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THE INDIAN
ANNUAL REGISTER
1920

TO

MY COUNTRYMEN.

CALENDAR FOR 1919.

January.

Su.....	...	5	12	19	26	...
M	...	6	13	20	27	...
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February.

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1920

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1919

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Foreword

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

The Indian Annual Register was started to obviate to some extent at least some of these difficulties. In its first issue last year nothing more than the most burning topics of the day were given rather incompletely, but still the reception that was accorded to it by a generous public was more than could have been claimed. In this, its second issue, we confess much remains still to be done in the way of improvements and great as are its shortcomings we fully trust and hope that the indulgence that was shown to it a year ago may still be extended to a work which after all is a pioneer work in this country.

Annual Register Office
Sibpur, Calcutta.

EDITOR

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India and Her Rulers.

The King-Emperor.

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

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

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

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

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

Crowned.—At Westminister Abbey, June. 22, 1911.

Issues :—

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

2. H. R. H. Albert Fredrick Arthur George.

Born December 14, 1895.

3. H. R. H. Victoria Alexandra Alice Mary.

Born April 25, 1897.

4. H. R. H. Henry William Fredrick Albert.

Born March 31, 1900.

5. H. R. H. George Edward Alexander Edmund.

Born December 20, 1902.

6. H. R. H. John Charles Francis.

Born July 12, 1905, *d.*—January 18, 1919.

Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India.

Salutes	Name and Title.	Succeeded	Area in Thousand Sq. Mile	Population in Thousand	Revenue in 1000 £	Tribute, etc.
	His Exalted Highness The Nizam of					
21 Guns	Hyderabad, Sir Usman Ali Khan	1911	82	13,374	3,000	
	His Highness the Maharaja of—					
,,	Mysore, Sir Krishnaraja Wadiyar	1895	29	5,806	1,600	223,333
,,	Baroda, Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwar	1875	8·1	2,032	1,100	25,000
..	Gwalior, Sir Madhav Rao Scindia	1886	25	3,093	905	
19	Kashmir, Sir Pertab Singh	1885	84	3,158	750	
,,	Travancore, Sir Balarama Verma	1885	7·1	3,428	761	54,133
,,	Indore, Tukoji Rao Holkar	1903	9·4	1,004	400	
,,	Kolhapore, Sir Sahu Chaterpati Maharaj	1884	3·2	833	382	
,,	H. H. the Maharana of Mewar, Sir Fateh Singh	1884	12	1,293	176	13,333
,,	H. H. the Begum of Bhupal, Sultan Jehan Begum.	1901	6.9	730	200	
,,	H. H. the Khan of Kalat, Sir Mahamud Khan.	1893	71	470	51	
	His Highness the Maharaja of—					
17	Bikaner, Sir Ganga Singhji	1887	23	700	220	
,,	Bharatpur, Sir Vrijandra Sawai Kishen Singh	1900	1·9	558	210	
,,	Jaipur, Sir Madho Singh	1880	15	2,636	533	26,667
,,	Karauli, Sir Banwar Pal Deo	1886	1·2	146	40	
,,	Jodhpur, Sir Sumer Singhji	—	34	2,057	440	6,533
,,	Patiala, Sir Bhupendra Singh	1900	5	1,407	488	
,,	Rewa Sir Venkal Raman Singhji	—	13	1,514	187	
,,	H. H. the Nawab of Tonk, Sir Ibrahim Ali Khan	1867	2·5	303	130	
,,	H. H. the Nawab of Bhawalpur, H. Sadiq. Md. Khan Bdr.	1907	15	780	182	
,,	H. H. the Raja of Cochin, Sir Rama Varma	1914	1·3	918	254	13,333
,,	H. H. the Maharao Raja of Bundi, Sir Raghubir Singh	1889	2·2	218	46	8,00
,,	H. H. the Maharao of Cutch, Sir Khengarji Sawai Bah.	1876	7·6	513	167	
,	,, Kotah, Sir Umed Singhji	1889	5·6	639	224	15,648

