Mrs. Annie Besant a household word in every Hindu home. The Central Hindu College is the outward manifestation of that love and devotion and nothing can be more auspicious for the success of this movement than that it should be the nucleus round which a nation's hopes and aspirations will take concrete shape and form. Poor India cannot give her anything in return for those labours nor does she herself expect anything in return. Her labours are labours of love in the true spirit of *Nishkam Karmayoga* for which her Maker and Master will reward her. Our prayer is that she may live long to continue in this Noble Path and may Lord grant her the health and strength necessary for it.

"With these few words I beg to give my humble support to the scheme."

The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy:—"My Lord, the Bill marks the success of my Hindu friends' philanthropic labours. I am glad the idea of a Hindu University had materialised, and it is now going to take a definite form and shape. The Hindu University will be the first experiment of its kind. For more than a century the controversy has been more or less vigorous over the ticklish question of secular *versus* religious instruction in our educational institutions. Government, from its position, had to encourage a purely secular education so long. They could not accede to the prayer of the Christian Missionaries in the early days of English education in India; but now that the people themselves have come forward with definite schemes of denominational Universities, it is only right and proper that Government should encourage them. Everybody has realised the evil effects of education devoid of all religious or moral training, but so long as the people did not undertake to organise Indian education on a religious basis, nothing could be done to counteract them. With the Hindu University a new chapter is opened in the history of Indian education. Unlike the existing Universities, the vitalising force of the Hindu University will be religion, which ought to mould the plastic mind of the graduates into a different and more agreeable shape.

"The Bill now goes to the country. Opinions will be collected about the details. It is therefore not desirable that the provisions should be criticised now, Government, and especially the Hon'ble Education Member, have done their best to so modify the Bill as to make it acceptable to the Hindus, but with the fresh criticisms from the public I hope the Bill will be still further improved so as to tempt the sister community, the Moslems, to ask for the Charter, and so pave the way for the progress of the two communities on parallel lines.

"I cannot sit down without congratulating the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler on the happy conclusion of his labours in this matter, and I am very pleased to be able to associate myself with the eulogy just bestowed on the Hon'ble Mover by the previous speakers. Although we can none of us grudge the higher appointment which awaits him, I am sure we shall regretfully part with the present Hon'ble Member for Education when the time arrives to do so."

The Hon'ble Mr. Setalvad:—"My Lord, I confess that I share to a certain extent the apprehensions of my Hon'ble friend Mr. Ghuznavi as regards the danger of having sectarian universities. When the shortcomings

of the present Universities are animadverted on, I am afraid sufficient importance is not attached to the great unifying influences that these Universities have exercised all these years. I, for one, connected as I have been for many years with the University of Bombay, can testify to the great unifying influence that that University has exercised by throwing together young Hindus, Muhammadans and Parsees in the same colleges and in the same educational institutions. And what is true of the Bombay University, I feel, must be true of the Calcutta and Madras Universities and also of the Allahabad University. Holding these views and feeling that sectarian Universities might destroy that unifying influence which the present Universities are exercising, I, for one, would have welcomed a Bill which, instead of proposing to establish a Hindu University or a Muhammadan University, had proposed to establish an all-India University for Hindus, Muhammadans, Parsees and all other communities. When I say this, I am not unmindful of the fact that the Bill provides that students of all classes and creeds would be admitted into this University. But when you have a Hindu University established in this manner, and you have a Muhammadan University established side by side, the natural result is bound to be that Hindu students will flock to the Hindu University and Muhammadan students will flock to the Muhammadan University. That being so, I still entertain the apprehensions that I have of the danger of having sectarian Universities of this character and all the eloquent words which have fallen from the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee have not dispelled these apprehensions in my mind. However, these are the views that I hold and there are other people who hold the same views, but if the Hindu and Muhammadan communities, as a whole, want sectarian Universities, no useful purpose would, I am afraid, I will be told, be served by at this stage running counter to their desire. But if that is to be, I hope and trust that those responsible for this University and this legislation will not carry sectarian divisions too far. For instance, the Bill provides that the Court in future shall consist only of Hindus; an exception is only made in the case of the present Court to effect the inclusion of Mrs. Besant therein. I do not see why that restriction should be laid down for the future. If those responsible for the University, if Hindus want to include in the Court in future Muhammadans, or Parsees, or Europeans to co-operate with them, there is no reason why liberty should not be given to them to do so, and why they should be deprived of their choice if they desire to make such a choice. Further, I, for one, do not view with any favour the introduction of compulsory Hindu religious education in the University; those who want it may certainly have that provided for them, but I do think that it will not be desirable to compel students to take religious education even if they do not desire it. Speaking of the present Universities, I was very pleased to hear the Hon'ble Mover say that they have served and are serving a very useful purpose, for we in Bombay, during the administration that preceded the present one, were always told in season and out of season that the University had been a failure and that it served no useful purpose, and that the sooner it was reformed root and branch the better. I was therefore very glad to hear the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler say that so far the present Universities have exercised a good influence and they have done useful work. Your Excellency, I do hope that, when the Bill goes to the Select Committee, the various matters to which I have referred will be considered; whether it is desirable to make the Court exclusive, whether it should consist only of Hindus in future and whether Hindu religious education should be made compulsory. Then there is the question of Government control. Under section 19 of the Bill, very wide powers are given to Government. It runs as follows:—

19 (1). If at any time the Governor General in Council is of opinion that special reasons exist which make the removal of any member of the teaching staff desirable in the interests of the University, or that as a special measure the appointment of certain examiner or examiners to report to him is desirable to maintain the standard of University examination, or that the scale of staff of the University is inadequate, or that in any other respect the affairs of the University are not managed in the furtherance of the objects and purposes of the University or in accordance with this Act and the Statutes and Regulations.

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he may take various steps. These are very wide powers of interference in numerous details as regards the working of the University. No doubt, I recognise what the Hon'ble Mover has said that initially the whole administration is left mostly to non-officials, but I am afraid the control which is embodied in section 19 is of a very far-reaching character. I do hope that when the Bill is considered in Select Committee, attention will be given to that section. Then the Hon'ble Mover referred to the question of the Matriculation examination. This is no doubt a question on which there exists a sharp difference of opinion. I trust that when the Bill goes to the Select Committee that matter also will have proper consideration. As I have said, I share the apprehensions which I spoke of about the institution of sectarian Universities, but, I am afraid, that if both the communities desire legislation of this character and Government have committed themselves to it, it may be said that it is fruitless to run counter at this stage to their wishes. Reserving to myself full liberty to take such action as I deem necessary in public interests, I can only conclude in the hope that these apprehensions will not be realised and that ultimately good will come out of the present project."

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—"My Lord, I should be wanting in my duty if I allowed this occasion to pass without expressing the deep gratitude that we feel towards Your Excellency for the broad-minded sympathy and large-hearted statesmanship with which Your Excellency has encouraged and supported the movement which has taken its first material shape in the Bill which is before us to-day. I should also be wanting in my duty if I did not express our sincere gratitude to the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler for the generous sympathy with which he has supported and helped us.

"My Lord, I look forward to the day when students and professors, and donors and others interested in the Benares Hindu University will meet on the banks of the Ganges to celebrate the Donors' Day; and I feel certain that the name that will stand at the head of the list on such a day will be the honoured name of Your Excellency, for there is no donor who has made a greater, a more generous gift to this new movement than Your Excellency has done. My Lord, generations of Hindu students yet to come will recall with grateful reverence the name of Your Excellency for having given the start to this University. Nor will they ever forget the debt of gratitude they owe to Sir Harcourt Butler for the help he has given to it.

"I should not take up the time of the Council to-day with a discussion of the provisions of the Bill. The time for it is not yet. But some remarks which have been made point to the existence of certain misapprehensions which might be removed.

"Two Hon'ble Members have taken exception to the proposed University on the ground that it will be a sectarian university. Both of my friends the Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi and the Hon'ble Mr. Setalvad have expressed an apprehension that being sectarian, in its character, it may foster or strengthen separatist tendencies. They have said that the existing Universities have been exercising a unifying influence, in removing sectarian differences between Hindus and Muhammadans. My Lord, the University will be a denominational institution, but not a sectarian one. It will not promote narrow sectarianism but a broad liberation of mind and a religious spirit which will promote brotherly feeling between man and man. Unfortunately we are all aware that the absence of sectarian religious Universities, the absence of any compulsory religious education in our State Universities, has not prevented the growth of sectarian feeling in the country. I believe, my Lord, instruction in the truths of religion, whether it would be Hindus or Mussulmans, whether it be imparted to the students of the Benares Hindu University or of the Aligarh Moslem University, will tend to produce men who, if they are true to their religion, will be true to their God, their King and their country. And I look forward to the time when the students who will pass out of

such Universities, will meet each other in a closer embrace as sons of the same Motherland than they do at present.

“Objection has also been taken to the provision for compulsory religious education in the proposed University. My Lord, to remove that provision would be like cutting the heart out of the scheme. Many people deplore the absence of a provision for religious education in our existing institutions, and it seems that there would not be much reason for the establishment of a new University if it were not that we wish to make up for an acknowledged deficiency in the existing system. It is to be regretted that some people are afraid of the influence of religion: I regret I cannot share their views. That influence is ever ennobling. I believe, my Lord, that where the true religious spirit is inculcated, there must be an elevating feeling of humility. And where there is love of God, there will be a greater love and less hatred of man, and therefore I venture to say that if religious instruction will be made compulsory, it will lead to nothing but good, not only for Hindu students but for other students as well, who will go to the new University.

“My Lord, it has also been said that if sectarian Universities must come into existence, we need not carry sectarianism to an extreme. The Hon'ble Mr. Setalvad has referred to the provision in the Bill that in the University Court, which will be the supreme governing body of the University, none but Hindus are to be members. The reason for it needs to be explained. The University has to teach the *Vedas*, the religious Scriptures, and to impart instruction even in rituals and other religious ceremonies which are practised by Hindus. The Bill provides that there shall be two bodies in the institution, the Court and the Senate. The Court will be the administrative body, will deal mainly with matters of finance and general administration, providing means for the establishment of Chairs, hostels and other institutions. The Senate will be the academic body, having charge of instruction, examination and discipline of students. Well, membership on the Court has been confined to Hindus in order that Hindus who may make benefactions in favour of the institution should feel satisfied that their charities will be administered by men who will be in religious sympathy with them and in a position to appreciate their motives and their desires. With that knowledge they will make larger endowments to support the University than they would make if the endowment was to be administered by men of different persuasions and faiths. There is nothing uncharitable in such an arrangement. Besides this, there is a second reason. When the Sanskrit College was first established in 1793, in the time of Lord Cornwallis, there was provision made for the teaching of the *Vedas* and other religious books in it. Later on, some missionary gentlemen took exception to the idea that a Christian Government should encourage the teaching of what they described as heathen religion; and for that reason the teaching of religion was stopped in that institution. In formulating proposals for the Benares Hindu University, it was felt that, so far as possible, no room should be left for any apprehension which might prevent religious-minded Hindu donors from making large contributions to the University, and that the best means of giving them an assurance that instruction in Hindu religion shall always be an integral part of the education which the University will provide, and that their religious endowments will be administered in conformity with their wishes, was that the membership of the University Court should be confined to Hindus. There is, however, no such restriction in regard to membership of the Senate. In the Senate, which will be the soul of the University, we shall invite co-operation, we shall seek it and welcome it. Fully one-fourth of the Senate may not be Hindus. There will be no disqualification on the ground of religion in the selection of professors. No restriction is placed upon students of any creed or any class coming to the University. It will thus appear that while we confine membership on the administrative body of the University, the Court, to members of the Hindu community, we keep open the Senate which, as I have said, is the soul of the University, to teachers of every creed and race. That is a real provision. And we intend to get the very best teachers irrespective of any consideration of race or creed, from whichever part of the world we can, in order that our students should sit at their feet and learn the knowledge that they can impart.

THE BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY BILL; THE INDIAN 539
PATENTS AND DESIGNS (TEMPORARY RULES) BILL.

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Butler; Mr. Clark.]

"I should like to say one word more with regard to the provision that religious instruction should be compulsory in the case of Hindu students. It has been said that we should not make it compulsory even for Hindu students, as it might keep some Hindu students who do not desire to receive religious instruction, from the benefit of education at the Hindu University. But, my Lord, in the first place, the general religious instruction which will be imparted will be such as will be acceptable to all sections of the Hindu Community. In the second place, a number of Hindu students at present attend missionary institutions where the study of religion is compulsory. So I hope that even those Hindu students who may not appreciate the teaching of religion, will not be kept away from the proposed University on the ground that religious instruction will be compulsory there.

"I do not think, my Lord, that I need take up more time at present. I beg again to express the gratitude that I am sure millions of Hindus will feel towards Your Excellency's Government, and personally towards Your Excellency, and towards Sir Harcourt Butler, when they hear of the Bill which has been introduced here to-day."

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler:—"I think the Government and the University Committee have every reason to be glad of the reception that this Bill has received in Council. It will be considered in detail hereafter, so I will not detain the Council any further now."

The motion for leave to introduce the Bill was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler:—"My Lord, I introduce the Bill, and move that the Bill, together with the Statement of Objects and Reasons relating thereto, be published in the *Gazette of India* in English and in the local Official Gazettes in English and in such other languages as the Local Governments think fit."

The motion was put and agreed to

THE INDIAN PATENTS AND DESIGNS (TEMPO-
RARY RULES) BILL.

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark:—"My Lord, I move that the Bill to extend the powers of the Governor General during the continuance of the present war to make rules under the Indian Patents and Designs Act, 1911, be taken into consideration."

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark:—"My Lord, I beg to move as an amendment that in clause 4 of the Bill the following words be added, namely:—

'and the power to make rules conferred by section 3 (1) (e) of this Act in respect of anything to be done under the Indian Patents and Designs Act, 1911, shall be exercisable in respect of anything to be done under the Inventions and Designs Act, 1888'

"The reason for this amendment is a very simple one. Under the Inventions and Designs Act, 1888, 'patents' did not exist. An inventor was given what was called an 'exclusive privilege'. When the Indian Patents Act, 1911, was passed, the holders of exclusive privileges were allowed the option of converting these into patents. Very many of them preferred not to exercise this option, with the result that a large number of exclusive privileges are still in force. Certain conditions attach, e.g., the payment of fees to the possession of an exclusive privilege, and it is no less necessary that the Controller should have power to condone delays or other defaults committed in respect of them

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than in the case of patents held under the Act of 1911. This necessity was not foreseen till at too late a stage to provide for it in the Bill as introduced; therefore the amendment is necessary now."

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark:—"My Lord, I beg to move that the Bill, as amended, be passed into law."

The motion was put and agreed to.

THE DELHI LAWS BILL.

The Hon'ble Sir Ali Imam:—"My Lord, I move that the Bill to declare the law in force in certain territory added to the Province of Delhi be taken into consideration."

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Sir Ali Imam:—"My Lord, I move that the Bill be passed."

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Council here adjourned for lunch, and after lunch **The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler, the Vice-President, took the Chair.**

RESOLUTION *RE* HIGH PRICE OF WHEAT.

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—"Sir, before I proceed to discuss the resolution of which I have given notice, I beg leave to amend it by adding at the end of the first clause, the words 'or to take such other steps as he may be advised to bring the price of wheat down to a reasonable level and to maintain it at such level.' The resolution will then run as follows:—

'That this Council recommends that the Governor General in Council may be pleased to prohibit all export of wheat from India until the price of that commodity comes down to 9 seers per rupee, and whenever it rises above that rate, or to take such other steps as he may be advised to bring the price of wheat down to a reasonable level and to maintain it at such level.'

"The Council is aware that there has been an abnormal rise in the price of wheat and of other cereals. There has consequently been a great deal of suffering among the great bulk of the people. How great the rise has been is evident from the index numbers given at page 34 of Mr. Datta's valuable report on the elaborate and painstaking inquiry made by him into the rise of prices in India. We find that taking the average of the prices of wheat during the quinquennium 1890-94 as 100, in 1890 it stood at 94 and in 1912 at 134! *i.e.*, that in the course of 22 years, the price of wheat had risen by nearly 42·5 per cent! During the last two years also the price of wheat has been abnormally high. But never did it rise so high as during the last few months. In the great famine of 1897, the price of wheat was indicated by the number 149: in that of 1900, by 134: so that the price was as high in 1912 as it was in the famine year 1900. Since the war broke out, the price of wheat, as I have said, has gone up much higher. Wheat has sold at the rate of 6 seers the rupee, a rate which was never known to the people of this country before.

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" Now, Sir, the consequent suffering to which the people have been exposed has been immense; it has been deep and widespread. Its intensity is not fully and clearly realised because of the patience with which the people have borne it. We have no doubt had some riots in the Punjab which have been ascribed to this cause; but the fact that in the presence of such deep and wide-spread suffering throughout the country the people have borne this calamity with the patience with which they have, is a phenomenon, I venture to say, that will hardly be seen in any other country.

" Wheat is the staple food of the people of Upper India. Mr. Shapoorji Broacha, writing in a letter to the "Times of India," said that except in the Punjab in every other part of India wheaten bread is a luxury bread. But he is entirely mistaken there: bread is not a luxury with the people of Upper India: With the people of the Punjab and the United Provinces and with a great many people in the Central Provinces, wheaten bread is the staple food, and to deprive them of it or to make it unavailable to them, is practically to starve them. Mr. Broacha says no famine is to be feared, even if the whole wheat were to go. He talks so lightly of the export of wheat because it does not touch his province.

" The total area under wheat cultivation in the whole of British India in 1911-12 was a little more than 25 million acres. Out of this 23 million acres were accounted for by the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, the Central Provinces, Bihar and Orissa and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and the balance, less than two million acres, by Bombay, Madras, Bengal, Assam and Burma. In the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province nearly 50 per cent of the area under food grains was under wheat; in Agra and Oudh about one-fifth; in the Central Provinces about one-fifth; and in Bihar and Orissa about one-twenty-fourth, so that Bihar and Orissa may fall back upon other cereals if there is a scarcity of wheat, as it has got an area under rice cultivation there nearly 15 times that of the area under wheat. But the rest of the wheat-producing provinces, where that commodity is the principal article of food, must be hard hit by a rise in the price of wheat. It is not a question with the people of those provinces, as Sir Shapoorji Broacha wrongly says, of making money out of wheat. It is a question with them, primarily of their very existence. Let us see what are the other food grains produced in the wheat-producing provinces. They are rice, barley, jowar, bajra, maize and gram and pulses. The Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province have very small areas under rice cultivation. The United Provinces and the Central Provinces combined have nearly as large an area under rice as under wheat. But the area under gram in the United Provinces, the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province is equal to nearly 75 per cent of the area under wheat, and the price of gram has also risen very high. Other provinces which do not produce wheat can therefore afford to live on other cereals than wheat, and as a matter of fact they live on them in normal times. But in the case of the people of the wheat-producing provinces, particularly the Punjab, the United Provinces and the North-West Frontier Provinces, that commodity is absolutely indispensable and no greater hardship can be imposed upon them than if they cannot get their wheaten bread. It ought also to be remembered that the people who have supplied the most important—the hardest fighting—elements to the Army, are people who live upon bread. The Indian soldiers who serve His Majesty the King-Emperor are largely drawn from the Punjab, the United Provinces and other areas from the people with whom wheat is the staple food. This being so, the suffering caused by the dearness of wheat in Upper India is a matter of the gravest concern.

" Now, Sir, in earlier times when there has been a rise in the prices of wheat, it has been due to the failure of the rains and to the famine caused thereby. The people have learnt to bear that calamity as a *vis major*. The relief operations which the Government organises at such times have taught the people to understand what the Government does to mitigate their distress. But the rise in the price of wheat that has been going on year after year owing to the operation of causes which can be controlled by Government

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has been creating a different feeling. And apart from the special circumstances belated by the war, in view of the high rise in the price of wheat owing to those causes, it is necessary that the Government should consider what measures can be adopted to secure a permanent relief to the people in this to them a vital matter. The causes of the rise in the prices of food-stuffs have been many. They have been very ably summarised and discussed in Mr. Datta's report. I do not think I should detain the Council by going into all of them, but there are some to which attention should be drawn. One of the important causes to which Mr. Datta has invited attention is that the growth of the area under food crops has not kept pace with the growth of population and the requirements of the country. Mr. Datta says at page 61 of his report: 'Considering the growth of the population and the increase in the external demand, the supply has been short during the greater part of the period embraced in the inquiry'. In another place (page 188) he says:—

'In recent years the production of food-grains has not been keeping pace with the population. This would explain the almost continuous rise in the price of food grains.'

"Another factor which has been at work is the taking up of an increasingly large portion of the culturable area by commercial crops. The area under commercial crops has increased in a higher proportion than the area under food crops, that is that the total area which should have come under food crops has not come under them.

"The Government of India have in their resolution disagreed. They say:

'So far as trustworthy statistical evidence is available it would appear that the area under food crops has increased in almost exact correspondence with the growth of the population,' they say further that 'no reliable estimate of the outturn during the period under review can be framed.'

"But, Sir, there is a large body of opinion which think that this is one of the causes of the rise in the price of food-stuffs, and the matter requires further consideration.

"In addition to the two causes mentioned above, there has been another, and a very important one, which has been the export trade. As Mr. Datta says 'The development in the means of communication (in India) apart from its levelling effect already referred to, has brought all parts of this country into much closer touch with foreign markets and has thus immensely facilitated and enhanced the influence in the direction of a rise'. The demands of the export trade have been growing, as the facilities for transporting wheat from one part of the country to another have been increasing. Indian wheat is now carried to countries where the people have a much higher average income than the people of India have. They are able to pay a much higher price for wheat and other commodities than our people can and which they would not have to pay but for this international trade. This trade has been growing and consequently the rise of prices has been growing also. Mr. Datta rightly says:

'It is to this immensely enhanced demand for Indian commodities of export that the relatively larger rise in the Indian price level as compared with that of other countries is probably to be attributed.'

"In this state of affairs it has become the imperative duty of the Government to consider what measures should be adopted to bring down the prices of food-stuffs to a reasonable level and to maintain them at such level. The conditions are peculiar and they require special measures to be adopted, when you offer facilities to the people of countries where the average national income is say 15 or 20 times the average national income of the people of India to obtain food-stuffs from your country at a much higher price than would be obtained for it in the country. The price which can be obtained in foreign countries thus comes to regulate the price of wheat in this country. But the people here have got a much lower average income, and they consequently find it increasingly difficult to obtain the wheat that they want at the price which they can pay, and suffer a great deal of hardship. If the export trade did not come into play,

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if it did not seriously affect the situation, I am certain that the prices of food-stuffs, and particularly of wheat, would not have been risen as greatly as they have. This would suggest, Sir, the desirability of considering the question whether an export duty should not be imposed upon wheat. But I am not taking up that question at the present moment; because even if an export duty were imposed upon wheat, it would not meet the situation with which we are faced at present. It would still permit people who want to speculate in wheat to purchase as much wheat as they can and to ship it to places where there is the greatest demand for it.

"What is necessary for the immediate present is that the Government should adopt effective measures to prevent wheat going out of the country except when it can be spared without pinching the people. As an export duty will not serve that purpose, the only measure that struck me as feasible is that all exports should be prohibited until prices came down to 9 seers a rupee.

"In the *communiqué* which they have issued, the Government have prohibited export by private parties. They have however allowed export through recognised channels. That *communiqué* has not given satisfaction to the public. The measure has not brought the prices down. There was a fall in prices for a little while; but prices have gone up again and have recently been going steadily higher. That decision of Government has failed to bring down prices; and an export duty, as I have said, does not seem likely to effect that object. The object of my resolution is to ask the Government to take some step which will be effective in keeping sufficient wheat in the country to enable the people to get it at the price which they can pay for it. I do not claim that the suggestion which I have put forward is the only one which should be taken into consideration. My object is that the need for more effectively regulating the export of wheat should be recognised by the Government. If the Government would recognise that in the special circumstances of the country it is essential that it should take effective steps to regulate the export trade in order that prices may come down to a reasonable level, I would be content. But such action is necessary, because unless Government intervene—and intervene effectively—to check the export of wheat, prices will continue high, and I fear the patience of the people, which has been sorely tried, will be exhausted, which may lead to unhappy results.

"It may be said,—it has been said, that if the Government intervene to prohibit export or to regulate it in any such manner, as I have suggested, cultivators will suffer. Now, Sir, I am the last person to wish that the cultivators should suffer. The cultivators do deserve much sympathy; but sympathy should be shown to them in other ways than by allowing them to export wheat freely and to obtain inflated prices to the injury of the community. The sympathy which should be shown towards the cultivators should, in my opinion, be in the direction of a general reduction of rent all round. That is the way in which they can be benefited. But so far as the export of wheat is concerned, there are other parties also whose interests and requirements have to be considered. The cultivator may make a little larger profit if there is no restriction imposed upon the wheat trade; but the great bulk of the people suffer and there is no means of relieving them of the hardships to which they are exposed. The Government have recognised the principle that they should intervene to reduce the sufferings of the people due to high prices. The Government pay allowances to their low-paid servants. The Government have also paid allowances to some of their highly-paid servants, whenever in their opinion, there has been occasion for taking such a step, as witness the recent temporary increase to the salaries of certain civil servants. These examples show that when Government are convinced—they may be right or they may be wrong, and there may be differences of opinion about the justice of their decision; but my point is that whenever Government think that relief should be given to any of their servants—they do not hesitate to give it. Now, the giving of increased salary to Government servants means taking so much more away from the taxpayer's money. But the Government recognise that in certain circumstances and to certain classes of people, the Government should afford aid in this manner, and what I want the Government now to

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consider is whether in the present economic situation some measure cannot be adopted whereby the general bulk of the people may benefit. The aid which Government give to low-paid Government servants benefits only an infinitesimal section of the people. I don't know that the number of persons in Government service is quite 2 per cent of the whole population, and the persons who are in receipt of small salaries must be very much smaller. And I do not know that there are many private individuals who are giving famine allowances to those under their employ; and I submit that no such special measure, intended to afford temporary relief to a small class of persons, can be of any avail to the general bulk of the people in the presence of the wide-spread suffering to which they are exposed by reason of the prevailing high prices. The only way to secure any relief to the people is to bring down those prices. What is the best means of effecting that desirable end is a matter upon which opinions may differ; but I do hope that opinion will be united on the main question, namely, that the Government should intervene to secure their staple food to the general public at more reasonable rates than they have to pay at present. As regards the principle of interfering with the cultivator's profits, I may say that all taxation is an interference with the profits of individuals—all taxation means the cutting down of incomes more or less—and the Government does interfere to limit the profits of individuals, to regulate the prices of certain things whenever it thinks that such action is necessary in the interests of the public weal. For instance, in the Excise Department, they do not allow vendors in excisable articles to charge prices that they might charge if they were altogether free to do so. So also in many other things. Take the case of rent of land. The Government do not allow zamindars to fleece their tenants to the extent that some of them might wish to. They have by legislative enactments largely prohibited landlords from raising rents except in accordance with the provisions of the law. I need not multiply instances of this kind. If the Government are satisfied that there is a pressing need for bringing down the prices, and that until some effective step in that direction is taken by the Government, the people's suffering cannot be mitigated, then I am sure the Government will not on any principle hesitate to adopt the means that may, in their opinion, be likely to secure the end in view. No principle of political economy can be of such universal and rigid application as to stand in the way of Government doing so. In all public questions, as His Excellency the Viceroy was pleased to observe the other day, '*Salus populi suprema lex*'. If the Government find that in the particular set of circumstances in which we find ourselves, it is necessary to adopt some such special measures as I have recommended, then, I feel sure, every principle of political economy and political science will support the action of the Government. I do not think, Sir, that I need take up the time of the Council by dwelling further on this question. My object has been simply to invite attention to the pressing need for some effective action, and that I think I have done.

"As regards the second part of my resolution, I would, with your permission leave out of it the suggestion for the fixing of maximum prices."

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark:—"I understood the Hon'ble Member to have omitted the whole of the second paragraph."

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—"Very well, I drop the second portion of the resolution, Sir. In some provinces in the Punjab the Government has taken action to open cheap grain shops. This has brought relief to the poor. I do not know that this has been done to any large extent in other provinces. In the United Provinces, cheap grain shops have, I am told, been opened at Agra. My object in putting in the second clause was that, when it may be necessary, Local Governments may be asked to make a much larger use than they seem to have done of the Articles of Commerce Ordinance, 1914, to adopt such measures of relief as the fixing of maximum prices, the opening of cheap grain shops and the grant of compensation for the dearness of food-grains to their lower-paid employes. I expect that

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if the first part of the resolution commends itself to Government, and some suitable action is taken to give effect to it, there will be a lowering down of prices, and in that case it will not, I hope, be necessary to draw the attention of the Local Governments to the second part of the resolution. I hope the Hon'ble Member for Commerce and Industry will see his way to accept the resolution and to devise some effective means whereby the much-needed relief may be secured to the people."

The Hon'ble the Vice-President:—"The second part of the resolution is by permission withdrawn."

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark:—"Sir, I understand it will be for the convenience of Council if I rise earlier than is usual in the debate, as Hon'ble Members would like to have before them a statement of the action which Government propose to take in this matter, before they proceed further with the discussion. But I think first of all there is one point which ought to be made clear. When I saw this resolution first on the paper, I certainly understood that it related to the special conditions arising out of the war, and was prepared to discuss it on that basis. But I gather from the speech which the Hon'ble Pandit has just delivered that he wishes to raise the much wider question of Government regulating trade and prohibiting export during periods of high prices, even under normal conditions. That has not been contemplated by Government, and certainly was not in our minds when we issued our recent communiqué. I submit that Council would be well advised as far as possible to restrict our discussion to what is the only live issue at the present moment, namely, what is to be done in the present conditions arising out of the war.

"The question of the high prices of wheat which forms the subject-matter of this resolution, is one of the most momentous economic problems with which Government have had to deal during the currency of the war. The situation which has recently existed in India is unparalleled probably in the economic history of the country. Since the early days of February, there has been every reason to anticipate, unless some unforeseen disaster should occur, one of the largest wheat crops on record. Yet up to the date of Government's recent announcement prices have not fallen but rather have continued to rise. It is not surprising in these circumstances that Indian consumers should feel the contrast between the high level of prices and the indications of a bounteous harvest about them, to be bewildering and even sinister; and that wild reports should have been circulated of the whole crop having been bought up, and other dangerous and baseless rumours of the kind. They do not understand, and they could hardly be expected to understand, that the same forces, the cheapness and efficiency of communications, which have added so largely to India's wealth by bringing her produce into the markets of the world, expose her also to heavy demands when the world's produce falls short of its requirements. They do not realise that prices are not fixed at Lyallpur or Montgomery or even by the foreign dealers at Karachi, but are the result of world-movements which are affected by acts of war, such as the closing of the Dardanelles; by a drought in Australia or a late harvest in the Argentine; or by the activities in the Chicago wheat-pit of operators, who regard wheat as a gambling counter rather than as a necessary foodstuff of mankind. There has been, therefore, not only very real economic distress, but great discontent and disturbance of men's minds owing to this continuance of the high price of wheat. On both aspects of the case, both for the sake of relieving the actual distress and in order to allay the alarm and unrest which has ensued, it was imperative that Government should take action. I am very glad that the Hon'ble Pandit by bringing forward this resolution has afforded Government an opportunity of which I will presently avail myself, of explaining to Council the course on which we have decided. Before doing so, however, I think it is desirable that I should set forth a little more fully the various and complex factors with which we have had to deal.

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" Prices of wheat did not rise immediately on the outbreak of war or, indeed, for some time later. In Lahore, which I will take as a typical market, retail prices stood at nearly 11 seers to the rupee at the end of July, and by the middle of October they were still 10 seers to the rupee. From then onwards there has been a steady increase in prices. By the end of October only a little over 9 seers could be bought for the rupee. By the middle of November the quantity had dropped by nearly a seer. The rise in price was then arrested till about the end of January, when, just at the time when a fall might have been expected, a further increase took place, and by the middle of February only 6½ seers could be bought for the rupee. After this, there was no further relief until after Government had announced near the end of February their intention of prohibiting all private export after the 1st April. There have in effect been two sets of circumstances affecting prices during the period of the war; firstly, the causes which led to the rise at the end of October and which were concerned mainly with the old crop; and secondly the causes leading to the further rise in price in February and counteracting the effect on prices which should otherwise have been produced by the promise of the new crop, then well in sight. The crop which was harvested in the spring of 1914 was an unusually poor one, especially in the United Provinces. The yield was 1½ million tons less than that of the preceding year and the acreage sown with wheat was nearly 2 million acres less. On the other hand, exports also were very much smaller than usual, partly owing to the disturbance of trade caused by the outbreak of war which practically stopped shipments in August, usually a large exporting month. Hence, when prices began to rise at the end of October, there was good ground for assuming that there were still considerable stocks in the country, and the first action taken by Government in the matter was to pass the Articles of Commerce Ordinance, which gave Local Governments power to inquire into the question of stocks, and if necessary, to take over such as might be unreasonably withheld. Shortly afterwards, in consultation with the wheat trade, Government decided to restrict the export of wheat and wheat flour from the beginning of December to the end of March to a definite quantity, namely, 100,000 tons. With the inclusion of flour this represents about the normal amount shipped in those four months, and it may therefore be argued that Government should have fixed the quantity lower; but it must be remembered that, owing to the war, as I have already pointed out, exports in the ordinary exporting months had been very much smaller than usual. It is impossible to estimate the exact figure of stocks available in the country last October, but we know this much, that an extra demand of over 200,000 tons was made on them for seed for the additional 6 million acres put under wheat, an amount more than twice as large as the total exports authorized between 1st December and 31st March. This was a serious deduction from the existing stocks which the enquiries made under the ordinance have shown to be would be dangerously low, probably the lowest, in proportion to the wheat-consuming population, for many years past. The prohibition consequently was not effective in bringing down prices, but it undoubtedly had a beneficial effect in steadying prices at the moment, and looking back on the situation in view of the fuller knowledge which we now possess, I doubt whether even a total prohibition at that time would have greatly relieved prices in India. It soon, therefore, became clear to Government that no substantial relief could be hoped for until the incoming crop began to produce its effect, and in order to alleviate distress, compensation for the dearness of food-grains was given under the ordinary rules, and grain shops were opened in Lahore and Delhi and other urban areas, at which grain was sold below market rates.

" So far, the causes which produced the rise were for the most part not of an unusual kind, and the war, except for its generally disturbing effect, was not, I think, a very important factor in the increase. The rise began at a time when prices are generally on the up-grade owing to the depletion of the old crop; there had been no severe drain on India by export, and there were no indications of the holding up of stocks. There seemed good reason to hope that when the new crop came in sight, prices would decline. These hopes were

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disappointed by a new set of conditions which had by then begun to operate. The prices of crops in India are usually governed more by the external demand than by the internal: but in any case by whichever of them happens at the time to produce the highest price. If there has been a preceding shortage, and holders in India are anxious to add to their stocks, a higher price than the world will pay will result in ordinary circumstances from the local demand, and there will be no wheat to be seen at the railway stations or on the quays, until the holders in India are satisfied. The current year is one in which such a state of things would normally have come about but for the extraordinary demand in Europe. So abnormal has been that demand that prices of wheat in England instead of ranging about 35 shillings a quarter, have reached 60 shillings a quarter and the price of flour has risen to a higher level than at any time in the last 30 years. It must be remembered that vast though is the world's production of wheat, the surplus available for export from each exporting country is comparatively small in proportion to its production. Consequently, a shortage may be brought about by circumstances which interfere with even a comparatively small part of the world's sources of supply. The consuming countries, too, have become so used to dependence on the exporting countries, that they look for a steady stream of supplies being kept up throughout the year, and the failure of some of the tributaries to this stream may for a time at least mean high prices. Europe, of course, with its huge urban populations is the great importing area. In July the winter wheat begins to arrive from North America; in August the local crops are coming in, and in September the balance for the countries which cannot feed themselves, is drawn from the American spring crop. In October the Russian wheat begins to move, and the Canadian wheat comes in a little later in the year. In February, March and April, the Argentine and Australian crops are due, and the Indian wheats, as we all know, begin to move in May and June. What has happened this year? The Dardanelles were closed just when the Russian crop was beginning to move, and probably 10 million quarters or roughly 2 million tons of wheat, are locked up awaiting shipment from Russian ports. Australia has suffered from a severe drought and is actually importing wheat instead of exporting. Bad weather has delayed the harvesting of the Argentine crop. The war has not only closed the Dardanelles, but has greatly affected production in the Balkan States. It has devastated Belgium, and France, which in good years is self-supporting, has become an importer. There is a shortage in the world's shipping owing to the great number of ships taken up by Government, which has still further delayed the shipment of the Argentine crop, and there has been increased consumption due to the maintenance of vast armies in the field. But the point on which I specially wish to lay stress is, that circumstances have combined to bring about a special shortage in these present months. The United States have the largest crop on record, and when that crop begins to arrive in Europe in July, there is very little doubt but that the shortage will be at an end. The serious aspect of the case from India's point of view is the intensity of the demand which, unless the Russian crop is released, must so far as we can foresee, exist up to the end of June. We have in sight now, humanly speaking, one of the largest crops that has ever been harvested in India. The latest forecast shows an area of 32 million acres or 6 million acres more than last year, and the condition and prospects of the crop are on the whole very favourable, but we have already seen how little effect this has produced on prices in view of the high level of the world's price, and there is the undoubted danger, if Government took no action, that the new crop, as it is harvested, would be swept out of the country. Some reduction in the world's price would thus no doubt be brought about, but only sufficient very slightly to modify prices in India. The Government of India have therefore, after the most careful deliberation, come to the conclusion that in these circumstances it is their clear duty to intervene. We could not contemplate with equanimity the prospect of the wheat consumers of India having to bear the burden of high prices throughout another 3 months. It has been argued that since the existing restriction on export failed to reduce prices, a further prohibition or restriction would equally fail; and no less an authority on commercial and financial questions than Sir Shapurji Broacha has

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contended that Government by prohibiting export would be depriving India of a great accretion of wealth and that there is no case for so doing, since the wheat-eaters of Northern India would be fed on Burmese rice and other grains even if all the wheat in the country were to go. The first of these contentions overlooks the difference in the conditions between the beginning of the cold weather and the present time to which I have already called attention. As to Sir Shapurji Broacha's views, while they deserve all respect, I do not think the Hon'ble Members who represent wheat-consuming districts in India would agree that a transference from one food to another can be so easily achieved. I hope, too, that I shall be able to show, before I sit down, that it is not impossible to devise a scheme which, while safeguarding the interests of the consumer, will yet secure for India the profits due to her this year as a great wheat-producing country.

"I am afraid I am making a considerable draft on the time of Council, but I feel it is very important that Hon'ble Members should recognise the complexity of the questions which arise out of the situation, and indeed which are apt to arise in any circumstances in which policy points to interference with the ordinary courses of a highly organised trade. From what I have just said, it will be seen that the primary problem before Government has been how to nullify the effect in India of the world market price, or in other words how to remove India from the world market. Unless we do so, it is morally certain that high prices must continue until the world's available supplies are restored to something like their normal level. A simple means of achieving this end and of safeguarding Indian prices would be merely to prohibit all export, but there are other factors to be considered. The amount consumed in this country is a fairly constant quantity, and it is absolutely certain that this year there will be a large surplus available for export over and above what is required for consumption. It would be equally unnecessary and unjustifiable to lock up this surplus indefinitely—a course which would be unjust to the agriculturist, and would mean a very serious loss to the country. Our interest, especially at a time when a heavy strain is being placed on our finances, lies in the maintenance of our export trade, so far as we can legitimately do it, having due regard for the consumer. Not only is our interest involved, but all subjects of the Crown in India, British and Indians alike, wish in this great crisis to render what help they can to the Empire, and that wheat should be permitted to leave our ports, in whatever quantities can be spared, is in present circumstances no small matter to England. There is no question here of any clash of interests; certainly no question of the interests of India being sacrificed to those of the United Kingdom. I may remind Hon'ble Members of the words used by the Prime Minister in this matter in the House of Commons. 'I do not think', he said, 'that I ought to say more now than that steps are being taken which we hope will prove effective, to make Indian wheat available in as large quantities as is compatible with the interest, which we must always keep in view, of the Indian consumer at home'. Those words admit of no doubts or suspicions on that head, and I may add that in the communications on this subject which we have had with His Majesty's Government it has always been perfectly clear that the interests of the Indian consumer are to stand first. If, however, some export is to be permitted, the question arises how it is to be controlled so as to prevent prices being constantly forced up again by rapid and excessive shipments. And, further, if we are successful in creating in India a price below the level of the world outside, and if some wheat is allowed to be exported, it becomes clear that whoever is able to buy at Indian prices and to sell at world-prices will make very large profits, and the question arises who is to benefit by this wind-fall. We have had to weigh most carefully the problem of how all these conditions were to be met, before deciding upon our course of action.

"There has been more than one alternative proposal in the field, and these have been carefully examined. The Hon'ble Pandit's resolution recommends that the Governor General in Council should prohibit all export of wheat until the price comes down to 9 seers per rupee, and whenever it rises above

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that rate Another course which has been urged in quarters which command respect, is that of an export duty sliding on a scale corresponding to the fluctuation of prices. It is only right that I should say a few words in regard to these two expedients and our reasons for not accepting them. The primary objection to the proposal advocated in the Hon'ble Pandit's resolution is that it tends to fix not only a maximum but a minimum price; in other words, that while it might secure that prices would not rise above 9 seers to the rupee, it tends to prevent them falling to a lower level. An arrangement of the kind is also very disorganising to the trade. We are all agreed that the interests of the consumer must come first, but we are also all agreed, I think, that it is very desirable, primarily for the sake of the cultivator, that there should be no unnecessary impediment in the way of exportation of such surplus as may be available, when the needs of the consumer have been met. We require, in fact, a machinery which, while effecting the necessary control, will avoid as far as possible creating conditions which will be unnecessarily adverse to trade. On this aspect of the case, the fact that at any moment export might be stopped through causes quite outside the control of the individual trader, would be a serious deterrent to business, and therefore would be very prejudicial to agricultural interests. On the other hand, in such business as would be done, the exporter would secure for himself the wide margin of profit between the price which we hope to create in India and the price in the foreign market, and it is very open to question whether this should be accepted as a necessary consequence of prices being reduced in India through Government's action. The proposal for an export duty to some extent meets this latter difficulty, as the duty when export takes place secures part at least of the profit to the State. But the proposal is open to the same objection as that put forward in the Hon'ble Pandit's resolution, that it would inevitably create instability of the market. It also seems to me that it would be extremely difficult to adjust the duty, even with the device of a sliding scale according to fluctuations of prices, in such a way as to allow exports to take place up to a reasonable amount, while still effectively controlling price-levels in India.

"I have now, Sir, discussed the difficulties of the situation and certain alternative solutions, which have been suggested, and I will not further withhold from Council the action which Government have in view. The course which Government propose to adopt is, if I may say so, bolder and more comprehensive than the remedies which I have discussed so far. We propose no less a matter than taking over the whole control of the export trade. Our communiqué foreshadowed this in that it stated that, after the 1st of April, no private export of wheat would be allowed. What we propose is that wheat for export shall only be bought on behalf of Government and only shipped on behalf of Government. We shall therefore prohibit the export of wheat except on behalf of the Crown from the 1st April to the 31st of March next year. (We have decided, I should explain, to extend by another three months the period of prohibition originally announced in our communiqué.) It is our desire, as far as possible, to avoid interference with the ordinary channels of trade, and we propose, therefore, to employ as our agents in this business firms who normally conduct the export trade of wheat in India. We propose to appoint a special officer, who will be known as the Wheat Commissioner, with a sufficient staff, to supervise operations in India and have selected for this purpose Mr Gubbay, a very able official in the Customs service, who has had special experience of commercial questions. The firms employed will buy at prices fixed by us and up to quantities fixed by us. The wheat will be shipped in the main to London, and will be sold there through ordinary commercial agencies on behalf of Government. The firms acting as our agents will be remunerated in the ordinary manner by a commission, and the profits of the transactions will accrue to Government. As I have already indicated, these profits may be large, and it has seemed to us right that they should be secured by the State rather than that they should go to the enrichment of one particular class of the community, but we regard these profits as in a different category to our ordinary revenue, and we hope that it may be possible to make some arrangements

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by which such profits as may accrue will be ear-marked for special purposes. The essence of the scheme is that Government will have the power of fixing the prices at which purchases are to take place in India for export, or rather above which they are not to take place. This, with the additional safeguard that Government will also prescribe the maximum quantities to be bought, should secure that there could be no possibility of purchase for export forcing up prices. Hon'ble Members will naturally feel that the question of the initial price at which the working of the scheme is to open, thus becomes a very important one. The actual figure cannot be announced yet, as it is still some days before the end of the month and further fluctuations of price may yet occur, and in the meantime we are in consultation with the Local Governments mainly concerned and with the trade on the point. The initial figure will be fixed with regard primarily to the interests of the consumer, for while we do not intend to debar the cultivator from any part of the profit he might have looked forward to had times been normal, we are not prepared to let the consumer suffer in a year of Indian plenty by reason of the abnormal circumstances arising out of the war. Subject to this, our intention is that the initial prices at which buying will commence for April shipment should be relatively high as compared with the subsequent prices which we shall fix. The price will be lowered for May shipments, and we shall reserve to ourselves the discretion to lower the initial price even earlier than the 30th of April, should it seem advisable to do so; and still further reductions will be announced for June shipments. We hope in this way to bring prices steadily and surely down.