Salutes.	Name and Title.	Succeeded	Area in Thousand Sq. Mile.	Population in Thousand	Revenue in 1000£	Tribute, etc.
	His Highness the Maharaja of—					
15	Alwar, Sir Jay Singhji Saheb Bahadur	1892	3·1	791	232	
,,	Datia, Lokendra Sir Govinda Singh	1907	·9	154	15	
,,	Dewas, Sr., Sir Tukaji Rao Puar	1899	·4	74·1	25	
,,	,, Jr. Sir Malhar Rao Puar	1892	·4	63	25	
,,	Dhar, Sir Udayji Rao Puar	1819	1·7	154	56	
,,	Idar, Sir Dowlat Singhji	1911	1·6	202	44	
,,	Kishangarh, Sir Madan Singhji	1900	·8	87	56	
,,	Orchha, Sir Pratap Singh	1874	·2	330	50	
,,	Sikkim, Tashi Nam Gyol	1914	2·8	87	15	
,,	H. H. The Maharawal of Banswara, Sir Sambhu Singh	1913	1·6	165	15	
,,	,, Dungarpur, Sir Bijay Singhaji	1898	1·4	159	16	
,,	,, Jaissalmir, Sir Jawahar Singhaji	1914	1·6	202	44	
,,	,, Partabgarh, Sir Raghunath Singh	1890	·8	62	18	
,,	H. H. The Maharaj Rana of Dholpur, Sir Uday Bhan Singh	1911	1·1	263	80	
,,	H. H. The Mir of Khairpur, Sir Imam Bux Khan	1909	·6	223	100	
	H. H. The Maharao of Shirohi, Sir Kaishree Singhji	1875	1·9	189	34	
	His Highness the Maharaja of—					
13	Benaras, Sir Probhunarayan Singh	1889	·8	346	112	12,667
,,	Bhavanagar, Sir Bhavasingji Taket Singhji	1896	2·8	441	287	
,,	Cooch Behar, Sir Jitendranarayan Bhoop	1913	1·3	592	164	
,,	Dhrangadra, Sir Ghanshyam Singhji	1911	1·1	79	40	
,,	Jind, Sir Ranabir Singh	1887	1·2	271	87	
,,	Kapurthala, Sir Jagatjit Singh	1877	·6	268	167	8,723
,,	Nawanagar, Sir Ranjit Singhji ..	1907	3·7	349	151	
,,	Porbandar, Natwar Singhji Bhavasinghji	1908	·6	82	55	
,,	H. H. The Raja of Rutlam, Sir Sajjan Singhji	1893	·6	75	60	
,,	H. H. The Raja of Tippera, Sir Birendra Kishore Dev Manikya	1909	·4	229	112	
,,	H. H. The Nawab of Rampur, Sir Mahommad Hamid Ali	1889	·9	531	240	
,,	,, ,, Junagar, Mahabat Khanji	1911	3·2	434	190	

Salutes	Name and Title.	Succeeded	Area in Thousand Sq. Mile	Population in Thousand	Revenue in 1000£	Tribute. etc.
13	H. H. The Nawab of Jaora, Sir Mahamed Iftiquar Ali khan	1895	.5	75	50	
	His Highness The Maharaja of—					
11	Ajaigarh, Sir Ranjor Singh Bahadur	1859	.8	87	15	
,,	Charkhari, Sri Ganga Singh Deo	19 4	.8	132	33	
,,	Chatarpur, Sri Biswanath Singh	1867	1.1	166	30	
,,	Manipur, Sri Chura Chand Singh	1891	8.4	346	30	3,333
,,	Jhalawar, Sir Bhawani Singh	1899	.8	96	32	
,,	Nabha, Sri Ripudaman Singhji	1911	.9	248	103	
,,	Panna, Sri Jadabendra Singh	1902	2.5	228	33	
,,	Sirmoor, Sir Amar Prakash Bahadur	1913	1.1	038	57	
,,	Bijawar, Sir Sawant Singh					
,,	Jhabua, Sri Uday Singhji					
	His Highness The Raja of—					
,,	Chamba, Sir Bhure Singh	1904	.3	135	34	
,,	Faridkot, Sri Brij Indar Singh	1906	.6	130	74	
,,	Mundi (Julunder), Sri Joginder Sen	1913	1.2	181	39	
,,	Pudukota, Sir Martanda Bhairab Tandiman	1886	1.2	411	101	
,,	Rajgarh, Sir Bir Indra Singhji	1916	1.5	218	12	
,,	Rajpipla, Sri Bijaysinhji Chattarsingji	1915	1.5	111	67	
,,	Sailana, Sir Jaswant Singhji	1895	.3	27	26	
,,	Tehri, Lt. Narendra Shah	1913	.4	301	44	
,,	H. H. The Thakur Shaheb of Gondal	1869	.1	162	94	
,,	H. H. The Thakur Shaheb of Morvi	1870	.8	90	78	
,,	H. H. The Nawab of Janjira	1879	.3	89	33	
,,	,, The Dewan of Palanpur	1877	1.7	226	35	
,,	H.H. The Nawab of Baoni. H.H. The Nawab of Cambay, Jafar Ali Khan. H.H. The Nawab of Radhanpur,					
,,	Jalaluddin Khanji. H.H. The Nawab of Malerkotla, Sir Muhammad Ahmed Ali Khan. H.H. The Raja					
,,	of Narsingarh, Sir Arjun Singhji. H.H. The Raja of Suket, Sir Bhimsen. H.H. The Raja of Sitamau, Sir Ram					
,,	Singhji. H.H. The Raja of Samthar, Sir Bir Singh Deo. H.H. The Raja of Kahur, Sri Bije Chand					
,,	And 36 other Chiefs with 9 Guns.					

The Government of India, 1920

THE HOME GOVERNMENT.

Secretary of State.

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

Under-Secretaries of State.

The Right Hon. Baron Sinha of Raipur.
Sir W. Duke, G.C.I.E.

Assistant Under-Secretaries of State.

Sir Malcolm Seton
„ Arthur Hirtzel, K.C.B.

The India Council.