"These are the main principles of the scheme. It will be seen that it possesses the advantages which the advocates of an export duty claim for it, but it is not, I think, open to the objections which I have already enumerated in discussing that proposal. It resembles an export duty in that the difference between the Indian and world price will be secured to Government. But it avoids the disturbance to trade which must result from the uncertain operation of export duties, and it avoids the doubt as to how far an export duty would really control exports and protect the interests of the consumer. Our system practically amounts to a regulation of prices through the export trade, not in its own interests, but in those of the Indian consumer, while the greater measure of stability, which our scheme will secure, will also benefit the cultivator, whose interests under a system of export duties would be detrimentally affected by the uncertainties of the market. The details are matters of machinery with which it would be burdensome for me to trouble Council and which are still, to a large extent, under consideration and discussion with the trade, who, and not least our colleague in this Council, the Hon'ble Mr. Marshall Reid, have afforded us willing and valuable assistance. I would point out that whatever difficulties there may be in the working of the scheme, at least in its conception it covers the various points which I have just now enumerated. It enables Government to see that purchase for export does not take place at a higher price than they think right. It enables Government also to control the quantities to be exported; and it does not prevent the cultivator securing a legitimate profit. Lastly, the profits of sale for export will accrue to the State and will be used, we hope, for some suitable and special purposes for the benefit of the people.

"The difficulties will lie in the working of a scheme, which involves Government taking action in an unfamiliar field. I can assure Council that we shall be very glad to consider any suggestions that may be made to us, and we will most carefully weigh any representations regarding hardships to other interests which have not yet been brought to our notice. We may, I am sure, count on the loyal co-operation of the trade, and, for the rest, while we have not taken up this responsibility without a due sense of its gravity, we can only do the best that in us lies to achieve success.

"I shall be very glad indeed to be able to accept the resolution as amended, but I must call attention again to the point I raised at the beginning of my speech, that the Hon'ble Member appeared to wish to bring before Council the

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larger question of Government taking regulative action in normal circumstances. That we cannot pledge ourselves to do, and I cannot accept the resolution unless it is made quite clear that it only relates to circumstances arising out of the war. What I would suggest to the Hon'ble Member is that he should put in, after the words 'That this Council recommends that,' the following words:—

'so long as the special economic conditions arising out of the present war last'

"If he agrees to these words being put in, I shall be very glad to accept the resolution"

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya:—"I think I made it clear that I do not suggest an export duty at this moment. I did refer to the larger question of an export duty on wheat which, I suggested, might be taken up in normal times; but my present proposal is meant for the present situation only, and what my friend the Hon'ble Member for Commerce and Industry wishes to state is, I think, already indicated in the resolution, by limiting the prohibition of the export of wheat to the time when its price goes above 9 seers a rupee. However, I have no objection to make it still more clear that this is all I desire at the present moment. I do not want this resolution to be used for any larger purpose. With this statement I am quite content to leave the resolution as it is."

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark:—"I think it is better to include the words"

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—"Very well, I agree to do so."

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya then moved the following revised resolution:—

'That this Council recommends that so long as the special economic conditions arising out of the present war last, the Governor-General in Council may be pleased to prohibit all export of wheat from India until the price of that commodity comes down to 9 seers per rupee, and whenever it rises above that rate, or to take such other steps as he may be advised to bring the price of wheat down to a reasonable level and to maintain it at such level.'

The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola:—"Sir, I have carefully listened to the scheme so lucidly outlined by the Hon'ble Member and the steps which Government propose to take in the matter of regulating wheat prices. The central feature of the original proposition is that special circumstances have arisen which necessitate the regulation of the price of wheat to such a figure as would be regarded as normal for Indian consumers. It is only the conditions prevailing at present which may justify such a violent departure from the fiscal policy which Government are enforcing in India in regard to imports and exports of merchandise. The actual effect of a measure of this kind will be to deprive the cultivators of the handsome profits they stand to make on the crop they have grown, and that diminution or cutting down of the profits of the cultivators can, in my opinion, only be justified on the ground that there is such a scarcity of food-stuffs in the country as necessitates the conservation of the available supplies by restricting exports. As I said, the peculiar circumstances of the case might offer justification for undertaking measures of this character, but the sympathy of the people cannot but be with those cultivators who will be deprived of the substantial profit which they would make by the rise of prices. It is to be brought to the notice of Government that when a certain set of cultivators have grown wheat and they stand to make an enormous profit, a profit which brings great wealth into this country, Government essay to take steps to prevent those profits being earned; while those cultivators who grew cotton, and through the same circumstances have been very hard hit, receive no compensation. The

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approximate total crop of cotton is above 50 lakhs of bales in India, and putting the fall of prices roughly at Rs40 per bale, it means that the cotton growers have lost, in consequence of the war, something like 20 crores of rupees. The large amount of money which can come into the country by free export of wheat is now barred, and, as I said, the justification for it can only be found in the circumstances applying to the supply of food-stuffs. If the country requires that this food shall remain here, then, I admit, that there is a justification for this measure: on that point I leave the responsibility to Government to decide whether such circumstances do prevail as would justify this drastic measure.

“ Now let us examine who is going to benefit as a result of this measure— into whose pockets the large amount of the actual difference between the world prices of wheat and the actual prices which will be laid down by Government will go. In the first place, a large portion of it will go into the pockets of the consumers, that is the people of India, who will thereby be enabled to buy wheat at lower than market rates. All the well-to-do people will share in the benefit of lower prices as a result of, what I may call, depriving the cultivators of the large profits they stand to make. But a portion of this profit will come into the hands of Government by measures proposed to be adopted by them in regulating exports, either by taking the export trade into their own hands or by imposing export duties. We have been assured that this amount, which will reach a high figure, will be set aside as a special fund, the application of which will be determined later on. I think it is essentially necessary that Government should declare at once that the amount which will come into their hands, and it will in any case form but a very small portion of the total sum which the cultivators will be deliberately deprived of by the State, shall go towards the benefit of the cultivating class in India. This will be but a meagre measure of relief to those other cultivators who, as I have pointed out, have been very hard hit in consequence of the war, and I think both equity and justice demand that Government should give a definite assurance that at least that part of the money taken away from the cultivators which reaches their hands shall be ear-marked for the benefit of these people and these people only.

“ Sir, I will now deal with the scheme as it has been put before us, and I must say that my preference is in favour of a sliding export duty. The advantages of that course appear to be obvious, but Government appear to have found that method to be impracticable and I do not propose to go into that question at present. In this connection, Sir, I may be permitted to draw attention to the fact that Government took into their confidence representatives of export firms only before they decided upon and formulated this scheme. Sir, there is a genuine feeling amongst the people in this country that, in the consideration of such important questions, they ought to invite the representatives of both European and Indian interests, before deciding upon any policy or line of action. Sir, this is a grievance which has been keenly felt. I know what the Hon'ble Member has said in this connection, namely, that it is after all a question of those merchants who are in the export trade; but I must point out that the scheme does not merely deal with exports of wheat. That is only one of the means by which the prices in the country are going to be regulated. The question really at issue is whether the circumstances of the country necessitate some measure of this character, and if that is so, then what are the best means to be adopted to secure that a staple food like wheat will not sell in the country at exorbitant rates. And in the consideration of such a question, Sir, I think Government ought to have taken some of the Indian representatives into their confidence.

“ There is one thing, however, to which I should like to refer. I do not know whether Government have clearly realized the great responsibility which they are undertaking in starting what may fitly be called an export firm. I suppose they will have to employ agents for purchasing and for effecting shipments. They will have to make arrangements for freights or the chartering of steamers and of selling the cargoes at Home or, in other words, the business

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which we merchants ordinarily do. I can claim to speak with some authority on this subject as for over 20 years I was in this export trade myself. I do not know the details of the scheme which Government propose to work, but it appears to me that it would be much simpler if Government utilized the Commissariat Departments for the purchase of their wheat, and I will tell you why I think so. All the large quantities of various kinds of goods that Government purchase at present in connection with the Expeditionary Forces are bought through the Commissariat Departments. I can quite realize that buying through the Commissariat Departments may be objected to on the ground that it would be more costly to Government. If tenders were to be called for given quantities of wheat, at such prices as the tenderers may choose to offer, then I will admit that my suggestion would be open to serious objection. But, as I have understood the scheme, it is merely this, that Government will notify from time to time that they will buy a certain quantity of wheat within a certain month at a given rate. If that is so, I do not see why every merchant, be he Indian or European, be he placed at the ports or in the interior, should not have an equal opportunity to make his own arrangements and tender for certain quantities of the required qualities. There is another point which has got to be borne in mind, when we talk of wheat. Wheat is not of one quality only—wheat has several qualities, and if Government advertise that they will buy so many tons of given qualities of wheat at declared prices during a given month, and invite tenders, I do not see why everybody should not be allowed to compete in supplying Government with their requirements. The rate of purchase being fixed by Government before tenders are invited, the objection to official agency disappears. This procedure will have the effect of regulating the prices, which is the main object of the scheme; reasonable competition will be provided and, further, it would enable every merchant all over India to participate in the trade by tendering if he is so inclined. I do trust, Sir, that when the actual purchases are determined upon, they will be carried out on this principle, instead of by employing special agents and paying large sums of money in the shape of commission to them. I will now explain why under my suggestion there will be no grievance on the part of export merchants. Export merchants at present buy in India, engage freights, ship the goods, and sell them in the consuming markets either on arrival, or to arrive during given months. Instead of selling in the Home markets, as they do in ordinary times, they will have to sell at fixed rates to Government. They will be free to tender at the rates Government lay down, while leaving it open to other merchants also to compete and to tender for the required quantities. No monopoly will be created by the scheme which I am advocating, and it ought to be acceptable to Government as, in addition to the saving of a substantial sum in the shape of commission, it places all merchants on a footing of equality and no difficulty can possibly arise in working the same. If you advertise that a given quantity of wheat to be delivered at a given port will be required during a given time, you will get your tenders for the same at such rates as may be fixed by yourselves. Under these circumstances, there appears no reason why full competition should not be permitted. As I have already said, there can be no grievance on the part of the export merchants, because they will be able to continue to trade as they have been doing in the past in competition with others; and instead of selling on the London and the Continental markets as they have been doing in the past, they will have to sell at fixed rates to Government. I do trust that the suggestion I have made will be acceptable to Government.

"If you will permit me, Sir, I will repeat, in conclusion, that the gravity of the situation can alone justify a measure of this character, and that care must be taken that the cultivators as a class are not wholly deprived of the handsome profits they stand to make under present conditions. The amount realized by Government in dealing with wheat exports must be ear-marked for their benefit, and their benefit alone."

The Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis:—"Sir, I am glad that the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has moved this resolution. In

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doing so he represents the general wish of the population. It may look unsound, according to the orthodox theories of economic science, but the action it suggests is most essentially desirable on political grounds. Economic theories are of little value when grave political issues arise from economic factors. Political considerations naturally weigh more with Government, and, judged from a political and administrative standpoint, Government interference with a view to the mitigation of the evil of high prices is certainly justifiable. It may cause loss generally to the bulk of the agriculturists in the country, because, though this policy immediately affects wheat, there is a sympathetic rise and fall in the prices of other products. I am an agriculturist myself, and though I may suffer some loss and inconvenience with my brother agriculturists in consequence of this artificial attempt to keep down prices by Government taking over the control of the whole wheat export trade, as explained by the Hon'ble Mr. Clark, yet I am glad that the Government has been pleased to resolve to try the experiment, as I think that the hunger of the people should be allayed first and the peace of the country should not be disturbed. It is too early yet to dogmatise and say what effect this action of Government in regulating exports will have, but I am sure people will appreciate that the main object of Government in doing this is, at this war time, to bring down prices in the interests of the people. And though the experiment is a bold and unprecedented one, Government is trying it evidently in the people's interests and with the best of motives. If this brings on any untoward results, it will be for Government to undertake some other measures which they may think fit; but it is hoped that by that time the war will be over, things will right themselves and there will be no necessity for any such extraordinary measures. The Right Hon'ble Mr. Asquith has in his most lucid speech explained how things stand, and I am sure the world movements after the opening of the Dardanelles will have the effect of bringing down prices to their normal level; but until then something has to be done, and I am glad that this has been and will be done. We are all glad that the position in this country as regards this important question has been so clearly and ably explained by the Hon'ble Mr. Clark to-day. It is unfortunate, however, that in the recent Conference the large agricultural non-official interests which are so largely affected by this question were not represented.

"I agree with the Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Bahimtoola in thinking that Government should make it clear that the profits arising out of this policy will be ear-marked for the benefit of agriculturists who are to be the largest sufferers by this policy. I am confident that this will be the policy of Government, though they may not be able to make any pronouncement at this present moment."

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy:—"Sir, I confess I heard with a sense of relief and satisfaction the most exhaustive statement made by the Hon'ble Mr. Clark a few minutes ago. I have no doubt the decision at which Government has arrived, *i e.*, to take over the entire control of the export trade from the 1st of April, is a decision which, though of a very bold and drastic character, I am convinced will meet the requirements of the case. We have to make some such provision, and I congratulate Government on their decision.

"At the same time the responsibility which attaches to a measure of this kind is very considerable. But, as the Hon'ble Mr. Clark pointed out, the situation is unparalleled in the economic history of the country. Sir, I myself do not desire that the normal conditions of trade should be unduly interfered with; but in an emergency emergent measures are absolutely necessary. Only the other day we passed a drastic measure for the preservation of peace and order and for the maintenance of law. If such measures are necessary, I think measures for the protection of the people from starvation are equally essential. I do not believe that doctrines of political economy or economic shibboleths must be religiously and scrupulously observed at all times. There are occasions when a departure from the accustomed lines, from the ordinary course of a highly organised trade, is indispensable. I think the step which the Government proposes to take

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will not be materially prejudicial to the cultivator, whatever my Hon'ble friend Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola may think. The cultivators will doubtless suffer to some extent. They will not make those huge profits to which they are entitled in a period of bumper crops or a record harvest synchronous with an extraordinarily tight market. But it is not generally the cultivator, even in the case of a record harvest with high prices, who gets the whole profit. It is the man with a long purse, who buys up the stock from the people when the value of the commodity stands at a reasonable level, stores it up and then brings it out at an opportune moment, who makes a large profit out of it. I have the greatest sympathy with the cultivating classes; and if the measure which has now been suggested were to affect their interests unduly, I should be the first to withhold my support from it. But I feel convinced it will not unduly interfere with the interests of the cultivator.

"I quite agree with my Hon'ble friend Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola that it was advisable, when the recent Wheat Conference was convened, to place on it some Indians of experience in these matters. I have no doubt that if that course had been adopted, any recommendation that the Conference made and was accepted by Government would have inspired confidence. At present we do not know what took place at that Conference; but we presume that the statement which the Hon'ble Mr. Clark has made just now has been made after full consideration of all the circumstances of the case and the exigencies of the situation. It is no use crying over spilt milk. The Conference has met and has deliberated, and I understand that what the Government now puts forward is the result of its deliberations. At the same time, I have no doubt there will be a certain measure of criticism against this bold pronouncement of the Government of India. The Government of India have assumed a very serious responsibility. I myself would have preferred the imposition of a heavy export duty upon wheat, but I do feel that the imposition of such duty would not have had the immediate effect of bringing down the rates in the months of April and May. I presume a certain quantity has to be shipped to the United Kingdom during the next two months, and the imposition of a duty would not have immediately brought down the rates. I am glad that the Hon'ble the Commerce Member has given an assurance to this Council that the profits—the large margin of profits—derived from the exports will be ear-marked for specific purposes. I was very pleased to hear this announcement, and I trust there will be no occasion for Government hereafter to absorb the profits in the general surpluses. The cultivator and the people should benefit by this amount.

"I therefore approve of the action which has been suggested by the Hon'ble Mr. Clark; and though it is a very serious and bold step, I trust it will have the desired effect of reducing the rates, and then the benevolent intentions of the Government will be fully appreciated."

The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy :—"Sir, I am glad we have this opportunity of discussing the vital question of exportation of wheat. I have followed with great interest the forcible speech of my friend, the Hon'ble Pandit Malaviya, and the weighty pronouncement just made by the Hon'ble Member for Commerce and Industry. Wheat forms one of the staple crops of the country, and is very largely consumed by the people. As the Hon'ble Mr. Clark pointed out in January last, at the meeting of the Bombay Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, it is difficult to substitute other grains for wheat owing to the strong preference shown to it by large classes of the people. In the Punjab wheat is the principal food, and no amount of persuasion will avail against the habitual fondness for it in that locality. Any sudden inflation in the prices of such a commodity must necessarily entail great hardship upon the large consuming classes. Now the Hon'ble Mr. Clark told us in Bombay that Government wished to protect these classes from inflated prices. It is necessary that we should make it clear that that policy has our cordial support. Economic theories apart, the distress

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caused by the abnormal rise in the price of wheat has a deep political significance, and it behoves Government to make an earnest effort to keep down the market. The embargo laid upon exports of wheat was thus perfectly just and politically expedient. It would have been a disappointment to us if Government had allowed the trade to take its course. We have now the decision at which Government has arrived, in the light of the opinions of the European exporters of wheat, in consultation with the Secretary of State for India. Sir, the people have a grievance in the matter of the Conference. It is surprising that at such an important Conference Indian interests were wholly unrepresented, and that Government have consulted only European exporting firms which have the strongest motives to oppose any restriction of exports.

" I presume the explanation will be that it is only the European houses that have large interests at stake in this matter ; but I submit the Indian wheat grower and the Indian wheat merchants who deal with these exporting houses have even a larger stake in the business. I have full faith Government always jealously watch the interests of the country, as is evident from their first embargo on an article of export. At the last Conference also Government did not overlook these interests, as is clear from the exhaustive statement of the Hon'ble Mr. Clark. Government have wisely restricted the quantity to be shipped and have arranged for the regulation of shipments. But, Sir, notwithstanding all this, the Indian commercial public smart under a sense of wrong, that in a matter essentially concerning their countrymen Indian commercial opinion should have been ignored. The Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, over which I have the honour to preside at present, have submitted strong representations to Government on the subject. It is not that the Chamber wished to send their representative, but all that they did maintain was that Indian opinion should have been consulted by Government and the Conference. The Punjab especially, which is most affected by fluctuations in the price of wheat, should have been represented at the Conference.

" Sir, Indian public opinion is in complete accord with that of the Government, that India must not starve in consequence of heavy exports of wheat, stimulated as they are by the exigencies of the war. In times of famine, simultaneously with a failure of the crop or a great rise in the price of wheat in other countries, such countries, being rich, have always, notwithstanding the high prices, purchased wheat largely in India and have not felt the strain. But at such times wheat exporters certainly did not earn the benedictions of the people who were crying for wheat while it was shipped out of the country before them. I do not wish at this juncture to express any opinion whether my Hon'ble friend Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola's scheme is better than the one which Government have selected ; but I am sure that Government will adopt the scheme which will be best for the object they have in view, that is, a reduction in the price of wheat. This responsibility Government have taken upon themselves, and I trust Government action will result in a sensible decline in prices agreeably to expectations, and that the people of this country will not be in the unfortunate predicament just described by me.

" It is true that through restriction of exports the interests of the wheat cultivators will to some extent suffer through their inability to realise top prices ; but for the good of the whole community such a sacrifice is unavoidable and necessary. Under the arrangement announced by the Hon'ble Mr. Clark, the whole profits of export will be reaped by Government, except the small commission which the exporters will be allowed to charge, and this money, I hope, will be utilised to promote the welfare of the cultivators, whose claims have been fully pressed by my friend, the Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola. A fund may be established out of which financial assistance may be judiciously given to them. With these remarks I heartily support the Hon'ble Pandit's resolution as amended."

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi:—" Sir, the war is responsible for many evils. It has affected almost every part of the Empire and India has felt its pinch no less keenly than any other country under the British

[22ND MARCH, 1915.]

[*Mr. Ghuznavi.*]

flag. It is the situation arising out of the war with which, as the Honourable Mr. Clark has just pointed out, we are concerned at present. India is essentially an agricultural country and wheat, rice, and cotton and jute are the principal agricultural products. In Bengal the loss in jute has well nigh ruined many an Indian firm. In Bombay the cotton situation has been a matter of great anxiety, but the rise in price of wheat has been affecting the teeming millions of the United Provinces, the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province. Similarly, in Bengal and Burma and other parts where rice is the staple food, the rise in its price is causing the greatest hardship. The suffering is particularly acute in Bengal, for ever since the Bengal ryot discovered the fact that jute was a very paying concern, the area under jute cultivation has gone on increasing in proportion and the area under paddy has been diminishing, and in the early part of August, which is the time when the Bengal agriculturists had gathered in their jute and were hoping to make their usual profits on it, the war broke out and the price of jute fell down from Rs. 15 to Rs. 3. From the profit on the jute the Bengal cultivator has been paying his rent and buying his rice and other necessaries of life; while therefore his income from jute dwindled down, the price of rice began to rise and is still rising. The same may be said of wheat as regards the North-West Provinces. India produces about 10 per cent. of the world's wheat. In 1913-14, roughly speaking, 27½ million acres of wheat and 17½ million acres of rice were under cultivation, giving an outturn from the former of some 3½ million tons and from the latter of some 28½ million tons. Some 12 to 15 per cent. of the total yield of wheat is exported out of India and from 8 to 10 per cent. of the total yield of rice is similarly exported. The trade in wheat depends largely on the character of the season and the fluctuations of the market, the margin between prices in India and Europe being also an important additional factor. The yield of wheat in 1913-14 was less by a million and half tons than that of 1912-13, and although the figures for 1914-15 are not yet out, still, as far as I can judge, it seems to me that the present year's outturn will again be less than that of last year. Now, although India's share of the world's production of rice is no less than 40 to 46 per cent., and although the export of rice in 1913-14 represented 59 per cent. of the total value of food grains exported from India, yet the outturn in 1913-14 fell short by a considerable amount from that of 1912-13, and likewise the present year's outturn is anticipated to be still less. We are all grateful to His Excellency for having gone into this question with his usual care and for the pronouncement which His Excellency was pleased to make in Council in January last, on the subject of the upward trend of the price of wheat which, with His Excellency's usual concern for the welfare of the people committed to his charge, has been giving him cause for anxiety. There was justifiable reason to believe that stocks were being held up in the expectation of a further rise in prices, either in the foreign or Indian market, and His Excellency was pleased to issue an Ordinance giving power to Government and to the Local Governments to investigate the existence and amount of stocks and to take necessary action. But, unfortunately, that action of Government has not been sufficient. The resolution which my Honourable friend, the Pandit, has moved is only a request to prohibit all export of wheat from India until the price of that commodity comes down to 9 seers a rupee, and as he has since amended it, it further runs 'or to take such other step as may seem advisable to Government to bring the price of wheat as near as possible to a normal level.' This is a measure, I consider, perfectly sound, and I hope the Council will agree in thinking that the exigencies of the time demand it should be adopted, particularly as the price of wheat at the present moment has gone down to something like 6 seers a rupee, whereas even in famine times wheat sells at 11 seers per rupee. I would, however, like to suggest an amended form of the resolution so as to include rice also. The amended form which I propose runs as follows :—

'That this Council recommends that the Governor-General in Council may be pleased to prohibit all export of wheat from India or to take such other steps as may be deemed advisable to bring down the price of wheat as well as of rice, as nearly as possible to their normal level and maintain it there.'

[*Mr. Ghuznavi ; Mr. Marshall Reid ; Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola ; The Vice-President.*] [22ND MARCH, 1915.]

" My friend, the Hon'ble Mr. Clark, has explained that Government intend to take over the whole of the export trade. This also comes within the purview of the proposal which has been added to the resolution. I trust my Hon'ble friend, the Mover, will see his way to accept the amended form of the resolution ; and from all I have said I hope I shall be able to convince this Council that a measure such as this is a necessary step and should be adopted. I have also listened carefully and with great interest to the lucid explanation which my Hon'ble friend Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola has given us of the manner in which he thinks Government should tackle this question, and he has suggested in his speech why Government should not employ the medium of merchants but should employ the medium of the Commissariat to deal with this matter, and I am perfectly convinced from what I have heard from him that this would be a very wise manner of dealing with this question, for it will certainly mean that the middleman's profits will, in this case, be avoided.

The Hon'ble Mr. Marshall Reid :—“ Sir, I should like to say a few words to clear up what appears to be a misunderstanding. Several of my Hon'ble friends have been complaining that the non-officials invited to the Wheat Conference consisted entirely of European merchants interested in the export trade. When the Conference was opened (I think I may say this without disclosing any secret), I particularly asked the President whether it was our business to discuss the policy of the Government of India. The reply, I think, I got was ‘we shall be very glad to hear what any of you have to say, but we are not sure that we shall be able to take very much notice of it.’ In fact, Sir, that Conference was called for the purpose of assisting the Government in deciding on the best machinery by which to carry out the policy they had already decided to adopt. I trust what I have said in that connection will clear up any possible misunderstanding on the part of my friends. I agree with my friend Sir Ibrahim that Government should endeavour, as far as possible, to keep themselves clear of actually interfering in, or mixing themselves up with, the trade of the country : trade is a very complicated thing and it takes, as Sir Ibrahim and many others of us know, a great number of years to learn the intricacies of it. I am afraid that if Government get themselves involved in it to any great extent they will find themselves in a very difficult position, and I therefore would suggest to them that they should use to the utmost possible extent the machinery at present existing for the purpose of carrying on the wheat export trade. I am afraid this is in contradiction of what my Hon'ble friend desires, but I do not think it is advisable that Government should try and create an enormous body of wheat merchants in India, who know nothing much about the trade.

The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola :—“ Sir, will you allow me to say a word in explanation with reference to what has fallen from my Hon'ble friend ? ”

The Vice-President :—“ Yes.”

The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola :—“ Sir, I never suggested the creation of a special body of merchants for the purpose of assisting Government in carrying out their scheme. What I said was, that in this country, there is a large number of Indian and European merchants engaged in the wheat trade, and that by the means which I advocated, and which I need not repeat, you will put them in competition, regulate your prices and obtain what supplies you want for export, without employing any special class of merchants and paying them a large amount as commission. Instead of restricting the trade to the special agency of a few export merchants, let equal opportunities be allowed to all merchants to supply Government with their requirements ; when prices are previously fixed, there can be no difficulty in giving effect to my suggestion. That is my point.”

[22ND MARCH, 1915.] [*Rai Bahadur Sita Nath Ray.*]

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Sita Nath Ray:—" Sir, the problem before us is such a complex one, there are so many standpoints from which to view it, and so many conflicting views about it, that it is difficult for one to come to a definite conclusion. The pronouncement made by the Hon'ble Member for Commerce and Industry relates to a vital matter which intimately affects all classes of people. But it is of such a novel character, and so sudden and unexpected, that we have had no time to deliberate upon it and, as such, it is difficult for us to express any satisfactory opinion about it. Government might have given us time to think about it if they had taken us into their confidence earlier by calling some of us into the Conference which was held so recently here to consider the wheat question.

" But this is altogether another matter which does not immediately concern the question before us. Now, the proposal is that it has become absolutely necessary that a certain quantity of wheat should be exported, and for carrying out the above purpose, what the Government propose is that instead of their themselves coming into the market which would have the effect of creating a panic and of unduly raising the prices of wheat, it would be much better that the purchase should be made for Government by respectable exporting firms, that is, European firms, and that the purchase should be made, not all at once, but by instalments and at regular intervals and at certain fixed prices, and it is further proposed that after the requirements of the Government have been met, that is, after the Government have purchased the requisite quantity of wheat, Government will then again lay an embargo on further exportation of wheat, the result of which would be that the prices of wheat would automatically go down, for there would be no further export, and, it is further said, that as the wheat crop this year is a record one, what would be left in the country would be more than enough to meet the requirements of the people in this country, and as further export would then be prohibited, prices of wheat would materially go down. But, Sir, I have my own misgivings about it. My belief is that as soon as the people come to know, and they are sure to know of it, that it is Government which is making large purchases through some of the exporting firms, the prices of wheat would go up, even now it is said that though an embargo has been laid on the export of wheat, it is Government which has been making large purchases of wheat through some of the exporting firms, and this has resulted of late in raising prices of food-stuffs. It was only 12 days ago before the rains that wheat was selling here at 9 seers a rupee, gram was selling here at 12 seers a rupee; but, to-day, the price of wheat is 7 seers a rupee and that of gram is 9 seers a rupee, and I hear it is all due to the belief that it is Government which has been making purchases.

" Considering all these circumstances, I cannot believe that Government, or for the matter of that the exporting firms, however cautiously they may carry on their operations, would be in a position to buy wheat at prices to be regulated by the Government. The general impression is that a wholesale embargo on the exportation of wheat is the panacea, the only means of bringing down prices, but I am not prepared to accept such a proposal.

" It is well known that during the Bihar Famine of 1873-74, when Lord Northbrook, the then Governor-General of India, was pressed on all sides to prohibit the export of rice from India, he set his face against it, for, he said, it was not desirable to interfere with the free course of trade; in that case it would take away all the incentive from the grain dealers to regulate the supply according to the demand. The question, indeed, is a very knotty one. I must frankly admit that it is not possible for me at such a short notice to express my definite opinion on the policy which the Government is going to pursue. However, considering all the circumstances of the case, I think Government is well justified in adopting the course they have fixed upon, that is, to prohibit the export of wheat after the requirements of the Government have been met. I think it is much better that instead of Government or their agents coming direct to the market, which would have a very disturbing influence on the market, the purchase of wheat should be made through

[*Rai Bahadur Sita Nath Ray; Mr. Banerjee.*] [22ND MARCH, 1915.]

the agency of third parties which should, I hope, include Indian merchants also. But the operations should be carried on very cautiously.

"I quite agree with the Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola that by adopting the policy which the Government proposes to follow, we shall be thereby depriving the cultivators of a very large amount of profit which the Government is likely to make on sale in the European market. But it was said by the Hon'ble Member for Commerce and Industry that that profit would be ear-marked for certain purposes which were not indicated, but I do hope that a large portion of the anticipated profit would reach the cultivators. Then it was said by the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoj that if high prices were to prevail, the cultivators would not profit by them, for, he said, that if the prices were to go down considerably, the middlemen would step in and buy all the wheat at very low prices, stock them, and then make very large profit by selling them at higher prices. But my impression is quite the other way. If anybody were to profit by it, it would be the cultivators first, and then the middlemen, and that in support of this view, I may quote here the result of my recent experience of what took place in Bengal in the case of jute. What happened in Bengal was this: that when the prices of jute went down considerably, that is, when the apparent prices of jute were from a rupee and a half and upwards a maund, the cultivators absolutely refused to sell their jute and emphatically said that they would allow their jute to rot in the field and then cut and sell it at that low price, and the result was that it was the cultivators who profited considerably when higher prices prevailed in the market. Then it was said by the Hon'ble Mover himself that wheat is the only staple food of the people of the Punjab. To that I say that from the inquiries I made this very morning, I came to learn that it is not wheat but gram which is the staple food of the lower classes of the people of the Punjab. With these few words, I beg to give my support, which I do half-heartedly, to the scheme proposed by Government."

The Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee:—"Sir, The Hon'ble Mr. Marshall Reid has told us that it is a very serious matter to interfere with the ordinary operations of trade. I am sure that that will be the sense of every member of this Council and of every person who has given a thought to the subject. But the situation also is serious, and drastic measures are needed to cope with it. Sir, it seems to be practically the unanimous sense of this Council that something should be done, and the proposal which has been put forward by the Commerce Member seems to be quite acceptable to this Council and, I am sure, it will be endorsed by the country. Sir, my friend to my left (Mr. Ghuznavi), to whom I have to refer again in the course of to-day's discussion, wants to somewhat widen the scope of Government action in this matter. He says that rice should be included within the sphere of Government control. Well, I may say this, that rice at the present moment, coarse rice, is selling at seven seers per rupee. In West Bengal the pressure is not felt so much. But my friend who has extensive experience of East Bengal, and is a Zamindar in that part of the country, says that scarcity and pressure are being felt in East Bengal. Therefore these are the facts, and it is for the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Commerce Department to decide whether, in view of these facts, he would be prepared to extend the scope of Government control not only over wheat but also over rice. A situation may develop in Bengal when it will be necessary to exercise control over the export of rice, but whether at present we are confronted with such a situation may, perhaps, form the subject of inquiry by Government."

"Sir, reference has been made to the profits which the Government is likely to make in connection with this matter and it has been urged that these profits should be ear-marked for the benefit of the cultivator. I am in entire agreement with that view. The cultivator is likely to suffer and it is only right and proper that if the Government makes any profit a portion of that profit should be ear-marked for his benefit. I hope and trust that after the expressions of opinion which we have had in this Council in the course of this

[22ND MARCH, 1915.] [*Mr. Banerjee ; Mr. Rayanngar ; Rai Bahadur Sita Nath Ray ; The Vice-President ; Mr. Monteath ; Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.*]

discussion, in all future conferences relating to commercial matters Indian opinion will be represented, and adequately represented I think Indian commercial opinion is a power in the land, and I am perfectly certain that the representatives of Indian Commerce will always be in a position to afford valuable advice to Government in regard to matters in which they are interested ”

The Hon'ble Mr. Rayanngar:—“ Sir, the question before the Council is a very intricate one. The adoption of the measure recommended by the Hon'ble Mover is sure to adversely affect the interests of a large and important section of agriculturists. It is certainly a drastic measure. But drastic measures are sometimes unavoidable and no one will deny that the present is an occasion when the adoption of a drastic measure is necessary. Sir, I have no doubt the drastic nature of the measure will to some extent be minimised, if the Government ear-mark a large portion of the profit that it is likely to make by the adoption of the measure to be utilized for the benefit of agriculturists. Sir, I oppose the amendment which my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi has moved, to bring rice within the scope of the resolution. No case has been made out for the control of the rice export ”

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Sita Nath Ray:—“ May I be permitted to say a word or two in opposition to the suggestion made by the Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi ? ”

The Hon'ble the Vice-President :—“ The Hon'ble Member has spoken once. He has had his opportunity and I am sorry that I cannot give permission to him to speak again. Nobody, under the rules, except the Mover and the Member in charge, has an opportunity of speaking more than once. I call on the Hon'ble Mr. Monteath.”

The Hon'ble Mr. Monteath :—“ Sir, the wheat question does not interest my province as much as it does North-Western India, but from a general business standpoint I would like to extend my full support to the Hon'ble Mr. Marshall Reid's remarks. The less Government can interfere in the trade the better, and it does seem to me reasonable and best that existing channels of the export trade should carry on the agency of the future exports. These agencies are quite accustomed to finding the right market and the Commissariat Department can scarcely be expected to know the system of exports and details of the Home markets ”

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—“ Sir, It is evident that there is a general consensus of opinion about the desirability of Government adopting the measures which they propose ; there are some differences only about the details. Personally speaking, I must say that I feel that the Government have adopted a very bold measure, and I hope and pray—I go further, and say, I hope and trust—that the decision of the Government will prove to be correct. A suggestion has been made that a sliding export duty on wheat might have met the situation better. I have very great respect for the views of my friend the Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola ; but I venture to differ from him on this point. I fear in the peculiar circumstances in which we are placed, a sliding export duty will not solve our difficulties. The situation is this. The Government have to adopt some measures which will be effective in bringing down the price of wheat to a reasonable level, and to maintain it at such level : that is the first consideration. The second consideration, which, I suppose, is also present to the mind of the Government, and naturally and rightly so, I should say, would be that any surplus wheat which should be available in this country after providing for the requirements of the people, should be sent only where it is desirable in the interests of the Empire it should be sent.

[*Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya; Mr. Clark.*] [22ND MARCH, 1915.]

Now if you let ordinary exporters export, you may, by levying duty on a sliding scale, secure the first object, but you will not equally secure the second one, namely, that the wheat shall go only where it should go. I take it that one great advantage of the proposal of Government is that our surplus wheat goes smartly to the place—whether it is England or any other part of the world—where in the interests of the Empire it is necessary that it should go. All that I should say in this connection is that I hope that the remarks of the Right Hon'ble Mr Asquith, which the Hon'ble Member for Commerce and Industry has quoted, and the assurance of the Hon'ble Member himself will always be clearly borne in mind, and that only so much of wheat shall be exported as can be exported without inflicting any serious injury on the Indian consumer. I consider that the very fact that the Government have taken upon themselves the responsibility of such a bold measure, carries a guarantee with it that the object which we and they have in view will be secured. I am persuaded that it will be better secured in this manner than it was likely to be secured in any other manner. There can be no manner of doubt that the Government have taken a very great responsibility upon themselves. For if prices are not brought down to a reasonable level, a great deal of blame will fall upon the Government: and I feel that in that very circumstance there is a guarantee that the Government will so regulate the export that the price of wheat will come down. I am supported in this view by the remarks of the Hon'ble Mr. Clark: he has told us that not only will the quantity of wheat which is to be purchased for export will be fixed by Government, but also the period during which that quantity is to be purchased, and also the price at which it is to be purchased. He has also told us that that price will be fixed in the interests of the consumer, and that it will be higher than the market price—"

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark:—"We cannot prophesy as to how the market will go in the future."

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—"I thought my Hon'ble friend said so. Anyhow, I take it that the Government will take care to so fix the price that it shall not prevent the needed quantity of wheat being available to the people."

"There are differences of opinion also as regards the agency to be employed by Government for the purchase of wheat. And when two gentlemen of the commercial experience of the Hon'ble Mr. Marshall Reid and Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola differ, it must be difficult for a layman to express an opinion. But there is one aspect of the question to which I might invite the attention of Government. There will be a feeling of satisfaction among the general merchants who deal in wheat all over the country, and who are, so to say, the sub-agents of the larger exporters, if the Government could see their way to adopt the suggestion of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola. The Government have been purchasing stores of very great value through the Commissariat Department. I presume no difficulty is felt in obtaining what they want in that way. Once the system is adopted, it will involve no general interference with trade; it may mean an interference to a certain extent with the profits of a few large houses which export wheat after purchasing it from smaller traders."

"Then as regards the application of the profits which will come to the hands of Government from the proposals, the Hon'ble Member has said that the profits will be ear-marked for some useful and suitable purpose for the benefit of the people. There is much in that announcement to satisfy the public; but, if I may venture to make a suggestion, I will express a hope that Government will consider the desirability of earmarking the profits for something like an agricultural co-operative credit fund on the lines of the Famine Fund. It is well known that many cultivators are, owing to their poverty, unable to sell their crops at the price at which they should sell. They have to mortgage the crops, or sell them in advance to the agents of large exporters of wheat, and they have necessarily to content themselves with a

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[Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya; Mr. Clark.]

smaller price than they would obtain if they could wait until the wheat could be taken to the market. Now, Sir, if the suggestion I have made commends itself to the Government, and if the profits realised from the proposed regulation of the export of wheat becomes the nucleus of a fund from which advances could be made to cultivators to save them from parting with the fruits of their exacting industry, on such terms as the agents of Messrs. Balli Bros and other firms, or the village money-lender may offer, the condition of the ryots will be materially improved, and the proposed measure will prove to be one of great beneficence and far-reaching importance. In conclusion, I wish to say that I have agreed to the modification suggested by my Hon'ble Friend the Member for Commerce and Industry, namely, to the insertion after the word 'that' of the words 'so long as the economic conditions brought about by the war last,' because that was all that I principally intended by my present resolution. I thought my proposal, that the export of wheat should be prohibited until its price came down to 9 seers for the rupee, conveyed that idea. I did not contemplate that wheat should sell at 9 seers for the rupee in ordinary times; but, of course, I reserve to myself the right of bringing up the larger question of a sliding export duty on wheat for the consideration of Government when we find ourselves in normal circumstances. I do think that, in the general interests of the people, such an export duty on wheat is desirable. But, as I have said, for the present I confine myself entirely to the present situation, and so confining myself I thankfully welcome the proposal of the Government."

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark:—"There are two or three points, Sir, on which I think I ought to say a few words before this debate closes. The first of these is the question of Indian Commerce being represented in our discussions and conferences before we arrived at our decision. As to that there has been a certain amount of misunderstanding, as the Hon'ble Mr. Marshall Reid explained. When Government came to the conclusion that intervention was necessary, they invited the representatives of the European firms up to Delhi to discuss the machinery. We did not invite them up to discuss whether or not we should prohibit export. That would be hardly a fair question to put to exporters. I may remind the Council that the European firms handle 9-10ths of the wheat exported from India. They are the only firms who handle the great body of our exports, the exports which go to Europe. There is a small amount of exports in Indian hands which goes to the Persian Gulf and to Arabia and so on, and for that we are making special arrangements which are not included in this scheme.

"If the Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola will excuse my saying so, he seems to have been less consistent than usual in his arguments to-day. He began by impressing us with the gravity of the undertaking, and no one appreciates the gravity of the undertaking more than I do. But what does he next propose? He proposes that we should cast aside the one agency which has a thorough experience in the handling of this trade, namely, the European export firms. He proposes that we should go ourselves directly into the internal market and use for this purpose the Commissariat Department, overlooking, apparently, the fact that we are at war, and that the Commissariat Department is very much busier than usual providing our troops in the field with the necessary supplies. The proposal he puts forward seems to me utterly unworkable.

"The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy says we ought to have had a representative of the Punjab present at our conferences. The wheat consuming provinces were represented at our conferences through the representatives of the Local Governments. That is the constitutional way in which they should be represented, and the officers who came, or rather the Governments whom they represented, had been at special pains to acquaint themselves beforehand with the condition of affairs.

"The Hon'ble Pandit Malaviya asked why we should not deal direct with sub-agents. I would remind the Council that sub-agents will be in the same position as they are at present. At present they are dealt with by the European

[*Mr. Clark.*]

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exporting firms and that will go on exactly as it is at present. There seems to be a general impression in this Council that we are creating a monopoly for European firms. That is not so. We are merely using the one agency which is at present in existence, and I put it to the Council, that that is the only prudent course for Government to follow when they are launching into this new business, in which we feel deeply that we have but small experience.

"The only remaining point is in regard to the utilization of the profits, such as they may be. I may say at once that we regard with very great sympathy the proposal that these profits should be utilized for the benefit of the cultivator, but I am not able to make a definite announcement on the subject. Hon'ble Members know that on all these financial questions we have to refer to higher authority, and it is clearly too early to decide how we are going to utilize our profits until we have got them and know how great the profits are going to be; and I cannot now make any specific announcement on that point.

"It only remains to me to thank the Council for the very sympathetic way in which they have received these novel and, I feel, very difficult proposals."

The revised resolution was put and agreed to.

The Council adjourned to Wednesday, the 24th March, 1915.

W. H. VINCENT,

*Secretary to the Government of India,
Legislative Department.*

DELHI:

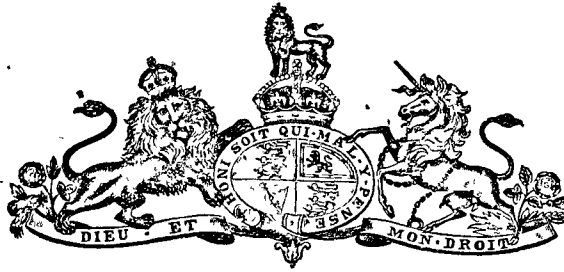
The 27th March, 1915.

APPENDIX.

(Statement laid on the table, vide page 515, ante.)

Statement showing the expenditure incurred on Productive and Protective Irrigation Works since 1905-06, including the Revised Estimate for 1914-15 and Budget for 1915-16

Years.	49, Productive.	35 and 42 A, Protective	Total.
1	2	3	(2 + 3).
Actuals . . . 1905-06	83,42,910	44,48,589	1,27,91,499
" . . . 1906-07	1,19,64,406	53,46,895	1,73,11,301
" . . . 1907-08	1,28,85,822	62,58,602	1,91,44,424
" . . . 1908-09	1,47,62,336	60,45,453	2,07,97,789
Finance and Revenue Accounts. " . . . 1909-10	1,57,85,241	64,93,341	2,22,78,582
" . . . 1910-11	1,80,58,320	53,95,101	2,34,53,421
" . . . 1911-12	2,30,47,958	57,51,961	2,87,99,919
" . . . 1912-13	2,11,24,946	63,97,508	2,75,22,452
" . . . 1913-14	1,92,33,925	86,26,702	2,78,60,627
Please see pages 9 and 11 Statement B, Financial Statement. { Revised Estimate, 1914-15	1,74,96,000	85,24,500	2,60,20,500
{ Budget Estimate, 1915-16	1,65,00,000	75,00,000	2,40,00,000
Total	17,89,91,864	7,07,58,350	24,97,50,214
Average for 11 years	1,62,71,988	64,85,331	2,27,57,319



GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.
LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COUNCIL OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA,
ASSEMBLED FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING LAWS AND REGULATIONS
UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF THE INDIAN COUNCILS ACTS, 1861 to 1909
(24 & 25 Vict., c. 87, 55 & 56 Vict., c. 14, AND 9 Edw. VII, c. 4).

The Council met at the Council Chamber, Imperial Secretariat, Delhi, on
Wednesday, the 24th March, 1915.

PRESENT :

The Hon'ble SIR HARCOURT BUTLER, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Vice-President, *presiding*,
and 58 Members, of whom 51 were Additional Members.

STATEMENT LAID ON THE TABLE.

The Hon'ble Mr. Sharp :—“ Sir, I beg to lay on the table a report*
on Indian Education in 1913-14, which was promised at the time of the intro-
duction of the head 'Education' in this Council on the 9th instant. Copies
have also been distributed to Hon'ble Members. These copies are only proof
copies. The Volume, when published, will be illustrated.”