Sir Charles Arnold White.
„ Murray Hammick, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.
„ Charles S. Bayley, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.S.O.
„ Marshall Frederick Reid, C.I.E.
„ James Bennett Brunyate, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.
„ Prabha Sanker D. Pattani, K.C.I.E. (Retd. Sir C. Sankaran Nair 1920)
„ G. O. Roos Keppel, G.C.I.E.
Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan.
Bhupendranath Basu.
Frederich Cranford Goodenough.
William Didsbury Sheppard, C.I.E.
General Sir E. G. Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.
Clerk of the Council,—Sir Malcolm Seton.
Deputy Clerk of the Council, —E. J. Turner.
Private Secretary to the Secretary of State,—S. K. Brown.
Assistant Private Secretaries,—A. L. R. Parsons, and Miss Fr[illegible]th.
Political A. D. C, to the Secretary of State,—Lieut.-Col, Sir J. R. Dunlop. Smith, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., C.I.E.
Private Secretary to Lord Sinha—R. H. A Carter

Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

H. E. Rt. Hon. Baron Chelmsford—5th April 1916,

Personal Staff of His Excellency the Viceroy.

Private secy.—J. L. Maffey, C.I.E., I.C.S.
Asst. pte. secy.—Capt. W. Puchanan Riddell.
Mily. secy —Lt. Col. R. Verney, Rifle Brigade.
Persnl asst —R. Parsons.
Comptlr. of household.—Maj. J. Mackenzie, C.I.E. 35th Sikhs.

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS.

Government of Bengal.

Governor—H. E. Earl of Ronaldshay—27th March 1917.

Personal Staff.

Private Secretary—W. R. Gourlay, on special duty.
Officiating „ —H. R. Wilkinson.
Military „ —Capt. Henry George Vaux.

Members of Council.

Sir Henry Wheeler, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S. Took his seat on 9th April 1917.
Mr. John Guest Cumming, C.S.I., C.I.E. I.C.S., 29th March 1918.
Sir Bijay Chand Mahatab, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.O.M., Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan (Temporary) 14th May 1918.

Government of Bombay.

Governor—H. E. Sir George Ambrose Lloyd—17th December, 1918.

Personal Staff.

Private Sec.—William Patrick Cowie I.C.S.
Military Sec.—Lt. Col. J. G. Greig.

Members of Council.

Sir George Carmichael K.C.S.I. I.C.S.
Mr. G. S. Curtis, C.S.I. I,C.S.
Sir Ebrahim Rahimtullah, Kt. C.I.E.

Government of Madras.

Governor—H. E. Baron Willingdon—10 April 1919

Personal Staff.

Private Secy.—T. E. Moir, I.C.S.
Military „—Captain W. S. E. Money.

Members of Council.

Diwan Bahadur Sir P. Rajagopala Achariyar, C.I,E.
Mr. Lionel Davidson, C.S.I., I.C.S.
Mr. C. G. Todhunter.

Government of Behar & Orissa.

Lt. Governor—Sir Edward Gait K.C.S.I.—19th November 1915.

Members of Council.

Havelland Le'Mesurier, C.S.I. C.I E. I.C.S.
Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahai.
Walter Maude, C.S.I.

Lt. Governor of U. P.—Hon. Sir S. H. Butler—15th February, 1918.
„ **Punjab**— „ Edward Maclagan—May 1919.
„ **Burma**— „ Reginald Craddock.

Chief Commissioner of C. P.—Sir Frank G. Sly—December, 1919.
„ **Assam**— „ B. Beatson Bell—1st April 1918.
„ **N.W.F.P.**— „ A. Hamilton Grant.

India in 1919-20

Chronicle of the Year 1919

January

1st All India Ladies Conference held at Delhi under Mrs. Besant.
Proclamation parade at Calcutta in presence of His Excellency the Viceroy, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and His Excellency the Governor of Bengal.
Death of Reverend G. A. Lefroy D. D., Bishop of Calcutta.
Message of Her Majesty the Queen Empress to the women of India deeply sympathising with their war sacrifices.

2nd His Majesty the King sends message to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief appreciating the assurances of loyalty and devotion of the British Army.

3rd The notorious Imam-Clayton case ended in Hon'ble Clayton's tendering unqualified apology for his barbarous behaviour and his appeal to Mr. Hasan Imam's well-known magnanimity.

9th Big Mill strike in Bombay—100,000 hands go out—nearly 75 out of 85 Mills had to suspend work.
First Session of the Baroda Representative assembly presided over by the Dewan.

10th Sir S. P. Sinha appointed Under-Secretary of State for India and announcement of his elevation to British peerage.

13th Conference of Governors, Lieutenant-Governors and Chief Commissioners at Delhi to discuss the Reform scheme.

13th to 18th Indian Science Congress opened by H. E. the Governor and presided over by Sir Leonard Rogers.

14th An appeal issued to the Princes and People of India by H. E. the Viceroy to subscribe another hundred lakhs of Rupees to the Imperial Indian Relief Fund.

15th Serious development of labour trouble in Bombay, futile attempt to restart work, by force Military fire on the mob resulting in two killed and four wounded.

16th First Convocation of the Hindu university held at Benares—H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore, the chancellor of the university, presides.

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

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

20th H. E. the Viceroy opens the Chiefs' Conference at Delhi. Elevation to Peerage of Sir S. P. Sinha, under-Secretary of State for India, officially announced in London.

21st Bombay Mill strike settled by concessions from Millowners ; other strikes continue.

Meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council—Governor presides—resolution of thanks for appointment of Sir S. P. Sinha to be under-Secretary of State passed.

24th Investiture at Viceregal Lodge Delhi for K.C.S.I., etc.

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

25th H. E. The Viceroy on behalf of the people of India wires to His Majesty expressing grief and sympathy on the death of Prince John.

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

26th Bombay Mill-strike partially settled.

Allahabad university convocation under Sir H. Butler. The Hon'ble Mr. S. N. Bannerjea unveiled portrait of the Late Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji at Bombay.

30th Big protest Meeting of Citizens of Madras against proposed Rowlatt Bills, cable sent to Prime-Minister, Peace Conference and Lord Sinha.

31st Public Meeting of Moderates at Calcutta, Town Hall, thanking Prime-Minister for appointing Lord Sinha as under-Secretary—Sir K. G. Gupta presides.

Annual Meeting of Bombay Trades Association.

Government of India announces that owing to high prices of Cotton Cloth, the Cotton cloth Act of 1918 would immediately come into operation.

February

1st to 4th All India protest meetings against proposed Rowlatt Legislation at all important places representing all influential public opinion of India. Intense agitation everywhere.

1st Hon'ble Sir D. Wacha wires to Viceroy earnestly requesting postponement of Rowlatt Bills.

2nd Committee to Report on India Office Reform appointed under Lord Crew.

5th Madras Legislative Council—Governor presides—the Hon'ble Sir A. Cardew presents the Draft Financial statement for

1919-20; Non-official Indian members protest against Rowlatt Bills.

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

Report of the Indian Silk Industry published.

6th Viceroy's opening speech in the Imperial Council recommending Rowlatt Bills, placating I.C.S and Anglo-India. Sir W. Vincent introduced the Rowlatt Bills. Hon'bles Mr. Patel and Mr. Banerjea opposed and moved for postponment. Hot debate on this motion finally adjourned till next day.

Punjab Legislative Council—Punjab Dt. Amend. Bill and food adulteration Bill passed.

7th Long debate on Rowlatt Bill in Imp. Council—non-official Indians opposing to a man. Mr. Patel's motion defeated and Sir W. Vincent's carried by 36 to 21 against unanimous Indian opposition. Bill referred to select committee.

8th Moderates *Pour Parleur* with Home Member (Vincent) on the Rowlatt Bills.

10th Imp. Council—Sir W. Vincent announced that in deference to unanimous non-official opposition the Rowlatt Act was to be in operation for three years and not permanently. He also introduced the Second Bill which was referred to select committee against unanimous non-official opposition.

Influential protest meeting at Mahajan Sabha, Madras—non-official council members issued mandate on Indian members of the Imperial Council to oppose the Rowlatt Bill.

11th Lord Sinha sworn in as Privy Councillor.

12th Secretary, European Association, Calcutta, wires to Government of India, protesting against the concession announced by Sir W. Vincent whereby Rowlatt Bill would be in force for three years only.

Madras Legislative Council—City Municipal Bill discussed.

13th The Moderates at Bombay decided at a meeting to form Western India National Liberal Association.

Bombay Government Communique—on Financing Co operative Housing Societies issued.

Calcutta Indian Association protest meeting against Rowlatt Bill under Maharaja of Cassimbazar and all influential moderates.

Death of Nawab Syed Mahammad at Royapeta, Madras.

14th The Secretary, Europeon Association, Calcutta issues, the Association's statement regarding the Rowlatt Bills and reforms.

Public meeting at Gokhale Hall Madras under Mr. V. P. Madhva Rao to protest against the I.C.S. Memorandum.

15 ,, Bombay protest meeting under Mrs. Besant denouncing the Rowlatt Bill ; very largely attended.

16 ,, Home Rule Campaign against the Rowlatt Bills opened by Mrs. Besant at Bombay.

17 ,, Travancore industrial Exhibition opened by theMaharaja. Travancore Popular Assembly—sittings began for this and the next 8 days.

19 ,, Imperial Legislative Council—Sir James Meston introduced Excess Profits Bill which was referred to Select Committee.

The Announcement by the Secretary of State of revised rate of pay for officers of Imperial Indian police from rank of Deputy Inspector-General downwards issued.

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

H. M. Amir Habibulla Khan of Afghanistan shot dead at Jelalabad by some unknown hand.

23rd Tilak V. Chirol Privy Council Case finished—judgment in favour of Chirol. Popular faith in British justice shaken.

Bombay Presidency Association protest meeting against Rowlatt Bill under Sir D.Petit ; largely attended.

Madras monster protest meeting under Mr. T. V. Venkatrana Iyer hotly denouncing the Rowlatt Bill—Mr. B. C. Pal's lecture on same. Other meetings follow.