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

The Hon'ble Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar asked :—

1. “(a) Will the Government be pleased to give particulars of the fresh increments (if any) in salaries or allowances given to the Indian Civil, Medical, Police and any other services in the years 1912-13 and 1913-14, and the cost to the tax-payer of such increments? increments in salaries or allowances given to members of certain services in India.
- “ (b) Will the Government be pleased further to state the total cost of the increments (if any) sanctioned since the outbreak of the War? ”

* Not published with these Proceedings.

[*Sir William Meyer; Raja Jai Chand; Sir Robert Carlyle.*] [24TH MARCH, 1915]

The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer replied :—

"I understand that the Hon'ble Member desires information regarding any general increment of pay which may have been sanctioned for the Imperial branches of the major services engaged in the general administration of the country.

"There has been no general reorganisation of the pay of the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Medical Service or the Imperial Police since the commencement of the year 1912-13. The only important modification with regard to the pay of any of these services has been the temporary introduction of a minimum time-scale of pay for members of the Indian Civil Service of over seven years' service in the Punjab, the United Provinces and the Central Provinces, subsequently extended to the Bombay Presidency, with the object of partially protecting them from loss owing to an abnormal block in promotion. Since the outbreak of the war this system of a special minimum time-scale of pay has been extended, subject to certain conditions, to all Indian Civil Service officers of over two years' service throughout India, in order to compensate them in part for the loss of the normal expectations of officiating promotion which they would have enjoyed but for the present crisis, which has necessitated the recall of officers already on leave and the restriction of fresh leave facilities. A similar system has been introduced, for the same reason, in the case of the Imperial Police service throughout India.

"A normal time-scale of pay was introduced in 1912-13 in the cadre of Assistant Collectors belonging to the Imperial Customs Service, at an additional cost of Rs2,196 a year. With regard to other major Imperial Departments, no general reorganisation of pay has been brought into effect since the beginning of the year 1912-13.

"It is impossible to state the exact cost of the introduction of the special minimum time-scale of pay in the Indian Civil Service and in the Police, since this does not supersede previous pay arrangements, but merely guarantees that an officer of a certain standing shall not draw less than a certain salary. Nor could the information asked for by the Hon'ble Member be tabulated without an elaborate investigation of the difference between the time-scale pay, if applied, and the rates of salary which each officer would have drawn had the scale not been introduced."

The Hon'ble Raja Jai Chand asked :—

Production
of ground-
nuts and
linseed.

2. "(a) Is it a fact that, in the last few years, some tendency to grow ground-nuts, like those produced in Madras, and linseed is being steadily developed in other provinces of India? If so, will the Government kindly state what has been the average produce per acre, and the annual export (if any) of ground-nuts and linseed for the last—say—four years from these provinces?"

(b) Have the Provincial Governments encouraged and countenanced agriculturists to develop the products on experimental lines, and otherwise?"

The Hon'ble Sir Robert Carlyle replied :—

"The cultivation of ground-nut is rapidly extending in Bombay, Burma, the United Provinces and the Central Provinces and the Provincial Departments of Agriculture are devoting attention to the introduction and maintenance of disease-resistance varieties. The cultivation of linseed is more firmly established and requires no special encouragement. Linseed is grown for export and the area under this crop is largely determined by the ruling price. The Agricultural Departments have not found it possible to devote much attention to this crop.

2. The last volume of the 'Area and Yield of Principal Crops' and a statement showing the exports of ground-nuts and linseed during the last four years are placed on the table.*"

* Not published with these Proceedings.

[24TH MARCH, 1915.] [*Raja Rai Chand ; Mr. Sharp ; Mr. Dadabhoy ; Mr. Clark.*]

The Hon'ble Raja Jai Chand asked :—

3. "(a) Will the Government kindly state whether agricultural education Agricultural education. has been introduced, and made compulsory in primary schools ?

(b) If the answer be in the affirmative, have sufficient additional funds been provided therefor ?

(c) If the answer to part (a) be in the negative, do the Government propose to consider the feasibility of introducing agricultural training, side by side with literary education ? "

The Hon'ble Mr. Sharp replied :—

"The accepted policy of Government, from which they see no reason to depart, is that, while it is undesirable to teach agriculture as such in primary schools, an attempt should be made to give to the teaching in such schools an agricultural colour and to encourage the power of observation of pupils by nature study "

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy asked :—

4. "(a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the statements Coasting freights for export of Bengal coal and increase in import of foreign coal. at pages 13 and 34 of the *Review of the Trade of India* in 1913-14 that high coasting freights have interfered with the expansion of the exports of Bengal coal to Bombay and Karachi ?

(b) Do Government propose to take action, in consultation with shipping companies, with a view to secure a reduction in coasting freights ?

(c) Is it a fact that imports of foreign coal on Government account, even of the quality produced in India, have increased of late ?

(d) If so, will Government be pleased to state the reasons for such increase ? "

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark replied :—

"With regard to the first two questions, Government are aware that the high level of coasting freights is one of the causes which are alleged to have contributed to check an expansion in the exports of Bengal coal to Bombay and Karachi. It has never been their policy, however, to attempt to fix any standard for coasting freights.

2 With regard to the third and fourth questions, Government are aware that the imports of coal, coke and patent fuel by sea on their account increased up to the year 1913. The figures for 1914, however, show a very large decline."

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy asked :—

5. "With reference to the statement in the Assam Administration Report for 1912-13, that with a view 'to meet the changed conditions when there will no longer be a penal contract, and to give employers some remedy against the enticement of labour which they have imported at considerable cost, proposals which have been administratively approved by the Government of India have been framed,' do Government propose to lay on the table the correspondence on the subject between this Government and the Assam Government ? "

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark replied :—

"The Government of India regret that they are unable to lay the papers on the table."

570 QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS; THE ASSAM LABOUR AND
EMIGRATION (AMENDMENT) BILL.

[*Mr. Dadabhoj; Mr. Clark; Mr. Das; Sir* [24TH MARCH, 1915]
Reginald Craddock.]

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoj asked:—

Wages of
indentured
labour in
Assam.

6. “(a) Will Government be pleased to state if there has been any improvement in the wages of indentured labour in Assam, and, if so, to what extent since the enactment of the Assam Labour Laws ?

(b) What is the present rate of the wages of indentured labour in Assam ?”

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark replied :—

“(a) As far as can be ascertained from the returns furnished under the present Act, the average wages earned by indentured labourers in Assam at present show an improvement over the average wages earned since the statutory minimum wage came into force in 1903 of approximately 3 annas, 3 pies a month in the case of men and 15 annas in the case of women

(b) The statutory minimum wage for men and women respectively is :—

R5 and R4 for the first year ;
R5-8-0 and R4-8-0 for the second and third years ;
R6 and R 5 for the fourth year.

On some gardens, however, the rate of pay is above that prescribed by law, and on almost all the labourers can, if they wish to, earn at least double their pay for a considerable part of the year by working over-time.

The Assam Immigration report for 1913-14 (the latest published) shows that the average of monthly cash wage including *tioca*, diet, rations, subsistence allowance, and bonus per head is as follows :—

Of total number on books

Men	R5-11-5
Women	R5-5-9”

The Hon'ble Mr. Das asked :—

Quarterly
lists of
petitions
withheld
by the Govern-
ment of
Bihar and
Orissa.

7. “(a) Did the Government of Bihar and Orissa, during the year 1914, forward to the Government of India quarterly lists of petitions which were withheld by the former Government, giving reasons for withholding them ?

(b) If such quarterly lists were received during the year 1914, will the Government be pleased to lay on the table copies of the same, with the reasons for withholding them ?”

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

“Quarterly lists of petitions withheld by Local Governments under the rules are received by the Government of India, but it is not considered that any public interest would be served by laying them before this Council. If the Hon'ble Member desires information about any specific case the possibility of furnishing it will be considered.”

**THE ASSAM LABOUR AND EMIGRATION
(AMENDMENT) BILL.**

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark :—“Sir, I move that the Bill further to amend the Assam Labour and Emigration Act, 1901, be taken into consideration.”

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark :—“Sir, I move that in clause 4 of the Bill after the word ‘substituted’ the following shall be inserted :—‘for the words ‘the employer’ the words ‘his employer or the association or firm which has applied in respect of such Local Agent under section 64, subsection 2 and”

THE ASSAM LABOUR AND EMIGRATION (AMENDMENT) BILL. 571
[24TH MARCH, 1915.] · [Mr. Clark; Mr. Graham.]

“ Under clause 3 of the Bill, it is proposed to amend section 64 of the Act so as to allow ‘any association or firm duly authorized by general or special order of the Governor General in Council’ apply for a licence for a Local Agent. Now the term ‘employer’ under the Bill as introduced has the definite technical meaning assigned to it under section 2 (1) (f) of the principal Act, namely, the manager of the tea-garden for which the Local Agent mentioned in section 67 (i) of the Act as amended by the present Bill has been licensed to recruit coolies. It will therefore be insufficient to provide, as originally proposed in the Bill, that the application for the cancellation of the Local Agent’s licence can be presented only by the employer, *i. e.*, by the manager of the tea-garden, seeing that many Local Agents do not work under the orders of an individual manager, but under those of an Association representing a group of tea-gardens, controlled by a number of different managers, and, therefore, this amendment is necessary.”

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon’ble Mr. Clark:—“ Sir, I beg to move that in clause 5 of the Bill in sub-section 6 of the new section 116-A. inserted by that clause, for the words ‘by the Board’ the words ‘in the manner prescribed by such rule’ shall be substituted. In the Bill it is provided that the Assam Branch of the Indian Tea Association and the Surma Valley Branch of the Indian Tea Association are to be represented on the Executive Committee of the Board. Under the Bill, as drafted, it was provided that representatives of these two Branches should be chosen by the Board. The Branches, however, wish to choose their own representatives, and it is obviously a better arrangement that they should do so. It is therefore proposed now to put it in a general way by substituting for the words ‘by the Board’ the words ‘in the manner prescribed by such rules’ ”

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon’ble Mr. Clark:—“ Sir, I move that in clause 7 (2) (iii) of the Bill in the new section 172 (1) (a) inserted by that clause, after the word ‘emigrate’ the words ‘under Chapter IV as modified by any notification issued’ shall be inserted.

“ This amendment is designed to remove any ambiguity which may arise from the fact that section 91 of the Act does not of itself provide any specific method of emigration. It merely empowers Local Governments and Administrations to relax, by means of Gazette notifications, any provisions of Chapter IV in the case of Garden-sardars.”

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon’ble Mr. Clark:—“ Sir, I now move that the Bill as amended be passed into law. I should perhaps explain that with the abolition of indentured labour in Assam and of recruitment by contractors, Act VI of 1901 is becoming less and less suited to existing conditions, and the whole question of what legislation is necessary for the control and regulation of recruitment for Assam and of labour in the Province will have to be taken up very shortly. The Government of India, however, were anxious that there should be no further delay in the introduction of the measures for the closer and more satisfactory control of recruitment embodied in the present Bill, and decided to proceed therewith at once and not to wait until the larger question could be taken up. We recognise therefore that though the provisions in this Bill dealing with the constitution of the Labour Board have been carefully framed, the measure is necessarily to some extent a tentative one and may in itself need some amendment at some future date when more experience has been gained of the improved system of recruitment, which is now being introduced.”

The Hon’ble Mr. Graham:—“ Sir, a complex subject and a complicated Act describe, I think, the Assam Labour question and Act VI of 1901. Since the first Government inquiry in 1859, there has been much

572 THE ASSAM LABOUR AND EMIGRATION (AMENDMENT) BILL; THE SEA CUSTOMS (AMENDMENT) BILL; RESOLUTION *RE* STATE MANAGEMENT OF RAILWAYS.

[*Mr. Graham; Mr. Clark; Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola.*] [24TH MARCH, 1915.]

legislation and much controversy on this matter of labour, and looking back on it now it would seem that a great deal of it might have been avoided had there been more co-operation between Government and the industry. The proposed Labour Board it is hoped will effect this co-operation, and as such it is very welcome. That the necessary legislation to establish this Board has been added to Act VI is a matter of disappointment to the Industry, having in view the fact that both Government and the Industry are agreed that the Act should be gradually abolished. Apparently, however, it was not possible in the short time available to arrange matters otherwise, and we can only hope that the odium which has attached to Act VI will not extend to the Board. In some other respects the Bill does not accord with the desires of the Industry, and although we have suggested a number of alterations, Government have not seen their way to accept these. More freedom in the matter of recruiting is what is required to produce the conditions best likely to remove abuses, namely, cheap and plentiful labour—when I say cheap labour, I am referring to the cost of recruiting, not to the coolies' wages,—and although with the changed conditions likely to be created by the abolition of the contractor this is not immediately possible, we hope that the establishment of the Labour Board will lead to a more sympathetic and consistent administration of the Act and a less rigorous enforcement of the somewhat rigid restrictions, which at present abound. In these circumstances, and with this understanding, I support the Bill."

The motion was put and agreed to.

THE SEA CUSTOMS (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark :—"Sir, I move that the Bill further to amend the Sea Customs Act, 1878, be taken into consideration.

"Perhaps I may take this opportunity of removing a misapprehension which, it has been brought to my notice, might possibly arise in connection with this Bill, namely, that the Bill might perhaps be regarded as indicating an intention on our part to increase customs duties in the near future. This is in no way the case. As Council will remember, my Hon'ble Colleague the Finance Member informed us in his Budget speech that the question of the imposition of additional taxation had been very carefully examined in the last few weeks; and it was in the course of this examination that attention was drawn to the anomaly in the law, which it is now proposed to remove. It seemed to Government clearly desirable that the law should be amended, and we thought it best that the amendment should be carried out without further delay, not for present use but to simplify the position if tariff revision should be required hereafter."

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark :—"I move, Sir, that the Bill now be passed."

The motion was put and agreed to.

RESOLUTION *RE* STATE MANAGEMENT OF RAILWAYS.

The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola :—"Sir, I beg to move the following resolution :—

"That this Council recommends the Governor General in Council to consider the desirability of the future policy in regard to State Railways being one of management by Government instead of by Managing Companies."

RESOLUTION *BE* STATE MANAGEMENT OF RAILWAYS. 575

[24TH MARCH, 1915.] [Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola.]

"I will open my remarks, by pointing out that my resolution does not deal with the question of the nationalisation of railways, as some people have imagined. It was so early as 1880 that the Government of India laid down as their future policy that they would acquire all the railways at the time when the option resting with them under the contracts with Railway Companies fell due. So that, so far as the word 'nationalisation' means the ownership of railways, practically all trunk lines in India have been acquired and are now owned by the State. My resolution deals with the far simpler question of the management of railways, in other words, whether the lines owned by Government should be managed by themselves or whether they should be managed by Managing Companies. The present system of management of railways is divided into two parts. Government own 25,125 miles of trunk lines in India, out of which approximately 6,800 miles are managed by themselves. The balance of 18,325 miles are leased to Companies for the purpose of management. My resolution asks Government to lay down, as their future policy, that the 6,800 miles which they manage now may gradually be extended as the contracts with existing companies fall due, and that ultimately, when all the contracts have fallen due, to have the entire management of the State-owned railways put under one central Department of the State. The advantages that I expect to result from such a system may be summarised as follows:—

- (1) The saving to the State of the share of profits now paid to the Managing Companies.
- (2) The development of trade and commerce on natural lines instead of the present artificial diversion by means of block rates.
- (3) The growth and development of industries especially in the interests of this country.
- (4) The promotion of inter-provincial trade.
- (5) The centralisation of control in a single State Department located in India and amenable to Indian public opinion instead of in Boards of Directors in London.

"I do not propose to deal with other minor advantages such as the utilisation of the entire rolling stock as one system, etc. I will confine my observations to these five main points which I wish to place before the Council.

"The saving to the State under item 1, namely, the share of profits now paid to Managing Companies, is a very important factor in the determination of this question. You are aware, Sir, that the Government of India have been during recent years providing large capital expenditure for the development of railways in India and for the more efficient working of the trunk lines. The annual figure has reached 12 million pounds and although the next year's provision is reduced to 8 millions, my Honourable friend Mr Marshall Reid, representing the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, only recently stated to this Council that their ideas had advanced and they wanted 15 to 16 millions per annum. In providing these large sums of money for the more efficient working of State railways trade has been undoubtedly helped, but at the same time the share of profits going to Managing Companies has largely increased. There may be other reasons why this is so, but the one I have mentioned is most important. In the year 1909-10 the amount paid to Managing Companies as their share of profits was 18 lakhs of rupees. In 1912-13 it went up to one crore and 6 lakhs and in 1913-14 it was 66 lakhs for 9 months, which if the same average is maintained would work to about 88 lakhs per annum. There will therefore be a substantial saving at the time when all the trunk lines are taken over by Government, a saving of about a crore of rupees to the State on the present basis, which cannot possibly be regarded as a negligible quantity. Dealing with the question of development of trade and commerce on natural lines instead of the present artificial diversion by means of block rates I wish to point out that it is a curious phenomenon that though railways belong to the

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State, the interests of different Managing Companies, because they share in the profits, are divergent and each tries to draw the traffic its own way. Each management tries its best within the minimum and maximum rates laid down by Government to divert trade to the ports which it serves. They want to carry the largest quantity of cargo over the longest distance over their rails and in order to be able to do so all the cargo which is offered to be carried to ports other than those they serve, block rates, which mean full maximum rates authorised by Government, are levied. I should like to inquire what effect this has upon the cultivators. The cultivators growing their produce in a given centre find that the best outlet for their produce is, say, either Bombay or Calcutta. To illustrate my meaning I will take the instance of the East Indian Railway. My point is common to all railways and when I am taking for my illustration one particular line I do not wish it to be understood that that is the only line that is adopting this system. Each line that serves a different port avails itself of the maximum rates for the purpose of drawing as much cargo to its own port as possible. Supposing as I have said that the produce grown in a given centre has to be carried over the East Indian Railway for a short distance before it can be taken over by the Great Indian Peninsula Railway to the port of Bombay which is found to be the most suitable outlet for it, it has to bear the burden of block rates for the short distance over the East Indian Railway. If India had a monopoly of the produce under consideration it may well be argued that the extra charge thus levied will be paid by the consumer, but only recently the Hon'ble Member for Commerce and Industry pointed out, and very rightly too, that the values of India's principal articles of export are governed by world prices, that the rates which exporters pay in the different ports are governed by what they expect to realise in the home markets or the markets to which these goods are exported. Therefore, if excessive rates are charged for any distance during the passage to the ports, it is, I venture to submit, the cultivators who have to pay them and not the consumers. Now, Sir, it appears to me that the interests of the cultivators should command greater consideration than those of Managing Companies and the merchants. After all, we merchants are the middlemen between the producer and the consumer, and whether the charges levied for transport are high or low they cannot directly affect us. In calculating our prices between the rates we pay for purchase and the rates we sell at, we take into consideration all the charges that we have got to find. Of course it does affect merchants who have their centres of business in different ports in the matter of volume of trade, but so far as these block rates are concerned they prejudicially affect the cultivators only. As I have said it is a curious phenomenon that, when the State owns all these railways, such a system should prevail to the prejudice of a class of people in whom Government profess to feel the deepest interest.

“The management of State railways by different companies is responsible for the formation of spheres of influence of the different ports in India. I cannot understand why any produce should be forced to specific ports by different Managing Companies having a monopoly of transport over their lines and thereby create the different spheres of influence of different ports? (I venture to submit that the State should encourage the export of Indian produce through its natural ports, without allowing manipulation of rates. Not only in this respect, but in sanctioning new railways, in providing necessary links to existing railway lines, the same policy of port interests governs their action. The Bombay Chamber of Commerce had to press for, I think, nearly 17 years before they succeeded in obtaining sanction for the Nagda-Muttra line, and now for the last few years they have been pressing without avail for the construction of the Muttra-Aligarh section. It is a section extending over 41 miles only and will unquestionably promote the interests of the cultivators in taking the produce to its natural port. But Government have refused to sanction this link on the ground that it would be an invasion upon the sphere of influence of the East Indian Railway. Now, Sir, I venture to ask what has that got to do with the development of trade and the

[24TH MARCH, 1915.] [*Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola.*]

natural outlet for produce? Can there be any justification for talking about the sphere of influence of particular railways when all railways belong to Government or the sphere of influence of different ports justifying artificial methods for the purpose of diverting trade?

"Sir, when railways are owned by the State I think the foremost consideration must be to help to the utmost of their power the development of trade and to let the trade go to its natural outlets. In making these remarks I am not asking for any preference to be given to the port of Bombay. I am dealing with the question generally in the interests of the Indian people as a whole and especially the interests of the producers who are primarily affected by this manipulation of rates. I venture to submit that if the management of railways was vested in one and the same central authority, namely, the Government, most of these abuses would be removed.

"Sir, the next question I will deal with is the growth and development of industries and the encouragement of inter-provincial trade. The Government of India must have been convinced from the number of interpellations and resolutions on trade matters which have been coming before this Council, of how keenly the growth and development of industries in India is now being felt by the people of this country. It appears to me that railways are one of the principal means by which substantial encouragement can be given to the growth of industries in the interior of the country. Only recently during the discussion which took place on the Sugar resolution it was explained to us what methods are adopted by foreign countries to capture the trade of India. The payment of bounties and subsidies, the compulsion to plant and grow particular crops, and to sell them to particular manufacturing industries, the carriage by sea and land at less than commercial rates of freight are all considered legitimate means by foreign Governments to capture our trade. Surely it is not too much to ask that State railways, for which the country has paid enormously in the past, should be used for the purpose of helping and encouraging industries in the interior of the country. I know it is no use saying on the present occasion anything about, or asking, that these imports which compete with Indian industries should be made to pay higher rates of carriage on Indian railways, but surely, Sir, it is in no way unreasonable to ask that when goods are manufactured in India and are offered for transport they should be carried at special rates even though the quantities be smaller and the distances shorter than similar goods manufactured in other countries. I have no intention at present, I have not the time, to go into the large mass of figures I have; but it will suffice for my purpose to say that the general principle I am enunciating is certainly justified on the grounds of principle and policy. It is certainly not too much to ask that State-owned railways should carry raw materials to industrial factories and locally manufactured goods to the consuming markets in the neighbourhood at special rates. Such a policy may affect the railway revenue but if it does it will be to a very infinitesimal extent and that only for a time. When local industries have developed they will form a source of substantial increase both in traffic and revenue. Apart from these considerations it is certainly not unreasonable to expect that the people of the country should reap some small advantage out of State-owned railways. Take the instance of oil manufacture. Oil seeds in India are sent for carriage over long distances in large quantities and are consequently quoted at very low rates, while oil manufactured in India is carried at second class rates. If you carry oil seeds at very cheap rates it is but fair in the interests of the development of industries in India that you should carry oil pressed out of these seeds at equally low rates, for the encouragement of local industries. Sir, the time at my disposal is so short that I cannot deal with the entire question as well as I should like to. I will therefore say a few words on the next question, namely, to centre the control of State railways in a single State Department located in India and amenable to Indian public opinion instead of as at present vesting it in different Boards of Directors in London. I have never been able to understand why, when the entire railways are owned by Government, when almost the whole of the Capital has been provided by Government, the Managing Companies'

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share being only 7 per cent., that the practical control in regard to management should vest in Boards of Directors in London.

"The more I have thought over the question the more I have been convinced that there can be no justification for governing these lines from 6,000 miles away from India instead of a central department in this country. Sir, I may be pardoned if I again refer to one point about which I feel keenly, and that is that when the Members of the Executive Council of His Excellency the Viceroy have adopted the name of 'the Government of India,' I want them to be in reality 'the Government of India,' largely independent in most matters affecting the interests of this country. One reason which was urged by the Hon'ble Mr. Clark in his speech on the last occasion was that he could not promise anything because the sanction of the Secretary of State would have to be obtained. Sir, when the non-official Members, drawn from different parts of India, meet here to urge what the needs and requirements of their countrymen are, they are constantly met by the reply that the matter does not rest with the Government of India but with the Secretary of State, and as regards the present question of railways, that the matter rests with the Managing Boards in London.

"Sir, I think that the time is fast coming, if it has not already arrived, when the Government of India should in reality be the Government of India, working in co-operation with the people of India, in promoting the best interests of this country, and I do feel, Sir, that this is one of the directions in which substantial reform is urgently needed.

"I will now deal with the actual effect of my resolution. My resolution merely asks Government to consider the desirability of laying down a policy of extending the State-managed railways from 6,800 miles gradually up to the time when all the lines are brought under their management. In the terms of the contracts existing between Government and Managing Companies, the only line that comes into consideration at present is the East India line. The contract with the East India Company falls due in 1919, and under its terms notice for determining it has got to be given in 1917. We are now in 1915, and it is high time that Government should begin to consider very seriously the problem as to whether they will not, in the case of the East India line, give notice to terminate the contract in 1917. Sir, dealing with the East India line alone, I will in a few words point out what the position is. The East India Railway Company's share capital is, I think, 6½ millions, or 10 crores of rupees. It will become payable, if the contract is terminated, along with the annuities which go on up to 1950. The contract with other lines fall in from 1925 to 1930, so that if my resolution is accepted, and if the policy which I advocate is laid down, it will not burden Government with the management of the entire system all at once. They will, at the interval of some years, get each line and bring it under their own management. In the case of the East India Railway, we have paid to them as their share of profits the sum of Rs. 25·93 lakhs for the previous year, and for the nine months during the last year, which is the latest date up to which figures are available, the sum of Rs. 17 88,000. That is to say, in addition to the rate of interest of 4 per cent per annum which is payable to them on their share capital, the amount of profits taken on the basis of 25 lakhs per annum gives them 2½ per cent more.

"Sir, I hope you will allow me about five minutes more to sum up. I have got a great deal more to say, but I will try to be as brief as possible.

"It therefore follows that on the 6½ millions of share capital which the East India Company has provided, you are paying them, on this basis, about 6½ per cent per annum. Surely the Government of India can well expect to obtain the capital necessary for the purpose without having to pay such excessive rates of interest, and, what is of even greater importance to the interests of the people of this country, vesting practically full control in the Board of Directors in London.

RESOLUTION *RE* STATE MANAGEMENT OF RAILWAYS. 577

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"Sir, in conclusion I will merely draw the attention of Government to what was stated by the Hon'ble Member last year as the advantages of the present system. He said that the foremost advantage was that of obtaining capital through the Managing Companies. The other two advantages which he mentioned were, (1) that Government would not be able to bear the entire burden of State management all at one time. I have already dealt with that point. If the policy advocated by me is laid down, you will get the management of the East Indian Railway in 1919, the Great Indian Peninsula Railway in 1925, and so on till 1950, so that you will not have the entire system in your hands till a long time hereafter. It will be a gradual working up of the area till you reach the maximum many years hence. (2) The question of training up experts for the purpose of management was the second advantage mentioned. I think that is also explained away by the point which I have already made. You are not going to have the whole system of railways under your management at once. When you do get the whole system by 1950 you will surely have reached the stage when you will be able to provide the requisite expert machinery necessary for the purpose.

"The only other point to which I should like to refer and on which much stress is laid is the help which these Managing Companies are said to give in the provision of capital. Sir, I venture to think that a great deal too much is being made of that. If you refer to the railway reports you will find that during recent years they have been borrowing at the rate of 4 per cent. All the debentures that are issued by the railways are guaranteed by Government. Surely Government need not employ middlemen, as these Managing Companies obviously are, for the purpose of borrowing money at such a high rate of interest and accept in the bargain company management of our railways. Sir, I venture to submit that if the suggestion which I put forward last year was accepted, namely, that if Government were to borrow at the rate of 4 per cent, which is the rate at which these Managing Companies are at present borrowing, they would secure what capital is necessary for their purposes. When Government are paying much higher rates under the present system both in the rate of interest on debentures *plus* the share of profits, surely there will even under that head be some saving to Government and the necessary funds will be available.

"I am of course not dealing with the special circumstances of the war, but when during ordinary times the Port Trusts, the Municipalities and Improvement Trusts, of Calcutta, Rangoon, Madras, Bombay and Karachi are able to borrow every year large sums of money at 4 per cent in India, it is not unreasonable to expect that Government on their own guarantee and with the security of the Railways, will be able to borrow both in India and in England, large sums of money at the same rate of 4 per cent. There is no meaning in not agreeing to pay 4 per cent direct and then paying not only 4 per cent through the Managing Companies, but also something more in the shape of profits, and accepting the control of Managing Companies in addition.

"It appears to me, Sir, that the interests of India demand that the centre of control of the management of the entire system of railways should rest with the Government of India and that they should be worked primarily in the best interests of the people of India."

The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoy :—"Sir, last year we had a resolution about railways and about this point of their management, and I favoured the present arrangement of management by Companies on certain grounds. The opinion I then expressed as regards the economic aspect of the question was formed in view of the fact that State management is more expensive than management by Companies. The percentage of working expenses to gross earnings is higher under State management than under management by Companies. But now, on hearing the exhaustive speech of the Hon'ble Mover, I am convinced that the advantages of economy are counterbalanced by the disadvantage incidental to the present arrangement for division of

[*Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy; Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis.*] [24TH MARCH, 1915.]

profits. For a proper elucidation of this point a detailed and exhaustive analysis of the whole position would of course be necessary, such as a body of experts, working jointly with the Railway Board, alone can undertake. And this I confidently hope Government will take in hand at an early date.

“ Apart from the commercial and business aspect of the question, there are facts which would make one pause in his advocacy of management by Companies. The first and most foremost of course is the one relating to the differential treatment as regards rates on these Company-managed lines of internal and sea-borne commerce, to which the Hon'ble Mover has referred. The general complaint among merchants connected with the inland trade is that the schedule of freights on these lines for exports and foreign imports is much higher than the schedule for goods moved from one part of the country to another; or to be more precise, the rates inland from seaport towns are generally lower than between two intermediate stations. I am quite prepared to concede that, in cases where goods have to be transhipped at a junction station, an extra charge for handling is fair. But making every allowance it is difficult to believe that the higher rates are unavoidable. We have every right to insist that both external and internal trade should receive one and the same treatment on our railways, and all distinctions in favour of the former should be removed. Special facilities for the internal trade may perhaps be justified in principle; but no principle will sanction the imposition upon it of particularly onerous terms and conditions. Government might possibly succeed in enforcing a fairer adjustment of rates, but it is doubtful if, without State management, perfect equality of conditions for the two branches of the trade could be secured.

“ Then there is another fact of serious importance connected with management by Companies. Public opinion in India is ripe for a large expansion of feeder railways by Companies formed by Indians or by firms doing business in the country. The recent revision by the Secretary of State of the Branch Line terms testified to the earnest desire of Government to encourage the people. But it appears that under some arrangement between the big Companies and Government, these Companies have a powerful voice as regards sanction of schemes of feeder lines. They are only fractional owners of the railway systems, and yet with them lies the final say whether a proposed feeder line to a particular railway should be constructed or not. This is wrong. Messrs. Killock, Nixon and Company, for instance, had some time ago two schemes—Nadiad to Kapadvanj and Godara to Lunavada—connecting the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway with the interior. The Government of India sanctioned them, but the British Company raised difficulties in the matter of ‘Rebate Terms.’ The assistance required was, however, granted out of the general revenues. But everybody would not be so fortunate. The control is practically now in the hands of these British Companies who are expected shortly to appear in the field as competitors for the construction of feeder railways also. This situation is intolerable, and should there be no means of taking away this control from these Companies, that will be reason enough for the State to overhaul the whole system and to assume the management itself. If the system cannot be mended, the drastic alternative of ending it will have to be adopted, however inconvenient the course may be in other ways. There is undoubtedly a case for inquiry, and the time has come when a definite policy with regard to railway management should be enunciated by Government. I accordingly support the resolution.”

The Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis:—“ Sir, I beg to support the resolution so ably moved by the Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola. I have more than once expressed my views about the comparative merits of State management and management by Companies of these railways, and I still hold the view that the former has certain disadvantages from which the latter is free. Broadly speaking, it is a question of balance of advantage. Both managements have certain points in favour of them, but the main issue is, on

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which side lies the greater advantage. I have always been of opinion that State management is less economical under existing conditions. It may, however, be that the present disadvantages of this management will in future be considerably minimised. If they are, I would certainly prefer that to management by Companies. The question has to be decided one way or the other by Government with due regard to the interests of the Indian public. But as the time is coming on for a general renewal or revision of contracts, discussion at the present time is welcome. I feel certain Government will settle their future policy of Railway management on the broad grounds of public advantage and efficiency at a minimum of cost. The war will perhaps introduce for a good long time new conditions in Railway finance. This may involve the raising of increased capital under more difficult circumstances, and also an increase of activities on the part of Government in undertaking new lines without unnecessary delay. What they will be it will be idle to guess now. We must await developments, and when we reach again a settled state, Government will undoubtedly proceed to reconsider the whole position, and to decide upon a policy which will be conducive to the best interests of the country. Whatever arrangement is decided upon, greater liberty of action to the Government on the spot is essentially necessary. It will reduce unnecessary correspondence and enable people here to reach the authorities much more easily than if the central seat of Railway management under this dual control were so far away as in London. If management by Companies is ultimately decided upon, Government will necessarily consider and enforce improvement in the conditions. The presence of the Hon'ble Sir Henry Burt at the head of Railway affairs at the time of the final settlement of Government policy would have been a great help. He has, throughout his long official career, been watchful of Indian interests, and has worked hard to promote them. But he is leaving India, and may be succeeded by an officer of conspicuous ability and large experience. I am sure these interests will be safe in the Hon'ble Mr. Gillau's hands if he succeeds to the post. As the resolution presses forward a consideration of the settlement of railway policy only, there is nothing to object to in it, and I support it."

The Hon'ble Mr. Marshall Reid:—"Sir, I have listened with the greatest interest to the very able speech of my hon'ble friend. I fancy his object has been mainly to provide us with an interesting academic discussion in what is necessarily a rather dull session: my reason for thinking so is that he has enunciated a principle directly contrary to that which he stated, and with which I agreed, on Monday. He then stated that it was not desirable that the Government of India should involve itself in the details of commercial and other undertakings! He now proposes that the Government of India should involve itself in an enormous undertaking. I am glad to see my hon'ble friend Mr. Clark is looking a little happier than he might be under these conditions: from this I gather that it is not his intention to leave to his successors what would be a most terrible burden.

"Now, Sir, the resolution as worded presupposes that there is no Government control: I have been in this country some 27 years, and from railway men I have heard nothing but complaints of Government control and interference with private Companies. I know it is not nearly so bad as it was, but it still exists and we hear of it frequently in public speeches at Chambers of Commerce and other such places.

"My main objection to the principle here enunciated is that it reverses one very important principle, namely, decentralization. My hon'ble friend's proposal, instead of spreading out responsibility and general control, aims at bringing it all into one place, where Hon'ble Members and many of the public, apparently, will come in and take their part. My second objection is that it is adding a great deal of responsibility to a Department which is already overburdened with work of a very varied nature. My third, and I think a very important objection, is that it aims at reducing the power and the initiative of the managers who are primarily responsible for controlling railways.

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“ Company management is not, of course, perfect, but I think, on the whole, it is possibly rather more so than State management, and I should like to see the object aimed at rather to improve the system of Company management than to introduce what I feel to be the disabilities of Government control. I presume it is not suggested that one individual could possibly personally control all the railways in India: the question therefore is how best to secure decentralization and efficiency. To get the best out of individuals and out of corporations it is desirable to create an *esprit de corps* and enthusiasm for the service to which they belong, and managers should have a free hand to enable them to produce and carry out original and good work and they should be sufficiently long and sufficiently permanently in their posts to enable them to complete important works which they have undertaken. These, I think, come much more through Company management than through Government control: they may to some extent be present under Government management, but it is undoubtedly the case that State railway managers are transferred from one place to another and they do not know when they are going to be so transferred; therefore, they have not the same inducement to build up and carry out important and original works as Company managers have. I have said that Company control is not perfect, but I think it is more calculated than State control to get the best out of things: Company management would be more effective if some of the restrictions which are now placed on it were removed and if managers were also more free from the control of their Boards at Home in matters of detail. Presumably a railway manager, like other managers, is appointed because he is at the top of his profession, and he is absolutely trusted. If that is so, surely a Board or a Government should place the utmost reliance in and give the utmost power to the man on the spot whom they have appointed because they think he is the best man. Home Boards are valuable because of the experience, among other things, of those who form these Boards: they naturally should be consulted and should deal with all important matters of policy and other large questions; and no doubt they are exceedingly useful in that they are in touch with the largest money market in the world, and they also are able to get into close touch with the Home Government: but I should be inclined to reverse the present position as between the railway managers and the Company Boards. Instead of limiting the control of railway managers, I should be inclined to limit and confine the control of the Home Boards to vital matters and to large questions; I should leave details and ordinary routine work to the general management of the man on the spot who has been appointed because he is supposed to be capable of carrying out his work: if he prove not to be capable of doing so, then the simple solution would be to remove him and to replace him by another.

“ My hon'ble friend's proposal that railway companies should gradually be eliminated with a view to State control seems to me to remove a very important incentive to progress, namely, healthy competition between two separate entities. What he said with reference to the Māttra-Aligarh railway is, in my opinion, perfectly correct: we in Bombay, during my considerable experience, have several times had to press on Government the necessity of constructing and extending certain lines: we have had to wait very often a great number of years, but I do not remember any line which we have believed to be necessary that we have not in the end succeeded in getting. I feel perfectly confident that in good time—perhaps in a good long time—we shall, in the matter of the Muttra-Aligarh line, also achieve our object.

“ With these remarks, I should like to say that I do not desire to support the resolution which is now before us

The Hon'ble Mr. Abbott :—“ Sir, I rise to oppose this resolution. I feel that if it is accepted, competition will be killed, red tape will rule. Companies are as a rule open to be convinced that the minimum rates should be introduced in certain cases. I have not found State-managed railways equally so. Heads of State-managed railways are usually Royal Engineer Officers, continually being transferred to other lines, to military duties or sent

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off suddenly on field service. We cannot expect men under such conditions to be commercial experts. We must have commercial experts managing railways. What State railways are better or equally as well managed as the Great Indian Peninsula, the East Indian Railway or the Bengal Nagpur Railway? I feel that this will be a blow to private enterprise, and I hope that Chambers of Commerce will be consulted."

The Hon'ble Mr. Setalvad:—"Sir, it is with great hesitation that I venture to take part in this debate, because I am not a business man, I am not a man connected with commerce and do not claim to have that experience which both my Hon'ble friends * on my right and left have. But I venture to offer a few remarks on this question that strike me as relevant. Following closely and with great interest the speech of my Hon'ble friend Sir Ibrahim, so far as I can gather, his complaint against the present system was that the Companies who are in charge of the management of these railways appropriate a good amount in the shape of their share of the profits, and he suggested that if Company management was done away with and State management substituted in its place this amount would accrue to the State. That seemed to me to be the main ground of his proposition. No doubt he brought in other heads of argument, namely, the present disadvantages of different Companies working different railways—resulting in what are called the block rates, and other disadvantages to trade that he pointed out. But, so far as those disadvantages are concerned, I do not think that those difficulties are insuperable. Even, at present, Government have no doubt certain powers of control over these Companies, and those matters which affect trade adversely in the manner my friend has pointed out can certainly be dealt with by the State, and measures taken for their removal. If that is so, really it comes back again to the first point that my Hon'ble friend tried to make, namely, that a share of the profits, representing very large amounts, go to these Companies which could well be earned by the State. True, at first sight, that does appear to be so, but what strikes a layman like myself is this, that the management of railways or of any commercial venture by a department of the State can never be so economical or so efficient as management by Companies having a direct interest in the profits. And I should not be surprised to find, if it ever happened that the State undertook the management of these railways, that the profits dwindled, and that even after saving the present share of profits taken by the Companies, the State did ultimately in the result not make more than what is made by it under the present system.

"But besides that, what I do feel, Mr. Chairman, is that you can never have the enthusiasm, as my Hon'ble friend Mr. Marshall Reid said, imparted to a Government Department, that is shown in the management of these Companies. The great solicitude that the Companies have to show for the convenience of passengers, for the convenience of their customers, in order to serve them better day after day, is not a spirit that you can infuse into a State Department that works under ordinary routine rules, and that has no direct living interest in the success of the venture such as a Company and its employees have. Therefore, speaking as a layman, it does strike me, Mr. Chairman, that you cannot have an efficient economical or progressive management of railways by a State Department, and that the better course is, to my mind, to pursue the present policy, by which the management is vested in Companies who have a direct interest in making their services so acceptable to the public as to bring in every year more and more profits.

"As regards the other disadvantages, as I have pointed out, they can and should, in public interest, be dealt with and removed by proper State control or intervention. Taking this view, I for one am not in favour of the substitution of State management in place of the present system. As I said, I intervene in this debate with great hesitation because I cannot claim to have that great business experience which my Hon'ble friend Sir Ibrahim has, but it does

* The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola and the Hon'ble Mr. Marshall Reid.

[*Mr. Setalvad; Mr. Ghuznavi.*] [24TH MARCH, 1915.]

strike me, considering the matter in a logical way and judging it by common sense and general experience, that the substitution of State Agency as suggested by him may not prove successful or desirable. But I understand that all that his proposition seeks at this stage is that Government should give consideration to his suggestion "

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi :—"Sir, I think we have all listened with very great interest to the speech which my friend Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola has made at the time he moved his resolution, and I desire to congratulate him particularly on the manner in which he was able to marshal out his facts in the time at his disposal, particularly as he is unfortunately suffering from slight ill-health.

"Now, Sir, there is a Member of this Council whose genial presence we miss to-day and whose wit and repartee have not resounded in this Council Chamber this session—I mean the Hon'ble Mr Vijaraghavachariar. Mr. Vijaraghavachariar was also very much interested in the question of railways, and last year he also moved a certain resolution, not quite of the same nature as the present one, though a certain portion of it had the same effect as the present resolution. His resolution I would point out was more in the nature of a mandate. He wanted the Government to straightway appoint a Commission to inquire into the whole question, whereas the resolution which my friend the Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola has moved merely urges that the question of the future policy with regard to railway management may be considered.

"Well, Sir, this is a very large question and I venture to think that there may be something to be said against it, but there is a good deal also to be said in favour of it. I should like, with your permission, Sir, to draw the attention of this Council to some of the salient points in the history of railway development in India. Between 1850 and 1869 the first railways constructed in India were built by Companies under contract with Government, which guaranteed to them a fixed interest on the capital. They were also given, by the Government, land free of charge, and under the terms of those contracts the Government reserved to itself the power to purchase those lines at the end of 25 or 50 years. Now, as early as 1853, Lord Dalhousie, however, laid down the principle that the maintenance and control of the railway system should be in the hands of the State. This resulted eventually in the State constructing and managing all railways between the years 1869 and 1879 until, I think, the time of Lord Ripon. From 1880 up to the present time, owing to various circumstances over which the Government of India had no control, construction and management of railways have been carried on partly by the State and partly by Companies with capital raised partly by Government and partly by Companies, the result being that some of the most important lines, such as the Eastern Bengal, North Western and the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railways are managed and owned entirely by Government, whereas the only lines of magnitude not owned by Government are the Southern Punjab, the Bengal and North Western Railways. The rest are nearly almost owned by Government and managed by Companies. Therefore, as my friend the Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola very forcibly pointed out, out of a total of about 25,000 miles, 6,800 miles are already worked and managed by the State. And thus it will be seen that the net result has been that the greater part of the railways already belongs to the State.

"Looking at the financial side of the question, we see that out of a total outlay, up to 1912, of a sum of 352 millions, Government have already found means to provide 334 millions and the Managing Companies only 18 millions. It seems to me, therefore, that it is only a question of finding the remaining 18 millions to enable the Government practically to own all the railways. The disadvantages of management by Companies under these circumstances are primarily financial loss to the State and therefore to the tax-payer. There are other serious disadvantages in the system. Having regard to the costs in the working of Indian railways, the rates are certainly

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very excessive compared to those of other countries, and therefore local trade suffers. This again, has been very effectively pointed out by the Hon'ble Mover. The principle which guides Railway Companies in managing their lines appears to be a question of making the greatest profits without due regard to the broader policy, namely, the convenience and welfare of the public. One instance will suffice, namely, the condition of third-class passengers and third-class carriages. I do not desire to detain the Council by giving a description of what prevails as regards third-class carriages and third-class passengers, because I find that my friend, to whom I have already referred—I mean the Hon'ble Mr. Vijiaghavachariar—dealt very exhaustively with the subject, and painted in vivid colours the state of things which prevails. In other countries of the world,—England, France, Italy,—third-class carriages are patronised by almost everybody, and they are very well managed; but unfortunately in India third-class passengers are put to the greatest hardship.

“Then again, Sir, there is the question of the employment of Indians. I find that out of a total of something like 58,900 employees, including both those on the railways managed by the State as well as those managed by the Companies, there are altogether 57,000 odd Indians; but these Indians are mostly in the lower grades of service. In the higher grades the number of Indians I feel certain is comparatively small.