25 ,, Lord Sinha takes his seat in the House of Lords.

26 ,, Imperial Legislative Council—Hon'ble Mr. Patel's Electricity Bill and Negotiable Instr. Act Amendment Bill introduced ; Local Authorities Bill passed.

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

28 ,, Annual Meeting of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce at Calcutta.

March

1st Imp. Council—Sir W. Vincent presented report of Sel. Com. on Rowlatt Bill, Indian Members of Committee all signing Dissentient Notes and opposing the Bill.

Financial Statement 1918-19 issued.

Mahatma Gandhi's Manifesto on Satyagraha vow taken by Home Rulers at Bombay and the great campaign started.

3rd Mr. Vijayraghavachari of Salem took office as the Dewan of Cochin, S. I.

4th Lord Sinha's maiden speech in H. of Lords snubbing Lord Sydenham on the Katarpur-Arrah riot debate.

5 ,, Govt. of India's first despatch to the Sec. of State on the Indian Reforms, trying to whittle down Reforms.

6 ,, Mahatma Gandhi at Delhi invited and interviewed by Viceroy *re* Satyagraha. Gandhi advocates 'Soul force' and Viceroy "Brute force;" they could not come to terms.

7 ,, Calcutta European Association Annual Meeting.

8 ,, Imp. Legis. Council—Budget Debate began.

11 ,, Imp. Leg. Council—Budget Debate and non-official Resolutions. Lokmanya Tilak's representation to the Peace Conference, Paris, on behalf of Indian People and Congress.

12-13th Imp. Legis. Council—Sir W. Vincent moved consideration of Sel. Com. Report on Rowlatt Bill—a hot debate followed, non-official Indians opposing in one voice.

14 ,, Imp. Legis. Council—Debate on Rowlatt Bill hotly continued till late at 8-30 P. M.

18 ,, Imp. Council—**Rowlatt Act passed**, after strenuous non-official fight, by sheer Govt. Vote of 35 to 20 (Indians). Hon. B. N. Sarma at once resigns. Apalling depression in Indian Polity.

19th Imp. Council—Excess Profits Bill presented and a few other bills passed. Bill for Punjab H. Court passed.

20th Bombay European Association annual meeting strongly criticising proposed Indian Reforms.

21st Imp. Council—Budget in final form presented. Session closed.

23rd Gandhi's message to hold 6th April as a "Day of National Protest and Humiliation" against outrageous passage of Rowlatt Act unanimously accepted by the country.

25 ,, Viceroy arrived at Baroda on tour.

26 ,, Calcutta European Association special meeting to denounce Indian Reforms, and for reorganisation of Anglo-Indians against Indian claims of political equality.

27th Bengal Council—Hon. S. N. Roy's Primary Education Bill passed.

28 ,, Hon. Mr. M. A. Jinnah resigns seat in Imp. Council in protest against Rowlatt Act.

31st Satyagraha demonstration at Delhi—innocent unarmed mob of Satyagrahis (passive resisters) wantonly fired upon by Police and Military and dispersed after killing a few.

April

1st Delhi—Shops closed: people attending funeral processions of those fallen. Military parading the streets.

2nd Amritsar—Drs. Satyapal and Kitchlew prohibited to address public meetings for promoting Hindu-Moslem union.

Bombay Chamber of Commerce—Annual Meeting under Hon'ble M. N. Hogg Anglo-Indians resolved to take militant part in Indian Politics against Indian aspirations.

3rd Government of India Communique on Delhi disturbances issued to the Press

Madras Council—Hon'ble Narasinha Iyer's Resolution allowing Vernacular in Council Meeting hotly debated and lost by Government Votes.

4th Delhi—Col. Beadon convened meeting of Delhi leaders at which he abused Satyagraha, sought their co-operation, and presented a hand bill for circulation broad cast—Satyagraha Sabha repudiated the Beadon allegations.

Dr. Varadarajalu Naidu acquitted by Madras H. C. of conviction for Sedition by the lower court.

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

Madras Council—Budget Debate.

5th Government of India communique explaining Rowlatt Act.

6th All India Hartal, penance, humiliation, fasting and prayer as a passive protest against the Rowlatt Act. Civil disobedience of Press laws in Bombay by sale of proscribed and unregistered literatures started,—the unregistered paper "Satyagrahi" issued by Gandhi.

7 ,, Parting Kick of Sir Michael O'Dwyer to Indian Agitators warning them of a "Day of Reckoning" soon to come. Madras Council—Budget Debate.

8 ,, Bengal Council Meeting—Village Self-Government Bill discussed and passed next day.

9 ,, **Mahatma Gandhi arrested at Palwal** while travelling by train to Delhi on a Peaceful Mission to Pacify the Panic-stricken People ; was served with a notice of exterment.

Amritsar—Ram Nayami Day processions, peacefully carried out—playing the English National Anthem and paying homage to King and the Deputy commissioner.

10th **Punjab in open riot**, Amritsar—Arrest and Deportation of Drs Satyapal and Kitchlew. All India Protest.

Mob outrage, Riot, incendiarism in Amritsar—mob fired at ; Mob then turned and looted Banks, Telegraph office, Post office, Zenana Hospital, C. M. S. Girl's School and burnt them, and also killed with gross brutality several Europeans.

Lahore—huge mob marching towards Government House was fired upon by the Police and the Military near Anarkali ; many killed and wounded.

Aeroplane hovering over the city.

All India closing of shops as a mark of sorrow for Gandhi's arrest.

Ahmedabad—mob outrage, riot and incendiarism on hearing Gandhi and Anusuya Debi arrested. Two Europeans killed; Mills, Station yards burnt down; Mob dispersed by Police fire.

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

11th Quiet at Amritsar and Lahore.

All India Hartal and suspension of business continued.

Kasur—Public meeting against Rowlatt Act.

Ahmedabad—Further Mob outrage.

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

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

Great Satyagraha demonstration in Calcutta; Police fired on mob.

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

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

12th Lahore—Badshahi Mosque meeting; C. I. D. pugree burnt. Mob fired upon by troops. Huge crowd attacked and looted Railway station on being fired upon by soldiers travelling in a train. The train was stopped, derailed and burnt.

Kasur—Excited mob fired at by 2 European Soldiers from a train. Mob murdered the Soldiers, burnt the Station, wrecked the train, and looted and destroyed all Government property.

13th Amritsar—**Jhallianwala Bagh massacre**, Peaceful meeting of twenty thousand men fired upon continuously unprovoked for ten minutes by Gen. Dyer! 509 killed, 1500 wounded and left for two days exposed to the elements without medical or any relief.

Delhi—Rumour of deportation of Leaders afloat—Great consternation in town; Mob provoked to assume threatening attitude.

14th Gujranwala—Jhallianwala Bagh news received. Whole town on Hartal. A big Baisakhi day held at Wazirabad. Booking stopped and the huge excited crowd stopped the train, pulled down passengers and set fire to the station yard. Mob further excited by slaughtered cows and pigs and assaulted Mr. Herron, S. P. who fired and caused death. Excitement leaped up

into a flame resulting in acts of incendiarism—Post Office, Dak Bungalow, Court houses, Railway godown and the Church burnt down, Aeroplanes hovering over town dropped bombs, some on the Khalsa High School and neighbouring villages killing women and children. Martial Law Resolulution condemning Anti-Rowlatt agitation published.

Batala (in Gurdaspur)—Telgraph Wires cut by mob

Wires also cut between Lahore—Amritsar and between Sialkot-Wazirabad.

Rohtak—Riotous mob attacked Ry. line, and cut it, damaged the Ry. Bridge and attacked a train.

Delhi—Mob begins to appear armed with Lathis on rúmoured deportations of popular leaders. Town hall conference between officials and leaders comes to nothing.

15th. Martial Law declared in Punjab last night.

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

16 ,, Gujranwalla—Col. O' Brien, Dy. Com. taking reprisals for last day's outrage. Hindu and Moslem Barristers, Vakils and leading men arrested right and left with aid of Military, Armoured car and police, Aeroplane hovering overhead, and handcuffed and insulted and then *challaned* to Lahore. At Hafizabad mob rushed police to rescue men arrested, cut wires, and was then dispersed by police fire. At Chuharkhana the Ry. station with wires and lines cut was burnt; so too Dhaban Singh and Momun stations. At Wazirabad mob looted Station, burnt house of Rev. Bayley.

Mob disturbance also at Sialkot, and Gojra.

Gujrat—a crowd attacked Ry. Station and destroyed Telegraph Instruments—dispersed by police-fire.

Kala—(Jhelum) Mob attacked and derailed train.

16 ,, Guzerat—Mob rushed Townhall at Jalalpur Jaten and cut and destroyed Ry. line near Malakwal, derailing a train next morning.

Telegraph wires were cut and communication stopped in parts of Lahore, Jhang, Sialkot, Gujranwala and other districts of the Punjab.

17 ,, Telegraph wire cutting continued at various places in Gurdaspur, Jhullunder, Lyallpur, Rawalpindi and Lahore Districts. At Lyallpur a stack of Govt. *Bhoosa* (husk) worth Rs. 50,000, set on fire and destroyed.

Delhi—Mob armed with Lathis fired upon by Police and dispersed.

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

18 ,, Wire cutting continued in Punjab.
Mr. Gandhi wires to Press to suspend civil disobedience owing to the development of a critical situation.

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

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

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

26 ,, Mr. Horniman, Editor, "Bombay Chronicle" secretly arrested and at once deported to England by order of Bombay Government.

27 ,, Security of "Bombay Chronicle" forfeited under Press Act.
Directors of "Bombay Chronicle" ordered to submit all matters to the Government before publication; Directors decide to suspend publication.
All India Moderate Conference Committee met at Calcutta. Mr. S. N. Banerjea presides; resolution condemning repressive measures passed.