“Therefore, generally speaking, the objection to State management can be summed up by saying that as the controlling agency and the central authority seem to be divided between the Government of India here and the Board of Directors of the managing Companies in London, this dual control stands in the way of progress, and is a distinct disadvantage both to Government and to the people; whereas if the entire control and management had been centred in the State the people of the country would have had much greater chance of getting their grievances redressed by approaching Government, as Government is always amenable, I hope, to public opinion in this country. We are not very much concerned with feeder lines and branch lines. They are certainly on a different footing and Government can well deal with them as they think best. Again, the question of the supply of capital and the aid received from Companies I certainly regard as a myth. My friend the Hon'ble Mr. Abbott has pointed out the fact that if the management of railways was taken over by the State, competition will be killed. In that connection I would only like to say that, as far as I have been able to understand from what has fallen from my friend the Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, he only meant that the management of trunk lines should be taken over by the State and wishes to leave out the question of branch lines entirely; there is no reason why branch lines and feeder lines should not be made over to different Companies and why healthy competition should not be encouraged. With these few words, I have very great pleasure in according my hearty support to the resolution which my friend the Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola has moved.”

The Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee:—“Sir, I am very much in the position in which my Hon'ble friend Mr. Setalvad is; I am not a business man nor a railway man and I have not the smallest desire to intervene in this discussion. But, Sir, there is a distinct advantage in a Council like this, where there are Hon'ble Members who are experts and Hon'ble Members who are not experts, there is a distinct advantage in the fact that technical considerations can be judged from the large stand-point of common sense. I have listened with great interest to the arguments for, and the arguments against, the proposal of my Hon'ble friend, and I will say at once that I am in strong sympathy with the resolution which has been moved by him. It is in fact an old resolution which was discussed in this Council, and which I think met with the general approval of the non-official Indian members of this Council. Mr. Setalvad objects to the resolution, I think, chiefly on the ground that economic and progressive management would not be ensured if Company management was superseded by State management. Well I wholly dissent from this view. At any rate it is a view which has not been tested. We have a large number of railways which are managed by the State. We have the expression that the

proof of the pudding is in the eating. What has been the outcome of this management? Is the Government satisfied with it? Has the management in these cases been progressive and economical? Has it come up to the standard of expectations on the part of the Government? I am inclined to think that the answer will be in the affirmative. At any rate we look forward to an answer on this point being given by the Hon'ble Member in charge. If in the past State-managed railways have been conducted upon progressive and economic lines, if they have given a fair dividend, if they have not been a burden upon the State, we are entitled to ask the Government to extend the sphere of State operations in this direction. But my Hon'ble friend has not met that point, which I regard as the strongest argument in favour of the resolution which has been moved by Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola complained of the large profits which year after year go to the pockets of the Companies. I think he fixed it at about a crore of rupees a year. My friend Mr. Setalvad has nothing to say to that. What about those profits? Should they not go into the pockets of the Government and the tax-payer rather than into the pockets of Companies located in England? What is the answer to this question? I take my stand upon that crucial position. Unless there are overwhelming reasons in favour of this drain of public money I think we ought to stop it, and such reasons have not been stated in this Council. At any rate Mr. Setalvad has nothing whatever to say to this argument. Therefore, unless we are compelled by the necessities of the situation, by the exigencies of administration, to put this large amount of money year after year into the pockets of the Companies, I say that State management must be preferred to Company management. Then, Sir, it has been suggested by my Hon'ble friend Mr. Marshall Reid that it would be opposed to the principle of decentralisation. I am entirely in favour of decentralisation. I think we in this Council Chamber are all advocates of provincial autonomy. We all look forward to that consummation. No Indian member would oppose the development of the principle of decentralisation. But I am convinced that the principle of decentralisation will not be jeopardised by the acceptance of the resolution of my Hon'ble friend. I think I can suggest a means out of it. You have these railways in different provinces, Bengal, Bombay, Madras and so on. Why not place the administration of these railways under the provincial Governments, which I think would be much more feasible, having a central board to co-ordinate the administrative agencies of the different Governments. That would be decentralisation coupled with the exercise of central authority for the purposes of co-ordination. What has my Hon'ble friend got to say to this? Then, Sir, another argument brought forward by my Hon'ble friend is that the department is overburdened. Surely with the growth of administration every department is overburdened. I am sure my Hon'ble friends on the other side, Members of the Executive Council, find their departments getting more and more over-worked year after year, according to the growth of administrative exigencies. That is a fact, a permanent fact, which we must face year after year. What is the obvious remedy? Strengthen the department. Surely a great scheme of reform is not to be postponed or sacrificed on account of a ground, I do not wish to use the word disrespectfully, so flimsy as this. Then, Sir, another argument which has been brought forward by my friend is, that the manager ought to have large powers of initiative. Surely the Government can give these powers to the manager on the spot quite to the same extent as the Companies can. I will give a concrete instance. We have Colonel Browne, Manager of the Eastern Bengal State Railway, an admirable officer; I believe he has got a large power of initiative; I do not think the Railway Board interferes with him in matters of detail. Therefore, tested by the arguments on the other side, the proposition is unassailable and ought to be accepted. Tested by the arguments in favour of it the proposition is of overwhelming cogency. State railways, State management, means management by the Government. Sir, year after year, the Government is becoming more and more national, year after year our voice is becoming more and more potent; therefore within a measurable distance of time State management will mean management of railways by the people and through the representatives of the

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people. That is what State management will ultimately imply. But perhaps it may be said that I am looking far ahead. Let me confine my vision nearer home. At present State management means a management more responsive to public opinion than Company management can ever be. State management means a management which pays greater attention to the requirements of the people than to the requirements of £ s d. Therefore having regard to these considerations, I do hope that Government will see their way to accept this resolution. And what after all is the resolution? A most modest resolution, requesting not that the Government should introduce any revolutionary change all at once, but that it should consider the desirability of what should be the future policy in regard to State railways.

"Sir, it is a very modest resolution, I think Government might accept it, Government might consider the proposal, if Government finds that the proposal should not be accepted, it may be rejected. But, surely, in view of the fact that in 1919 and 1925 the leases of two Companies will expire, the resolution raises a question of public policy that should be considered and I hope and trust that the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Department will be able to accept it."

The Hon'ble Mr. Rayaningar:—"Sir, the question as to the relative merits of State management and management by Companies of State-owned railways is not an easy question. We have to consider several aspects of the question before we can solve it. To begin with we have to determine whether from an administrative point of view the State can conveniently take over the management of all its 25,000 miles of railway. Besides, there is the financial consideration. No doubt State management is in some respects more advantageous. As the Hon'ble Mover has pointed out if the State takes up the management it can secure to itself all the profits without having had to share them with Companies. Sometimes we want preferential rates, if the State has control over the working of its railways there will be greater chance for such rates being allowed. These rates are necessary for the economic advancement and the development of agriculture in the country. Under State management convenience of the travelling public will be better attended to. If the management is in the hands of the State, public convenience will be of primary consideration. Then, again, if the management of the State railway is in the hands of the State, the State can directly deal with complaints and suggestions for improvement. As it is, Government has to refer them to the managing Companies. In many cases provincial Governments have to approach the Companies through the Government of India. The procedure involves delay. If the management is in the hands of the State and some of the powers of the Government of India being delegated to provincial Governments, small matters could be dealt with on the spot and delay and correspondence avoided. These are some of the apparent advantages. Do these advantages outweigh the difficulties? It is a question for experts to answer, they alone can say whether on the whole State management is advantageous or not. What the resolution seeks is the consideration of the policy of State management. It cannot be said that the matter is not worth being considered. On the other hand, in view of the fact that the period of some of the contracts will expire by 1919, I think an early consideration is necessary. With these observations, Sir, I support the resolution."

The Hon'ble Mr. Monteath:—"Sir, the question of State *versus* Private management of Indian railways was unofficially before the commercial public in 1907 when, as a Member of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce Committee, I remember that there were rumours of the transference of certain lines from State to Private management. The subject was one that had been talked about and was publicly brought up at the annual meeting of our Chamber at the end of that official year, early in 1908, when the Vice-President spoke in favour of State management and was supported in a speech by Sir Ernest Cable. I refer to this as I wish to say that these were personal opinions and not those of the Chamber as it was known that commercial views were divided.

[*Mr. Monteath; Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.*] [24TH MARCH, 1915.]

This latter was proved on a subsequent reference to the membership as a result of which no action was deemed necessary in following up the proposals. On the whole the feeling was that opinion tended distinctly in the direction of rather relieving the Government of the commercial part of its administration of the railways. The late Mr. Thos. Robertson, who came to India to study and report on Indian Railways, arrived at the conclusion that the disadvantages of direct State management outweighed any advantages which it might possess. He favoured the leasing of all our railways to Companies to work, giving his reasons: firstly, that Government would be in a stronger position to watch over the interests of the country and to hold the balance between contesting parties; and secondly, that the public would have the results from healthy competition between different Companies. The question is a debatable one as we have seen from to-day's speeches, and I do not propose attempting to answer the many points raised by members, though I would like to ask one question on the one brought forward by several speakers as to the amount paid for home management. Is it supposed that Government are going to work railways for nothing? From opinions previously gathered State management will cost more than Private control. Then with regard to the suggestion of the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjee that a Central Board could be relieved through provincial management, I think that if this system was introduced the tug of war over the Muttra-Aligarh extension would be just as great, if not greater than at present. The subject is debatable and all I ask on behalf of our Chamber in Bengal is that if it is to be considered the matter should be made the subject of full reference and inquiry commercially. Meantime, I have no authority to give an opinion from the Chamber but for myself feel that the outcome of any inquiry would involve no great change in the present system, as in my opinion, subject to improvements in details which we all recognise are possible, we are best as we are. In principle we do not in these days seek centralisation, but rather decentralisation; and on this ground I would not support any motion for change."

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—"Sir, there is no doubt that the question raised by the resolution is a somewhat technical one, and it might well, as such, frighten off a layman from discussing it. But it seems to me, Sir, that if the layman finds the money which experts experiment with and sometimes waste, the representatives of layman are entitled to bring to the notice of the Government points which affect the layman, *i.e.*, the general tax-payer. In dealing with the question, I will first take up the objections raised by the Hon'ble Mr. Marshall Reid, the Hon'ble Mr. Abbott, and the Hon'ble Mr. Monteath. The Hon'ble Mr. Monteath at one time seemed inclined not to commit himself to any particular view, but in his concluding remarks he, too, distinctly showed himself in favour of leaving things as they are. I was surprised to hear the Hon'ble Mr. Marshall Reid characterise the discussion raised by the Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola as an academic discussion. I cannot think of a discussion having a more practical bearing and importance than the present one. I do not think that the mere circumstance that my friend Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola enunciated a principle to-day which the Hon'ble Member Mr. Reid thought was in conflict with another which he had enunciated another day, affords sufficient warrant for such a remark as he has made. Mr. Reid further said that Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola's remarks would appear to presuppose that there is no Government control over railways at present. I do not think there was anything in the remarks of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola which would suggest that that was so. I thought he distinctly said, on the contrary, that the Government did exercise a certain amount of control over all Railways in the country through the Railway Board and in other ways.

"But the most important objection taken by Mr Reid was that the resolution runs counter to the principle of decentralisation. I did not know, Sir, that the Hon'ble Member was so deeply attached to the principle of decentralisation. I thought he had only a practical business man's regard for the principle which was found to be favourable to the business in hand at a particular moment. At any rate there are some business men who answer that description.

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When we ask for decentralisation in matters of political administration, these good friends say : 'Decentralisation will lead to deterioration and inefficiency ; it will lead to a weakening of the central authority, which enforces economy and ensures efficiency.' But when we ask that the State should manage the railway lines by its own direct agency and not through Companies, the merits of decentralisation are preached to us, and we are asked to continue to make an annual sacrifice of a crore and more of the public money at its altar. Mr. Reid admitted that the management by Companies did leave something to be desired ; but he said that the fault lay in the restrictions that were imposed by Government upon Railway Companies and in the restraints that were imposed by the Boards of those Companies upon the managers out here. Mr. Reid would leave the man on the spot practically entirely free, except in certain important matters of principle, which the Board might lay down. That would lead, Sir, to a larger amount of public money being swallowed by these Companies than is being done at present.

"The Hon'ble Mr. Abbott complained that if the resolution were accepted it would kill competition. Competition between whom ? Competition between persons whose sole concern is to make as much profits out of the business as they can and who care for the interests of the public only in so far as it affects the prosperity of their business. The Hon'ble Mr. Abbott also urged that the Government will find it difficult to obtain the services of commercial experts. Well, I wish my friend had made himself sure of his facts before he made such a statement. He would then have found that it was the State that supplied the largest number of commercial experts to the Companies both in this country and even on the Boards of these Companies in London. I will tell him something about it by and by.

"This therefore is the position. The object of the resolution is to suggest that the system of State management of Railways should be extended as the Government will thereby save a large sum of money which it pays at present to Companies as net profits and the public will receive other benefits besides. We all know that the railways have cost the people of India a tremendous sum, nearly 600 crores, or £400 millions, has been invested up to this day in railways. Up to 1900 railways did not yield a profit ; from 1900 upwards they have yielded a profit. True, last year, owing to the special exigencies of the war, the profits came to 53 per cent, and they are estimated to be 32 per cent only in the following year. But they have yielded better returns in previous years and the sum total of the net profits they yield to us is not an insignificant amount and there is every reason to think that if the Government takes up the management of all the railways in its hands, the money invested can be made to yield a much larger return. The Irrigation Department affords an excellent illustration and argument. A large sum of public money has been invested in it. That Department is entirely managed by State agency and it yields the handsome profit of over 5 per cent. Railways have been largely managed by the agency of Companies, and they have never given much above 1 per cent of profit ! I doubt not, Sir, that if the management of all State railways is taken up by the State, there will be a distinct and a large gain in the sum total of our profits from them.

"It was stated by one speaker that railways managed by Companies are managed more cheaply than those managed by the State. That is not so. If I had the time, I would show that the smaller percentage of working expenses shown by some Company-managed lines is due to causes which can easily be explained. For instance, the East Indian Railway Company shows a much smaller percentage of working expenses than the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway and the North-Western Railway. The reasons are that the East Indian Railway has passed through better soil than the other two lines ; and owing to its comparative nearness to a port, has had greater facility in getting materials for construction and equipment. Then the East Indian Railway traverses the most densely populated parts of the country ; it has got a large number of large towns and cities on the railway line ; and thus commands both a large passenger traffic and a large goods traffic ; it has a port for both exports and imports ; and has less haulage on account of up and down traffic. Its

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wagons carry grains to Calcutta, and bring back imported articles and coal, and lastly, what is a most important thing, it has got coal-fields on the line. For these reasons the working expenses on the East Indian Railway are smaller than those on the other lines. The Great Indian Peninsula, North-Western Railway, and Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway have to carry coal from much longer distances and on that one ground alone their working expenses are very largely increased. So far as regards working expenses. I will now notice another argument which has been raised in favour of Company management, namely, that the capital invested in the railways has been provided by the Companies. My friend, Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, has pointed out that 93 per cent of the capital invested in railways in India has been provided by the Indian tax-payer, and only 7 per cent by the Companies. No one will question that this small fraction also can be easily provided by the people, if the substance of the proposal before the Council commends itself to the Government of India.

" Then, Sir, there is the question whether Government can command the services of men competent to manage these railways. The Hon'ble Mr. Abbott has said, it cannot. In answer to that I would point out that at present the State trains a large number of the experts who work the railways which are managed by Companies. Look at the chief officers of those Companies, their Agents, Engineers, Auditors, Traffic Managers, etc. A large percentage of these officers are drawn by the Companies from men who have been employed in the first instance and often for a long time by the State. Their services are taken either on loan or after resignation or retirement. Take the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. We have Major Hepper there, who was formerly employed by the State. Take the East Indian Railway, its late Agent, the late Sir W. R. Dring, its present Chief Auditor, Mr. Marshall, won distinction in the service of the Government and then transferred them to the Company. Similarly on the Madras Railway we find Captain Magniac, as Officiating Agent, and Mr. P. C. Mole, as Chief Auditor. The Agent of the South Indian Railway, Mr. A. Muirhead, till lately belonged to the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway. On the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway, we find that the late Agent, Major Shelly, the late Chief Auditor, Mr. Hoskyn, and the present Traffic Manager, Mr. Wood, were all at one time in the service of the State. The late Agent of the Bengal Nagpur Railway, Mr. Manson, belonged formerly to the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway, and the late Auditor, Mr. R. Dinwoodie, was also formerly a servant of the State. So also Major Carew Smyth, Agent of the Nizam's Railway.

" Even after retirement it is the men who have received their training and acquired experience and distinction in the service of the State that guide the affairs of the Railway Companies. For instance, Colonel Sir William Bisset, who held a responsible office under the Government is now the Chairman of the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway, the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway, and the Assam Bengal Railway Boards in London. Sir Frederick Upcott, late President of the Railway Board, has joined the Board of the East Indian Railway Company as Chairman. Our late colleague Sir T. B. Wynne, who retired about six months ago, as President of our Railway Board, and who was appointed by the Secretary of State, Government Director of Indian Railways in England, *i.e.*, to represent the Government of India in all the Boards of Railway Companies in England, has, it is stated in the papers, accepted the Managing Directorship of the Bengal Nagpur Railway Company! The Managing Director of the South Indian Railway, Mr. Neville Priestley, was formerly a Traffic Manager on one of our Railways, and the Secretary to the Railway Board at another time. I can give many more instances of this kind, but I will not I have said enough to show that so far as expert knowledge and talent for business is concerned, the State has commanded it in a much larger measure than any Company can command, and that it is high time that a system were adopted by which the Indian tax-payer, and not the Company manager, should receive the full benefit of the services of men who have been trained at his expense.

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“ We might now consider the advantages of State management of Railways. The first advantage would be the saving of a crore of rupees a year, the loss of which I am sure the Hon'ble the Finance Member cannot look upon with complacency—not only the Finance Member, but I am sure no Member of the Government of India can conscientiously allow a crore of rupees to be given away year after year as net profits to Railway Companies, when that crore saved and spent upon the education of the people can, in the course of a few years, change the face of the country, by rescuing the people from the ignorance in which they are steeped and the misery and helplessness to which they are consequently exposed. That will be the certain initial gain. But I claim that if the State takes up the management of its railways from Companies the net profits will steadily increase. Under the prevailing system, the working expenses have been growing enormously; under the system we advocate, they would, we expect, be sensibly cut down. There would be more economy generally,—less expenditure, more economy and larger profits: this will be no mean advantage.

“ The second advantage would be to passengers. At present the interests of passengers are not much cared for. The third-class rate ought to be lowered. It may be said that it is the lowest in the world. But labour also is cheapest of all the world in this country, and the people have contributed the money which has been invested in the building up of the railways. The third-class fare should be brought down to $1\frac{1}{2}$ pies per mile throughout. At present some Railways are quoting the maximum of $2\frac{1}{4}$ pies per mile. On every railway of which the State takes up the management, the rates should be at once made uniform and reasonably low. This will not involve loss to the State, but as the post-card has increased the postal revenue reduced rates will lead to greater traffic, and therefore to a greater total income in the end.

“ Nor is the change advocated less peremptorily called for in the interests of Trade. The need for it here is, if anything, greater. As my Hon'ble friend, Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, has pointed out, there are differences in rates that cannot be justified for a moment; there is an absence of the right principle in fixing them. Rates for raw exports are more favourable than rates for finished articles; rates for foreign imports are more favourable than rates for indigenous articles and for inter-provincial trade. The Council will be surprised to hear that the rates for imported wines and spirits are of the 1st class, namely, $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of a pie per maund per mile, while the rate for Ganges water is of the 4th class, namely, $\frac{1}{4}$ ths of a pie! Wines and spirits imported from abroad are thus far more favoured under the present system than the holy water of the Ganges, which the vast millions of this country regard as a thing which every human being will be blest to have a portion of! Then look at other rates. The rates for *ghee*, an essential article of food for the people, and for oils, are very heavy, while the rate for oil-seeds is very low. There is no doubt a General Classification Committee which fixes rates, but notwithstanding that there are these anomalies, and these would certainly be avoided and corrected if the Government took over the management of all State railways in its own hands and put an end to the competition between the various Companies. There would be then no mercenary interests left which would rejoice in earning large profits at the expense of the general public.

“ A third advantage to which I would invite attention will be a larger employment of Indians on the Railways. It is notorious that at present the number of Indians who receive appointments on them in the higher grades is very small. The Government, I am thankful to say, have taken note of this fact, and have done something to improve matters. I hope that improvement will continue, but the present state of affairs is deplorable. Not only is the number of Indians employed very small, but the few that are employed do not receive fair treatment. As an instance, I may mention, that the Great Indian Peninsula Railway exchanges passes for Eurasian employes of other railways with its own, but it does not issue exchange passes for Indian employes. Indians therefore suffer doubly under the existing system. For all these reasons it is necessary, Sir, that the question raised by the resolution should be seriously taken up and settled once for all in a statesmanlike manner.

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"My Hon'ble friend Mr. Marshall Reid and some other members seemed alarmed at the suggestion that the Government of India should take up more burdens of a commercial nature. The Government of India, Sir, of all the Governments know of—and I know of a few—occupy a very peculiar position. The Government of India are one of the biggest banking, trading, commercial concerns known to mankind. They are a large business firm dealing in different kinds of businesses. Take the Salt Department and the Irrigation Department—these are very large departments. The Government have managed them, and managed them successfully too. Any department of business which the Government have thought it proper to take up in their hands, they have found men and money to manage them. And here in the matter of the Railways the policy was laid down, as my friend Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola has pointed out, in 1880. The Government decided then that the Government should buy up all the Railways from the Companies as soon as possible. It had steadily carried out that policy. The question raised by the resolution is not that the State should become the owner of the Railways, for that it already is, but that it should like the management of its railways in its own hands. The time for it has come. The existing lease of the East Indian Railway will expire in 1919. If it is not to be renewed, notice must be given to them in 1917. I hope the Government will decide to give them such notice. The East Indian Railway Company have earned enormous profits. They were given a present of 6½ millions when the line was purchased by the Government. Of the 32 millions of capital, at which the price of the line was fixed, 26 millions was paid in hard cash and credit was given to the Company for over 6 millions as their share of the profit. They are now receiving interest on that amount, and, over and above that, they are receiving a good share of the net profits for working the railway. This part should be saved to the people.

"Sir, some Hon'ble Members have said that, if the Government took up the management of the railways, the working expenses would swallow up much of the profits of which we have been talking. That is due to want of acquaintance with the facts—"

The Hon'ble the Vice-President:—"The Hon'ble Member has already used up his time. I must ask him to draw his remarks quickly to a close."

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—"I will, Sir. A glance at the Financial Statement which was placed on the table yesterday will show that what my friend the Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola has his eye upon is the net profits, which are left after excluding all working expenses, and after excluding all the interest payable on the amount invested in the railways. They are net profits pure and simple, no deduction will have to be made in them, if the Government should take up the management of the railways in their hands. It will only mean that instead of allowing those profits to go into the hands of the Companies who manage the railways from London, they should be retained by the Government in their hands. The Government of India are in an immensely better position to manage the railways, to protect and promote the interests of the public, both in the matter of passenger traffic and trade, than Companies in London can ever be. I, therefore hope, Sir, that the resolution will commend itself to the Hon'ble Member for Commerce and Industry, and generally to the Government of India, and that a decision will soon be arrived at laying down that when the existing contracts expire, the State shall take over the management of the East Indian Railway, and subsequently of the Great Indian Peninsula and other Railways."

The Hon'ble Mr. Das:—"Sir, I had no intention of speaking on this resolution, which, as the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee said, is a very simple one, if you look at the resolution as it is worded. The resolution simply requests that the Governor General in Council will consider whether

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the policy that now exists with regard to the management of these railways should continue in view of past experience on a review of the results of the past management, or whether there should be a departure and a new system should be introduced. If the resolution, as worded, is accepted, these questions would have naturally to be decided and discussed by men who are experts in this line. But the discussion has been drawn into a wider area and opinions have been expressed on matters on which even a layman feels inclined to take a part in the discussion. The two or three Hon'ble Members, the Hon'ble Mr. Reid and the Hon'ble Mr. Setalvad and the Hon'ble Mr. Montearth who have spoken opposing the resolution, have said (that is the Hon'ble Mr. Montearth and the Hon'ble Mr. Setalvad have said) that they do not like to express any definite opinion as they are laymen. As regards the Hon'ble Mr. Reid, he says that the managing agency system may be improved. So far as the opposition goes, nobody has given any definite opinion to the effect that the present system has been eminently successful and should be continued. So no reason whatever has been shown as to why the resolution as it stands, which is that it is *desirable* that the matter should be reconsidered, should not be accepted. We have been referred to questions of a very important character, and the matter has been viewed in the light, as it were only of a question of commercial importance. I ask, Sir, is the railway system in India to be managed merely on the grounds of profit and loss? Is it actually a commercial business? Have the railways no other purpose to serve? We have been told that, to remove the present system of management would kill competition. Is the management of the railways in India to be thrown open to world competition? Any managing Company that undertakes to work it on the smallest percentage of return, is such Company to be allowed to manage it? What would it be if a German Company undertakes to work it on the cheapest lines? Sir, mere financial considerations should not outweigh other considerations for which it is the duty of the State to maintain railways. Managing agencies are always influenced by commercial motives. When we were discussing the Companies Bill, the Hon'ble Member in charge of Commerce and Industry observed that managing agents sometimes might use their influence to the detriment of those who are really interested in a Company, and we were told then that he (Hon'ble Member for Commerce) had received opinions to that effect. I do not know what his opinion with regard to managing agents is now. If he has changed his opinion, I would congratulate the managing agents of railway Companies. At any rate, Sir, a thing, whatever it be, which Government has to maintain for the growth of prosperity of a country, for strategic purposes and for other purposes of a very important nature, should not be controlled by commercial influences or motives only. The dominant motive ought to be something other than commercial. We have had experience of commercial motives dominating over other more important motives in the case of the East India Company, and we know how objects which are of a nobler nature, which are more befitting the position of a Government were sacrificed to commercial motives. ~~In fact, anything~~ in which the people are interested, and in which the Government is interested, should not be allowed to be controlled by commercial motives only.

"It has been said that to deprive the managing agents of the control of these Companies would be subversive of the principle of decentralisation. As far as I understand decentralisation, it means that there must be a central authority, and delegation of the powers of that authority descends to other subordinate authorities. What is sought here and was expressly advocated by the Hon'ble Mr. Reid, was to increase the power of the manager on the spot, and to let the Home Board of Directors remain as it is. Where is the central power of this present decentralisation system? Would this all powerful manager be the central authority? If so, why have this Home Board? Decentralisation must have a central authority from which flows all authority by means of delegation.

"Sir, the supreme consideration which ought to guide Government in determining the system of management for these lines ought to be the

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interests of the people. The Mover of the resolution has referred to certain instances where the industrial interests of the people have suffered under the present management, and we have managing agents who represent the commercial interests of another country of a foreign character. What guarantee is there that we are not unwittingly being carried back to the days of the East India Company ?

"As regards expenses and how it will be a saving, much has been said ; therefore, I will not repeat them. Besides that, I am not sure when the guillotine of the time-limit is likely to descend on me. With these remarks, Sir, I support the resolution."

The Hon'ble Mr. Barua :—"Sir, I must admit that in this matter I am as much a layman as many of my Hon'ble friends have admitted themselves to be ; and as a layman I will only speak a few words that strike me as matters of common sense. My Hon'ble friends Mr. Surendranath Banerjee and others have very effectively answered all the objections which have been advanced against the resolution and I endorse all their views.

"The first point that strikes me, Sir, is that it seems absurd on the face of it that the Government should have so little control in the management of a concern in which it pays more than 90 per cent of the outlay. The amount of control which Government now has over the Company-managed railways is really so insignificant that it can exercise very little power in their internal administration. It can never have that effective control of affairs to which as by far the major partner it is entitled to have. Some of my friends have suggested that Government management will not be economical and will lead to loss, and others that Government will be in want of proper experts. Arguments like these only prove the weakness of the cause they advocate and have to be advanced only because there are none better. It is really a little compliment to Government to suggest that it is a wasteful uneconomical body, the body that is managing all the affairs of the Indian Administration. To say that by taking over railways into its own hands it will by its wonted want of economy make them a burden on the people is to cast a reflection that Government has been wasting our money in all that it is doing and has been a burden to the people rather than a help. This is, I am afraid, too sweeping a remark which very few of my friends will be prepared to accept. As regards finding experts also I cannot believe that the powers of the Government will not equal or even excel the powers of the Companies. I hope the Government will not be in any difficulty about getting hold of the best of experts and any number of them that may be required.

"Another thing which the Hon'ble Mr. Malaviya pointed out and one that cannot be ignored is the question of the employment of Indians both in the upper and lower grades of the railway service. It is only proper that the people who directly contribute to the maintenance and traffic of the railways should have a fair field for employment in the railway service. For this it is essential that the Provincial Governments should have an effective control over the appointments available on the lines that pass through their respective Provinces. This will be possible only if the entire management rests with Government and a process of centralization and decentralization is adopted as in the case of other Government departments.

"Further, the course suggested in the resolution is really no adoption of a new policy or departure from any policy laid down by Government. The original agreements with the Companies to the effect that they would have the leases for a certain period only and that after the expiration of that period the Government will have the right to take up the working of the lines into its own hands, by themselves indicate that the Government always contemplated taking over the railways as soon as they had gone through the earlier stages of their development and allowed the Companies sufficient remuneration for their trouble. When Government has found almost all the capital for the railways, it is unjust to the people as well as to the Government that

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such an important department should be left in the management of private Companies perpetually, merely because they had contributed an insignificant percentage of the outlay. The contracts with some of the Railways are going to expire shortly; and, as the Hon'ble Mover pointed out last year and has repeated now, it is time that the question is brought pressing forward for the consideration of the Government. The people want that the Government should have the railway management in their hands; they have greater confidence in Government management than in Company management. And I think the Government should make up its mind, in the interests of the people and in response to their desire, to satisfy them by taking all railways into its own hands as contracts fall due. This will add to the coffers of the State and the convenience and comforts of the public. I trust the matter will receive the favourable consideration of the Government. I whole-heartedly support the resolution as many of my friends have done."

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark :—"Sir, I trust that the Hon'ble Member who has moved this resolution and those Hon'ble Members who have supported it, will not think me lacking in courtesy if I make no attempt to discuss in detail the complex question which has been raised, the question, that is, of the rival merits of Government or Private management of railways. If I do not do so, it is not that I fail to appreciate the great importance of the problem to Indian industry and commerce, but last year, as Council knows, there was a debate on this same question, in the course of which I reviewed the main factors on either side, and it would be a waste of the time of Council, if I were now once more to go over the same ground. I explained then that it would be entirely outside the scope of the debate, were I to offer personally or on behalf of Government any opinion on the merits of the conflicting considerations which can be urged on either side of the controversy, and it would be equally unsuitable if I were to attempt to do so now.

"At the same time I think I ought to offer some comments on some of the points which have been raised in the course of what - I think we shall all agree - has been a very interesting and very instructive debate. It was opened by the very able speech of my Hon'ble friend Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola. I listened very carefully to it, and it seems to me that the questions which the Hon'ble Member raised resolve themselves into two main questions of principle, firstly, should we work our railways on competitive lines? and secondly, should our railways be run on commercial lines? I am aware the Hon'ble Member did not specifically put the matter in that way. For instance, he raised the question of block rates, and complained that there was harm done to agriculture and industry by the system through which one Railway Company is enabled to charge a specially high rate for short distances over its own railway in order to prevent goods getting on to another line. Well, I will go so far as to agree that sometimes that block-rate system may cause injury to agricultural interests. But block rates are only one aspect of the competitive system and represent only one side of the competitive system. Following the principle which I have just enunciated, I do not propose to say whether I regard the competitive system to be better or the non-competitive system. But we must regard it as a whole, and if there is that disadvantage, we must also realise that there are advantages on the other side. It is owing to competition that the type of accommodation has improved. One line competes with another and endeavours to give better accommodation to passengers. And similarly they compete to get traffic not only by block rates but by offering lower rates over long leads on agricultural produce down to the ports and agriculture benefits very markedly thereby. On the whole question of rates it seems to me to be too readily assumed that there can be no real control unless the State takes over the railways. Of course that is not necessarily the case. If complaints are brought to the Railway Board about rates now, we bring them to the notice of the Administrations and the Administrations approach them, I think, in a very reasonable spirit. Also I may point out that it is not necessary for the State to take over the whole of the railways in order to get more control than we

[Mr. Clark ; Mr. Banerjee.] [24TH MARCH, 1915.]

have at present. It is also conceivable that on the revision of the contracts, the question may be taken up of giving Government a greater measure of control over rates. Control over rates is conspicuously rigid in some countries where the railways are not nationalised ; in no country in the world, for instance, is control stronger than in the United States ; and in France also there is very close control over rates on private railways as well as on railways worked by the State.

“ I will turn now to the other point, should our railways be run on a commercial basis ? The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim raised this issue when he referred to the possibility of using railways for the promotion and development of our Indian trade. He skated over it, if I may say so, rather ingeniously, for while urging that Government should give especially low rates for local industries, he contended at the same time that to do so would not cost the State any appreciable amount. I do not think we can at all safely assume that to be the case. It may very easily cost the State a great deal. At any rate, we should be put into a state of complete uncertainty as to our railway revenue if we were once to admit that principle. We had an interesting debate in this Council in 1912 on the question of the Railways' methods of fixing their tariffs. The question was raised by Sir Vitaldas Thackersey, and while he complained of the existing management of railways in respect of rates, he admitted very freely that the difficulties arose from their being run on a commercial basis. If you once decide that the railways are to be used as a means of promoting and encouraging industry, you will have abandoned that basis and it seems to me that you must be prepared for possibly a severe loss in your revenue which will have to be made good in other ways. I think that aspect of the case also becomes important in connection with a further question which was raised by Sir Ibrahim. He urged—and many other Members urged—that large economies could be made by abolishing the Companies and so avoiding all expenses of Boards in London, etc., and by having one centralised administration. That may be so : but if you take those two things together—the ceasing to run railways on the commercial basis and the economy effected by abolishing the Boards and other expenses in London, and set the one against the other, it seems to me a quite possible thing, I won't put it at more than that—it seems to me a quite possible thing that you may come out on the wrong side. We have heard it urged this morning that railways should be run on very much the opposite of a commercial basis. I can imagine the shudder that must have run through my Hon'ble Colleague, the Finance Member, when he heard the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjee urging that they should be worked by the people for the people, urging as he did last year, that Government in managing railways should have a totally different object from a company, in managing railways—”

The Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee :—“ Not immediately, Sir ; later on, I think I said.”

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark :—“ At the present moment at any rate, there is no difference. Our administration of State-worked lines is run on the same lines as Company administration. It is run with a view to make a profit. So far as we can, we endeavour to meet the requirements of new industries, because it is part of the commercial working of railways to work up a new industry with a view to getting more traffic later on, but we have not gone beyond that.”

“ Now, the present resolution merely recommends the Governor General in Council to consider the desirability of the future policy in regard to State railways being one of management by Government instead of by Companies. It is a great pleasure to find myself in the fortunate, and I am afraid, not too common position, not only of being able to meet my Hon'ble friend's wishes, but even of having anticipated them. Government has already with the sanction of the Secretary of State, taken up an inquiry into this matter, especially in regard to the vital question of the comparative economy of the two methods of working. I am very glad, therefore, to be able to accept the

[24TH MARCH, 1915.] [*Mr. Clark; Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola.*]

resolution. But in doing so I must make it absolutely clear that we are only considering the question of the relative efficiency of the two systems of working. Some Hon'ble Members seem to have thought that if Government accept this resolution, they will be committed to the policy which the Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola hopes will be the outcome of the inquiry he advocates. That of course is not so; if it were so, I could not possibly accept the resolution. It must be understood that in accepting this motion and in instituting the inquiries which we have instituted, the Government of India are in no way committed as to the conclusions which they may eventually form. We are merely comparing the respective results of the existing working of the lines which are now managed by the State and of those which are now managed by Companies, and the sole object we have in view is to collect the necessary data for forming a judgment on this question. I should like to add in regard to what was said by the Hon'ble Mr. Montearth that in any inquiries which we may make on the subject we shall certainly consult Chambers of Commerce and other bodies in order to ascertain the commercial view. I accept the resolution on the terms, which I have explained."

The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola:—"Sir, I am indebted to the Hon'ble Member for accepting my resolution and I trust that when the question is considered, and before a final decision is reached, all sets of commercial opinion in India will be consulted by Government; I understand that that is the intention. I would have, under the circumstances, not troubled the Council with any reply at all, but I hope, I will be permitted to say a few words in regard to the criticism that has been offered by some of the non-official members. I will frankly confess that I never expected the support of the representatives of Chambers of Commerce for the very lucid reason which the Hon'ble Mr. Marshall Reid gave. He said 'it will take time, but we will have our way in the matter of the Muttra-Aligarh Section as we have always had our way, with Government.' Sir, we cannot expect support from contented and self-satisfied people. I have brought forward this resolution in the interests of the Indian tax-payers and I think the general consensus of non-official opinion in this Council must have convinced Government that they regard it as a matter of great importance that the management of railways should vest in the State. Sir, I have only one more word to say in conclusion, and that is with reference to the point that the railways are worked on a commercial basis. No one disputes the fact that the railways should be worked on a commercial basis. What we object to is that they should be worked *purely* on a commercial basis, irrespective of every other consideration. All we ask is that in working on a commercial basis, care should be had to the economic and industrial interest of this country. In the consideration of all these questions, I want that Government should bear prominently in mind not only the question of making revenue out of a monopoly which they hold, but that in getting such revenue they shall bestow careful consideration to the question of encouraging industries in India and promoting the economic interests of the people of India; even at the sacrifice of some portion of such revenue. I need not add that so long as I am a member of this Council I shall continue to press vigorously to the notice of Government that India wants satisfactory measures to be adopted for the promotion of the economic interests of this country."

The resolution was put and adopted

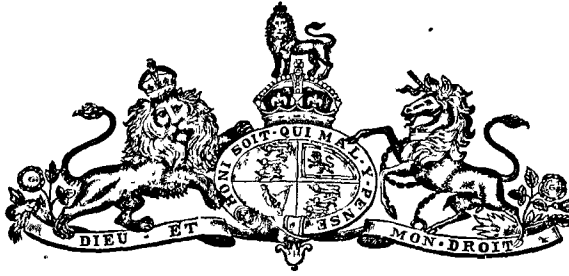
The Council adjourned to Thursday, the 25th March, 1915

W. H. VINCENT,

*Secretary to the Government of India,
Legislative Department.*

DELHI;

The 29th March, 1915.



GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.
LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COUNCIL OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA
ASSEMBLED FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING LAWS AND REGULATIONS
UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF THE INDIAN COUNCILS ACTS, 1881 to 1908.
(24 & 25 Vict., c. 87, 55 & 56 Vict., c. 14, AND 9 Edw. VII, c. 4).

The Council met at the Council Chamber, Imperial Secretariat, Delhi, on
Thursday, the 25th March, 1915

PRESENT :

His Excellency BARON HARDINGE OF PENSHURST, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.,
G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., I.S.O., Viceroy and Governor General, *presiding*,
and 59 Members, of whom 51 were Additional Members.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

The Hon'ble Raja Kushalpal Singh asked:—

1. " Will the Government be pleased to say whether they propose to place on the table a copy of the proceedings of the two Wheat Conferences and the Indigo Conference recently held at Delhi ? "

Publication
of the pro-
ceedings of
Wheat and
Indigo
Conferences.

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark replied:—

" The Hon'ble Member's attention is invited to the answer which I gave to his similar question at the Council meeting of the 15th January last. Government regret that they are unable to lay reports of the Wheat or Indigo Conferences on the table as the proceedings were of a confidential nature. In the case of the former, I may refer the Hon'ble Member to the statement which I made in Council on the 22nd instant, in which I explained the policy which the Government of India propose to adopt. As regards the Indigo Conference, a *Communiqué* will probably be issued shortly."

[*Raja Kushalpal Singh ; Mr. Gillan ; Mr. Clark ;* [25TH MARCH, 1915.]
Raja Jai Chand ; Sir Reginald Craddock.]

The Hon'ble Raja Kushalpal Singh asked :—

Railway
rates for
sugar.

2. " Will the Government be pleased to state whether it is a fact that some Railways charge relatively higher rates of freight for indigenous sugar than for imported sugar ? "

The Hon'ble Mr. Gillan replied :—

" It is the case that Railways are able to quote relatively lower rates of freight for sugar offering a large traffic from the ports, which is, as a rule, carried for long distances in full wagon loads, whereas traffic in sugar manufactured in the country is comparatively small and generally carried for short distances in consignments of less than wagon loads, all of which are factors tending greatly to increase the cost of carriage."

The Hon'ble Raja Kushalpal Singh asked :—

Subsidy for
sugar
industry in
Formosa.

3. " Will the Government be pleased to state whether the production of sugar is being promoted by various forms of State subsidies in Formosa ? "

The Hon'ble Mr. Clark replied :—

" The Hon'ble Member's attention is invited to an article entitled ' Formosa Sugar Industry ' in the ' Indian Trade Journal ' of the 18th December, 1913. It appears that the direct subsidy to the sugar industry in Formosa ceased in 1912, but that the Japanese Government gave considerable assistance to the industry in other ways during that year. A statement* showing the sums allotted during 1912 and 1913 is laid on the table. It will be observed that the total grants were reduced from £86,300 in the former year to £48,580 in the latter. Similar information for the year 1914 is not forthcoming."

The Hon'ble Raja Jai Chand asked :—

Civil assist-
ant and
military
assistant
surgeons.

4. " Will the Government be pleased to state—

(a) What is the total number of civil assistant and military assistant surgeons in India ?

(b) What is the salary on which such surgeons commence service, and the highest post they reach ?

(c) Are these appointments equally open to Indians and to persons of European or mixed European and Asiatic descent ? "

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

" (a) There are 849 civil assistant surgeons (including 96 temporary officers) in British India. The sanctioned strength of the cadre of military assistant surgeons is 739 and 724 are at present in actual employ. The information regarding civil assistant surgeons is based on the latest information available, but it is believed to be approximately correct though as the cadres are provincial, local Governments can modify them within their financial powers.

(b) The minimum and maximum rates of pay drawn by civil assistant surgeons are not the same in all provinces. The lowest starting pay is Rs 100 and they can rise to be civil surgeons on pay the maximum of which varies from Rs. 500 to 700 a month. The minimum pay of military assistant surgeons is Rs. 100 and they also can fill civil surgeoncies on pay rising to Rs. 700 a month.

(c) Indians and persons of European or mixed European and Asiatic descent are equally eligible for appointments as civil assistant surgeons, but the former are not eligible for appointment as military assistant surgeons, whose duties when not in civil employ are confined to services to British troops."

* Vide Appendix, page 655, post.

[25TH MARCH, 1915.] [*Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar; Sir Reginald Craddock; Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis*].

The Hon'ble Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar asked :—

5. "Do the Government propose to consider the desirability of recommending to His Majesty's Government Parliamentary legislation which will enable them to appoint Vakils and not only Barristers to the offices of Law Member of the Executive Council of the Governor General and Chief Justice of an Indian High Court respectively" ?

Parliamentary legislation enabling Government of India to appoint Vakils to the offices of Law Member and Chief Justice.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

"The Government of India are not convinced of the expediency of taking action on the lines suggested."

BUDGET, 1915-16.

The Hon'ble Sir G. Chitnavis :—"My Lord, it is an exceptional Budget that we have to deal with to-day; the shadow of War is on every page of it. The Hon'ble Finance Minister has given us a full summary of the whole position. In the light of the circumstances detailed, one is forced to admire the ingenuity and resourcefulness he has displayed in a very trying situation, and the care and sympathy with which he has throughout sought to mitigate the resultant evils. On the whole, the financial arrangements, both of the current year and of the ensuing year, will command general approval. I have already, in the course of a separate debate, expressed my doubts as to the policy of setting funds aside in existing conditions to finance new railway lines, but that is a minor matter on which I need not dwell further. It is a reassuring fact that, notwithstanding a heavy deficit, there is to be no fresh taxation and that the financial position of Government is strong. It will be difficult to suggest more effective measures for filling the State coffer without pressing unduly upon the resources of the people. I will only suggest that in floating the proposed Rupee loan, care should be taken not to depress further the market for the existing three-and-a-half per cents and the three per cents. These form the bulk of the people's holdings, and a sudden slump in their saleable value will cause considerable anxiety to all holders, and actual loss to the weak and the needy among them. I have every hope that the matter will receive due consideration at the hands of so cautious and sympathetic a Finance Minister as the Hon'ble Sir William Meyer.

2. "My Lord, I beg to associate myself with the Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock in the encouraging words he spoke of the work of the police when he introduced his Budget heads for discussion. The police in some of the provinces are working under great difficulties, some even at the risk of their lives, and they deserve encouragement and sympathy for their faithful discharge of duty from all loyal and right-minded people.

3. "My Lord, as a result of our Resolution of September last, the War will entail a direct expenditure to India of £6½ millions, or a little over ten crores of rupees, and the whole amount is required for the cost of our troops sent to the Front. This is certainly far more than our first estimate, but we have no reason to grumble at the excess expenditure. The whole expenditure is nothing compared to what even neutral countries have had to incur in strengthening their armies and navies in view of contingencies. Had India been an independent Empire, and not formed a unit of the British Empire, our extraordinary expenditure would have been enormous at a grave crisis like this. It is a fortunate circumstance that our connection with the greatest Empire of the world ensures us safety from foreign aggression and internal peace at a minimum of cost. While, therefore, we have not just ground for complaint on the score of extra burden, our contribution to the cost of the War, inconsiderable though it may appear to be in comparison with that of the Dominions, will not be found to be a negligible quantity. India is, after all, a poor country, and the financial resources of Government are not

what one would wish they were. It should also be remembered that, besides this public expenditure, the princes and the people have subscribed liberally to the various War Relief Funds. Individual citizens have also offered their personal services, and some are at the present moment actually fighting for the Empire. The gallant deeds of our Princes and our colleagues Malik Umar Hayat Khan and the Kumar of Tikari have already attracted notice at the highest quarters. It would be ungenerous not to acknowledge that we Indians in our own humble way are rendering to the Empire at this crisis as great and as loyal a service as is practicable with our limited means and limited opportunities.

4. "My Lord, the admirable conduct of the people during the whole of this anxious period should be given due prominence. But for the great restraint they have all observed, despite of a serious economic situation, the difficulties of administration would have increased enormously, and if there have been some troubles here and there, they are negligible when the large extent of the country is considered. It must not be forgotten that for one who means or desires evil, there are thousands who chafe under the restriction that prevents them from taking part in the War and dying for their King and the Empire. This is the first great occasion after the Mutiny when the loyalty of the people has been severely tried, and it should be a matter of genuine satisfaction, not only to this Government but also to the Imperial Government, that India of her own free will has cast her lot with the Empire. This is the proudest triumph of British Indian Rule. It likewise forms India's indefeasible title to a just estimate of her participation in the War. It would be difficult and invidious to apportion the credit between the two great sections of the community. Hindus and Moslems have both displayed admirable good-will; the Moslems under circumstances of peculiar importance and stress.

5. "My Lord, in thus referring to India's attitude, I do not for a moment lose sight of the fact, noticed at some length by the Hon'ble the Finance Minister, that the withdrawals from the Postal Savings Bank deposits have been inconveniently large. To all outer seeming this might discredit our professions of loyalty, but I am glad the Hon'ble Sir William Meyer has taken a juster view of the situation, and the circumstance, according to his explanation, is not inconsistent with our unflinching devotion to Government. The investors are mostly men of humble means; in the first few weeks of the War, authentic news of the incidents was scarce; the country was filled with wild rumours; the economic situation was critical. It is no wonder that under the circumstances some of these depositors got frightened, and wanted to have the cash with them. But now the Hon'ble the Finance Minister assures us, the first trouble of the alarm is over, and the people would seem to have come to realise the folly of withdrawing their savings from the Savings Bank. We Indians are an intelligent people, and we cannot be slow to recognise that it is far safer to keep our money in deposit with a powerful Government in these troublous times than to hoard it in our humble dwellings. The heavier the deposits at this crisis the better for all concerned. It is to our interest to strengthen the financial position of Government by deposits. The financial strength of Government is our national strength. The recent appointment of an Auditor-General for India, with plenary powers of scrutiny into the Government accounts and check, will have the effect of creating in the public mind greater confidence in the wise application of Government funds, and, consequently, in the financial stability of Government.

6. "My Lord, the question of oversea emigration has an important bearing both upon the economic and the political situation even in normal times; in a critical time like the present, it has a serious aspect. We are all sorry for the "Komagata Maru" affair, but in spite of that unhappy venture and the disgraceful conduct of the emigrants, something may have to be done by Government to secure a reasonable solution of the problem, and it is far better that an attempt at such a solution of the problem should be made by them as the representatives of the people. However much we may fret at our disabilities

[25TH MARCH, 1915.] [*Sir Gangaadhar Chitnavis.*]

in the self-governing Colonies of the British Empire, we, unaided by Government, cannot succeed in getting them removed. It is an excellent idea of Your Excellency's, therefore, that we should support the Government to effect a compromise with the colonies on a basis of complete reciprocity, consonant with the common interests and self-respect of both sides. If we succeed in getting the most-favoured-nation treatment, we should be satisfied for the present. Personally, I have great faith in Imperial Preference as a lever which can be used to our advantage in the Colonies, but all discussions regarding this and kindred subjects of Imperial importance must necessarily be suspended until the war is over. When that happy consummation comes, an Imperial Conference of the Colonial and Indian representatives should be helpful in evolving a workable scheme of Preferential Tariffs which will bind us to the Colonies with bonds of brotherly love and mutual trust and mutual interest. I am glad to find that the most convinced of free-traders are beginning to reckon one great outstanding fact, that England's fiscal problem will have to be settled under pressure, not of argument, but of political and industrial forces. Here in India, we have advanced sensibly in the development of our economic ideas, and Government is to be congratulated upon the marked change in its policy. Its action in the matter of the regulation of the exports of wheat testifies to its earnest desire to suit its economic policy to the conditions of the times and the country.

7. " My Lord, we had a good deal of discussion this session as regards the promotion of India's industries during the war. In this connection I am glad to congratulate the Government on the appointment of a gentleman at the Board of Trade in England. He was appointed to find outlets of exports of Indian raw and manufactured articles hitherto sent to Germany and Austria-Hungary, and also to make good the heavy losses in her trade with France and Belgium and with neutral countries on the Continent. The complete suspension of the trade of India with the two chief enemy Powers cuts off at a stroke some £11,000,000 of the balance of trade in her favour. This appointment will be the means of providing a channel of enquiry and advice for business men in England desiring to utilise Indian products in manufactures hitherto more or less monopolised by Germany and Austria. It will also have the effect of recognising India's special claims and needs in this war against German trade.

8. " My Lord, we all look up eagerly to an early and successful termination of this great war, the continuance of which means not only so much waste of valuable life of the present generation, but the wiping out of many future generations. No one entertains the least doubt about the glorious victory of British arms, but the sooner it comes the better it is for all parties concerned, nay, for the civilisation and progress of the world. With militarism crushed and the British Empire strengthened by the comradeship in arms of the various units, a juster view of human rights and of the purpose of civilisation is bound to animate the future policy of the West, and India has everything to gain by the wholesome change. The stain of the Mutiny is wiped out by the valour, heroism, and devotion of the Indian troops, and India stands and will stand justly proud of the brilliant record. The honour, the future, of India are in the safe-keeping of these soldiers who have the privilege of fighting for their King and the Empire. Some of these have already won the high distinction of the Victoria Cross. It is flattering to us, it is flattering to our patriotism, that India will occupy a brilliant chapter in the history of this war. Our good name, earned in the field of battle, and our behaviour within the country, will be invaluable asset in the future adjustments of India's rights both within her bounds and in the world abroad. We, therefore, hope that our countrymen will create no trouble and conduct themselves at this crisis in a manner which will redound to the credit of the whole country.

9. " My Lord, in this connection I cannot but allude to the great toll of death during the year. It is a matter of deep sorrow that we have to record not only the loss of men rich in fame who have reached the allotted span of years, but also the deaths of many young and gallant servants of the Empire fallen either on the field of battle or died subsequently of wounds received in action.

[*Sir Gangadhar Ohitnavis ; Raja Jai Chand.*] [25TH MARCH, 1915.]

I hesitate to publicly express sympathy with their relations, because personal grief such as this seems to me a sacred thing, to be treated rather with mute reverence than with words. We cannot, however, but admire and praise the courage and fortitude with which these faithful and loyal servants of the Crown from the highest to the lowest who have been thus stricken are working. May the souls of those who are dead in the service of their King and Empire rest in everlasting peace and happiness !

10. " My Lord, we all regret Your Excellency's approaching departure. You have worked under circumstances of exceptional difficulty and with a sole view to India's interests. You have secured our esteem and confidence, and we all hope that you will be allowed to remain until the war is over, and, when you leave, you will carry with you our best wishes for your happiness and prosperity."

The Hon'ble Raja Jai Chand:—" My Lord, the Financial Statement for 1915-16, so luminously presented by the Hon'ble Sir William Meyer, reflects the tireless exertion of the whole Indian continent to surmount and steer clear of the economic and financial disturbances developed by this international conflict, which is second to none in the annals of the world.

" It is quite true, as my Hon'ble friend the Finance Member remarks, that India has not been directly affected by this gigantic struggle and so I think other British colonies too, like New Zealand, Canada and Australia and so forth, have not felt the direct impact of the war, though none of these, including India, and even the non-combatant and neutral countries like the United States and China, have been able to escape the bitter effects resulting therefrom. However, considering the gravity of the situation, which at present prevails all over India, I cannot but warmly congratulate the Finance Member on his splendid presentation of facts connected with the recent development of the history of trade and finance during the last few months, and on his masterly review of the measures adopted by Your Excellency's Government to husband the financial resources, to develop trade, to uphold exchange, and to help currency.

" Speaking on the last year's Budget I had drawn the attention of Your Excellency's Government to the backward state of the Punjab in sanitation and education, particularly female education, as being antithetical to steady progress and advancement in the same direction in other provinces of India.

" I had also distinctly referred to the deplorable poverty of the martial tribes inhabiting the Punjab, and, as a remedial measure, had mentioned the paramount necessity of providing them with some land in addition to their own ancestral holdings, which are quite insufficient to meet their domestic wants throughout the year.

" The Indian martial tribes, whose glorious deeds of exemplary valour and chivalry, tenacity, and endurance in the battlefield have won the admiration of Field Marshal Sir John French and of Allied Armies, have acquitted themselves of the heavy responsibilities in a way worthy of their best traditions. Thus, when they have readily responded to the stern call of duty in a crisis like the present, with unswerving loyalty and devotion to the British Crown, it remains for the Government to strike a crushing blow at the root of the evil, which leads to their misery and domestic uneasiness.

" My Lord, it is a source of immense gratification to me to find that the Punjab Government, fully realising the need of the hour, have adopted the prudent and beneficial step in the shape of grant of more land than was previously sanctioned for distribution among soldiers whose gallant and distinguished conduct in the field brings them to the forefront.

" It is a boon for which the whole of the Punjab, province in general, and the military tribes in particular, owe to the wide-awake Lieutenant Governor a deep debt of gratitude.

" There is one point, however, which I wish to elucidate. Some officials, as an English newspaper remarks, may have taken an unwholesome view of

[25TH MARCH, 1915.] [*Raja Jai Chand ; Lieutenant-Colonel Blakeway.*]

the fact that some military grantees, not being actuated by a love of agriculture, sell their lands to other men, and as they have no aim other than money-making, it only serves to hinder and retrograde the steady progress of colonization. But, His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab makes the following observation in his review in Lyallpur :— 'There is no cause for regret in this', says His Honour, 'if, as appears to be the case, transfers were made generally by military grantees, whose hearts were not in the colony, and they have probably given way to men who will make better colonists'

"Now, whether the military grantee keeps the land in possession or sells it to some other capitalist to his own advantage, makes little difference. The fundamental point at issue is that he should not be deprived of grant of land. The bare fact of his selling land is no justification of his deprivation from the boon.

"My Lord, there are other points, too, which I would have liked to bring to the notice of Your Excellency's Government, but being fully alive to the gravity of the modern situation, and to the serious complications and anxieties created by the war, which we all wish to see soon ending in the victory of British arms, I refrain from entering into discussion, and hope that I will have a better opportunity later on, when things assume their normal course, to voice the feelings of the Punjab landholder, whom I have the honour to represent in this Council."

The Hon'ble Lieutenant-Colonel Blakeway :— "My Lord, I must apologise for occupying the time of the Council to-day on the subject of sanitary progress in the North-West Frontier Province when probably a number of other subjects of interest will come under discussion, but the proposals of the Hon'ble elected members representing the Central Provinces and United Provinces, during the first stage of the discussion of the Financial Statement, for the curtailment of the Railway programme in favour of the development of Education and Sanitation have indicated the public interest which these two departments continue to focus, in spite of the numerous preoccupations of the present time. The somewhat dismal reference, also, by the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoj on the same occasion to the sanitary condition of his Provincial head-quarters' city might, perchance, create the illusion that equally worthy Provincial competitors for Government aid in the matter of sanitary improvement do not exist elsewhere. It has occurred to me, therefore, that a few words representing the claims of the North-West Frontier Province to obtain a share in the unallotted reserve of 77 lakhs for sanitation, to which reference is made in paragraph 106 of the Memorandum explaining the details of the Estimates, may promote the cause of my Province, since, if I may say so without levity, it is the early Provincial bird which frequently succeeds in the appropriation of the Imperial financial worm. Moreover, as the spoken word on occasion appeals to a wider audience than the written, or at all events the officially written word, the exhibition of their needs may help to assure the representatives of the urban communities in my Province, where city sanitation has of late been rapidly advancing, that their efforts meet with recognition and should encourage their progress in the direction of reform.

"The North-West Frontier Province is regarded, I fear, in some uninstructed quarters as merely a land of incursions by tribesmen and excursions by troops; as a scene of raids and counter-raids, where the midnight forays of hillmen alternate with the reprisals of Government. There is, however, another and a very important side to the shield, a side connected with the well-being of the Border peoples who are our subjects, with their education and their introduction to all the benefits associated with civilization. Naturally, the first and most heavy responsibility of the Administration—or of any Government for the matter of that—must be the maintenance of law and order; but the policy of improving the material condition of the people has been steadily and of late, thanks to the liberality of Your Excellency and the Government of India, very actively pursued. It is curious to observe, however, by way of

[Lieutenant-Colonel Blakeway ; Mr. Banerjee.] [25TH MARCH, 1915.]

comment on the sense of proportion publicly displayed in certain matters, that the completion of so vast and beneficent a project as the Upper Swat River Canal, which will have a far-reaching political effect and bring prosperity to thousands of peasant homes, should apparently arouse less general interest than, for instance, an abortive attack by some transfrontier miscreants on a border post.

"But, My Lord, I will not detain the Council by recounting even briefly what has been done recently on the North-West Frontier under the heads Education, Communications, Public Works and Medical Relief. However interesting the realization of local schemes may be to local patriots these schemes cannot be expected to invite and hold the interest of others. Neither will I refer in detail to the progress being made in town sanitation. I think, however, that the sanitary condition and Municipal administration of the historical and beautiful city of Peshawar, the first Indian city to be seen by those hosts of travellers from Central Asia, Persia and Afghanistan, who enter British territory by the various routes converging at this point, can fairly claim something more than local concern. Owing to its position in the forefront of Empire on the extremest border of British India, I hope that all of us conscious of an Imperial sense must hold the opinion that it should attract the admiration of the strangers who resort to it and pass through it in such numbers, and must desire that its Municipal arrangements and sanitary condition should bear worthy testimony to the solicitude of Government. This brings me, My Lord, to the main ground on which I voice the claims of my Province to share in the Imperial sanitation reserve of 77 lakhs. An extensive conservancy scheme, involving improvements also to the water supply, is now being worked out for our local capital, but cannot be carried into effect by the Municipality without help from provincial funds. This help means starving projects elsewhere and may check the awakening spirit of Municipal sanitary reform in the Province which it is so desirable to foster. I trust, therefore, that when our appeal to the charity of the Government of India for a special sanitary grant, in addition to the recurring grants which we are now enjoying, comes to be made, it will be successful in spite of the insistent competition of larger rivals to which expression has already been given in this Council."

The Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee:—"My Lord, I do not know whether the Hon'ble the Finance Minister reads the newspapers, but if he does he will have noticed the chorus of approval with which his Budget was greeted by the accredited representatives of public opinion. We, who are of the public, associating ourselves with this popular sentiment, desire to offer him our heartfelt congratulations. I think my Hon'ble friends will have no difficulty whatever in discovering the secret of this universal feeling. We all expected to be taxed, directly or indirectly. We have been saved from that situation, and we hasten to offer our grateful thanks to our deliverer. But, My Lord, gratitude implies a sense of favours to come. We have indeed got over our present difficulties, but what about the future? It is perhaps too early to make a pronouncement with regard to that, but judging from the conduct of the finances of this year, at a critical time, I think we have the assurance and the guarantee that no fresh taxes would be levied unless under the pressure of a paramount necessity. My Lord, the Budget has been framed on the assumption that the war will continue for one year. If, fortunately, the war terminates before that time, the situation will have been eased and our anxieties will have been partly dispelled. My Lord, the Budget is a War Budget, but the most interesting thing about the Budget is that although it is a War Budget, it does not add to the military expenditure: on the contrary, the military expenditure is slightly less than that which had been budgeted for. The cost of the Indian Expeditionary Force to Europe will come up, for the year 1914-15 and 1915-16, to about 7 millions, or, perhaps, a little less than 7 millions. My Lord, war is an unmitigated evil, but there is no cloud without its silver lining, and this war has afforded India an opportunity of demonstrating her loyal devotion to the Empire in a manner which has produced a profound impression upon

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the public mind of England. The enemies of Indian aspirations have been convinced and converted. The angle of vision with regard to Indian affairs has been changed, and, in the words of Sir James Meston, a bright day is about to dawn in the land, when, as I hope, India will take her place as a component part of a great and federated Empire, in the full and free enjoyment of the rights belonging to that status. This hope inspires our people. May it be realized and may the Empire of His Majesty be broad based upon the gratitude, the contentment and the happiness of the people of India.

" My Lord, no educated Indian can speak upon a Budget statement without reference to two matters which find a prominent place in his mind, namely, sanitation and education. They are the watchwords of the Government of India. They are also our watchwords, and to them we accord a prominent place in our public work. Unfortunately, there has been no Imperial grant in respect of either for this year with the exception of 10 lakhs, which Your Excellency was pleased to announce at the Convocation of the Calcutta University, for hostels. My Lord, the building of hostels is a matter of the utmost urgency, having regard to the interests of discipline among our students. I am sorry to have to say that the work is not progressing as rapidly as it ought to. I know something about these hostels. In connection with the hostel for the Ripon College, in which I am directly interested, and the Metropolitan Institution of which I know something, the land has been acquired, the plans are ready, but the buildings have not been yet taken in hand. I hope and trust that with the 10 lakhs of rupees which have been granted the work will be taken in hand at once.

" As regards sanitation, we have to make the same complaint. The administrative machinery moves slowly. It does seem to me that it needs to be vitalised and recast upon more liberal lines. We are looking forward with some hope and expectancy to the resolution which you, Sir (the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler), have promised on the question of local self-government. I can only hope and trust that as you have signalised your administration in the Education Department you will also leave an ineffaceable mark upon the system of local self-government by laying down the broad and liberal lines of progress which should distinguish that institution.

" My Lord, my Hon'ble friend, the Finance Minister, said in regard to certain observations made by the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoi that there was no desire on the part of Government to go back upon its policy in respect of sanitation and education, but that the speed had been somewhat slackened. We can only hope and trust that with the return of normal conditions more money will be spent and greater energy exhibited in the matter of sanitation.

" My Lord, with regard to the provincial contracts, the war has deferred the settlement of that contract with my province. May I plead for my province and urge that when the terms have been fixed, they may be so settled that Bengal may be a self-contained province able to pay its own way without the adventitious aid of those Imperial doles which my Hon'ble friend, the Finance Minister, in his capacity as a Member of the Decentralisation Commission, condemned as demoralising? The provincial system must be worked up to the stage of fiscal autonomy, which is the basis of provincial autonomy. My Lord, that is the clear demand of Indian public opinion, and that demand has found a responsive echo in the great despatch of the 25th August, 1911, with which Your Excellency's honoured name will be imperishably associated in the history of India.

" With regard to the question of the industries, My Lord, the discussions in this Council and the discussions which have taken place elsewhere have brought out the fact prominently that Indian opinion demands that there should be a definite change in the policy of Government in this matter. Government cannot stand where it is; it must move on according to the requirements of the country and the demands of an advancing public opinion. What the educated community want is that Government should actively participate in the fostering of our industries by financing the more suitable ones and rendering them such help as they may need. That is the clear demand of educated

public opinion. The question will be brought up again and again in this Council and in the Provincial Legislative Councils, and I should like to put this question to the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Department of Commerce and Industry, 'How long does Government propose to resist the rising tide of public opinion becoming more and more insistent and importunate with every check and every refusal?'

"My Lord, there is one matter which at the present moment weighs heavily upon the minds of the educated community not only of the United Provinces but of all India, I mean the rejection of the proposal for the creation of an Executive Council in the United Provinces.

"My Lord, this proposal was made by the Government of the United Provinces and was supported by the Government of India and by His Lordship the Secretary of State for India. It was in entire conformity with the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission and was backed by the unanimous vote of the non-official Indian Members of the Legislative Council of the United Provinces, who, I presume, are in closer touch with the better mind of their countrymen, and with the sense of the voiceless millions of the United Provinces, than Lord MacDonnell, who left the country about 20 years ago, than Lord Curzon, who left India 10 years ago, or than Lord Sydenham who was not even within a measurable distance of the United Provinces and knows little or nothing about them. My Lord, it is not only a question of administrative efficiency, which, in the words of Lord Morley, Indian rulers are sometimes apt to put a little too prominently in the forefront of their consideration. The issues involved are much deeper. His Honor Sir James Meston sounded the true note of the situation when he said that the object of this reform was to introduce Indians into the inner councils of the Government, into the Holy of Holies, if I may say so without irreverence. My Lord, it is most unfortunate that this proposition should have been rejected at a time when India is astir with a new and an awakened sense of devotion to the Empire. Already it is beginning to be asked—Is this the first-fruit of that change in the angle of vision which had been promised by a high authority? The only redeeming feature about the situation is the attitude of Lord Crewe, who is resolved to pursue the matter. We wish him all success, and we desire to assure His Lordship of the sympathy, the unstinted sympathy, of the millions of my countrymen in this matter. My Lord, does the question affect the United Provinces only? No; it affects the whole of India. We share with the United Provinces the deep disappointment which they feel. Not only that, the question has raised constitutional issues of grave moment. The House of Lords may block great reforms in India by raising difficulties as they have done in this case. My Lord, I hope and trust that Lord Crewe will revive the India Council Bill, which also was rejected by the House of Lords. We were not enamoured of the Bill; we thought it ought to have been cast upon broader and more progressive lines. But such as it was, it was a distinct improvement on the existing condition of things, for it recognised, although it might be in an attenuated form, the elective principle and the statutory right of the people of India to be represented in the highest Council of the Indian Empire.

"My Lord, there is another matter, somewhat of a controversial character, which I feel it my duty to mention in this Council, because what I am going to say represents the public opinion of my countrymen. It is somewhat unpleasant, but we have sometimes to say unpleasant things in this Council. My Lord, the Government of India have paid compensation, pay or allowance, to the members of the Indian Civil Service and of the superior Police Service above a certain grade; and this was done at a time when it was known as a matter of practical certainty that there would be a deficit in the current year's Budget, and when there was a forecast of a deficit in the Budget of the coming year. My Lord, that step, I cannot help thinking, was ill-advised. Why, when every subject of His Majesty—high or low, rich or poor, prince or peasant—was suffering from the pinch and the pressure of war, two well-paid services should have been singled out for this preferential treatment, passes my comprehension. Yesterday, in reply to a question which

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was asked here, it was said that the object was to compensate the members of these services for the block in promotion. My Lord, there are other branches of the Public Service which suffer from similar inconvenience, from a similar strain. Have they received any relief? My Lord, I have already observed that this is a somewhat controversial and unpleasant matter; but there is a very strong feeling outside this Council in the country at large, and I have felt it my duty to refer to it here in the hope that the question may yet be reconsidered. At one time some of us thought of giving notice of a resolution, but we wanted to avoid anything like a controversy.

" My Lord, in conclusion I desire to associate myself with the observations which have fallen from my Hon'ble friend, Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis, in regard to Your Excellency. My Lord, we may not always see eye to eye with Your Excellency's Government in regard to measures of administration; but, My Lord, your administration has been one of the noblest and wisest in Indian history; and, My Lord, if I may be permitted to say so, Your Excellency will take your place among the most illustrious of Indian Viceroy's—by the side of Bentinck, Canning and Ripon. Therefore, I unreservedly associate myself with the observations which have fallen from my friend: they represent the deliberate judgment of public opinion, and of the educated community, over this wide, wide continent "

The Hon'ble Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar:—" My Lord, I thoroughly associate myself with the Hon'ble Member in the well deserved compliments they have paid to the Hon'ble Finance Member on his excellent Budget. I cannot say that I am quite satisfied with the provision made for education in the coming year; but considering the present situation I make no complaint.

" My Lord, Education is England's greatest gift to India, and it has not yet found a more sincere and more passionate advocate and supporter than Your Excellency. The whole country fully appreciates Your Excellency's noble efforts in this direction and is filled with feelings of deepest gratitude for what you have already done. The promoters of the Hindu University movement are particularly deeply indebted to Your Excellency for Your Excellency's gracious support in their great undertaking, and it is as an humble admirer of Your Excellency's liberal educational policy that I wish to submit a few observations on one or two features of that policy which seem to have failed to commend themselves to a section of the Indian Public. I know that the Government sincerely desire that education should spread as widely as possible and as rapidly as possible. But unfortunately the rate of progress which seems to satisfy them does not satisfy us. Their aims seem to be to subject the requirements of educational expansion to those of educational efficiency. Our position is, efficiency by all means but not at the cost of expansion, not at the sacrifice of a wider diffusion of knowledge. My Lord, India has been under British rule for nearly 150 years and yet what is the state of our education as shown by the latest figures on the subject? According to the last quinquennial report on Indian education 27 per cent of the population were at school in 1911. Now we have 3 as against 27 per cent. So then according to the latest figures 97 per cent of the population at this moment are condemned to pass their lives in utter ignorance. In this respect India does not compare favourably with any civilised country in the world. The demand for education is growing day by day; but from every Province come complaints, not by the hundred but by the thousand, that there are more boys desirous of learning than can be accommodated in our schools or colleges. Restrictive rules have been made in every Province because there are not enough schools to accommodate our boys. My Lord, in the existing state of India we do not want better school buildings but more schools. A good education imparted in finely built schools is a very desirable thing, but any education is better than none.

" My Lord, there is another point upon which I want to say a few words. My Lord, we Indians find it very difficult to understand why the Imperial Educational Service has been almost monopolised by Europeans and why so

many Professorships and even Head-Masterships are given to Europeans in preference to Indians. In my Province, if I am not mistaken, there is not one Indian in the Imperial Educational Service.

"There are qualified Indians certainly, not inferior in mental and moral equipment to many of those English teachers and professors who are sent out here every year from England. A larger employment of indigenous talent would be good not only on economic grounds, but would in large measure satisfy one of our legitimate aspirations. But I place the claims of Indians to be appointed more largely in the higher ranks of the Educational Service on a higher ground than that. One great object of all education is the formation of character, and the Government has of late rightly laid stress upon the realisation of that object. Another aim which the Government has rightly set before itself is that the development of Indian mind and character should be on Indian national lines. My Lord, is it seriously believed that the character of the youth of India will be formed on its national lines under the influence of English teachers and professors, however able and high principled they may be? My Lord, this is a delicate question. But I do not speak in a controversial or party spirit when I say that the policy of increasing the number and extending the influence of European teachers and professors, possessing little knowledge of Indian life and conditions, and themselves living here under the influences of their own community and isolated from the daily life of the people among whom they have to work, I say that the policy of extending their influence over the formation of the intellect and character of the Indian youth, is causing disquietude to the intelligent section of the Indian people; and they are watching with anxiety and even apprehension the effect of that influence upon their boys, whose mind and character will thus be formed, not on their own national lines, but in accordance with the ideals of teachers drawn from a different race and inspired with the spirit of a different civilisation. It is not a whimsical apprehension, but a real one in my opinion, about which we may not hear much now but which is growing and will make itself heard before long.

"My Lord, we the people of the United Provinces are deeply grateful to Your Excellency's Government and to Sir James Meston for recommending to the Secretary of State the creation of an Executive Council in my Province, and to the Secretary of State for his gracious acceptance of Your Excellency's proposal; but that proposal has been rejected by the House of Lords, because some noble Lords with Indian experience considered it a revolutionary measure, as if the creation of an Executive Council meant the founding of a new republic in the United Provinces. Bombay and Madras are each under a Governor-in-Council. Bengal owes that boon to Your Excellency's liberal and generous statesmanship. The new province of Bihar and Orissa is equally indebted to Your Excellency for its Executive Council. In what respect would it be a revolutionary change to bestow the same gift upon an older, richer and more populous Province? The noble Lords seemed to find much satisfaction and security in an old order of things which is daily growing obsolete. They are welcome to the asylum they have sought for themselves for they have taken refuge in the traditions of the most powerful and most exclusive bureaucracy in the whole world. Nevertheless, they have, in my humble opinion, committed a grave mistake. They have disregarded the public opinion of India and disregarded it at a time when it should be conciliated. Here was a demand made, not by an infinitesimal section of the Indian community, as one noble Lord said, but by every class of the people of the United Provinces, for whose good opinion and good-will Government cares, a demand upon which Hindus and Mohammedans who are supposed to be always ready to fly at each other's throats were unanimous, upon which the aristocrats and the commoners were equally united, and which was supported by Sir James Meston, the popular and liberal-minded Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, by Your Excellency's Government and by the Secretary of State, a demand which was extremely moderate and reasonable in its nature and which meant nothing more than that a long-deferred hope raised by the liberal policy of the Government should now be fulfilled, and that a concession which had been made three years ago to the new

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province of Bihar and Orissa should be made to an older and more important Province, and which had been withheld from it because its then Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Hewett, who was brought up in different traditions did not like it; this demand has been rejected by the Lords on the flimsy, shadowy ground that the people did not want it, that their religious animosities forbade its concessions and that its concessions would revolutionise the administration. What would be the effect of this action of the Lords in the United Provinces, and indeed in the whole country? Your Excellency has rightly observed more than once in this Council that the present is not the time for political controversies and political agitations. The leaders of the various Indian communities have recognised this fact from the very commencement of the war, and have urged upon their countrymen the urgent and sacred duty of forgetting all domestic differences and rendering whole-hearted support to the King-Emperor and Country in this hour of fate in the life of civilized mankind. Their advice has been gladly, enthusiastically followed by the loyal Indian people, all political controversy is hushed, all domestic disputes are forgotten; and one recent and most striking proof of that is the Defence of India Act, the most drastic measure ever passed by the Government of India, a measure open to grave objections, but which was unanimously supported by the Indian Members of this Council; because with the fullest confidence in the justice and benevolent spirit of Your Excellency's remarkable administration, we, the representatives of the people, considered it against our loyal duty to Government to stir up controversy and thereby cause public alarm. This is how the Indians have acted in the present political situation; and the Government on their part have, we all most gratefully acknowledge, put off the consideration of all controversial measures in accordance with the wide-spread desire of the Indian people. But the Lords have chosen this of all moments for practically rejecting our demand, in spite of the just and wise warning of the Secretary of State. And the immediate effect of that sad blunder is that it has already caused deep disappointment to the people of my Province and may before long re-ignite political agitation there, which to my mind will be nothing short of a calamity. If this is the attitude of our ex-Viceroy and ex-Governors towards us during the war, what will it be after the war? They have been paying us high and extremely flattering compliments upon our loyalty and devotion to the British Crown; and yet in the same breath they tell us that we are in such a backward and primitive condition that even an Executive Council would be too good for us. My Lord, you can imagine the effect of these contrasted and contradictory statements upon our minds. The motto of short-sighted statesmanship has always been: Refuse a demand when you can grant it with grace; grant it when you cannot refuse it without peril. My Lord, my Province is one of the more advanced provinces of India, a Governor-in-Council was promised to it long ago, and henceforward, if I at all understand its temper and desire, it cannot rest contented with anything less than that. The concession of our demand for a Governor-in-Council will be one forward step towards the realisation of the ideal set forth in your Excellency's memorable Durbar despatch, namely, 'a larger measure of self-government under which India would consist of a number of administrations, autonomous in all Provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all, and possessing power to interfere in cases of misgovernment, but ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of Imperial concern'. My Lord, it is this policy of generous trust, ordered freedom, and friendly co-operation between the rulers and the ruled that has endeared Your Lordship's name to the heart of every Indian. Our claim for a closer association with the administration of the country, for a more effective co-operation with our rulers in all the departments of Government is in accordance with the spirit of that policy.

" My Lord, the war has demonstrated India's unswerving loyalty to British rule, which was never doubted by Your Excellency. We have noticed with sincere gratification the impression made upon a British public opinion by India's services to the King-Emperor and the Empire in these critical and fateful times. English statesmen have held out high hopes to us. The Under Secretary of State for India said the other day that India was not a

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dependent but a partner of the Empire. Even the hearts of colonial statesmen have softened towards us. All this has brought the fulfilment of our demands, such as a larger employment of Indians in the Civil and Military services of the country and a satisfactory solution of the question of the status of Indians in British colonies, much nearer to us than before. So long as the war lasts we shall not press any of our demands; but after the war, when the triumph of British arms is complete and peace is restored to the civilised world, we shall ask for a substantial concession of our demands not as a reward of our loyalty—for loyalty according to a high authority must be unconditional and must seek no reward—but as a right which we shall be justified in claiming as citizens of a free Empire.

“Of course, progress must be gradual, concessions must be made on cautious lines. We must not take the second step before taking the first. We must remember that in practical politics it is not logical argument but the logic of facts that tells, and we must fully trust in the high aims of British rule in India which, with all its defects and shortcomings, is yet, as J. S. Mill said, the best and purest in intention ever seen among mankind. On the other hand, My Lord, I appeal to Government and through the Government to the whole governing class in this country to win our true regard and affection by trusting us and trusting us as equal subjects of the King-Emperor; for the noble words of Jeremy Bentham are as true now as when they were first written: ‘In order to gain mankind one must appear to love them and the best way of appearing to love them is to love them in reality’”.

The Hon'ble Raja Sir Muhammad Ali Muhammad Khan :—“My Lord, with your permission, I beg sincerely to congratulate the Hon'ble Finance Minister for the able manner in which he has prepared the Budget. The year to which the Budget relates is exceptional inasmuch as we have for the first time in the history of this country to share the expenditure on the noble cause of the defence of the Empire, of which India should be proud. My only fears are that our finances did not permit of an allotment of a larger sum of money towards the war than has been budgeted for by our able Finance Minister.

“In normal times I would have pressed the need of the United Provinces for a handsome allotment towards Education and Sanitation and under other important heads, but this, My Lord, I do not think, is the proper time for it. However, a change, or rather a reduction, in the Budget for the United Provinces may be necessary owing to the deplorable action of the House of Lords in throwing out the proposal for an Executive Council for the United Provinces. Any saving that may thus accrue during the year should be employed on the crucial needs of the Provinces.

“My Lord, this decision of the House of Lords has come to us as a great shock and has created a great disappointment and uneasiness throughout the Provinces. I do not know the source of information of Lord MacDonnell who, in moving the Resolution in the House of Lords against the creation of an Executive Council, said that it was only a small number of people of my Provinces who wanted it and the majority were not in favour of it. I cannot but emphatically rebut this statement.

“My Lord, in all matters of administration it is the aspirations of the educated and thinking masses which play the important part in determining the public opinion. The Legislative Council of every Province is the recognised and effective medium of ascertaining the voice of the people through their representatives.

“My Lord, the majority of non-official Members in the Council of the United Provinces who voted in favour of the Executive Council did not warrant the statement made by Lord MacDonnell. But it appears that he, like others who have left this country long ago, is quite out of touch with what is going on here.

“These noblemen of the House of Lords, My Lord, would be well advised to support the Government of this country and to accept the advice of the

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Ruler on the spot. The decision of the House of Lords is really a severe punishment inflicted upon a very great section of deserving, worthy, and loyal subjects of His Majesty, and the reason of it, My Lord, is that we were *ultra* moderate in asking only for an Executive Council for our Provinces. The importance of our Provinces, My Lord, demands the creation of an Executive Council with a Governor, and I feel absolutely confident that the just Government of Your Lordship will be pleased to consider the feasibility of creating a Governorship for the United Provinces.

" My Lord, without any idea of jealousy or slight to the sister Provinces placed under Governors in Council, I beg leave to submit that the claims of the United Provinces in this respect are next to none in India.

" In conclusion, I beg to add that in my humble opinion it appears absolutely necessary that the enactment by which the Proclamation creating an Executive Council has to be tabled in both Houses of Parliament should be repealed. It is not the first occasion on which the House of Lords has been uncharitable in unduly interfering with matters connected with the administration of India.

" My Lord, this is really not the proper time to enter into any lengthy discussion on matters controversial, and every faithful subject of His Majesty would avoid, so far as possible, every kind of agitation at the present juncture; but, My Lord, the situation has been forced upon us by the House of Lords. "

The Hon'ble Mr. Sharp:—" My Lord, in that portion of his speech which dealt with Education, I understood the Hon'ble Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar to make two statements which should not go unnoticed. He said that only 3 per cent of the population are at school and drew from this the deduction that 97 per cent of the people are condemned to ignorance; and I think he added that this state of things was probably worse than in any country in the world. I need hardly say that this deduction is not correct. I also understood him to say that there are no Indians in the Imperial Service of the Education Department—"

The Hon'ble Mr. Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar:—" In the United Provinces."

The Hon'ble Mr. Sharp:—" I beg the Hon'ble Member's pardon. I thought his remark was general."

The Hon'ble Mr. Das:—" My Lord, the Hon'ble Finance Member has received quite a chorus of congratulations and felicitations—those offered to him in the columns of the newspapers and those he has received here. But as the Member in charge of Finance is accustomed to deal with the smallest copper, a pie, I desire to offer my pie of congratulations which may, I hope, be acceptable to him.

" I associate myself with most of the remarks which fell from the Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis, and I wish to refer to the last paragraph of his speech in which he referred to Your Excellency's coming departure. He referred to it with a sense of regret; no doubt, if it does come to pass, it will be a cause of regret. My Lord, misfortunes have often overtaken India, and the most recent misfortune was one to which reference was made by the last few speakers; I mean the attitude of the House of Lords with regard to the recommendations for an Executive Council for the United Provinces. Misfortunes have befallen India, but the worst misfortune would be that which would remove the commander of the vessel at a time when a storm was blowing, when the waves were dashing against the ship of administration, when there were small clouds on the horizon, the future magnitude of which could not at present be gauged. To remove the commander of the vessel at a time like this would be perhaps the worst calamity that has befallen India. It is not the qualifications of the captain, or the commander, the man at the helm that count. He may have any amount of knowledge

of steering his vessel, but the most important thing in troublous times is the confidence of the people in his efficient commandership. If the people have not confidence in him, the people themselves will contribute to the destruction of the vessel, whereas if the people have confidence in him, their conduct, their behaviour, their steadiness, will save the vessel in perilous times. I do hope that such a calamity to India will be saved by the King, as I am sure India will be saved from such a calamity by God.

" My Lord, about this time last year, I asked one or two questions in this Council in order to ascertain the number of Indian Christians in India, and as to whether there were any special provisions with regard to their education. The answer given to me was that the number of Indian Christians is a little over 3½ millions, and in answer to the question whether there was any special provision made for the education of this class, Government said, ' It is understood that special provision is made in certain places for the education of Indian Christian boys and girls, but the Government of India have no precise information on the point '. There is no provision for this purpose even in the present Budget. This answer shows that the Government of India have left 3½ millions of people in the cold. There is actually an apathy, there is a want of concern in the education of these people; and it is no wonder that abroad, thousands of miles away from this place, queries have been put as to whether the Indian Christians have not rendered themselves useful to Government in public services, and useful generally in the private walks of life. If that community had a representative here, he would certainly have been in a position, from his seat of authority, to answer those questions, to show how unjustifiable, how underserving,—if the Government of India means to show apathy to this class,—is such apathy. But there is no representative of the class here, and consequently, as a member of that community, I beg to draw the attention of Government to the fact that in several departments, almost in all departments of the public service, members of the Indian Christian community have rendered distinguished service. If we go to the Medical College in Calcutta, we shall find that there have been professors who have rendered very useful service and added to the popularity of the institution. If we go to the Senate House in Calcutta, we will find there things to remind us that the Indian Christian community has not been behind other communities in fostering and helping onward the progress of education. It will not be possible for me to refer to the lives of these men, for if I were to do so, I suppose the time limit would terminate my articulate life here long before I could describe their lives.

" My Lord, as regards the loyalty of the Indian Christians, that was put to a very severe test in the last century, and yet I find that, notwithstanding the answer given a year ago, there is no provision in the present Budget for the education of the boys and girls of the Indian Christian community; and yet there cannot be the least doubt that they have need of special education; and the reason for this neglect seems to be that they have no representative in this Council.

" My Lord, it is a strange and curious fact that the Indian Christian community is the only Indian community whose laws of succession, marriage, testamentary dispositions, and divorce were forged on the anvil of this Legislative Council. Laws of succession, laws of marriage, form as it were the foundations of any society or community. Hindus and Muhammadans have their laws which are drawn from the *Shastras*, etc., and those laws of succession, marriage, and divorce, which apply to Indian Christians at the present day, were not made to suit the requirements of that society, but though they had been originally framed to suit the requirements of another society, they were extended to this society. So it was really like putting new wine into old bottles. The result has not been very favourable, but simply because there is no representative of this community on this Council, the inconvenience which it suffers has not been brought to the notice of the Government. The last census shows that between 1901 and 1911 the community has grown by 32.6 per cent. It has been more than doubled since 1881 and it has been trebled since 1872.

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[Mr. Das.]

" In referring to this matter, I should like it to be distinctly understood that it is not my intention, far from my intention, to disturb any of the existing representatives in this Council. The Indian Christian community have been treated with kindness and confidence by the Hindus, Muhammadans and non-official Europeans. Electorate bodies consisting of these men have elected Indian Christians as their representatives in the Legislative Councils. I would be earning for myself and for the community ingratitude if I were to say that there should be a seat for the Indian Christian community at the expense of any other community. But what I do believe, Sir, is that there is ample room if the latch of the door is a little slackened, there is ample accommodation for one more seat. I will conclude this part of my appeal with the Latin expression *at spes non fracta*.

" Reference has been made, My Lord, very often in this Council to the industrial problem before us and the question was raised in very eloquent terms by the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee when he was addressing the Council a few minutes ago. The insistence with which this question has been brought forward, the earnestness with which it has been pressed forward, shows that there is a very strong feeling in the country about it. At least I should like to draw the attention of Government to the existence of such a feeling. The feeling in the country is that Government ought to feel its obligation to help the development of industries in this country. Every Government, of course, is under the obligation to develop the industries of the country in order to bring about and increase the prosperity of the country; but in this particular case an additional moral obligation has been superadded. There has been an industrial awakening in the country during the last few years, and this industrial awakening has led to a study of the industries of India in the past. As a study of history of the past has led the people to believe that the decadence, decline and the present wretched condition of industries in India are due to a great extent to the insalutary influence of British rule. That is the feeling of the country and hence arises a moral obligation on the part of Government. That is the feeling of the weaver who has taken to the plough, leaving his loom; that is the feeling of the artizan whose hand stands paralysed to-day; that is the feeling of the artizan's son who took to English education with a view to get employment as a clerk, but failed to secure such employment; and that is the feeling of an old man who has associated intimately with artizans during the last quarter of a century and has noticed their struggle for existence. We Indians, My Lord, always look upon people in authority with feelings due to a father and naturally expect sympathy from them. I know feeling is mere sentiment, and a sentiment has no value at the Royal Exchange in London; but a sentiment is an invaluable asset to the credit of a foreign Government. I do not wish to go into the details as to how and under what circumstances British influence exercised an insalutary influence over Indian industries. That may land me on dangerous ground, that may lead me to exhume the bones of people in authority who exercised their influence and the influence of their position and authority to bring about injury to the interests of India and such dead bones turn living human beings into dogs. At a time like this, when we were driven the other day to the necessity of passing an emergency measure for the safety of the Empire, I do not propose to enumerate or analyse or examine the reasons. I have very often noticed that the Hon'ble Member in charge of Commerce and Industry in his replies used the expression 'Government cannot do this, Government cannot do that.' While listening to his replies sometimes, My Lord, I felt as if I was listening to the voice and the sentiments of the London Chamber of Commerce, and I admired his speech as a successful feat of ventriloquism. My Lord, such replies in a debate in this Council do not produce the balm of Gilead to disappointed feelings; they simply tend to intensify the feelings.

" My Lord, I feel that, at no time in the history of England were the principles of international justice, the principles of international morality, and those noble principles which regulate the reparation for wrongs done by a stronger nation to a weaker, at no time were these principles so prominently before the British nation as they are now; in consequence of the wrong done by

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Germany to Belgium. The whole nation's sympathy has been aroused. The whole nation has been roused with righteous indignation and millions have formed themselves,—the whole nation in fact, young and old, rich and poor, have formed themselves into one body, one soul,—the whole nation is (as if it were one man) inspired with a martyr's fiery zeal. On the other hand, we have a Viceroy whose keynote of administration has been sympathy for the people and confidence in the people, and who has abided by that policy in times of suffering, bereavement and trial. I should at this time beg, entreat and beseech the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Department of Commerce and Industry (unfortunately he has gone away at this time) to take note of this : not only to concentrate his attention on the economic principles which govern commerce in England, but to take note of past events in the past connection of England with India ; to take note of the moral obligation which arises out of that past connection, and to address himself to the problem before him ; to take the people into his confidence and then to sit down and see if anything cannot be done to help the people in this industrial awakening—"

His Excellency the President :—" I must ask the Hon'ble Member to conclude."

The Hon'ble Mr. Das :—" I beg to conclude."