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

May

2nd Afghan Invasion of Indian territory near Khaiber Pass—Open hostility and state of war between Afghanistan and British India.
Madras Mahajan Sabha protest meeting against Government repression in Punjab and elsewhere.
Mysore Representative Assembly—closing speech of Dewan delineating new policy of the state.

3rd Madras Labour Union, special meeting addressed by John Scurr M. P. (Labourite) encouraging Labour Organisation in India.
Government of India appoints Prison administration Committee.

5th Calcutta Meeting of Bengal Provincial Congress Committee to consider steps to be taken against inhuman atrocities of Military in Punjab.

6 ,, Mr. K. N. Roy, Editor, *Tribune*, Lahore, placed before Martial Law Tribunal on charge of sedition, without proper legal help disallowed by Government.

8 ,, Mrs. Besant, Mr. Wadia and Mr. J. Scurr M.P. left Madras for England—enthusiastic send off by Home Rulers, Labour Unions and Nationalists.

9 ,, Afghans occupy British Indian Territory.

10 ,, Viceroy's appeal to Indian People against Afghan aggression.

12 ,, **Sir Michael O'Dwyer of Punjab bids farewell** to the land of his tyrannical oppressive rule and hedious record of blood and sword. All India heaves sigh of relief.

13th Maharaja Bikaner delivered historic speech on Indian Co-operation with Dominions at the Royal Colonial Institute, London, presided over by Duke of Connaught.

15th Viceroy issues proclamation to the Afghans warning them of consequences of their headstrong action.

16th Reports of the Franchise and Functions Committee *re* Indian reforms publised.

Heavy Afghan defeat at Dakka.

21st Sir Sankaran Nair resigns seat in Government of India as a protest against continuance of Martial Law in the Punjab and attitude of Government on Indians.

22nd House of Commons Indian Budget introduced by Mr. Montagu ; interesting debate on Indian Reforms.

25th Sir Edward Maclagan formerly Secretary to Sir Sankaran Nair in Government of India, assumes Lieutenant Governorship of Punjab.

26 ,, Government of India 4th despatch on Reforms after consulting Local Governents and Governors published—highly reactionary and aims at whittling down Montford Scheme.

29 ,, Indian Currency and Exchange Committee appointed by Secretary of State, with Mr. Dalal of Bombay as non-official Indian member.

30 ,, Indian Reforms Bill published by Parliament ; Secretary of States memorandum on same also issued.

June

3rd Afghan Amir's letter suing peace received by Viceroy and replied favourably setting forth armistice terms.

H. of Com. interpellation on cause of Sir Sankaran Nair's resignation elicited the truth about his strong dissent from India Government on Martial Law in Punjab.

5th Second Reading of Government of India Bill moved by Secretary of State in H. of C. and passed.

6 ,, Travancore Popular Assembly passes Revenue Amendment, Agricultural loans and a few other Bills.

7th Bombay Home Rule League meeting strongly condemning Government of India's reactionary despatches on Reforms.

8 ,, Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Saukat Ali, the famous Moslem internees, again arrested at Chhindwara and deported under Government of India Order, Regulation III of 1818.

9 ,, Government of India at last abrogates Martial Law in Punjab after its continuance for 7 weeks.

Sir M. Visveswaraya, Dewan of Mysore, retires. Sirdar M. Kantaraja Urs appointed new Dewan.

Annual Meeting of National Indian Association at London under Lord Carmichael strongly supporting the Montagu Reforms, Lord Sinha emphasising equality of treatment to Indians.

Judgment delivered by Martial Law Commission in the Supplementary Gujranwalla Case, transporting 13 persons for life and forfeiting their property!

11 ,, Congress Deputation at London interviews Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha on the Reforms and strongly press the last Delhi Congress demands.

12 ,, Deccan Sabha, Poona, under Sir H. A. Wadia passes strong resolution condemning Government of India 5th March Despatch attempting surreptitiously to whittle down the Reforms.

13 ,, Bombay Presidency Association protest meeting on deportation of Mr. Horniman and Pre-censorship of Bombay Chronicle—Resolutions passed strongly condemning Government action and inviting open enquiry.

16 ,, Government of Bengal's repression under Press Act of "Calcutta Samachar," a Hindi Daily by demanding security of Rs. 2000.

17 ,, Martial Law Comm. under Justice Broadway passes judgment on Gujranwalla Conspiracy Case, sentencing to Death Lala Amarnath, Pleader, and Mohanlal; eight to life transportation.

18 ,, Afghan Amir's reply to Viceroy received announcing acceptance of Armistice terms and despatch of Peace delegates to Rawalpindi.

19 ,, Government of Bombay withdraws Pre-censorship on "Bombay Chronicle" after it had deposited Rs. 10 000 as security.

20th Mysore Legislative Council. Bill to amend council regulation extending privilege of moving resolutions passed—Interpellations and Budget Discussion.

21st Government of Bengal's further repression under Press Act of "Bharat Mitra" another Hindi Daily of Calcutta by demanding security of Rs. 2,000.

Madras Gokhale Hall Protest meeting against Martial Law conviction of Mr. Kalinath Roy of *Tribune* on Sedition.