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy :—" My Lord, the Finance Minister who can do without additional taxation in spite of an estimated deficit of 9½ million pounds sterling in the two years covered by the Financial Statement, certainly deserves the best thanks of the country. I do not know which to admire most in the Hon'ble Sir William Meyer,—his sympathy, his level-headedness or his resourcefulness in a situation the inherent difficulty of which has been increased tenfold by its extreme uncertainty. The maintenance of exchange for one thing, was enough to strain to the utmost the energy and the capacity of a lesser genius. The financial trouble of 1907 and 1908 was as nothing compared to the present crisis, and yet sterling exchange is as firm to-day as ever, and Council Bills for fairly heavy amounts have begun to be placed on the market at 1s 4d. for Telegraphic Transfers and 3½d penny less for D. A. Bills. The tone of the market from all reports is very firm. This is a complete answer to Mr. Enever Todd's alarming description of the situation in the *Investor's Review*. If trade had continued as dull as in autumn last, a further and dangerous depletion of the Gold Standard Reserve would perhaps have become inevitable ; but indulgence in hypothetical complications is needless. The position is decidedly brighter now than it ever has been during the last eight months, and it is but just that the Minister who has steered us safe through the crisis should have our warmest felicitations.

" My Lord, the financial strength of Government, so skilfully maintained by the Hon'ble Sir William Meyer, ought to inspire general confidence. Of the net estimated deficit of 9½ million pounds sterling referred to above our special war expenditure accounts for 6·7 million pounds sterling. The balance is less than the amount of normal annual borrowing for capital outlay on railways. Ample provision has also been made for railway expenditure in 1915-16. Indeed, practically the whole of our estimated borrowings next year will be necessary for financing our railways and irrigation works, the capital outlay on both being taken at £9·1 million pounds sterling. And this despite of a heavy falling-off in revenue synchronous with extra heavy unremunerative expenditure. The total of our ordinary debt, as the Hon'ble Finance Minister has pointed out to us, is negligible. It has gone on diminishing heavily, until we have reached the extremely low level of 12·8 million pounds sterling against a productive debt of 261·4 million pounds sterling. The Rupee Paper too continues firm. The total unfunded debt of 20½ million pounds sterling is not onerous. The Government Reserves are ample, and the estimated closing provincial balances at the end of 1915-16 are sufficiently strong. The whole position is thus satisfactory. There is absolutely no cause for alarm. On the contrary, business is looking up, and the prospects of normal revenue are distinctly encouraging."

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" My Lord, the announcement in the Budget relating to the proposed Rupee Loan demands a few observations. The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer has made a significant reference to the terms and the character of the loan. Evidently, this issue will be of a special nature. There is absolutely nothing to be said against the reservation by Government of complete liberty of action. All announcements of loan are subject to this necessary condition. What is peculiar in the present statement is the allusion to a possible variation in the usual terms. We do not know what schemes the Hon'ble Finance Minister has in view, and it would be premature to attempt to make any helpful suggestions; but my submission is that Government will be pleased to very carefully consider the probable effects of a change in the level of interest upon the existing heavy loans. I do not suggest that a change is unnecessary; on the contrary, I am of opinion that if in the exceptional condition of the market the three-and-a-half per cents do not gain in popularity within a short time, the proposed loan must carry a higher rate of interest to make it attractive to the Indian investing public. But the possible results of such a change must receive due consideration at the hands of Government before it is made. Should the present market for three-and-a-half per cents be further depressed, it will have the effect of a heavy imposition which is likely to cause not only loss to the holders, but discontent. There is also the necessity for caution lest an increased rate of interest forces Government Paper into an undesirable competition with the Port Trust and Municipal Debentures. The position requires delicate handling, and it is eminently desirable that the conditions of the new loan should be settled by Government in consultation with financial experts and dealers. The Hon'ble Finance Minister will have a precedent for the suggested course in the procedure adopted by the Chancellor of the British Exchequer not very long ago with conspicuous success. A secret conference of a few trusted representatives should be able to give Government sound advice in this matter of the new loan. The question of issuing metallic 4 per cent Bearer Bonds for small amounts, redeemable at short notice through the Post Office, may also be considered by Government before determining finally the particulars of the proposed loan. These will possibly attract into the field a new and humbler class of investors.

" My Lord, the war has focussed public attention in India on the Post Office Savings Banks. The institution is popular, and discharges very important functions. The deposits had gone on increasing heavily until the war created somewhat like a panic among the common people which led to sudden withdrawals. This of necessity caused a great strain upon the financial resources of Government, at a time when they were adversely affected in various other ways to an enormous extent. It has likewise caused a large loss of interest to the misguided depositors. It is welcome news that ' the drain has materially slackened '. Before long we expect a healthy reaction. But I would request Government to consider the advisability of increasing the rate of interest upon these deposits by, say, half a rupee per cent. We have here to deal with a poor class of investors to whom any favours shown in this direction will be most welcome. Sometime ago the rate was higher. I do not know why it was reduced; in my humble opinion, a slight increase will popularise these banks still further, and Government will have always ready to hand an increasingly large amount of cash for remunerative employment. The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer has done a great deal to make the deposits attractive. I hope he will increase their attractiveness in the way suggested even though it involves a small addition to our annual expenditure in interest charge. Rupee Loans are floated generally at a discount; the interest is paid on the face value. It would be far more economical to pay the same rate of interest upon a debt which is raised at par.

" My Lord, the Hon'ble Finance Minister has very thoughtfully added to the Financial Statement a detailed account of the provincial balances. It is helpful to a degree. The value of the annual Budget would be still further enhanced by the addition of a detailed statement of the expenditure for Education and Sanitation, both Imperial and Provincial, recurring and non-recur-

ring. In the Financial Secretary's Memorandum details of the Capital Expenditure for Railways and Irrigation are shown separately. It helps the public to have a clear grasp of the situation. An account, on similar lines as far as possible, regarding our Expenditure for the promotion of education and sanitation would dispel misconceptions, though it is not capital outlay, and would give us a knowledge of the details which is the first enabling condition for helpful criticism. At present we cannot ascertain from the memorandum what and how many schemes are proposed to be financed and what and how many are held back. This absence of fuller information may, and sometimes does, give rise to misapprehension.

" My Lord, the serious situation created by the unexpected depression in cotton has been handled by Government with commendable promptitude and boldness, and it is just to mention that the action has had upon the people a great moral effect. Prices have stiffened somewhat; a still better tone should prevail in the trade before the next *khari* is sown. The important question, however, that confronts us is, whether the cultivation should actually be restricted. I would not, upon the materials before me, hazard an opinion one way or the other. I only submit, for the consideration of Government, that careful inquiries should immediately be made, with a view to ascertain the quantity of unsold cotton in the market. If in the result it appears that there is still a large stock of it, the proposed restriction upon cultivation should be enforced; if, on the other hand, the inquiries show that the stock is small, all restrictive action on the part of Government should be abandoned. Cultivation cannot be changed all at once without some inconvenience and loss to both the cultivator and Government, as in the event of a change a revision of the revenue assessment on a lower scale must become necessary. Any further interference with the normal course of cultivation should accordingly be undertaken after a close examination of the needs of the trade.

" My Lord, the Hon'ble Sir William Meyer has referred to the injurious effects upon the internal trade of the stampede among the Marwaris at large business centres. It was an imprudent move, inconsistent with the shrewd business habits of these people. It is, however, a reassuring fact which Government ought to know that individual Marwaris here and there did stick to their business, and prominent among them was the Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur Sir Kasturchand Daga in the Central Provinces. This premier banker in India was throughout the crisis always ready to finance trade, and did finance a large volume of it even at some personal sacrifice.

" My Lord, in dealing with the Financial Statement on 9th March current, the Hon'ble Home Member drew public attention to the paramount necessity of increasing our expenditure for the Police, and, truly, a more important department of civil administration it is difficult to find. The Police force, connected as it is with the every-day administration, renders perhaps a greater service than even the military. I have as high a conception of the arduous duties of the police as the Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock, but I go further even than he in my recommendations for larger expenditure for the department. In my humble opinion, there is ample scope for this purpose for years to come. The Indian Police Commission found that 'the police force is far from efficient; it is generally regarded as corrupt and oppressive; and it has utterly failed to secure the confidence and cordial co-operation of the people.' Efforts at improvement have been made all these years at some considerable expenditure, but they have so far touched only the fringe of the problem. The public verdict to-day is hardly more favourable. The great defect is the Police is as disassociated from the people as ever, and does not enjoy their confidence. This cannot be all the fault of the people. The Police must inspire public confidence and attract public co-operation. It has admittedly not done this; it has thus failed to discharge one of its most important functions. This absence of confidence and co-operation between the Police and the people is not endemic in India. It was noticed even in England by the

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English Police Commission of 1839, but whereas there the Police has by its subsequent excellent conduct become the trusted friend of the people, the Indian Police, by following an opposite line of policy, is becoming isolated more and more every day, shunned and distrusted by all. The Indian Police Commission made certain recommendations for improvement on the analogy of the Indian Judicial and Revenue Departments, but these did not go far enough. In my humble opinion, the Provincial Police Service should be placed on the same level as the Provincial Judicial and the Provincial Executive service, with the same scale of emoluments and the same position, and the qualifications for appointment to it should be as high. It is only by the large admission of men with the highest educational qualifications into the service that it can be effectively improved. Patchwork reform will not do, but a root-and-branch reform is needed. A sprinkling of graduates among a large mass of indifferent material cannot effect much. It is a matter worthy of notice that the experiments so far made in some provinces of appointing a few lawyers to the Police Service as Court Inspectors appear to have failed. Most of them, especially in Bengal, have left the service after several years. There must be some reason for their action. It is not every lawyer who earns a handsome income at the bar; yet why is it that these lawyers have preferred to face starvation there to continuing in office under Government with pay prospects? This is a case for inquiry, and the sooner it is undertaken the better for all concerned. Investigation of cases also is as unscientific as possible. An expert from London should be able to suggest a remedy for the existing evils. The cost incurred in securing the services of such an expert will be money well spent. I am confident this matter of Police reform will engage the earnest attention of Government.

" My Lord, we are to-day afflicted by the thought that before we meet again at Delhi, Your Excellency will have completed your term of office. Your Excellency has by your remarkably able and sympathetic guidance, inspired in the people such great confidence that the prospect of your retirement before the war comes to a successful termination is not only distressing to them, but is viewed by them with deep and unfeigned concern. Amidst physical suffering and bereavements, amidst administrative worries and dangers, Your Excellency has been as a rock unmoved in your firm faith in the nobility of your mission and the high purpose of your enlightened statesmanship. India can ill spare such a Ruler now. As a representative Member of this Council, I humbly pray that His Majesty will be graciously pleased to extend Your Excellency's term of office at least till the war is over".

The Hon'ble Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi:—" My Lord, I congratulate the Hon'ble the Finance Member on the highly satisfactory able and clear Financial Statement that he has presented to the Council. During the financial year that is about to close the Government have had to deal with an emergency as unprecedented as it was unexpected. This time last year no one in this Council had any premonition of the war which is now raging and the Budget for 1914-15 was prepared on a peace basis. Nevertheless, since August last and onward war conditions with all the consequent dislocation of trade, financial panic and falling off of revenue have prevailed and yet, as the Hon'ble the Finance Member has proved to conviction, the financial position of the Government of India was never stronger than it is to-day. True, the estimated surplus of £1½ million for 1914-15 has been converted into a deficit of £4 million, while under Unfunded Debt there has been a drain of nearly £7 million. But this does not by any means disclose an alarming position of affairs in view of the heavy strain caused by the war.

" The revised estimates for 1914-15 show decline of revenue under many heads, the largest being under State Railways. An unfounded sense of insecurity led to large withdrawals from Post Office Savings Banks. The trade with enemy countries entirely ceased, while trade in other directions languished. The position became as grave as can be conceived and we are still in the full tide of the crisis. But the credit of the Government remains unshaken and the financial position is as sound as ever. To other difficulties that the Government have had to face has been added the alarming rise in prices which has

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led to the restriction of the export of wheat. It is gratifying to note that prices are now easier and the prospects of the next crops most cheering. In the budget estimates for 1915-16 no additional taxation has been announced and this is a fact upon which the Government must be congratulated.

"The Hon'ble the Finance Member proposes to raise a loan of 4½ crores later on in India, or to increase the borrowing from the Gold Standard Reserve. He has rightly proceeded on the assumption that the war may continue throughout the next year. The reduction of the Railway programme from £12 to £8 million is a wise step and the curtailment of expenditure in other directions is inevitable. It is particularly gratifying to me that, as announced by Your Excellency a few days ago at Calcutta, 10 lakhs of rupees have been given to the Calcutta University for hostels. The sanitary condition of Bengal is very bad, some additional allotment under this head would have been a great boon in Bengal.

"My Lord, the terrible drain in men and money demanded by the war, shows as yet no signs of abatement, but we are convinced that the worst is over and the tide will soon take a decisive turn. When at length peace is restored, the British Empire, of which India is so important a part, will enter upon a fresh period of financial and material prosperity".

The Hon'ble Mr. Marshall Reid:—"My Lord, on a previous occasion I referred to this Budget as being essentially a business-like one, and it certainly cannot be described in the language of high financial authorities as 'over-cautious.' It forms a pleasing contrast to a budget of not very many years ago when, to meet a not unusual temporary strain, taxation, some of it of a rather parochial and petty character, was resorted to: unfortunately this temporary taxation, like its great predecessor the income-tax, has still continued with us. To meet the unusual situation unusual borrowings have been necessary, and we have again in this connection to recognise the acumen of the Hon'ble the Finance Minister: low discount rates in London evidenced the large sums of money which were awaiting investment and the Government have very properly resorted to that market. Where can English money find more secure investment than in a prosperous and loyal India with enormous securities in its railways, and—in spite of what some of my colleagues have been saying—very profitable railways indeed? Railway construction, for which some of us have pressed, incidentally provides gilt-edged securities which on occasions like this stand us in very good stead. We have cheerfully accepted eight millions as our railway allotment for the coming year, but we hope that the deficit will in future be made up to us, and that a higher standard, something like 15 or 16 millions, will be adopted for the future.

"I desire to offer one little criticism on the budget: the possibility of a 4½ crore rupee loan has not been well received in the market, and a good market is of paramount importance to Government: I assume that the operation is not seriously contemplated, and no doubt the Finance Minister has other alternatives up his sleeve: I would suggest that he should put those other alternatives in the forefront and put the 4½ crore loan in the background.

"I regret, My Lord, it has been necessary to retard the progress of New Delhi. Some Hon'ble Members and their constituents may have reasonably considered that the scheme has its defects as every scheme in this world has: but it is a settled fact, sealed by the command of the King-Emperor and supported by the very strong argument of decentralisation. I hope that the Delhi to be—call it ceremonial or what you will—will not take long to quicken into a living city.

"The development of indigenous industries has taken a very prominent place in the budget debate. I regret that no practical conclusion has been arrived at, but it is no wonder, for it is indeed a very complex problem. Hon'ble Members have generally been agreed that the disease of backwardness

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exists, and they have almost all suggested the same remedy, Government financial aid, but I have not heard any serious attempt to diagnose the disease. My own personal experience in industrial matters is somewhat limited, but I would offer my suggestions for what they are worth: the first essential in industrial success is industry and energy: are the people of India industrious and enterprising in the Western sense of the word? I fear the answer must be, 'No'. I have not myself during my experience seen any great industrial enthusiasm: I know of classes of workers whose hours and whose days of work are regulated by the price of food-grains, and whose ambition is limited by the immediate needs of the mouths they have to feed. Then there is the rather better educated class whose western counterpart combines brains and hands in harmony to raise the standard of industrial development: that better educated class which we have in India and which we should expect to do this work, have not yet fully appreciated the dignity of manual labour: under such conditions progress and efficiency in industry must remain imperfect. There was a striking illustration at the outbreak of the war as to the extent to which Indian industry has progressed: merchants sought to replace German wares in the Far East and other markets by Indian manufactures. My own experience and that of many others was that we were met with the reply that Indian manufactures were unreliable, irregular and could not be guaranteed. The remedy must be slow, and it is difficult to know where to begin; but much will be gained if the disease and the trouble can be truly diagnosed. The perspective of the question has been somewhat upset by the assumption that German industry and enterprise were to be destroyed, and were to be replaced by indigenous industries which would grow up in a night. But Hon'ble Members should be under no delusion in this matter. It has taken years of patient toil to develop the spirit of industrialism in Germany and it cannot be destroyed, for it is the very life-blood of the country.

"Those who know the facts will confirm what I have said and will not desire for the good of the world to see German industries and enterprise destroyed. India, in her own interests, certainly cannot wish to see German industries destroyed, for when the end of the war comes we shall look to regain one of the largest and most important markets for the produce of this country. The fate of the British dye scheme shows that England fully recognises the essential features in the position: the original scheme provided for £1½ millions of Government money and £3 millions were to be subscribed by those who were interested in the manufacture. A fortnight ago we learned by telegram that the scheme had been altered to £1½ millions Government money and £½ millions public money: we learned yesterday that the scheme had been dropped entirely because hard-headed Englishmen and hard-headed Scotchmen had made up their minds that to compete in the market against a foreign article for which they are not well placed is mere waste of money. Now, what can Government usefully do in the way of developing industries in India? Hitherto, from my own experience I can say that they have done much useful work in demonstration; the practice has been for Government, when they are satisfied that an industry is likely to succeed, to buy experimental machinery and lease it to those, whether Europeans or Indians, who are willing to take it up, work it, develop it and report to them the results. Your Excellency, I regret to say that there is only one Presidency in India which is completely equipped in this respect. If I were to make a recommendation to Your Excellency's Government it would be to lay aside a considerable sum,—even take a little from our railway allotment of 15 millions—in order to equip and develop departments of industry in this country. I finish as I began by congratulating the Hon'ble Member on his most business-like budget and trust that the courage which he has shown in framing it may be duly rewarded."

The Hon'ble Raja Abu Jafar:—"My Lord, I have no desire to criticise the Budget or to discuss the various aspects thereof. But I cannot refrain from expressing my entire satisfaction at the fact that the Finance Member has been able to produce such a satisfactory Budget at such an abnormal time without imposing fresh burdens on the country, which in her

present economic condition she is quite unable to bear. It is a triumph for which the Hon'ble the Finance Member deserves our heartiest congratulations.

"As a representative of the United Provinces I cannot help expressing the deep feeling of disappointment with which the people of my Province have heard of the attitude adopted by the House of Lords in the matter of the creation of an Executive Council. My Lord, it was a wise and necessary measure of reform which Your Excellency's Government recommended Parliament for acceptance. Our Province has been fully ripe for such a reform for many years. It is obvious that the Governors of the provinces are overburdened with the heavy and daily growing work and responsibilities and under such circumstances an Executive Council was most essential in the interest of greater efficiency in the administration. In the course of the debate in the House of Lords it was pointed out that only a small body of opinion in our Province was in favour of this proposal. With due deference to their exalted knowledge, I may be permitted to say that this statement is quite contrary to actual facts. I know that an overwhelming consensus of opinion in the United Provinces is keenly in favour of such a reform, and I earnestly trust that the Government of India will again press the attention of the Home authorities to the urgency of the reform and secure the necessary sanction at an early date."

The Hon'ble Mr. Barua:—"My Lord, I take this opportunity of joining hands with my colleagues in congratulating the Hon'ble Finance Minister for so successfully wading through a year of great strain and stress. We cannot but admire the great tact and foresight with which he manipulated the extraordinary financial situations created during the year from time to time. The prompt steps he took to avert a threatened break in exchange, the timely strengthening of the Presidency Banks and the credit of the Post Office Savings Banks, the facilities for easier encashment of Currency Notes, all speak of the great resourcefulness and ability of the Hon'ble Finance Member, which not only saved a threatened financial crisis and dislocation of trade and commerce, but had also important political consequences in restoring confidence of those who were upset by misguided theories about the war. The adjustment of the finances to different heads of expenditure, allowing progress on all heads with only such restrictions as are unavoidable, similarly point to the great skill and practical wisdom of the Finance Minister, which we cannot but admire. The changes in some forms of accounts which he has introduced both this year and the last are also of much practical utility and I feel sure have been greatly appreciated by many of my friends as by me. We are grateful to Sir William Meyer for all the pains he has taken, and we are happy that at such a critical time we have the services of so able, cautious and sympathetic a Finance Minister. We are equally grateful to Your Excellency that your broad-hearted sympathy and feeling for the people of India have saved them from any fresh taxation as a consequence of the war.

"If we review the spirit of this Session of our Council we feel, from the interpellations made and resolutions moved, that the things that have greatly exercised the minds of the Indian Members are the high prices of food grains and the development of industries. These two questions are really predominant everywhere to all thinking minds in India.

"The Hon'ble Commerce Member has given sympathetic consideration to both so far as they have been brought forward. The bold and comprehensive step—as he calls it—which is going to be taken about the export of wheat is perhaps the best under the circumstances stated and reasons given by him, and I greatly hope that the desired relief will come out of it and it will prove to be the best and most reliable method. I am sorry to find, however, that the project appears to be confined to wheat alone. It is not the fact, however, that the rise of prices is confined to wheat alone; it extends to many other food grains and stuffs in a greater or lesser degree. It will of course be absurd to ask the Government to take the same steps with regard to all. But one other item there is which, I think, deserves equal treatment—I mean rice. As wheat is

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[*Mr. Barua.*]

the staple food in some parts of India, so is rice in many other parts; and the rise of price has been as significant in the case of rice as in that of wheat. I understand there is an export duty on rice exported from Burma. Much of that rice comes to and is consumed in Bengal and Assam too. So the effects of that taxation does not so much come to the relief of India. The rise of price in Bengal and Assam has of late years been phenomenal, and this year the price in some districts of Assam has been singularly exceptional. I think rice therefore is also a commodity in regard to which the same precautions should be taken as in regard to wheat: and I greatly hope that the Hon'ble Commerce Member will see his way to include both rice and wheat in his scheme of Government control of export.

"With regard to industries we are grateful for all the steps that the Hon'ble Mr. Clark has shown us have been taken. I venture to think, however, that those steps are not enough to meet the present situation and aspirations of India. The question is a vast one and cannot be discussed or decided off hand. India cannot be judged on the lines of England in respect of her industrial undertakings or propensities. And the policy that works well in England cannot be expected to apply to India. She looks to the Government to shape her in the industrial field by special measures suitable to herself. The question of developing Indian industries has been exercising the minds not only of the Indians alone but also of many European officials who are anxious to push India on to prosperity; as one of them I may point to our good Commissioner to my right. But under the present policy of Government they have to make a halt when they come to the question of ways and means. I respectfully submit, My Lord, that a more extensive and liberal policy is necessary to be shaped for India on its own lines. Nothing short of a policy like the Railway policy will meet the demands of the country, and I feel convinced the country will be prepared to bear the burden. (Bounties, subsidies, and even partnership by Government as well as guidance and supervision are in the present stage of India necessary to induce private capital, which is so shy, to come out to the field of enterprise) when the people will under such guidance and support be widely and extensively trained in western methods of business and will begin to have a confidence in their own undertakings, there will be no longer any need of such extra privileges; but till then the Government should I think be prepared to conceive and shape a comprehensive policy to help the people. It is not the time to-day to dilate on this vast subject. All I beg to submit is that it will be no labour lost to Government to consider seriously the subject and formulate a policy of its own to make possible the rapid development of this vast Empire into an industrially and commercially prosperous country.

"Not the least important of the works of this Council is the introduction of the Hindu University Bill, which has been hailed with satisfaction by many of my hon'ble colleagues and introduced with such a charming and sympathetic speech by the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Bill. This Bill will mark an epoch-making change in the policy of Government hitherto followed in the matter of education. I must admit that I have not as yet been able to disabuse myself of the misgivings shared by some of my friends about the ultimate effects of the new university and the altered policy of the Government. (Let us hope that the outcome of this University will not be a revival of all the mischief that Hindu orthodoxy had brought upon India in the past, that it will not re-enact the domination of caste over caste and the creation of faction over faction, making the regeneration of India on modern lines impossible or remote, that it will not counteract the unifying influence of English education) or make Hindus, Muhammadans and other sections of the Indian population vie; with each other] in moving on parallel lines which can never meet

"To speak a few words about my own Province. In my speech on this occasion last year I alluded among other things to the great and trying need of the Province for improved communications. This year I intend to return briefly to the same subject and to mention in particular the matter of railway

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extensions. The opening of the superb Hardinge Bridge should see the dawn of a very bright era in the matter of increased railway facilities for Assam. With the Eastern Bengal Railway line made broad gauge (a project which all interested devoutly hope will be accelerated) as far as Amingaon and Tangla will give no breach of gauge between Lower and Central Assam and Calcutta. The extension of the Eastern Bengal Railway system from Tangla up the north bank of the Brahmaputra into the important tea districts of Darrang and Lakhimpur is a matter which should continue to receive due consideration ; such extension would benefit not only the exporters of tea but the people of the north bank of the Brahmaputra generally and would also give Government another important strategic line to the north-east frontier. Then there is the question of linking up Assam and Burma by railway, a subject alluded to in Your Excellency's speech on the occasion of the opening of the Hardinge Bridge. Burma, I venture to think, will be as interested in such a scheme as Assam, especially those who have cause to remember the recent exploits of the *Emden* in the Bay of Bengal. We shall be interested to hear the results of the several reconnaissance surveys of routes for such a railway, and we hope that this very important matter will continue to receive the very careful attention it deserves.

"Another point that I would take the liberty of briefly alluding to on this occasion is that the Province is keenly feeling its complete want of representation in the bench of the Calcutta High Court, within whose jurisdiction the Province has all along been put. Up to date there has not been a single Assamese Judge in that honourable Court. The want of qualified men might have been a cause of this in the past. But now, I venture to think, that cause no longer exists and there are men fit to hold the post of a High Court Judge, and I hope such men will not be wanting in the future. I greatly hope and sincerely pray that in the interests of and in justice to the Province Your Excellency will be graciously pleased to give the matter your due consideration.

"In conclusion, My Lord, may I be allowed to submit that Your Excellency's approaching retirement is really becoming a matter of grave concern in all parts of India. We feel that the saddest moments of Your Excellency's life have been spent in India, and it may be cruel to ask Your Excellency to spend more of your time in the service of this country ; but if we can do so without hurting Your Excellency's feelings we would solicit that if His Gracious Majesty, in response to Indian feeling, be prepared to extend Your Excellency's period of Viceroyalty in this Empire at least till the end of the war and perhaps for six months afterwards, Your Excellency may be pleased to consent to vouchsafe to us the privilege of being governed by you till then."

At this point the Council adjourned till half-past two. On re-assembling—

The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoy said :—"My Lord, the exceptional circumstances of the year enjoin upon us caution in dealing with the Financial Statement and the excellence of the Budget for the ensuing year limits to an inconvenient degree the scope of useful comment. The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer has taken the country by surprise by squaring the accounts without fresh taxation. It is a bold attempt in which he has the good wishes of the whole community. I beg on behalf of my constituents to congratulate him on his Budget. The chief point of interest is that he has made the country almost forget the serious economic and financial effects of the war.

"My Lord, the Hon'ble Finance Minister is right in providing for a fresh Rupee Loan. I have always held, and I emphasised the point last year, that the Indian money market is not fully exploited by Government for their annual borrowings. In the current financial year the Hon'ble Sir William Meyer for the first time raised the amount of Rupee issue to five crores. He may have had his doubts, but I never had any doubt about the success of his policy. In fact, I pointed out that more than five crores could easily be

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raised and the facts of the last loan have amply testified to the soundness of my contention. The total amount of tender was nearly 12 crores (₹11,76,57,900) and the average rate of accepted tenders was ₹95-9-7. It may be that one Province took up the loan more largely than another, but that does not affect the position of India as a whole. The point is, more money can be raised in this country. Ordinarily, therefore, we should look to the Indian market more than the London market for funds for our capital outlay. It is more to our interest to borrow largely in India. Since the War has introduced new conditions into the market, I share the doubts of Government that unless it is over shortly, the whole of the 4½ crores wanted this time may not be raised on the usual terms. The Hon'ble Finance Minister has reserved to himself the right to vary the terms according to the needs of the situation. I only hope he will bear carefully in mind that, although the higher rate of interest may ensure the success of the new loan, it will as sure as anything damage the popularity permanently of the pre-war stock. This will be prejudicial to large interests, and perhaps to the success of our subsequent loans. There is thus need for extreme caution in floating the loan. It is indeed possible to counteract the effects of an increased rate of interest by regulating the conditions, and we await with anxious interest the Hon'ble Sir William Meyer's further pronouncements on the subject. If the proposed loan affects the pre-war stock to a large extent, the existing balances here and in England should be drawn upon more largely by Government.

" My Lord, the Hon'ble Finance Minister has also referred in his introductory speech to the character of the proposed loan. It is difficult to form an exact idea of what he means, and this is a matter in which a fuller statement would have been unwise. The only point I would now press upon his attention is that, along with the conditions of the new loan, he will be pleased to consider the advisability of issuing in future special 4 per cent railway loans. These are bound to be very popular.

" My Lord, I cannot condemn the curtailment of expenditure to which pointed reference has been made by the Hon'ble Sir William Meyer, but I beg to submit that it has caused difficulty in the provinces. In the Bombay Presidency many a necessary expenditure has had to be put off indefinitely. From the official speeches on our Provincial Budget it appears that Government had to reduce considerable amounts which Government had hoped to spend mostly on the Borstal Jail at Dharwar, and to reduce the expenditure on jails to its very minimum. The provision for the reorganisation of the police had to be cut down, so much so that 'those responsible for the administration could not acquiesce in any further curtailments'. 'Several important matters had to be deferred altogether'. The educational interests of the province have also suffered in consequence of the reduced expenditure, Government 'had to postpone some of their important schemes', and to omit 'a sum of one lakh for opening more schools and another lakh which was given for teachers for those schools'. Sanitation, too, has perforce to be neglected, for the time being, at least. 'Several applications for sanitary projects' had to be refused. But I frankly recognise this is to some extent unavoidable. We expect, however, that when the finances improve, the Hon'ble Finance Minister will treat the Province with extra liberality proportionate to the large sacrifice it has made this time.

" My Lord, our provincial expenditure leads me to examine the position of our provincial finance, and I think it is susceptible of improvement. My friend, the Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, raised last year the question of provincial settlements. As a matter of principle, the Provinces ought to have the whole income from the taxes that are either provincial or the proceeds of which are at present shared by the Government of India with the Provincial Government, and the Government of India should be satisfied with a lump contribution from the Provincial Government to be assessed in each case with due regard to local conditions. This contribution must of course be subject to periodical revision. The alteration is one of method relating to the collection of the Imperial revenue; a fixed payment is to be substituted for the

present fixed ratio. This would, of course, have the effect of rendering the Imperial revenue inelastic; and to neutralise the evils incidental to such a system, provision may be made for the recovery from the Provinces of exceptional and extraordinary contributions according to the needs of the Supreme Government, assessed on the same principle of provincial ability. Such a revision of the system of provincial payment would strengthen the financial resources of the Provinces, would equalise the conditions of adjustment, and would make the apportionment of provincial liability more equitable. The Provinces would thus have greater fiscal autonomy, and would be free to attain to a development suited to local conditions. If in addition, the provincial funds are made over to the Provincial Government for safe custody and application, subject to the maintenance of an irreducible minimum of balance, the inconvenience of restricted utilisation of large balances, such as is enforced by the Government of India on the present occasion, will be minimised. It is earnestly to be hoped that the Hon'ble Sir William Meyer will take the matter into his serious and favourable consideration. Provincial feeling is, I may point out, strong on this subject.

"My Lord, with a view to help the undisturbed progress of the provinces, an earnest effort should also be made to requisition the services of conciliation boards for the satisfactory settlement of all disputes between different sections of the population. These boards to our knowledge have been started at different provincial centres, and are believed to have rendered inestimable service. We hear less of *Bakr-Id* riots now. It is regrettable this Government has not got reports from the local Governments about their working. In the absence of official reports it is difficult to generalise, but I believe a great future awaits conciliation boards. With more settled conditions Government will find it to its advantage to take the whole question seriously in hand.

"But far more important to the whole country, My Lord, is the other question, namely, the question of emigration to the colonies, which await a statesmanlike and sympathetic settlement immediately after the war. The matter has not been discussed in Council this Session, not because of the absence of a strong local feeling, but because of the limitations under which discussion has had to be carried on, on account of the war. As a matter of fact, whole India is of one mind both as regards the necessity of emigration and the status of the emigrant in the colonies. The time has come when the question of some outlet for our surplus population should be settled in a manner agreeable to our ideas of self-respect and dignity as citizens of the British Empire. And we look up to Government here as also to the Imperial Government for a satisfactory settlement of this question with fervent and confident hope.

"My Lord, I have heard with deep interest the observations of my Hon'ble friend, Mr. Marshall Reid, about the indifference of the people of this country to industrial enterprise. I would like to say much on the subject, but I beg to point out that if Government be pleased to encourage large concerns floated by Indians, something may be done to divert popular energy into the fruitful department of industry. The success of the Tata Iron and Steel Works has been in a large measure due to the support received from Government.

"My Lord, I beg to invite Your Excellency's attention to another matter of some importance, to inconvenience of the existing procedure regarding the introduction of legislative measures in this Council. Bills are now introduced without the Members knowing anything about them previously. The result is that no profitable discussion can take place on the first day about their principle. No doubt subsequently, on the motion for reference to a Select Committee, Hon'ble Members have an opportunity of commenting upon the principle, but it is far more desirable that this debate should precede that motion. My friend, the Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi, drew attention to this only the other day, and I believe I voice the general desire of the Additional Members in my plea for circulation of Bills at least a fortnight previous to their formal introduction in Council. Government will not lose anything by the change

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in the procedure. The interests of urgent bills are amply safeguarded by the rule under which Your Excellency can suspend the rules of business to enable the Council to consider the Bills at once. Bills of the Provincial Governments are circulated previously without inconvenience.

" My Lord, the whole Financial Statement is overshadowed by war. It is difficult to form even an approximate idea when it will end, but of this much we are sure, that it will end in a brilliant victory for the Allies and the imperishable glory of the British Empire. All India prays to the Almighty for its speedy termination. It has upset the business of the world. But even in these dark days of national trouble, we find matter enough for self-congratulation. The unwavering loyalty of the people of this country to the Throne has been demonstrated on this occasion in the most remarkable manner, and we owe it to this war that the various units of the great British Empire have been knit together to one solid whole, moved by one common sentiment and one common purpose. Never before has India presented such a united front for the defence of the Empire. The different Provinces are imbued with a spirit of healthy emulation. In the Bombay Presidency, though that province from its industrial and commercial position has been the most sorely affected by the war, we have raised forty lakhs of rupees for the War Funds through the admirable organisation initiated by His Excellency Lord Willingdon, and the Women's Branch is doing solid work under the inspiring guidance of Lady Willingdon. The Hospitals started by us for the sick and the wounded in Bombay and at Alexandria are the finest and such as any nation may feel proud of having equipped and organised. The history of all this zealous activity of the people is one, My Lord, of which Government may well be proud.

" My Lord, it is the universal wish of the people of the country that Your Excellency should continue to be at the head of the Indian Administration until we are entirely free from the danger of this war. We have abundant faith in your benevolence and high statesmanship, and we earnestly hope that His Imperial Majesty will be graciously pleased to grant us this our humble prayer".

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi:—" My Lord, the Hon'ble the Finance Member is entitled to the fullest sympathy of this Council and of the country at large in the difficult task with which he finds himself confronted this year owing to the exigencies of the times. After a succession of surpluses during recent years we have come suddenly almost without a warning to a year, when our expected surplus has been turned into a deficit, and this abrupt change, which is accompanied by an uncertainty about the future, all the more aggravates the anxieties of the situation. My Lord, the imprint of war is writ large on almost every page of the Financial Statement that has been presented this year. It has seriously affected the two sources of revenue, namely, Railways and Customs, by the depression and dislocation of trade, with the result that whereas in the first four months of the year prior to the outbreak of war the Railway revenue was some £260,000 in advance of that of the corresponding period of the preceding year, in the six months following the outbreak of the war there has been a decline by £1,490,000. The revenue under Customs has also suffered a similar decline by nearly a million pounds less than the Budget anticipation. But happily such is the elasticity of Indian Finance that it has stood this rude shock uncommonly well. Speaking from his place in Council in 1909, the late Mr. Gokhale said, that never during the last 50 years previous to that period, was there such a deficit as that of 8½ millions. Yet fortunately such is the recuperative power of Indian Finance that even under this heavy blow this year's deficit is less by a million than that of 1909. My friend, the Hon'ble Sir W. Meyer, is therefore all the more entitled to our warm congratulations that in the midst of this raging hurricane he has been able to steer his treasure-ship of State clear of all shoals and he has been able to do so so far without any additional taxation. I therefore desire to offer him my sincere

congratulations on the caution, foresight, clearness and withal firmness with which he has been able to frame this year's budget.

"My friend, however, struck a note of warning in the course of his speech when he presented us with the Financial Statement. He stated that he would not hesitate to propose additional taxation to make good the deficits should it hereafter be found necessary. We all sincerely hope that such a contingency might not arise. But if it were to arise at any time I trust my friend will allow me to make a suggestion beforehand as to the direction such additional taxation might take. I have heard it expressed in many quarters that if Government were in need of any additional taxation owing to the exigencies of the times, the only additional taxation that might be imposed without affecting very much the teaming millions of the country would be an additional income tax, as this would not be so much of a burden to the poor as it would be to the rich.

"Sanitation—malaria.

"I would, now My Lord, with your permission, like to say a few words on the situation of the country generally. The first question that deserves our serious attention is the question of sanitation. For it will certainly be agreed that we must first of all live before we can think of anything else. The Government has done a good deal in this direction in recent years but a very great deal yet remains to be done. In many parts of India, malaria is becoming a scourge and in Bengal particularly, it seems to be increasing in virulence. In reply to a question of mine on this subject in September last, as to what steps were being taken by Government to combat the ravages of malaria in different parts of India, particularly Bengal, my friend the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler was pleased to refer me to the annual reports of the several Provincial Sanitary Commissioners. A perusal of those reports, however, is not very assuring. I therefore again respectfully urge on the Government to give their serious thoughts to this question and to appoint a commission composed of officials and non-officials in each of the affected provinces to inquire into the cause of the spread of malaria and to devise further means of arresting the mortality from fever, which is now so much on the increase.

"Pasteur Institute.

"My Lord, there is a steadily growing demand for the establishment of Pasteur Institutes in each province. Thanks to the courtesy of my friend the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler, I was enabled two years ago to inspect the Pasteur Institute at Kasauli. When I was there, the authorities convinced me of the fact that after the recent discovery it was no longer necessary to locate Pasteur institutes in out of the way hill stations, but rather they should be attached gradually to the leading hospitals at the head-quarters of each of the presidencies and provinces. There is a persistent demand for it from all the leading associations in Bengal. My friend the Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock stated in this Council a few months ago that the Government of India have received no proposals from the Government of Bengal with reference to the location of a Pasteur institute in a wing of the School of Tropical Medicines in Calcutta. Since then many public bodies, notably the Rungpur Zamindar's Association, have memorialised the Local Government on the subject. What I would therefore suggest is that the Government of India should invite the opinions of all local Governments on the subject.

"Education—Religious.

"My Lord, I would next draw the attention of this Council to the educational needs of the country and particularly to that of the Mussulmans. We are all deeply grateful to Government for the educational policy which has been set out in the resolution on this subject issued two years ago. We are looking forward to the day when the policy enunciated in that resolution will be fully carried out. The backwardness of my community in matters of education is particularly appalling and I would again repeat in this connection what I

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said two years ago that in this matter Mussulmans are entitled to a preferential treatment, which I am sure no enlightened and broad-minded Hindu would grudge us, for they must remember that our educational advancement is equally to their interest. My Lord, it is indeed sad to contemplate how backward the Mussulmans are. To take the case of only Bengal. We find that according to the last census out of every thousand Mussulmans there are only 41 who can read and write. The cause of this backwardness chiefly lies in the fact that ever since the establishment of the British *Raj* in this country, religious instruction suitable to Mussulman boys had been divorced from all educational institutions patronised by Government, and therefore Mussulmans did not avail themselves of these institutions to any great extent. I had the honour of drawing the attention of the Educational Member two years ago to this question and I am particularly grateful to him for the circular which was issued by Government in April of that year to all Provincial Governments: and which in the case of Bengal has resulted in the formation of a Mussulman Educational Advisory Committee by the Local Government. This Committee is at present engaged in overhauling the entire question of Mussulman education. But unless Government are going to find the money for education in normal as well as abnormal times, it will not be possible to effect any real progress. If the existing revenue of the country was insufficient for the purpose, the Mussulman community would, I am sure, willingly submit to an additional Educational Tax.

"Money accrued as interest on deposit in savings banks by Mussulmans to be used on Moslem Education.

"Now, My Lord, when I am on this subject, I would like to draw the attention of Government to the sum of money however small to which Moslem community are justly entitled. In September last I inquired to know what was the total amount of money which had accrued as interest up-to-date from the time of the creation of the savings banks, on the money deposited in the said banks by Mussulman depositors who have not drawn any interest on their deposits owing to their religious scruples, and in reply I was informed that that sum had amounted to ₹2,84,283. This was up to 1912, and it would now probably amount to over 3 lakhs. It is clear that this sum of money has gone to increase the surplus revenue when there has been a surplus, and it has gone to lessen the deficit when there has been a deficit, such as this year. I would therefore respectfully urge that the Government would be pleased to take the first opportunity in ear-marking this amount so that as soon as the present hard times are over it could be spent on some object of Moslem education, such as towards the cost of building a hostel in any part of India.

"Cause of Temperance.

"My Lord, I would now draw the attention of this Council to the alarming spread of the drink and drug habits in India. During the last few years this evil has been growing apace and has now reached an enormous magnitude, and yet it is extending every day. I do not desire on this occasion to dwell at any length on the dangers, social and economic, that lie before this Empire should a rapid expansion in the consumption of alcohol and drug fix the habit of drink and drug-taking upon the people. I would only say that India has always been a temperance country in times gone by. What the Prophet of Islam forbade more than 1,300 years ago, temperance societies, associations and movements are now trying to do to-day. As far as I am aware, the Hindu religion does not also encourage taking of intoxicating liquors or drugs. Hence this evil of intemperance has come to the East along with the other good things from the West. During recent times the excise revenue has gone up by leaps and bounds. In 1890-91 it was, roughly speaking, 5½ crores, and in 1912-13 it has gone up to nearly 12½ crores. We all know how poor this country is, and with what difficulty the labourer and the poor classes are able to earn a single meal a day, and yet the contribution to the excise revenue from drinks and drugs is increasing in volume day by day. If, in the interests of China our

Government could afford to forego an enormous amount of revenue from opium, are we not entitled to expect the same Government to forego proportionately a fairly less amount in the moral and material interests of the people committed to its charge? At the present moment absinthe has been forbidden in France and vodka in Russia. I need not recall Lord Kitchener's admonition to the soldiers on this subject soon after the commencement of the war. In France, where the champions of alcohol have a great following in the Chamber of Deputies from time immemorial, even there the *privilege de Bouilleurs de cru* has disappeared. It is high time therefore, I submit, that the Government of India should take some decided steps in the true interests of the people of this country. In this connection, I would ask the Government to consider the desirability of adopting some of the following means in checking these evils.

" In the first place the licensing function should be transferred from the Revenue authorities, the number of licences should be restricted, the maximum quantity to be sold in a day should be fixed, regulations with regard to the opening and closing of drug shops should be made more strict, the sale of alcohol and drugs to women and minors should be absolutely prohibited, and lastly, the principle of local option should be given largely to the people.

" Preferential treatment in matter of gun licences.

" My Lord, there is another matter to which, with Your Excellency's permission, I should just like to make a passing reference. It is the preferential treatment in the matter of gun licences and other arms and ammunition, extended to people other than the members of the British race, in this country. With the exception of the smallest minority, the majority of the people of India are loyal to the core. If anything has brought this out in bold relief, it has been this war which we all so deplore, though looked at from other points of view in some ways has been a blessing in disguise. The war has welded together as it were the different heterogenous parts into a homogeneous whole in loyalty and devotion to the mother country. Almost the whole of India of to-day is throbbing with an impulse to serve His Majesty with a devotion broad-based and deep-rooted in loyalty to the Throne. Such being the case it is but natural, particularly to these Indians, who are passionately attached with an intelligent loyalty to the British Throne and the Empire, to feel some sort of resentment when they find that the homeless Armenian, the wandering Jew, the South African, the German or the Greek and such other people receive preferential treatment here in India. Having regard to the unfortunate circumstances which are still present to tarnish the fair fame of Hind, I am certainly of opinion that the Arms Act must yet remain and must be administered with care. But if an Indian of the description I have referred to is obliged to take out a gun licence and renew it every year, why should other people be exempted from the same operation? In the case of an Englishman, if he is true to his race, his instinct will always keep him loyal and therefore when an exception is made in his case, there can be no feeling of resentment. But no such reason exists for making an exception in the case of others, although there are many amongst my English friends who are themselves of opinion that in the interest of British fairness and British justice it is preferable to make the Arms Act applicable alike to all. But that is not my point. What I would respectfully urge is that in the near future when our minds are more at ease and when under Providence victory crowns our arms and our enemies are crushed Government would be pleased to consider the question of so revising the Arms Act that there may be no cause for grievance on the part of loyal Indians who may be also qualified on account of their social or professional rank or position.

" Inquiry into the rise of price of rice.

" One word more and I have done. We were all gratified the other day when the Government saw their way to accept in an amended form the reso-

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lution which my friend the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya moved with regard to the prohibition of all export of wheat from India or the taking of such other steps as may seem advisable to Government to bring down the price of wheat. In the course of that debate I also mentioned that there was a scope for inquiry in the same direction with regard to rice, having regard to the fact of the high price at which rice is selling in the major portion of Bengal, particularly in the north and east. I do not wish to repeat all the arguments which I set forth on that day, but as I did not perhaps make my meaning clear, I wish only to say that what I urged was not to prohibit entirely the export of rice but to leave it to Government to take such steps as Government may think fit to bring down the price of rice, as rice is equally the staple food of millions of my countrymen in my part of the country and as the rise in its price, owing to the peculiar exigencies of the times, is causing the greatest hardship. I would respectfully urge upon Government to make an inquiry with a view to ascertain what step, if any, be it in the shape of increased facility for the importation of rice into Bengal from other provinces or otherwise, may be needed to keep down its price, and I hope Government will be able to see their way to take this matter into their consideration.

"I have to refer on this occasion also, to my friend on the right and to say that in this matter he too, with a degree of kindness which I did not venture to expect, saw his way to give me his support.

"My Lord, I desire to associate myself with my friends from the United Provinces in all that they said with regard to the unhappy and unwise rejection of the proposal for an executive Council for that province.

"In conclusion, I desire to endorse every word that fell this morning from my friend, the Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis, with regard to Your Excellency. In a word, I may say Your Excellency has succeeded in winning the love, esteem and regard, both of Mussalmans and Hindus."

The Hon'ble Mr. Setalvad:—"My Lord, I have now been accustomed for many years in the Bombay Legislative Council on the budget discussion to find member after member getting up and congratulating the Finance Member on his skill, his acumen, his sympathy and every virtue under the sun which they discover in him. Coming here I find the same thing in this Council; and I suppose I am expected to join in the chorus. But let me assure the Hon'ble Finance Minister that I do so on this occasion in no conventional manner. The task the Finance Member had to perform on this occasion was really a very difficult one and, as my Hon'ble friend, Mr. Surendranath Banerjee has told us, everybody in the country expected that the new budget would bring in fresh taxation. We were all very agreeably surprised with the budget that was introduced when we found that the Finance Minister was able to make his proposals for the expenditure of the year without any fresh taxation at all, and I do hope that circumstances will not so supervene as to force him to have additional taxation in the future.

"Coming to the heads of the budget, particularly referring to that of education in which I take special interest, the budget shows that in spite of the stress and strain of the present circumstances, the budget estimate for 1915-16 exceeds the revised estimate of 1914-15 by 15 lakhs. But the report which the Hon'ble Mr. Sharp supplied us with yesterday is on the whole sad reading. We find there that although the total number of children attending schools in this country has advanced by 737,426 during the period from March 1912 to March 1914, still the percentage of those at school upon those of school-going age is only 19.6, the average for the whole country; and the situation is still more unsatisfactory when you come to examine the figures with regard to the boys and girls. With regard to the boys the percentage is 32.8 per cent; with regard to the girls the percentage as shown in the report is only 5.9. Considering the real value and necessity of education, I do hope and trust that means will be found, if not in this year, in subsequent years, to promote very largely primary

education specially and also to push on the interests of all other education. The same report shows, Your Excellency, that although the Government of India were in a position to make available to the Local Governments large amounts to spend on education, as much as 300 lakhs represent the unspent balances. I am quite cognisant that the report makes it clear that this figure does not really represent the actual unspent balance. But the report says that in any event such unspent balance would be at least 100 lakhs. This is certainly very disappointing, and the reason given is that the Local Governments have not been ready with the machinery to utilise the funds placed at their disposal and to give effect to the extension of education that was contemplated; and I find from the report that Bengal and Bombay have been the greatest defaulters in this respect. I do hope therefore that the Imperial Government will in future ask the Local Governments to quicken their pace as regards education, and also to lay down beforehand ready schemes for utilising the funds that may from time to time be placed at their disposal. In Bombay, for instance, on one occasion the Government had chalked out a scheme for three years for opening new primary schools and utilising grants that may be made available for the purpose. Unfortunately that practice was since abandoned and the result has been in Bombay that though funds were made available the Government were not ready with the machinery to give effect to the proposed extensions. I hope this would be impressed upon the Local Governments in future and that they will always be ready with the necessary scheme and machinery for the purpose of utilising the funds that may be placed at their disposal.

" I want, Your Excellency, to associate myself completely with what has fallen from my Hon'ble friend Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar with regard to the attitude of the Indians during the present crisis. They have combined and they have made up their minds to render whole-hearted support to the British Government and to show to the world how loyal and united India is in support of the Empire, and the result is that prophets of evil have been falsified and our enemies have been completely disillusioned; and further the bravery, not only the bravery but the initiative, skill and resource shown by the Indian troops on the field must have been a source of great gratification not only to Indians but to Europeans connected with this country. Your Excellency, as my Hon'ble friend Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar said, all Indians have agreed that the voice of controversy shall be hushed while this war is pending and that nothing shall be done while the war lasts to embarrass Government in any manner or to do anything that might have even the remotest semblance of making terms for their loyalty or for exacting terms for their loyalty; nothing of that sort, all Indians are agreed, shall be done while the war lasts. I may however say that the loyalty of all Indians, particularly of educated Indians, is what has been, rightly termed in certain quarters a reasoned loyalty. They are loyal, they have been loyal, and they will continue to be always loyal, because they are fully convinced that it is only under the British Government and under the fostering influence of British administration that they can ever hope to attain in fullness of time that self-government within the British Empire which they look forward to and are entitled to look forward to. Therefore, Your Excellency, if Indians expect that on the termination of the war, which they hope will soon be brought to a successful issue, a definite step forward would be taken in that direction, they are legitimately entitled to expect and hope so; and, as I have said, they expect that to be done, not as any price of that loyalty, not as a reward for their loyalty, but as a thing that justice requires to be done, that is ripe to be done and the time for which is opportune from their point of view. Taking this view, I join again in the observations that fell from my Hon'ble friend Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar and also the Hon'ble Raja of Mahmudabad with regard to the unfortunate step that has been taken by the House of Lords with regard to the Executive Council for the United Provinces. Pained as one is at the action of the House of Lords, one is still more pained at the attitude taken by retired pro-consuls from this country, specially the remarks of Lord MacDonnell, who is reported to have said that Indians have got all that they should be given for

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the present and for a long time to come I do hope and trust that that does not represent the real responsible opinion of those who are at present responsible for the administration of this country. In that firm belief, Indians do not despair that when the war has terminated, a definite step forward will be taken in the right direction.

“ And so long as England is able to produce and send out to this country statesmen of the calibre and sympathies of a Ripon, a Minto and a Hardinge, there need be no reason for despair in the matter. Here, Your Excellency, I may be permitted to join my humble voice in expressing the hope that has been expressed by many members before me, that it may be possible for this country to have Your Excellency for a renewed period and certainly till the expiration of the war ”

The Hon'ble Mr. Rayaningar :—“ My Lord, the Financial Statement has relieved us from great anxiety. The whole country expected there would be some sort of fresh taxation for additional revenue to fill the void created by the war. It is a great relief to us that no scheme of taxation is in hand, and that the resources of Government, supplemented by the proposed loans, are quite sufficient to carry us through the next financial year too, without a serious check to our normal progress. It is true we cannot provide as liberally for the various progressive departments of Civil administration as we would, but there is no set-back to our development. This is a great point in favour of the present budget, and it is fully appreciated by the people. The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer deserves our best thanks for the admirable manner in which he has managed the finances of Government in these critical times.

“ My Lord, cognisant as we are of the extreme difficulty of the situation, we cannot reasonably make any suggestions for additional expenditure next year, however desirable on its own merits such expenditure may be. But it is as well that we should press upon the attention of Government our wants now, so that the Hon'ble Finance Minister may provide for the most urgent among them when happily the finances improve. It is with this idea that I submit for the favourable consideration of Government that the Land Improvements Loans Act, under which loans are granted to agriculturists, should be amended, with a view to widening its scope and the range of the objects for which money may be advanced, and to reduce the rate of interest chargeable for such loans. My friend, the Hon'ble Raja Kushalpal Singh, pointed out to this Council only the other day how the Madras Government strained the law to make advances for the support of rural industries. As a matter of fact, it appears to have been felt by some of the Provincial Governments that the law should be more elastic. It is somewhat curious that provision should have been made for advances for the support of agriculture, but not for the subsidiary industries without which a reasonable degree of agricultural progress cannot be counted on. India is the only country in the civilised world where subsidiary industries do not receive as much attention as they should, and this accounts for the prostration of many a good industry. For instance, sugarcane cultivation is not so profitable in India, whereas it is one of the most paying concerns in other countries, and for the best of reasons. It is not only the quality of the cane grown here which is at fault; it is not even the method of cultivation and the crude process of extraction which make the industry unremunerative. These do, of course, contribute to the net result; but the main reason why the margin of profit is so narrow in the whole sugar industry is that valuable material which could be easily turned into useful commodities is allowed to be wasted. In some of the competing countries the *bagasse*, molasses and the scum are each one of them turned to good account. The scum is converted into one of the most valuable fertilisers; molasses in combination with brau, chaff, etc., serves as an excellent food for cattle, and in combination with chopped *bagasse*, cocconut, etc., becomes fit for human consumption. Molassut is one of the growing industries in the West. Distillation of alcohol

is another important industry. And yet all these subsidiary industries are scarcely known in India, and no wonder the principal industry is not paying. The same remark applies to many of the agricultural industries. Thanks to Your Excellency's Government, when a few days back I asked Government if they would consider the desirability of granting agricultural loans for industries subsidiary to agriculture, the answer was in the affirmative. I submit that by an amendment of the Loans Act it should be made possible for the Provincial Governments to introduce these subsidiary industries into promising areas by advances from the State funds. If the object of the Act be to support and improve agriculture, the range of its operation must be expanded, so as to cover the subsidiary industries. Such an expansion would involve increased expenditure, but in the interests of the country it has to be incurred. And I would also suggest that the rate of interest should be 5 per cent instead of 6½ per cent. The object of Government cannot be to make a profit out of the business, and the debt being secured, the necessity for an extra rate to cover the possible loss of the principal in some cases disappears. The general rate of interest in the country has gone down appreciably during the last few years. Even if the sanctioned rate under the Act was found necessary at the time it was fixed, the same reasons do not exist now. The rate, therefore, should be revised. The concession will be greatly appreciated by the whole rural population, and can be made at a small cost to Government.

"My Lord, I beg to refer to another urgent need of the agricultural population. Government has made provision for collegiate instruction in agriculture, but so far it has admittedly not effected any material improvement in the situation. In my humble opinion, the utility of collegiate education could be vastly increased by initiating a system of primary and secondary education in agriculture alone. Agricultural schools are everywhere wanted, and they cannot be established too soon. And in these schools instruction in the technique of the industry must of necessity be imparted through the medium of the vernacular. In the progressive countries of the West there are special schools for the different industries, and the staff renders a substantial service to the community. The sugar schools of Germany and Louisiana have done a good deal for the improvement of the sugar industry of these countries. It is time therefore Government should prepare a scheme of elementary and secondary agricultural education, even if the initial outlay be somewhat large. India is essentially an agricultural country, and money should be spent liberally for the improvement of its principal industry.

"My Lord, the Hon'ble Sir William Meyer made a pronouncement in Council last year relating to waterways in Bengal. I beg to submit that the question of the improvement of waterways is an Imperial, and not a Provincial, one. They are equally important in every part of the country. It is of great importance to the agriculturists that facilities for the cheap transport of agricultural produce should be provided, and waterways have certain undoubted advantages over railways in this respect. They likewise serve the very useful purpose of irrigation canals. It would therefore be well to have a scheme of waterways for the whole of India, and when it is ready, it can be carried out gradually in the same way as our irrigation works. I believe the waterways will in the majority of cases be found productive. Speaking of the irrigation works I reiterate my prayer for safeguarding the interests of the Tanjore District against the proposed Kannambade project.

"My Lord, if these suggestions affect the finances of Government, I have got one submission to make with regard to railways, which has no bearing whatever upon them. The railways are at present directly to some extent under the control of the Government of India, and the Provincial Governments have no power to deal with even the most trivial matters connected with their management or improvement. This arrangement is at times very inconvenient. A good deal of correspondence and time may be saved if the Provincial Governments have powers delegated to them to deal with railway matters of local importance without reference to the Government of India. If anything, such delegation of powers will result in some direct pecuniary saving.

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"My Lord, I fully sympathise with my friends from the United Provinces in their disappointment at the rejection by the House of Lords of the proposal for the creation of a Legislative Council for their Provinces.

"My Lord, I cannot conclude without drawing the attention of the Council to the serious position in the Punjab. When the Defence of India Bill was discussed on the 18th instant, I had not an exact idea of the gravity of the situation in that Province to which the Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock referred. Recently I had been to Jullundur, Amritsar and Lahore. I met several leading men of the province. They all feel the necessity of a legislative measure of this kind. Peaceful inhabitants, especially the Hindus, are subjected to acts of violence, and the outrageous offences against life and property have been committed in many cases by apparently respectable people. It is well that the new Act has been put into force in some parts of the Punjab. Had there been any delay in the matter, the consequences would have been very serious. I hope the measure, judiciously administered, will have the desired effect and bring to the oppressed the relief which they are so much in need of.

"My Lord, I take this opportunity to express our sense of gratitude to Your Excellency for what Your Excellency, Christ-like in forbearance, have done to promote the interests of Indians in this critical time of the world's history, and I pray that God will prolong your Viceroyalty in this country."

The Hon'ble Mr. Abbott:—"My Lord, I rise to congratulate the Hon'ble the Finance Minister on the prosperous Budget he has presented to the Council and for the lucid and exhaustive exposition he has given.

"At a time like this when the greatest war the world has ever known is devastating and ravaging three-quarters of the world it must be a source of deep gratitude and pride to you, My Lord, and to this Council, to know that we in India are living in comparative safety and prosperity, and that in our bounden duty and all pervading loyalty we have been in a position to give, and have given, both men and money, for King and Country.

"Handsome as our offerings may have been, My Lord, they have not, I regret to say, been on the same princely footing and basis as that of our fellow Colonials. However, I am confident that the demand has only to be made and loyal India will rise as one man and offer to pay the expenses of our Expeditionary Forces in the same way as Canada and Australia are doing. I would go still further, My Lord, and I think I may safely assert that to meet this extra expenditure India would not cavil at a small rise in the salt and income taxes and also on import duties.

"Regarding the embargo on the export of wheat, I hope that the cultivators of Bundelkhand will not be forgotten when ear-marking the profits. Bundelkhand has suffered from failure of crops, famine and drought on an average of every 3½ years for the past 45 years to my personal knowledge. Now, just as they are expecting a bumper crop with a golden harvest it looks as if they are to be disappointed.

"I also, My Lord, beg to draw attention to the great cry for more irrigation in the United Provinces.

"I beg to associate myself with the claim of the Hon'ble Mr Das for an Indian Christian on Your Excellency's Council.

"My Lord, it has become a time-honoured practice with non-official Members of this Council to take this annual opportunity of prefacing in general the needs and wants of the peoples and communities they have the honour to represent.

"As such, and on behalf of the Anglo-Indian Domiciled Community, I beg, My Lord, to tender you and your Ministers our heartfelt and grateful thanks for all that has and is being done for the advancement and betterment of our community. In particular I beg to thank Sir Henry Burt for the oft repeated and timely occasions on which he has come to the help and assistance of the Railway man. Now that he is about to leave India their heartfelt

regrets go with him, together with their respectful congratulations on the great and elevated position he has been called to ;

“ To the Hon'ble Mr Maxwell, Director General of Posts and Telegraphs, whose reorganisation scheme has helped to give promotion from the subordinate to the superior amalgamated Services ;

— To the Director General, Indian Medical Service, who has improved the status, pay and prospects of the Indian Subordinate Medical Department ;

“ To the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler, whose generous educational grants, and grant-in-aid policy, has brought education within the reach of the most depressed classes ;

“ Last, but by no means least, to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in India, for opening the long barred gate of recruitment into the British Army to the descendants of European parentage.

“ My Lord, whilst expressing the deep sense of gratitude and appreciation of the Domiciled Anglo-Indian Community for all that has, and is being, done for them, I beg to remind Your Lordship in Council that there are several important and imperative disabilities that the community still labour under, principal among these being :—

“ *Railways.*—The continued annual importation of what is known as the ‘ covenanted men ’ and who are principally appointed as Foremen in Railway Shops, Locomotive Drivers, Permanent Way Staff and Auditors Time was, My Lord, when these importations may have been a necessity, but those times have long gone by. We have in India to-day fully equipped and up-to-date workshops, equal to any in Europe or America. That our community have benefited by these and have advanced with the times there cannot be the shadow of a doubt ; but as proof positive I would assert that I have three personal friends on both State and Company owned lines, whose entire apprenticeship was spent in Railway Workshops in India and who rose to the highest rung of the ladder—Manager of Works. Similarly, with the Locomotive Driver. He is every whit as good and as capable as his “ covenanted ” confrere. This is no sinecure and can be proved from the fact that the Domiciled and Anglo-Indian Driver drove and piloted His Majesty three-quarters of the thousands of miles travelled by His Majesty during his last visit to India. You, too, Your Excellency, have had the same experience throughout your Viceroyalty.

“ With reference to Permanent Way Inspectors, our Engineering Colleges in India give ample scope for education and as vast an experience, as apprentices, can be gained on Indian railroads as at Home. In-addition to this the Domiciled and Anglo-Indian has to his credit a thorough knowledge of the country, the language and the people and above all is acclimatised and physically fit to rough the climatic conditions of India.

“ The same remarks apply to the Audit Branch : our schools and colleges can furnish ample material with the necessary educational qualifications, and the training ground in India better fits and adapts them to conditions in India than the imported or covenanted man.

“ *Representation.*—My Lord, I take the liberty of again begging to remind you that the Domiciled Anglo-Indian Community still remain unrepresented in most of the Presidency and Provincial Councils of the Indian Empire. My Lord, all we ask is the extension of this great privilege to our community, the same as is given to our Indian friends of all castes and creeds.

“ *Administrative and Ministerial Appointments.*—My Lord, the rapid progress of higher education is daily fitting us more and more for a bigger percentage of these responsible and coveted appointments. India being our home, we naturally aspire and claim to be allowed a fair share of the bulwarks of this vast Empire

“ *Education.*—Grateful as we are for all that has been done in this direction, I would respectfully urge that the grant of a few more State scholarships for both girls and boys, tenable in England, would be a great boon to the community.

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" Also greater facilities for admission and training in agricultural and technical schools and institutions.

" My Lord, in conclusion, I beg to again thank you, your Ministers and the non-official Members of this Council for the attention, assistance, and courtesy I have invariably received at your and their hands."

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—" My Lord, as I have listened to the debate which has taken place to-day, my thoughts have gone back again and again to one who adorned this Council for twelve years, and whose loss has been mourned in this country and beyond it, as the loss of no other Indian of modern times had been mourned before. My Lord, my faith in the future of my country makes me hope that in the generations that are passing through our schools and colleges many a young man will be found who will equal, and, I hope, even excel Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale in intellectual power and ability ; but, My Lord, none shall excel him in the pure loftiness of his patriotism, in selfless, ceaseless devotion to the country's cause, in the sincerity and depth of earnestness with which he desired the good of his countrymen and the unflagging zeal with which he laboured to promote it. My Lord, to Mr. Gokhale will ever belong the glory of having been the first Servant of India of the noble band of the Servants of India, which he himself organized, who, discarding all personal ambition, take the vow of poverty and self-sacrifice, and dedicate themselves heart and soul to the service of their motherland. My Lord, there is a movement afoot to create an All-India memorial to our departed friend and brother I have no doubt everyone who respected or appreciated him will contribute towards the completion of that memorial, but I have one favour to ask of all who appreciated Mr Gokhale, and that is that they should adopt a kindlier, a more sympathetic attitude towards questions in which he took a keen personal interest, towards causes which he pleaded from the depth of his heart, even if they cannot accept in their entirety the views which he expressed upon them.

" And in that view, My Lord, I wish to mention two particular questions. One is the question of securing the benefit of that elementary education to the people of India which lies at the root of all economic progress ; and the other is the question of fairer recognition of the claims of Indians to a share in the administration of their country. My Lord, the Government of India have recently done much towards promoting primary education, but what has been done is as nothing compared to what remains to be done ; and I hope and trust that the impetus which Your Excellency's Government have given to the cause of primary education will grow, and that much larger funds and energy will be devoted to it until education shall become the possession of the general bulk of the people

" And, My Lord, so far as the question of a larger share for Indians in the administration of India is concerned, I hope that Mr. Gokhale's colleagues on the Royal Commission on the Public Services will, in deciding upon their final recommendations, bear in mind the views which he entertained and expressed, and see if they cannot give effect to them in whole or in part.

" My Lord, the best of reasons make me put forward these suggestions, for there is nothing more calculated to promote friendly feeling between Indians and Englishmen than a generous concession on the part of the latter of the claims of the former to a fair share in the administration of this own country. My Lord, the recommendations of the Public Services Commission will be awaited with great interest and anxiety, and I hope they will be such as to give general satisfaction to Indians.

" My Lord, the Budget before us is a War Budget, in the sense that it is affected by the War. Congratulations have rightly been offered to the Hon'ble the Finance Member for having avoided taxation. I have myself offered my congratulations on a previous occasion, and I do not wish to take up the

time of the Council by repeating them. But there is one circumstance to which I wish to invite attention. It seems to be forgotten that the taxation which the people of India have been paying for the last many years has been very heavy, and that it is that heavy taxation which has produced the financial position which India occupies to-day. Some time ago Mr. Gokhale pointed out that the total additional revenue raised by fresh taxation in the space of twelve years—between 1886-87 and 1898-99—was no less than 12·30 crores a year. Only a small portion of that additional taxation has been remitted since 1903-04, while taxes were imposed in 1910-11 on silver, tobacco and certain other articles. It was thought at the time the last addition was made to the public burden that that was done to meet the deficit which had taken place in the previous year; but that was not so. Questioned on the subject in his evidence before the Royal Commission on Indian Currency, Sir James Meston made this quite clear. Said Sir James :—

‘ It is quite arguable now, and I think it was quite arguable even then, that for immediate needs that taxation was probably unnecessary, and that we could have got over the crisis of 1908-09 by temporary borrowing. But there appeared at the same time on the horizon a consideration which is not probably before the public. That was the fact that the Government of India knew that very large claims were going to be made upon it under Lord Morley’s instructions for the development of a programme of social reform. We knew that a very big scheme of education was in the air and we had estimates prepared in the Secretariat, which have never been published, which indicated the enormous call upon us in the near future. It was the same with sanitation and medical improvement.’

“ And he concluded by saying :—

‘ We also stood by the taxes that had been imposed ostensibly for the troubles of 1908-09, and which are now necessary for the real needs of the country in the near future.’

“ My Lord, while we offer our felicitations to the Hon’ble the Finance Member, we might also remember that it is the taxes which have been paid for the last three years and more that have enabled our friend to save us from fresh taxation.

“ My Lord, this is not the time to discuss the Budget at any length but there are two or three things which strike me as worthy of the consideration of the Hon’ble Finance Member. The crisis through which we have been passing has shown the great weakness of the position of the Indian cultivator, and indeed of the mass of the Indian people. It has shown that while there is an abundance of food produced in the country, the bulk of the people are often able to purchase it at the price at which it is sold. My Lord, my friend Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy pathetically described the distress of the people who are crying for bread, when they see enormous quantities of wheat being shipped to other countries before their eyes. My Lord, I venture to say that that state of things is the result of a wrong economic policy and an unsound system of taxation which has prevailed here for some time. The whole system of our revenue and taxation requires to be reconsidered. I submit that it is high time that our policy with regard to both the export and the import trade should be reconsidered, and the bases of taxation be readjusted. It is time we reconsidered whether it is not imperatively necessary to so regulate exports of food-stuffs by duties as to prevent the people from being deprived of the food which is grown in the country; in other words, to secure that they should be able to purchase food which is grown in the country at a price which they can pay for it. Unless exports of food-stuffs are so regulated, it must happen, My Lord, that when a poor agricultural country like India enters the world market, it must happen that people with larger incomes will, as they can afford to pay a higher price for food-stuffs which they import than the people of this country can afford to pay. This is the main cause of the great rise in the prices of wheat and other food-stuffs, which has inflicted indescribable hardships on the great bulk of the people. We are thankful to the Government that it has taken the export of wheat into its own hands, for the period of the war. But I hope the Hon’ble the Finance Member will consider whether the time has not come when a regular duty on food-stuffs which are exported, particularly on wheat,

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might be imposed, without any real injustice to the cultivator, and with real advantage to the people and the State. Then My Lord, it should also be considered whether the duty on imports might not well be increased. Some members have suggested, the Hon'ble Mr. Abbott among them, that that might well be done. We can make a large additional revenue by increasing the Customs duties. Manufactured articles are not such a great necessity for the people. They can afford to do less with them than with the food that feeds their bodies. The object of my suggestion is that food supplies should be made more easily available to the people, even though in the matter of imports they may have to pay a little higher price.

" My Lord, a great trouble at present is that the tax on land has been growing. The land is groaning under the burden which it has to bear. Year by year, even in this year of great scarcity, even in years of famine, the land revenue shows an increasing figure. My Lord, the cultivators are not able to get enough food to feed themselves and their families, yet the land revenue has been growing steadily year by year during the last 40 years. When, My Lord, will it cease to grow so far as the Government revenue is concerned? It is desirable that there should be more and more produce of food supplies; it is desirable that the cultivators' outturn should increase, but is it desirable that out of that increase, the Government should go on taking as much as it has been taking during the last decades? That is a matter to which I would invite the attention of the Hon'ble the Finance Member."

" My Lord, another question which has cropped up in the discussion is that of our contributions to the war. We have contributed, as one of the speakers has pointed out, roughly about 10 crores in supplying the Expeditionary Forces. Well, it is not mere gross silver that we have contributed, but we have contributed men, men trained and disciplined, devoted to win and die in the service of the King and the Country. And, my Lord, what we have done recently is a matter of satisfaction and a matter for congratulation to Your Excellency's Government, because, in addition to supplying such men as we could send, such men as are demanded of us, we have now helped, I hope, by the arrangement made about regulating the export of wheat, to supply food wherever it may be needed in the British Empire.

" My Lord, the question has arisen in connection with the war, and upon which remarks have been made by several members, namely, what is going to happen after the war? To me it seems it is premature to think of it. But, My Lord, certain events have happened which have pivoted the attention of the public on this question. The pronouncements made by Mr. Asquith, by Lord Kitchener and by Mr. Herbert Roberts, that India had entered into the Federation of the Empire, that the angle of vision for looking on Indian questions will change, and that India should entertain great hopes of great developments in future, have fostered a general and wide-spread hope that Indian questions will be considered from a liberal point of view. This feeling, My Lord, whatever the actual results in the remote future may be, this feeling is a great asset in the feeling of the country. The general body of the people hoped that these pronouncements were an earnest of the changes that were going to take place. But the action of the House of Lords, in rejecting the proposal for the Executive Council for the United Provinces, has, My Lord, undone to a great extent, if not entirely, these hopes that were entertained. I feel certain, My Lord, that your Lordship's recommendations will be given effect to. I do not feel any doubt in my mind that the English Parliament will see that the United Provinces do have the Executive Council which was promised to them so far back as 1835 by an Act of Parliament. I feel certain that the day is not distant when the Lieutenant-Governor will be relieved partly of the burdens which he has to bear alone. But, My Lord, the mischief which has been done by the action of Lord MacDonnell and Lord Curzon is far-reaching and will, I think, produce a bad effect.

" My Lord, Lord MacDonnell is reported to have said, in this connection, that no section of the population of the United Provinces except an infinitesimally small body favoured the proposals. My friends the Hon'ble the Raja of Mahmudabad and Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar have shown how little truth

there is in that assertion of Lord MacDonnell. But, My Lord, I am sorry to say that that is of a piece with another assertion which Lord MacDonnell made when there was a debate going on in the House of Lords on the question of Indian reforms, when he said that there was not an Indian to be found in the whole country amounting to 300 millions who could be appointed as a member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General. My Lord, the distinction with which Sir S. P. Sinha held the office of the first Indian member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General, the ability and distinction with which my friend the Hon'ble Sir Syed Ali Imam has held that office, has shown what little basis there was in the assertion of Lord MacDonnell. My Lord, the country knows, the country at any rate is convinced, that this reform, by which the Indians have been taken, so to say, into the confidence of the Government and into the innermost circle of the Government of India, is of real and far-reaching importance. There was no measure of reform among the many reforms introduced during the time of Lord Morley and Lord Minto which had a more far-reaching effect in that direction than the appointment of Indians on the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India. But, My Lord, if Lord MacDonnell and Lord Curzon had had their way, this reform would not have taken place and the Indians would not have had the satisfaction of seeing a brother of their own occupying a seat in the highest Executive Council of the Empire, and Your Lordship's Government would not have had the advantage of the experience and ability of such a member.

" My Lord, in sanctioning a particular proposal of reform like that of the Executive Council, what is really needed is a determination, a resolution on the part of all who are interested in England and India, to readjust our relations somewhat, and to begin to regard each other—I am speaking of those who do not take that view—as really equal fellow subjects of one common King and of one common Empire. My Lord, the basis of our brotherly relations, if I may be pardoned for saying so, is to be found in the great Proclamation of Her late Majesty Queen Victoria. It is strange how people sometimes give their adhesion to principles and how in practice they do not like to adhere to them, and even violate them. Lord Curzon, speaking of that Proclamation, said that the famous Proclamation of 1858, the Magna Charta of India, was the ultimate goal of our demands and aspirations. And yet we find Lord Curzon getting up in the House of Lords and opposing the appointment of an Indian member to the Executive Council of the Viceroy and opposing the constitution of an Executive Council for the United Provinces, when he knows that the entire wisdom of the Government of India, for a hundred years and more, pronounced in favour of a system of Council Government for every Presidency prepared for it, when he knows that Madras and Bombay have flourished for a hundred years and more under a system of Council Government, and when he knows that, with the experience derived of the present circumstances of India, Your Excellency's Government recommended a Council Government for Bengal and also for Bihar and Orissa. My Lord, there is a rule that persons who have not lived within ten years in India ought not to be appointed members of the India Office. It seems to me, My Lord, there is much reason in the rule that gentlemen who have been out of India for more than ten years, and who have not kept in touch with the people of India by correspondence or by visits, had better refrain from making pronouncements on the needs of India of to-day. Your Excellency, who is in this country, who has fostered reform movements in different provinces of the country, and who is in touch with the people and with the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, who is the man working on the spot, feeling the apparent wisdom of his advice, made a recommendation that Council Government should be instituted in the United Provinces. Lord MacDonnell who has been out of India for about fourteen years and Lord Curzon who has not been in touch with India for nearly ten years, take it upon themselves to say that India does not need such a reform. I only refer to this because Lord MacDonnell went on to make an assertion which is calculated to create, and which I fear from the remarks which have appeared in the papers, has already created, a very bad impression. I have referred to the

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pronouncements of Mr. Asquith, of Lord Kitchener, and of Mr. Herbert Roberts. As if to counteract, as if to put forward something against, those statements, Lord MacDonnell is reported to have said that all reasonable demands of educated Indians have been adequately provided for the present and for a long time, and when the time came for a change, it would be better to proceed by dividing the provinces and thus relieving over-burdened Lieutenant-Governors than to give them Councils. Lord Curzon endorsed that view by saying that it would be better to convert Lieutenant-Governorships into Chief Commissionerships. He might have gone a step further and advocated converting them into Commissionerships, because, My Lord, Commissioners' divisions are large enough to occupy the attention of one man. I regret to say that Lord MacDonnell and Lord Curzon do not realize what disservice they have done to the cause of progress and reform, and to the cause of the contentment of the people in this country, by making such assertions at a time when the newspapers have been full of discussions as to the possibility of reform movements in the future. As I have said over and over again, My Lord, I do not wish to talk of the reforms that will come. I have faith enough to believe that they will come in their proper time. When the Proclamation of Her late Majesty Queen Victoria was published, Lord Canning was at the helm of affairs in this country, and, My Lord, there is one passage that he published in a Proclamation of his own to which I wish to invite the attention both of the people of my country and of all the officers who serve the Government. In that Proclamation Lord Canning called upon the servants of the Queen, one and all, each in his degree and according to his opportunity, to act with his whole heart and strength in fulfilling the gracious will of their Queen as set forth in the Royal Proclamation, and at the same time, My Lord, he rightly called upon all Her Majesty's Indian subjects to yield loyal obedience to the Queen. My Lord, the words of Lord Canning are the golden key of our conduct.

"My Lord, there is one other matter to which I should like, with Your Excellency's permission, to refer before I finish. I should have personally avoided, My Lord, a reference in to-day's debate to Your Excellency's impending retirement. But as a reference has been made to it by more than one speaker, I hope Your Excellency will pardon me for saying a few words about it. My Lord, I venture to think that of all the British statesmen who have made themselves illustrious as Viceroys and Governors General of India, there is none, in my opinion, who has touched a truer chord of sympathy, none who has enjoyed the esteem and affection of the people of India in a higher degree than Your Excellency. Your Excellency's generous sympathy with the people of India, your love of justice, the trust that you have reposed in them, your earnest desire and endeavour to promote their well-being, their happiness and contentment, and last, though not least, My Lord, the sufferings that Your Excellency has undergone in the service of this country, have endeared Your Excellency to the people of India; and though it would seem to be almost cruel to desire that the period of Your Excellency's office—a period of heavy responsibility which rests upon you as the Head of this extensive Empire at a time of great stress—should be prolonged, yet, My Lord, the faith that the people have learnt rightly to repose in Your Excellency is a factor of inestimable value to the Empire and, therefore, both for the good of India and of England, the prayer which has been addressed to His Majesty the King-Emperor by the Indian National Congress, speaking on behalf of the people of India, will, I hope, coincide with the sense of His Majesty's Ministers of what is demanded by the situation in India and commend itself to His Majesty. And, My Lord, I have hope that, with the lofty sense of duty which Your Excellency has shown in your high position, Your Excellency will be pleased to agree to stay another year or two with a people who hold you in grateful affection, and love and trust you as they have seldom loved and trusted any of your predecessors."

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Sita Nath Ray :—"My Lord, the singular ability which the Hon'ble Finance Minister has displayed in tackling

a peculiar and grave situation and the skilful manner in which he has been able to meet the deficit, without adding, however slightly, to the burden of our taxation, are sure to call forth the unstinted admiration from all alike, and for all this, I beg to offer him my sincere congratulations. In this year of extraordinary stress and emergency, in this year of dislocated trade and finance when a vague but unwarranted sense of insecurity was prevailing in the country and when apprehensions of something grave and unforeseen happening were agitating the public mind, it is well that the Hon'ble Finance Member should have abstained from having recourse to any extraordinary expedient, temporary or otherwise, from meeting the situation and thereby relieved the public mind of a heavy load of anxiety and at the same time, I must confess, that the several bold steps which the Hon'ble Finance Member has taken in this connection have eased the situation and have had the desired effect in reassuring the public mind and restoring public confidence.

" My Lord, I cannot, in passing, abstain altogether from alluding to the very acute situation which arose in Bengal at the outbreak of war when the shock of it was most severely felt, for it was then just the beginning of the jute season and the war nearly paralysed that industry in all its branches bringing suffering to large classes of people in Bengal. The result was that there was a rush of depositors for withdrawal of their moneys from savings banks, and though the efforts of the authorities combined with individual efforts succeeded in partially allaying the public anxiety, the rush continued for some time, and in that state of public feeling, I must say, the Government acted very wisely in allowing every facility to the depositors for withdrawal of their moneys from the savings banks, and it was indeed a very wise, bold, and statesmanlike step to provide facilities, even in district treasuries, for encashment of currency notes, which the Government was not bound to do. However, the indulgence shown and the extreme latitude given had their own rewards, and what was the result? The result was returning full confidence in the stability and permanence of the British Government, and what does the present position of the Government securities and other stocks, such as Municipal and Port Trust debentures, indicate? If it indicates anything, it indicates the growing conviction of the people in the ultimate success of the invincible arms of the Allies over German militarism and barbarism and the triumph of righteousness over unrighteousness. It further indicates returning prosperity and revival of trade and commerce so unduly disturbed in the beginning of the war.

" In this connection I may further mention that the Government of India acted very wisely in prohibiting the issue of gold to the public as it would have given rise to a panic and every one would have scrambled for gold for holding, hoarding, or burying it underground, and the result would have been wide-spread alarm, for Government would have ultimately been obliged to withdraw the concession. How serious and acute the situation was can be realized from the following quotation from the Hon'ble Finance Member's speech :—

' The price of raw jute necessarily showed a great drop from the record figure (Rs 90 per bale of raw jute) obtained in the preceding year, falling as low at one time as Rs 1 a bale. But the initial paralysis of the internal trade is clearly indicated by the fact that whereas between August and October 1913, the issue of rupees from the Calcutta Currency Office in connection with the financing of the jute crop amounted to some thirteen crores of rupees, the issue in the corresponding period of 1914 was about fifty-six lakhs only. And this at a time when the crop was a record one. This state of things brought hardships to all engaged in that trade, but specially to the poor ryots. The position has since then generally improved, but not to the extent as anticipated as the winter rice crop has not been up to the average mark.'

" In this connection I cannot refrain from mentioning the several wise precautionary measures that were taken from time to time in Bengal and specially in Calcutta by our popular and much respected Governor and his Government in allaying public anxieties and in ensuring public safety.

" My Lord, as regards the main features of the Budget, I wish to make a few remarks only. There is a deficit in the current year as shown in the

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revised estimate instead of a surplus on the Imperial side, and Imperial and Provincial figures taken together show a somewhat larger deficit in the revised estimate than what was anticipated in the Budget estimate. In the forecast of the coming year there is also to be a deficit. 'All this,' to quote the Hon'ble Finance Member's words, 'is, speaking generally, entirely attributable to the war, and more especially to the decrease in the two large sources of revenue which have been so severely affected by the consequent dislocation and depression of trade.' Not only on Railways and Customs but on almost all the earning departments of the Imperial and Provincial Governments the war has left its marks. The Budget for 1915-16 has been forecasted in consideration of the same conditions prevailing in the next year. We have not only to meet the deficit but there is also the other important head of capital outlay which has also to be met. The Hon'ble Finance Member has shown us how he has met these demands in the present year and how he intends to meet all the demand upon his purse in the forthcoming year. I should like to say a few words on the general line of policy which the Hon'ble Member has adopted in his Budget statement to meet his demands in the next year. There is, I see, a considerable curtailment of expenditure in some of the heads. The effects of this policy of retrenchment are largely visible in the following heads: expenditure for special grants, education, medical, etc., railway expenditure and Delhi expenditure. As regards the former the Hon'ble Finance Member says: 'The large balance still in hand is in considerable measure due to the fact that we have found it necessary in existing circumstances to debar local Governments from drawing on their balances with us during the coming year beyond an aggregate amount of about one million.' There has been also considerable curtailment of railway expenditure and Delhi expenditure.

"My Lord, while on this railway head, I am glad to mention here that the Sara Bridge, now associated with Your Excellency's name, is an accomplished fact, which will go further to promote the development of the great jute and tea industries of North and East Bengal and of Assam. This subject of railway communication naturally reminds me of another subject which is closely allied to it, and is so regarded by the Governments of all other civilised countries. But the subject has never been treated in that light by our own Government. The splendid natural waterways of this country, especially of Bengal, to which I alluded in my last budget speech, are a valuable asset. I again invite the attention of the Government to look upon these splendid natural waterways as necessary adjuncts to railways. Not only trade and commerce but sanitation would also derive considerable advantages from their improvement. The improvement of the numerous waterways which intersect the country is beyond the scope and resources of the local Governments, and so I earnestly entreat Your Excellency's Government to take up this subject as a matter of Imperial policy and concern. In this connection I cannot refrain altogether from prominently drawing the attention of Your Excellency's Government to the very useful project generally known as the Grand Trunk Canal Scheme in Bengal formulated by Mr. Lees. I believe the scheme has been referred to the Imperial Government for sanction, and I hope that the carrying out of this well thought out scheme, while improving the waterways and thereby facilitating the development of the internal trade of Bengal, will be associated with Your Excellency's name by giving early sanction to its execution.

"My Lord, now coming again to the policy of retrenchment which I have stated already, I may say that there is a limit to this policy. We have come to a stage when this policy cannot be pushed much further, as I see that every day there is an increasing interest and demand for further development and progress and consequently further expenditure for material and social improvement. The question then comes to this, how we are to increase our income to meet our ever-growing demands? The answer is that we must have recourse to either borrowing or taxation. The Hon'ble Finance Member has taken the former course, and gives his reasons in the following words: 'We do not propose on this occasion to raise any money by increased taxation. We should not hesitate to do so to meet the deficiency in revenue which promised to be of a

more or less abiding character. But the present circumstances are altogether peculiar. We know that ordinarily we can count upon surpluses. India, too, has a very small unproductive debt, and with trade conditions depressed and the present rise in food prices in a large part of the country, we have come to the conclusion that we ought not to add to existing taxation unless it is absolutely necessary. We hold that this necessity has not yet arisen.' My Lord, the circumstances are no doubt peculiar, and no one knows when normal conditions will return. Even if they arrive sooner, we cannot, in my humble opinion, rely on this loan policy nor can we count upon our ordinary surpluses, for they may not appear for some years to come. As the Hon'ble Finance Member says: 'We must also remember that when the war is ended some of its effects may endure for some time to come, and in particular we shall then have to face the question of dealing with the temporary debt which we are now accumulating.' Then again, there is an ominous warning in the words of the Hon'ble Finance Minister when he says: 'We have not proposed additional taxation to make good deficits which we hope will prove temporary only; but as I have already said we should not hesitate to do so if it appeared that our permanent revenue position was seriously threatened.' I also wish that our deficit may prove temporary only. But, My Lord, I have very grave doubts on this point, when I consider that our agricultural prosperity on which depends everything else, is susceptible to external influences in the extreme; that we cannot have any more windfalls from the opium revenue; that the effects of the war, as the Hon'ble Finance Member says, may endure for some time to come even after the cessation of it, which will greatly influence our financial position; that there is an ever increasing demand for social and material improvement. The whole course of events and the gist of the Hon'ble Finance Member's speech point to the direction from which we can expect help. The Hon'ble Finance Minister says that we should not hesitate to do so (to have recourse to taxation) if it appeared later that our present revenue position was seriously threatened. My Lord, no one knows when this critical situation will come. In these abnormal times and exceptional circumstances, it may come sooner, after all. We ought to be ready beforehand to meet this eventuality. Then, My Lord, I shall try to prove why this loan policy cannot, on its own merits, be a successful one in the present abnormal situation. I admit that 'the public debt of India represents productive outlay normally yielding a return far in excess of the interest which she has to pay on the amount borrowed; sufficient indeed to cover also the interest on the small margin of debt which can be described as unproductive and still to leave an ample margin.'— I admit that 'we raised 5 crores in the current year and with great success' but that was before the war, when the circumstances were entirely different. The Hon'ble Finance Member also holds this view. We have to remember this peculiar situation in connection with the floatation of our loan in the forthcoming year in India. Then as regards our borrowing in England, the Hon'ble Finance Member said last year: 'An increase in rupee borrowing is justified not merely by the general conditions which prompt every country to keep as much of its public debt as possible in the hands of its own people but by the fact that of late it has become more economical to borrow in India than in London.' If such was the case in normal times, I do not understand what hope is there that our future loans would be successful and economical in the exceptional circumstances now prevailing in England and which are sure to continue for some time to come. In another place the Hon'ble Finance Member says: 'I recognise, too, that the circumstances prevalent in July, when we usually float our loans, may prove so unpropitious that we may find it desirable to have recourse to other methods for raising either a part or the whole of this amount.' In connection with the raising of this loan I beg to suggest that the time has come when it would be extremely desirable and politic in the interest of the people of this country that future loans should be raised at the rate of 4 per cent. I may give an instance of the bad effects which followed the policy which led Sir J. Westland to reduce the rate of interest from 4 to 3 per cent and the result was that the Government securities which are quoted at the rate of 3 per cent became an unsaleable commodity in the market, and it is now no longer a marketable commodity. I therefore quite agree with

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the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoj that future loans should be raised at 4 per cent, which will go to induce the people of this country not only largely to invest in Government securities, but at the same time go to inspire confidence.

"In conclusion, I beg to associate myself with the words which have fallen from the Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar and the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee about the undoubted claims which Your Excellency has established upon the gratitude of my countrymen; for Your Excellency's kind and sympathetic administration, for Your Excellency's kind sympathies with the hopes and aspirations of the people entrusted to your charge, and for the various ways in which Your Excellency has tried to foster education, sanitation and, may I add, self-government; and, lastly, for the unflinching faith and confidence Your Excellency has under all circumstances shown in the loyalty and good sense of India, and the way in which they have been utilised; and as such I must say that we sincerely share the regret which has been expressed on all sides at the approaching departure of Your Excellency, but we sincerely trust and pray that His Imperial Majesty will be graciously pleased to give due effect to the united prayer of a whole nation, by extending the term of your exalted office until such time at least as the War lasts."

The Hon'ble Raja Kushalpal Singh:—"My Lord, it is but the barest justice to the Hon'ble Sir William Meyer to mention that the Budget under discussion is an agreeable surprise to us. Within a short time after declaration of War between Britain and Germany, it became evident that we would have to face a heavy deficit both in the current and in the coming year, and that our finances would stand in urgent need of replenishment. In view of the exceptional conditions, the popular belief was that additional taxation, of a temporary nature at least, would be unavoidable, but through wise management, which does credit not only to his head but to his heart as well, the Hon'ble Sir William Meyer has spared the country a pecuniary sacrifice for which it was prepared. And yet the absolute needs of good government have not been overlooked. It is doubtless possible to suggest alterations in the budget allotments according to our views of the relative importance of the different heads of expenditure, but they would involve controversial questions of policy which cannot be profitably discussed now.

"On the whole, the Budget inspires confidence as much in the financial strength of Government as in the ability of the Hon'ble Finance Minister to carry us through these difficult times with the minimum of inconvenience to us.

"My Lord, the Hon'ble Finance Minister will not think I am wanting in my appreciation of the provision he has made even at this time of difficulty for the extension of irrigation, both productive and protective, in my province as also for minor works, if I press the claims of the United Provinces for further allotments. The local public are grateful to Government for the contribution for tank restoration work in Bundelkhand and for the allotment of one lakh of rupees for the improvement of the pilgrim route to Badrinath and Kedarnath. The only suggestion I have to make on these heads is that larger grants in the Budget of 1916-17 will be not only welcome but necessary. The tanks in Bundelkhand are very useful, and their complete restoration will be a work of lasting benefit to the whole province. The sooner, again, the pilgrim route to Badrinath and Kedarnath is put in good order the better it is for all Hindus. The volume of pilgrim traffic in these parts is increasing. The estimated cost of the road is six lakhs, out of which one lakh is provided in the present Budget. A larger grant in the following Budget will expedite the work, and expedition in a matter of this kind is desirable.

"But these are minor matters. The great need of the province is liberal Imperial grants for education. The Hon'ble Finance Minister, in justification of the reduced programme of expenditure for Education, has referred among other things to the inability of the provinces to spend in full the non-recurring Imperial grants. But his conclusion must be based upon the experience of provinces other than the United Provinces. There so many schemes are ready that

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no difficulty can justly be apprehended on the score of the inability of the department to utilise a heavier allotment. The Director of Public Instruction, speaking in the Provincial Legislative Council on 14th March 1914, observed :—

‘It was stated in the Imperial Council last year that a sum of Rs. 55,000 out of the grants had not been spent... I think this statement must have been based upon some incomplete account, for I found on looking into the account that the whole of the grant which we had received from the Government of India was either spent or had been allocated for expenditure. I am always asking for money, indeed in my position it will always be necessary for me to do so, for although large sums are placed at my disposal, they are never sufficiently large to meet all that I should like to do. The requirements of Education grow so rapidly, and the money which we get for them is all so urgently needed, that when I come to deal with the grants which come to me, I never find that I have anything like enough to spend upon the projects which are before me.’

“It is true that, on 6th April following, the Hon’ble Mr. de la Fosse somewhat modified this statement and observed that the whole money required could only be usefully spent in the course of a series of years; but the broad fact is, there that the grants for Education have never outgrown the demand. The public have no idea of the total amount wanted; but this statement of the Director does not negative the suggestion that the annual Imperial allotment could be profitably increased by several lakhs, especially in view of the fact that the Provincial expenditure during the current year shows ‘a large excess of about 3 lakhs,..... owing to larger payments of educational contributions to district boards.’ As it is, however, the total budgetted grant is by about three lakhs less than even the Revised Estimate, and by about eleven lakhs less than the Budget Estimate, of expenditure in 1914-15. The present exceptional circumstances prevent my making a grievance of this reduced allotment, but I submit that, with the restoration of normal conditions, the Hon’ble Finance Minister will kindly see his way to make up for the deficiencies of the two years under review by a proportionately heavier allotment to the province.

“My Lord, I claim another favour. Government must by this time be in possession of all the facts connected with the public complaint about the levy of heavy tolls upon pilgrims using the viaduct on the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway near Muttra. The bulk of the capital cost of this bridge has already been realised from these tolls, leaving only a small unrealised balance. Apart from the questionable principle of recovering from the general public by special tolls the whole cost of construction of a railway bridge which forms part of the permanent-way, it has to be considered that the Company is owner of the line only to the extent of one fifth, four-fifths belonging to Government, and is entitled under the contract to only a small fractional share in the surplus profits. It has not, therefore, a large interest in the unrecovered balance of the capital outlay. The abolition of the tolls, recommended by the Pilgrim Committee appointed by the Government of India, can accordingly be sanctioned forthwith without any serious trouble over adjustments between the Company and Government. And this the people earnestly hope Government will do. The favour will be appreciated by the ever-increasing numbers of pilgrims to Brij from all parts of India. No toll is levied at any other railway bridge, in the United Provinces at least, and there is no reason why the one at Muttra should be an exception to the general rule. It has already caused a loss in the annual income of the District Board of Rs. 15,242, derived from the former pontoon bridge for passengers, and the railway company has not had to pay any compensation for that. It is too much that the cost of construction should also be charged to the public. It is time the tolls were abolished. The sum of Rs. 1,19,000 meant for the Executive Council may easily be utilised for effecting this much-needed abolition.

“My Lord, it is regrettable that the landed interests of the United Provinces were unrepresented at the recent Cotton Conference and the Wheat Conference, as they have been very seriously affected by the abnormal conditions now prevailing in both the cotton trade and the wheat trade. Taking cotton first, Government will be pleased to consider that the slump in the prices has caused serious loss both to the cultivator and the landlord in my province, the extent of which will appear from the fact that over 9,00,000 acres are under cotton, nearly 8½ lakhs of acres in the Agra Province and a little over a lakh

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acres in Oudh. The whole of this land, bating the small quantity lying in the permanently-settled area, was assessed heavily at the last assessment of land revenue and the rents were fixed at a high level, on account of the valuable nature of the crop grown on it. These rents the cultivators are unable to pay by selling cotton at present prices. The result has been that landlords have not been able to recover in the current year more than 60 per cent. of the rents, and in many cases have had to incur debts for the payment of revenue. Naturally, both they and the cultivators have suffered. The position has not improved yet, notwithstanding the banking facilities arranged for by Government and the official advice for the future restriction of cultivation. There is the further risk of the cotton deteriorating in value and quality unless properly ginned, baled and warehoused. The idleness of the ginning factories and presses too causes widespread distress among the large labouring population. Some more effective means of rehabilitation of the market should accordingly be devised by Government without loss of time, in consultation with the parties affected. And, with a view to relieve agricultural distress in the interim, the assessments should be temporarily revised on an easier scale. This is all the more necessary if other crops have to be grown on cotton lands.

"My Lord, wheat is even more important to my province than cotton. The area under wheat is more than 7½ million acres, a little over 5½ million acres in the Agra Province and a trifle less than 2 million acres in Oudh. The people of these parts have suffered greatly at last year's severe famine. Now, the Hon'ble Sir William Meyer has paid a tribute to the self-reliance shown by the people of the famine-stricken area. Their self-reliance should entitle them, I submit, to some consideration, if not to exceptionally indulgent treatment. But the action of Government in placing an embargo on exports of wheat has crippled further the resources of the United Provinces agriculturist. High prices mean to the bulk of the local people a net gain, as they live upon bajra and barley and not wheat. An artificial reduction in prices not only curtails the profits of the cultivators on which they counted, but makes the recovery of the suspended rent and revenue difficult. The Government promise to earmark the profits from the restricted exports for some special purpose will not bring the wheat growers the necessary relief. From a purely local point of view, any restriction of exports is injurious; but treating India as a whole, it is perhaps absolutely necessary. The principle too of embargo on exports I do not question. What in these circumstances I do submit is that the recovery of the suspended rent and revenue in the area visited by the famine should be postponed for sometime longer, and orders to that effect should be passed by this Government forthwith. April is the month for such recovery, and any concession made by Government, to be effective, should be made immediately.

"My Lord, one more observation on a subject of local interest. The adverse decision of the House of Lords as regards an Executive Council for the United Provinces has been received with keen disappointment by the local public. Nobody ever thought the subject was anyway controversial or that there was any doubt about the policy of Government. We have all along hoped, and our hopes have been encouraged and confirmed by the sympathetic pronouncements of Government, that the province would get the Council form of Government in a short time. We do not blame this Government for the result. Indeed, the Government of India have been so earnest about the reform that a sum of Rs 1,19,000 is allotted in the present Budget for an Executive Council for the United Provinces. But what we do complain is that the House of Lords should have intervened at the last moment to thwart an administrative reform to which the people justly attach great importance and about the utility and expediency of which this Government, with all the facts in its possession, is fully convinced. We sincerely trust the sound views of the Government of India will yet prevail, and this reform will be further pressed upon the Secretary of State as one which should be adopted at once in the interests of good government.

"My Lord, one matter of vital importance to the whole of India demands close scrutiny at the hands of Government. For the last few years the people have realised more and more the absolute necessity of a rapid extension of feeder railway lines, known as Light Railways, not only for the economic

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development of rural areas, but also for the safe and profitable investment of their savings. The encouragement so far given by Government to them has been productive of excellent results, and with the success of some of these lines the prospects of this class of private enterprise have brightened. The popularity of the railways is distinctly on the increase. But these factors appear to have excited the jealousy of the foreign companies working the trunk lines, and a movement seems to have been started by them for securing a monopoly of the feeder lines also. The most influential among them—the East Indian Railway Company and the Bengal Nagpur Railway Company—according to the latest information, are seriously contemplating forming auxiliary companies for the flotation of schemes of feeder lines to those two trunk systems. This is most unfortunate, and the people look up to Government for arrangements, reserving for them this class of investment and enterprise. When we are anxious to participate in railway enterprise, there is no reason why we should not have as of right at least one class of railways in which we may have scope for our activity. There is nothing in principle to justify the existing arrangement under which the fate of a scheme started by a private company in India should be dependent upon the good-will and sanction of a powerful competitor like the big companies managing the trunk lines. The subordination of our interests to those of foreign companies is neither economically nor politically sound. I submit, My Lord, an early and sympathetic decision by Government of this subject is needed to satisfy public expectations.

“My Lord, I beg to invite Your Excellency’s favourable attention to another point of general interest, namely, the employment of the junior members of noble and ancient families in the service of the country. It has more than once been observed by responsible authorities both here and in England that there is splendid material in abundance in the country for the recruitment of the superior ranks of the Indian Army which, for want of employment, is now running to seed. The War has revealed to the world many a good point in our character, and it is but legitimate to hope that the prejudice that now exists against us will disappear completely before it is over. It will be an offset against the temporary dislocation of business caused by the War if in the end it induces the Military authorities to throw open the commissioned ranks to Indians of good birth and character. The Political department should likewise be able to attract some of these aristocratic Indians to whom diplomatic service, from instinct, heredity and tradition, must be congenial. An Indian section of the Political Service will at once increase the popularity of the Administration, and prove helpful in times of stress and storm.

“My Lord, the appointment of our colleague Sardar Daljit Singh to the India Council must be agreeable to landholders as a class all over the country. It has also the merit of giving effect to the principle embodied in the Parliamentary Bill for the reconstitution of that Council. For the first time has an elected member of the Imperial Legislative Council been selected to serve on the highest Executive Council. Apart from the question of the personal merits of the nominee, the selection should on this ground alone be acceptable to the public.

“My Lord, one more submission, and I have done. Your Excellency has come to be trusted and loved by the people; we have firm faith in your untiring industry for our good; we are safe under your protection. Self-interest accordingly prompts us to hope that, even though an extension of service may be personally disagreeable and inconvenient to you, Your Excellency will not leave the country you have loved so well until the clouds of War have completely passed away. We have fervent hope that His Imperial Majesty will be graciously pleased to consult the wishes of his Indian subjects and to allow India the substantial benefit of Your Excellency’s sympathetic guidance till the War is over.”

The Hon’ble Sir William Meyer:—“My Lord, I said in my speech in introducing the Financial Statement that the Budget for the coming year was framed by us under circumstances of peculiar difficulty and uncertainty. It is, therefore, a matter of sincere gratification to me, both on behalf of Your Excellency’s Government and for myself in particular as Finance

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the Hon'ble Mr Dadabhoy that future loans should be raised at 4 per cent, which will go to induce the people of this country not only largely to invest in Government securities, but at the same time go to inspire confidence.

"In conclusion, I beg to associate myself with the words which have fallen from the Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar and the Hon'ble Mr Banerjee about the undoubted claims which Your Excellency has established upon the gratitude of my countrymen ; for Your Excellency's kind and sympathetic administration, for Your Excellency's kind sympathies with the hopes and aspirations of the people entrusted to your charge, and for the various ways in which Your Excellency has tried to foster education, sanitation and, may I add, self-government ; and, lastly, for the unflinching faith and confidence Your Excellency has under all circumstances shown in the loyalty and good sense of India, and the way in which they have been utilised ; and as such I must say that we sincerely share the regret which has been expressed on all sides at the approaching departure of Your Excellency, but we sincerely trust and pray that His Imperial Majesty will be graciously pleased to give due effect to the united prayer of a whole nation, by extending the term of your exalted office until such time at least as the war lasts."

The Hon'ble Raja Kushalpal Singh:—"My Lord, it is but the barest justice to the Hon'ble Sir William Meyer to mention that the Budget under discussion is an agreeable surprise to us. Within a short time after declaration of war between Britain and Germany, it became evident that we would have to face a heavy deficit both in the current and in the coming year, and that our finances would stand in urgent need of replenishment. In view of the exceptional conditions, the popular belief was that additional taxation, of a temporary nature at least, would be unavoidable ; but through wise management, which does credit not only to his head but to his heart as well, the Hon'ble Sir William Meyer has spared the country a pecuniary sacrifice for which it was prepared. And yet the absolute needs of good government have not been overlooked. It is doubtless possible to suggest alterations in the Budget allotments according to our views of the relative importance of the different heads of expenditure, but they would involve controversial questions of policy which cannot be profitably discussed now.

"On the whole, the Budget inspires confidence as much in the financial strength of Government as in the ability of the Hon'ble Finance Minister to carry us through these difficult times with the minimum of inconvenience.

"My Lord, the Hon'ble Finance Minister will not think I am wanting in my appreciation of the provision he has made even at this time of difficulty for the extension of irrigation, both productive and protective, in my province as also for minor works, if I press the claims of the United Provinces for further allotments.

"But these are minor matters. The great need of the Province is liberal Imperial grants for Education. The Hon'ble Finance Minister, in justification of the reduced programme of expenditure for Education, has referred among other things to the inability of the provinces to spend in full the non-recurring Imperial grants. But his conclusion must be based upon the experience of Provinces other than the United Provinces. So many schemes are ready that no difficulty can justly be apprehended on the score of the inability of the department to utilise a heavier allotment.

"My Lord, one more observation on a subject of local interest. The adverse decision of the House of Lords, as regards an Executive Council for the United Provinces, has been received with keen disappointment by the local public. Nobody ever thought the subject was anyway controversial or that there was any doubt about the policy of Government. We have all along hoped, and our hopes have been encouraged and confirmed by the sympathetic pronouncements of Government, that the Province would get the Council form of Government in a short time. We do not blame this Government for the

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result. Indeed, the Government of India have been so earnest about the reform that a sum of Rs. 1,19,000 is allotted in the present Budget for an Executive Council for the United Provinces. But what we do complain is that the House of Lords should have intervened at the last moment to thwart an administrative reform to which the people justly attach great importance and about the utility and expediency of which this Government, with all the facts in its possession, is fully convinced. We sincerely trust the sound views of the Government of India will yet prevail, and this reform will be further pressed upon the Secretary of State as one which should be adopted at once in the interests of good government.

" My Lord, one matter of vital importance to the whole of India demands close scrutiny at the hands of Government. For the last few years the people have realised more and more the absolute necessity of a rapid extension of feeder railway lines, known as Light Railways, not only for the economic development of rural areas, but also for the safe and profitable investment of their savings. The encouragement so far given by Government to them has been productive of excellent results, and with the success of some of these lines the prospects of this class of private enterprise have brightened. The popularity of the railways is distinctly on the increase. But these factors appear to have excited the jealousy of the foreign companies working the trunk lines, and a movement seems to have been started by them for securing a monopoly of the feeder lines also. The most influential among them—the East Indian Railway Company and the Bengal-Nagpur Railway Company—according to the latest information, are seriously contemplating forming auxiliary companies for the floatation of schemes of feeder lines to those two trunk systems. This is most unfortunate, and the people look up to Government for arrangements, reserving for them this class of investment and enterprise. When we are anxious to participate in railway enterprise, there is no reason why we should not have as of right at least one class of railways in which we may have scope for our activity. There is nothing in principle to justify the existing arrangement under which the fate of a scheme started by a private company in India should be dependent upon the good-will and sanction of a powerful competitor like the big Companies managing the trunk lines. The subordination of our interests to those of foreign Companies is neither economically nor politically sound. I submit, My Lord, an early and sympathetic decision by Government on this subject is needed to satisfy public expectations.

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Member, to find that the way in which we met the difficulties that confronted us, the manner in which we faced the situation without recourse to drastic cutting down of expenditure on the one side or the imposition of taxation on the other, has met with general approval throughout the country and that this has been so eloquently and unanimously voiced by our non-official Colleagues in Council. I think, too, that I may claim the same meed of approval for the special action taken from time to time by the Finance Department from the beginning of the war crisis. I thank my Hon'ble non-official Colleagues who have spoken for the very kind way in which they have referred to me personally; and it adds to my gratitude that I have not much to say in the way of a reply to criticisms, for I do not propose to travel outside matters that are cognate to the budget. This, My Lord, is a sort of recognised oratorical saturnalia; every member speaks of the things that are near to his heart; but as the Finance Member is also under a time limit he cannot be expected to follow all these devious paths and must keep to what actually belongs to his budget.

"Nor can I consider what the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee and others have invited me to do; I cannot deal with what is going to happen when peace and plenty come back again—as I trust they will ere long—when that time comes we shall have to consider what we can do with, I hope, our abundant cash. In the meantime I am not going to be seduced by eloquence from Bengal or elsewhere into making any premature promises. I would only add a word of caution—that the end of the war is of course not necessarily the beginning of a new financial era; there will be a great deal of ground to make up and there will be also a good deal of temporary debt to defray.

"I will, however, make one exception to the rule I have laid down for myself. The Hon'ble Mr. Das pleaded for a member in this Council to represent the Indian Christian community. Well, although the Hon'ble Member specifically represents another constituency, he also represents the interests of his co-religionists so well that I wondered why this request was made, but, after a little cogitation, I think I have got the right reason. I have noticed on several occasions that the rigour of the time rule has brought down the guillotine on the Hon'ble Member when he was in the full flow of his eloquence. It is probable that if he could get a Colleague after his own heart, a brother of his soul, who might sit by him, he would, when the guillotine descended, pass on his manuscript and notes, and so the speech could be delivered in an entire form!

"The same Hon'ble Member complains of the want of special budget provision for the education of Indian Christians. Well, it is not usual to make special provision in budgets for education according to sects, but I must say I was a little surprised at this complaint of the neglect of his class, because I have always understood that the Indian Christian was exceedingly well-off for educational institutions, thanks to the activity of Missionary bodies for example, whose schools and colleges are largely subsidised by Government. And if my friend will look at actual results, he will find that the Indian Christians stand very high indeed in the educational scale.

"The Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis, Mr. Dadabhoy, Mr. Marshall Reid and Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy dwelt on what I have said in regard to the possibility of borrowing in India next year. Well, I can only repeat here what I said in my speech on the Financial Statement that we hope to get 3 million pounds in India some way or other. We recognise that the circumstances are peculiar, and we must reserve to ourselves the consideration of the particular way in which we shall endeavour to do this. It would be quite premature to consider that matter now. The circumstances of the market, the circumstances of the political world, may have entirely changed before the time at which we usually bring out our loans. But I can say one thing in regard to what these Hon'ble Members have said, that of course the Government, in making any arrangements for next year, will have in mind, as far as possible, the safeguarding of the interests of the people who are in possession of existing Government securities. It would be very bad business on our part to do anything wantonly to depreciate our own paper, and we shall therefore take that

fact fully into consideration. I shall also keep fully in touch with commercial opinion through the Controller of Currency, Mr. Howard; and I am myself going down to Bombay presently. I think it is quite likely, though I cannot pledge myself yet, that when the time is more advanced, if things still seem difficult and uncertain, I may follow the example that has been urged upon me, that of Mr. Lloyd George, and, with Your Excellency's permission, have an informal conference with some representatives of the banking and commercial community. As I say, however, I cannot make any definite statement on that point yet. But I do hope that, if we have such a conference, the Bombay representatives will show themselves a little more courageous than my friend Mr. Marshall Reid. Mr. Reid commenced his speech by saying that although he accepted an eight million railway programme in the special circumstances of next year, as soon as things got normal again he was going to press not for a 12, but for a 15, million pound programme. That means, of course, extra borrowing, and I thought that Mr. Reid would go on to say that Bombay would help to find the money. Not so; he says 'provide more money for railways by all means, but for heaven's sake do not ask us to lend it to you; get the coin from somebody else.' Well, to those who ask Government to raise more money for capital enterprise I say that there must be two sides to every bargain, and if they want the Government to move they must do something to meet the Government.

"The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy made some very interesting remarks about Post Office deposits and said that we should increase our present rate of interest. Well, our present rate of interest is 3 per cent, which is more liberal than what the Home Government gives and I think it is quite liberal enough as compared with our present borrowing rate. As we borrow in the open market at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, Mr. Dadabhoy would like us to pay $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for our Post Office deposits also. But obviously there is all the difference in the world between the interest you pay for a loan which you do not have to repay except when you want to, and the interest which you pay on money which you have to pay out on demand, and which, as the circumstances of this year have shown, you may suddenly have to pay out to a large and inconvenient extent.

"The same Hon'ble Member was eager for more statistical information as regards education and sanitation, and especially in regard to the expenditure of grants and so forth. Well, I endeavoured to give this in my last year's Budget speech as far as I could do so in a general way, and if my Hon'ble friend will refer to paragraphs 43 to 48 in my speech of last year he will find that I brought certain figures together. But when Mr. Dadabhoy asks for the same sort of information as is furnished by the Secretary's memorandum in respect of capital railway outlay, he must remember that in respect of capital railway outlay we are dealing with large projects of limited number which are entirely under our own control. Now as regards the outlay on education and sanitation, grants go from the Government of India to the Provinces, and the Provinces also make their own allotments from provincial funds. As these grants flow to the people through a vast variety of different channels, it would be quite impossible to have a statement showing expenditure on education and sanitation in the same way as expenditure on railways.

"The Hon'ble Mr. Malaviya made some interesting remarks on export duties and import duties and Mr. Ghuznavi professed an ardent desire to pay more income tax. Well, these suggestions may prove useful if the time ever comes when we have to increase taxation, but I need not discuss them at present as we have decided not to do this now.

"The Hon'ble Mr. Malaviya referred to the taxation that was imposed in 1910, and said that it was that taxation that enabled the present Government to meet the existing crisis without putting on fresh taxes, implying that that taxation was imposed before its time. Well, that question was thoroughly debated at the time, but it will interest the Council, perhaps, to learn that the proceeds of that extra taxation come to about £1 million, and if Hon'ble Members will refer later on to that portion of my last year's speech to which I referred just now and look at paragraph 46 about grants to local Governments,

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primarily for Education and Sanitation, they will find that besides large non-recurring grants we gave exactly a million pounds of permanent contributions to local Governments between 1911-12 and 1914-15 so that that may be taken against the extra taxation imposed in 1910. And of course there is another thing to be remembered on the other side, that we have lost about 3 million pounds recurring revenue under opium. So, although I should be the last person to belittle anything my predecessors have done—in fact, I think I tried to acknowledge their merits in the matter of finance very specially in my speech introducing the Financial Statement—still I do not think it can be fairly implied that we are entitled to no particular credit for not having imposed taxation this year because of the taxes imposed in 1910.

“The Hon’ble Pandit also referred to the land revenue and asked, why is the land revenue not coming down; and why is it going up? Well, that is a matter of course for my Hon’ble Colleague Sir Robert Carlyle rather than for myself, but I may say that land revenue naturally expands with the increase of cultivation. As regards the actual rates of land revenue, there was a very interesting enquiry, which the Hon’ble Pandit no doubt remembers, instituted by Lord Curzon about the year 1902, I think, and there are further discussions on the subject in the Chapter on Land Revenue in Volume IV of the Imperial Gazetteer.

“I think the Hon’ble Member will find there that, relatively, so far as the proportion which the Government takes, in comparison with the actual takings of the cultivator is concerned, the land revenue has not increased; it has decreased

“The Hon’ble Raja Kushalpal Singh is very anxious about Feeder-line Companies. The Feeder-line Companies, I think, have shown their capacity to look after themselves. To my mind they are one of the most welcome features of the economic development of this country in recent years. You have got companies financed by indigenous capital opening out the country and earning a good rate of interest. And even during the present difficult circumstances, money is going on being subscribed. But the Hon’ble Member seemed to think that there was great rivalry between the feeder lines and the main lines. We had some correspondence with the Secretary of State on that subject not so many months ago, and the decision came to was that there was room for both. We came to the conclusion, and the Secretary of State entirely agreed, that there was room enough for various sorts of legitimate railway enterprise, and that the feeder companies were not suffering at all.

“The Hon’ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee criticised the grant of time-scale allowances to Indian Civil Service and Police officers, and in so doing he also voiced an amount of criticism that I have seen in the press, for I can assure my Hon’ble friend that I do read the newspapers, including his own paper, the ‘Bengalee.’ I read his leading articles for political instruction, and I derive amusement from the letters of his London correspondent. I should like to explain more clearly what has happened in that matter. As Hon’ble Members will realise, there are two ways of paying the rank and file in any service, apart from the selection appointments at the top. You can have what is called a ‘time-scale,’ that is, a man gets so much on joining, and then his pay increases year by year—or it may perhaps be every two years or so; but it increases regularly by certain increments, provided, of course, he continues to do his work satisfactorily. As opposed to that, you may have what I may call a ‘promotion scale.’ Here there is no time-scale, but there are a certain number of grades and a certain number of posts in each grade. These carry specific rates of pay, and an officer’s attaining to a particular grade or class does not depend directly on the length of his service, but has a certain amount of luck about it. It depends on the extent to which his seniors retire, or die or take leave, for leave gives him temporary promotion. Originally most of our big services were dealt with in this way, but of late years we have in a number of cases found the time-scale a more convenient method of payment, that is to say, for the rank and file; and many of the great services, Public Works, Education, Forests and so on, have been put on to a time-scale

On the other hand, the Indian Civil Service and the Police remain on what I have called the promotion-scale. Well then, what is the result in a time like this? It must be remembered that, even though you have a promotion-scale, you must have some sort of normal expectation of how things will go, not in any particular year, but throughout a period of say two or three years taken together. For instance in the Indian Civil Service, we carefully work out every year or so, with reference to recruitment, what the normal state of promotion ought to be. It has been recognised again that, an Indian civilian ought to be able to attain to what is called a superior appointment in a given period of time, and so on. When you have got an abnormal time; when promotion is unduly blocked; when, as the juniors would put it, people who ought to go, won't go; or, as the state would put it, deserving officers remain on instead of retiring and on the top of this, leave is restricted or stopped, you get an abnormal block in a promotion-service. On the other hand, it does not affect a time-service at all, except to the minor extent that the top places which have special rates of pay may be filled more slowly. But apart from that, you may recall every man on leave and the juniors would still get their old rate of pay. When you get a promotion-scale and things are materially disturbed, that is to say the state of promotion is much slower than the normal rate which has obtained in past experience and tradition, it is not merely the existing members of the Service who suffer, but, unless something is done to remedy it, recruitment suffers; the calibre of your service is diminished for the future. We have had cases of that sort in the Indian Civil Service from time to time. I remember when I first came out in the early eighties, there was a block in promotion in Madras, and also in the United Provinces, which had led to the application of a minimum time-scale there. (I shall explain directly what this minimum time-scale exactly is.) Well in 1913, just before I joined the Government of India, it had been decided that there was again such an abnormal block in promotion, owing to people not being obliging enough to retire or die according to actuarial calculations, and also, to a certain extent, to over-recruitment during a series of years, that the Civilians in the United Provinces, the Punjab and the Central Provinces were getting far lower salaries than they had a right to expect, having regard, to the normal conditions of promotion for many years past. The Government of India, therefore, with the consent of the Secretary of State, gave what is called a minimum time-scale; that is to say, they said that every man who had done a certain period of service should draw not less than a certain amount. But this minimum was not at all what the man would have drawn normally; ~~it was materially less than his normal expectation;~~ it was a certain *solatium* because it was thought unjust to the men themselves to undergo this sudden dislocation of their prospects without any palliative, and also, as I have said, because acute discontent in the service, which was thought to have some justice at the back of it, would re-act at home and prejudice future recruitment. Then, later on, the Government of Bombay asked for a similar application of the system to their Presidency and I would ask my Hon'ble friend to remember that the Government of Bombay contains as one of its members an Indian gentleman who had no previous connection with our Government services. Then came the circumstances of the present war, and it was thought desirable to recall officers from leave. They answered to the call most loyally, a great many of them, at very considerable personal loss. Many of them willingly surrendered leave they urgently required for the purposes of health and recuperation. The result of this was that all the normal expectations of acting promotion were disturbed, and after consideration, the Government of India, last autumn, thought it desirable that here again we should apply a minimum time-scale, which would be, as I say, a partial compensation, but would in no way be the equivalent of what the beneficiary would ordinarily be drawing in normal circumstances; and that was necessarily applied to the whole of India. Then, after we had got the consent of the Secretary of State to that action in regard to the Indian Civil Service, we got his consent to similar action in regard to the Police. Of course it is open to any Hon'ble Member who does not agree, to argue that we might have done it for less and so on. - But I do want the Council

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to understand that our action was taken deliberately and with reference to what we thought the best interests of the country, having regard not merely to present members of the Services, but to the effect on future recruitment.

" I was sorry to hear the Hon'ble Mr Abbott say that he thought India had not done enough in connection with this war, and compare our action with that of the Dominions, somewhat to the discredit of India

" The contribution of India has not been limited to the amount of money we have given, substantial though that is compared to our resources, for I may bring to notice that without this contribution there would have been no deficit in 1914-15 and 1915-16 taken together. As my Hon'ble friend Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya so aptly observed, we have contributed what is far more precious than silver and gold ; we have contributed men. As Your Excellency observed some time ago in this Council, India has placed at the service of the Home Government in various parts of the world some 200,000 men, trained soldiers, whereas the forces of the Dominions, splendid fellows as they are, were, at the beginning of the war, largely untrained India has not only done that ; she has supplied munitions of war to a large extent to His Majesty's Government from her factories and from her arsenals ; she has helped in supplying horses and mules ; she has given to the full of what she possessed. And how was this possible ? Because for many years India had been paying heavily for a splendid Army which was entertained, and necessarily entertained, for the defence of India. Well, India had been maintaining this Army long before the Dominions thought of doing anything, to speak of, in the way of military expenditure ; and at the present period of stress, India placed a very great part of her Army which was, as I have said, primarily raised for other purposes, at the disposal of His Majesty's Government. I cannot claim, of course, in any way to speak as a military expert, but I think I may say that the value of the Indian contingents who have done so splendidly in this war, the value of the Indian supplies of munitions of war, and so on, will prove to have been of most material assistance in determining the present campaigns. Besides that, there were the splendid offers from the Indian Chiefs to whom I referred in my speech on the Financial Statement, and I would like to add now the name of His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur, who has since given 5 lakhs. My Lord, I do not want to be thought to belittle the Colonies in any way ; but I love the people of India (Hear ! hear !) I have served here for a generation and I cannot bear anybody to belittle India (Hear ! hear ! and applause), and to speak as though the part played by India in the war and her contribution to it, were in any way inferior to that of other parts of the Empire

" I have nothing more to say, my Lord, except to express the hope that no unforeseen and untoward circumstances will cause any material reconsideration of the estimates we have made "

His Excellency the Viceroy :—" We are now approaching the close of another session of this Legislative Council, and before we disperse I would like to say a few words upon the budget and other matters of general interest.

" As regards the memorable budget which has been under discussion this session, it is a matter of much satisfaction to me that all its important decisions—those for example relating to taxation, capital outlay and borrowing—have commanded practically unanimous acceptance both inside this Council and beyond it. The imposition of additional taxation at the present time would not in our judgment have been justified, either by financial requirements or by the present economic condition of the country, and our attitude in this matter has, I think, been thoroughly understood and appreciated. As regards capital outlay, we have had to strike a mean. At a time like this, material development must inevitably be retarded. But our capital programme is an integral part of India's financial system, and must be maintained on a scale bearing some reasonable relation to past standards, if excessive hardship and

dislocation are to be avoided. Our borrowing arrangements naturally follow from the conclusions on these two points. We are fortunate in being able to see our way to carrying them through without straining our credit, or drawing to the full on reserves which may afterwards be required to meet the many contingencies of another year of war.

"Sir William Meyer's most interesting recital of the financial events of the war period brings out convincingly the inherent soundness and strength of India's financial position, and this has been recognised in every quarter. It is quite true that our revenue has suffered and that our resources have been depleted in other ways. This must be expected in a country whose fiscal system is so directly responsive, under almost every head of revenue, to fluctuating economic conditions, and whose Government performs so many financial functions besides that of looking after its own balances. We undoubtedly undertake in this country some heavy financial responsibilities, some indeed from which other Governments, the Home Government for example, are exempt. But we are in a position to say to-day, after eight months of war, that these responsibilities have been fully discharged, and that the strain which was thrown on us at the outset has now sensibly relaxed. At the same time we realise fully that another year of war must bring with it many unknown possibilities; and if further burdens are thus thrown upon our finances we are not unprepared to meet them.

I turn now to the economic questions which have recently engaged my attention and that of my Government. The principal question under this head has been the high prices of wheat. When I addressed you at the beginning of this session, we had already restricted the exports from December to the end of March to a fixed quantity, in order to secure that only a limited proportion of the surplus remaining over from the old crop should be exported, and we had also taken powers to inquire into the existence of stocks, and, if necessary, to take over such as might be unreasonably withheld. The inquiries conducted by local Governments showed, however, that such stocks were not in existence, and further action in this direction could have had no good effect. It was, therefore, apparent that the only possible policy was to do what we could to relieve distress by cheap grain shops and the like, and to await the effect on prices of the new crop which usually begins to operate some time in February. World prices, however, continued to rise, and it became necessary in the interests of the Indian consumer to take steps which would ensure the effect of the new crop making itself felt as soon as possible. No ordinary measures would have sufficed, and the urgency of the situation called for decisive action. We accordingly issued the announcement that all private export of wheat would be prohibited on and after the 1st April. Our object was to ensure that as supplies of the new crop, which, I am glad to say, promises to be one of the finest on record, began to be marketed, they should be used to relieve the undoubted shortage in India instead of being attracted to other countries by the high prices prevalent in the markets of the world. The results of this announcement were immediately beneficial and prices promptly declined to a more reasonable level. At the same time we have not neglected our responsibilities to the cultivator and to Indian trade. There is every sign that there will be an unusually large surplus this year available for export, and while we intend to keep export under our own control in order that prices may not be driven up again by sudden and excessive exportation, we are equally desirous of allowing our export trade to be carried on, so far as is compatible with the interests of the Indian consumer. I trust that this double object will be achieved by the scheme which has already been laid before Council in a recent debate. Under this scheme we shall keep the control of purchases for export in our own hands, and we hope thus to be able to ensure a moderate level of prices, to safeguard the consumer, and yet not to disappoint the cultivator of his legitimate profits. The fact that we shall have created an artificially low level of prices in India, as compared with prices in the other markets of the world, implies that export may be conducted on a considerable margin of profit. We hope to make arrangements by which such profits as may accrue to the State under this

[25TH MARCH, 1915.] [*His Excellency the Viceroy.*]

scheme will not be utilized, as is our revenue from normal sources, to meet the ordinary expenses of administration, but will be devoted to some special purpose for the advantage of the people. It is not possible for me now to say what this will be, but I have noted with sympathy the feeling expressed during the debate in my Council in favour of such profits as may accrue being expended for the benefit of the agricultural classes.

"In addition to the control of wheat, my administration has had to bear its part in the policy which is being so vigorously and successfully prosecuted by the Imperial Government for preventing supplies of food-stuffs and raw materials reaching the countries with which we are at war. The strictest watch has been kept upon our trade with neutrals. Prohibitions and restrictions have been imposed where necessary, and I have pleasure in testifying to the readiness with which the commercial community has submitted to these necessary interferences with the ordinary course of trade. Trading in India by firms or companies containing a hostile element has been put an end to, and the process of closing down such businesses is being carried into effect with due caution in order to avoid possible injury to Indian and British interests. At the same time, my Government have been giving such assistance as they can to Indian industries in its endeavours to take advantage of the opportunity for expansion afforded by the cessation of imports from Germany and Austria and other continental countries affected by the war. I should like to add that the whole question of promotion of industrial development in India is one which has been and is receiving the most careful consideration of myself and my Government, and I am glad to find from the prominent place which it has taken in the debates of my Council this session, that it is also occupying the minds of public men in India. The present time, when commerce and finance are naturally disturbed by a great war, when men's minds can hardly be expected to look on economic problems from their normal angle, is not in my judgment a suitable moment for taking special action or for initiating special inquiries as to how best this end may be achieved. But it is a question, the importance of which is very present in my thoughts, and it is one which I shall hope to see taken up vigorously and effectively as soon as normal conditions have supervened.

"Since I last addressed you on the subject of the war in Europe, the position of the Allies in Flanders has been maintained and improved, while in Eastern Prussia and Poland the tide of war has ebbed and flowed. The recent success, at Neuve-Chapelle, in which the Indian Army Corps took so prominent a part has been a source of satisfaction to us all. In the meantime, the British fleet has maintained its absolute supremacy and having swept German commerce from off the seas, recently administered a severe punishment to a German squadron that wished to make a further bombardment of unprotected towns on the British coast. The economic pressure created by our supremacy at sea is gradually having its effect in Germany and the piratical policy now being pursued by German submarines is proof of the extent to which that pressure is being felt. Happily the efforts of the German submarines have met with very little success, and their number is diminishing under the losses that they have experienced. In any case such a policy can have no possible effect on the eventual result of the war, and there can be no doubt that the day of triumph of the Allies who are making huge sacrifices for the right of all free nations to live their own lives and follow their own destinies is slowly but surely dawning, when the monstrous theory that one military nation can impose by brute force her will and barbarous code of civilization upon all others will be finally shattered and hurled into utter oblivion and darkness.

"In the Near East, Turkey is beginning to experience the folly of the policy into which she has been forced by the reckless disregard by a small military clique under German tutelage of her best and highest interest.

"On every side where the Turkish forces have been engaged in fighting against the Allies they have met with reverses, and the moment is rapidly

approaching when, if the Turkish Government are sufficiently wise, they will throw themselves on the mercy of the Allies and thus free themselves from the German yoke.

"As an indication of how little the so-called Turkish Government is in touch with the real sentiments of the Turkish people, I may mention that a few weeks ago I saw a letter written by a resident in Constantinople in which, after describing the oppression and exaction of the military authorities, the confident opinion of the middle and lower classes of the Turks was expressed in the saying that 'it will be all right when the British fleet comes up'.

"As you are aware, I paid a short visit to the Persian Gulf and to Basrah a few weeks ago. It was a great pleasure and advantage to me to have an opportunity of inquiring into the whole economic, commercial, and political situation of the province of Basrah, and also to visit our troops in their advanced posts within six or seven miles of the Turkish Camp, which was plainly visible and to congratulate them on their prowess and splendid bearing. One could not but feel very proud of them all. I had also time to visit the hospitals in Basrah and was glad to be able to verify the fact that all the sick and wounded British and Indian troops are being well and carefully tended.

"As regards the province of Basrah it struck me as one of immense potentialities. Under Turkish misrule it has greatly suffered and the population of the surrounding country is consequently very sparse. At small expense the city of Basrah might become a splendid port, and the port of exit of all the trade of Mesopotamia and Northern Persia. Merely the fringes of the Shat-el-Arab have so far been cultivated, but the soil is extremely fertile and only the most elementary schemes of irrigation are required to extend indefinitely the area under cultivation. The climate is splendid and resembles that of the Northern Punjab. I cannot conceive of a country more suitable for Indian immigration in the future when a more stable form of Government has been established. That country may then really become a garden of Eden and blossom like a rose.

"You are aware of the declaration made by the British, French, and Russian Governments of the inviolability of the holy places and of the freedom of Jeddah from attack so long as there was no interference with the Indian pilgrims. Solicitude for the welfare of pilgrims generally prompted His Majesty's Government, on hearing that there was a shortage of food-stuffs at Jeddah and Mecca, to arrange for supplies to be sent there for distribution by the Italian Consul at Jeddah. I regret to state that the Turkish authorities, in spite of the protests of the Italian Consul, have seized for military purposes a cargo of 30,000 sacks of barley destined for the pilgrims. Until, therefore, we are able to receive some definite assurance that any further supplies that may be sent will reach their proper destination, it will be impossible for His Majesty's Government to make any further similar arrangements.

"On the North-Western frontier the situation remains normal; and although there have been attacks on our advanced posts by trans-frontier tribesmen, they have been gallantly and successfully repelled by our troops, militia, and tribal levies.

"It has been with a sense of profound regret that I have learnt that an address to His Majesty the King-Emperor against the draft Proclamation creating an Executive Council for the United Provinces has been carried by the House of Lords. It appears that out of a total of nearly 650 Peers of the Realm and in a House of only 73 Peers, the motion against the draft Proclamation was carried by 47 votes to 26. No information has been received of any similar motion in the House of Commons, and we may therefore conclude that the Proclamation has not been rejected by Parliament as a whole. As you are aware, the Proclamation was approved by the Governor General in Council, by the Secretary of State in Council, and by His Majesty's Government, and, in accordance with the law, was laid upon the table in both Houses of Parliament. It may seem to you, as it does to me, a matter of

[25TH MARCH, 1915.] [*His Excellency the Viceroy.*]

serious concern that it should be within the power of a small body of Peers, who perhaps hardly realise the rate of progress made in this country during the past few years to throw out a proposition put by the Government of India and His Majesty's Government before Parliament with the full approbation of Indian public opinion. It seems clear to me, under the circumstances, that a modification of the law by which such procedure is possible is absolutely essential, and I trust that this will be recognised by His Majesty's Government

"Nobody can reasonably contend that, with the advance of civilisation entailing the discussion and solution of new questions of ever-increasing complexity arising every day, one-man Government is better than Council Government. The principle of Executive Councils for local Governments by which the local administration is less dependent upon the personal equation and which ensures a greater continuity of policy has already taken root in India and cannot now be eradicated. Moreover the inclusion of an Indian gentleman in the Council of a province is to my mind a source of great strength to the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor. I speak from my own experience, and have no hesitation in saying, without any idea of flattery, that the presence of my friend Sir Ali Imam on my Council and his knowledge and experience are and have been of the greatest possible advantage to me and my Government. I can well understand that all educated people of this country will be disappointed at the result of the action of a small party in the House of Lords, but I would ask them not to be depressed, for I regard the proceedings of the 16th March in the House of Lords as only a temporary set-back, and I feel as confident that the United Provinces will have its Executive Council within a very short period as that the dawn will follow the night.

"The activities of the Council during the current session have necessarily been circumscribed by the decision to avoid as far as possible all controversial business. Nevertheless some measures of importance have come under your consideration. I need only refer to the measure recently passed in this Council to secure the defence of India and the public safety, in order to express the thanks of Government for your loyal co-operation in enacting that measure. Another Bill of importance has also been passed in this Council, namely, the Assam Labour and Emigration Act, which I hope will mark a stage in our efforts to remove abuses attendant on the present system of emigration and in securing that the welfare of labourers recruited to Assam is adequately safeguarded. The only other measure of importance to which I need allude is the Benares Hindu University Bill which was introduced into this Council on the 22nd. It will be a source of gratification to me if this measure becomes law during my tenure of office as Governor General. It is too early to speak of the possible effects of this Bill, but I have every hope that it will do much to promote the cause of education and to encourage learning and research amongst all classes.

"In the discussion of resolutions, though the range of subjects has also been limited by the exclusion of controversial matters, much valuable experience has been gained. I may refer to the discussion on the export of wheat as particularly instructive. It enabled the Government to ascertain the views of the Council on the subject and to make an important and effective pronouncement of its policy. The discussion on the management of State Railways was of equal importance and interest. In these circumstances, although our session this year has not been a full one, I think we may congratulate ourselves that we have done a considerable amount of useful work in spite of the difficulties which have confronted us.

"I wish also to say one word of a personal nature. I thank you for the kind words that so many of you have been so good as to speak of myself and my administration. I am very grateful and shall always treasure those words, but I have only done my duty; and although I love India and wish always to do my duty towards her, the question of the duration of my stay in India is not one that is in my hands.

[*His Excellency the Viceroy.*] [25TH MARCH, 1915.]

“With these few words I will now conclude, and in adjourning this Council *sine die*, I wish you all a very happy return to your homes.”

The Council adjourned *sine die*.

W. H. VINCENT,

*Secretary to the Government of India,
Legislative Department.*

DELHI;

The 30th March, 1915.

APPENDIX.*(Referred to in the Answer to Question 3, page, 598 ante.)*

Grants for the improvement of sugar cultivation in Formosa :—

1912	£
Fertilisers	53,800
Cane shoots	28,000
Fighting cane disease	4,500
	<hr/>
Total	86,300
	<hr/>
1913	
Fertilisers	30,160
Seeds and planting	16,190
Fighting cane pests and disease	2,230
	<hr/>
Total	48,580
	<hr/>

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