25th Bombay Citizens including Sir N. Chandavarkar, Sir D. Wacha, Hon'ble Mr. Parekh etc., send memorial to Viceroy to release Mr. Kalinath Roy pointing out that there is nothing seditious in his writings.

26 ,, Calcutta Town Hall protest meeting under Mr. B. Chakerburty against Martial Law procedure, and beseeching His Majesty to recall the Viceroy.

27 ,, Government of India curtly refuse representations from all over India praying postpoment of execution of Martial Law Death sentences pending appeal to Privy Council and H. M. the King Emperor.

28 ,, German Peace Treaty signed in Paris.

30 ,, Martial Law judgment passed in Moman Station Case—Mr. Harnam Sing sentenced to death, 2 others with life transportation.

Peace day celebration by firing of salute of 101 guns—H. M.'s message issued. Viceroy telegraphs congratulation to H. M. No public enthusiasm under weight of all-round repression.

July.

1st. Royal Proclamation appointing 6th July as day of general thanksgiving on termination of War issued.

2nd. Secretary, Indian Press Association, cables to Prime Minister and Sec. of State for repeal of the too oppressive Press Act.

3rd. Appointment of Members of Joint Committee of Parliament on Government of India Bill passed by H. of C. by 336 votes to 23, Col. Yate bitterly opposing.

Sir Abdur Rahim, Kt. appointed Chief Justice of Madras High Court.

5th. H. E. the Viceroy commutes 2 years rigorous imprisonment on Mr. Kali Nath Roy to three months. Death sentence on Amarnath and Mohon Lal reduced to transportation.

Martial Law Commissioner Mr. Justice Leslie Jones finishes Lahore case, transporting for life Lalas Harkishenlal, Dunichand, Rambhuj Dutt and others with forfeiture of all property !! A ring of horror thoughout the land.

Martial Law Commissioner Mr. Justice Broadway finishes Amritsar case, transporting for life Drs. Satyapal, Kitchlew, Bashier, Swami Anubhabanand and others !!!

7th. Bombay Council—Poona sittings—Peace congratulations resolution passed—Budget discussion. Private resolutions discussed next two days and then session closed.

8th. Sir Sankaran Nair left Simla and bade farewell to the Government of India after his bitter experience of that body.

10th. Sir D. Wacha in the name of Western India National Liberal League wires appeal to Viceroy to relent in unjust sentence in the Lahore case (q.v.). Calcutta Indian Association pass similar resolution.

14th. Summary of Crew Committee Report on India House Reforms published in India.

16th. Parliamentary Joint Committee on the Reform Bill began its sittings at London.

New Advisory Council instituted in Jamnagar by H. H. the Jam Saheb Sir Ranjit Singhji for his State.

17th. Arrival of Maharaja Bikaner at Bombay from Peace Conference, Paris,—enthusiastic reception by Indian Princes and Leading men.

Hon' Khan Bahadur Mian Mohamed Shafi appointed successor to Sir Sankaran Nair in Government of India.

19th Peace celebration organised by Government officials and Anglo-Indians all over India—was not joined by the people due to scarcity, famine, distress, high prices, terrible influenza and great Khilafat agitation of Mahomedans.

All India Congress Committee of Calcutta passed strong resolution condemning the mad sentence passed on Punjab Leaders by Martial Law Tribunals.

21st Mahatma Gandhi issued Press Manifesto postponing his promised resumption of Satyagraha about this time on pressure from Government and moderate friends.

23rd Sir Sankaran Nair laid down office this day and handed over charge.

Lokmanya Tilak's Birthday (64th) celebrated all over India with great *eclat*.

24th Full text of the Report of Lord Crew's Committee on India House Reforms issued in India.

25th "Tribune" of Lahore reappears after suspension of about 3 months.

26th Afghan Peace Delegates and Sir Hamilton Grant and party met at Peace Conference at Rowalpindi to settle terms.

27th All India Congress Committee meeting at Calcutta pass resolutions cabled to England urging a Declaration of Rights in the new Reforms Act.

28th "Patrika" security appeal case in Calcutta High Court against Government order forfeiting security and making fresh demand of Rs. 10,000 dismissed with cost.

Hon. Shafi takes charge of educational portfolio in Government of India.

29th Pundit Malaviya, president, all India Congress Committee, cables Prime Minister, Sec. of State and Lord Sinha urging public enquiry into Punjab Affairs.

Com-in-Chief's despatch on part played by India in the War issued.

31st Influential public meeting under the Madras Mahajan Sabha to consider steps to be taken in view of administrative atrocities committed under Martial Law in the Punjab, Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyenger presiding.

August

1st King George reviewed Indian troops in London.

2nd Home Rule League Deputation to Joint Committee on Reforms (Messrs. Hasan Imam, B. C. Pal, Rangaswamy Iyenger) left Bombay for England.

Prominent citizens of Bombay meet under Sir Dinshaw Petit to hear Pundit Malaviya on Punjab Frightfulness—Relief fund opened and Rs. 1 lakh subscribed at spot.

3rd South African Indians' Conference at Johannesburg (South Africa) to protest against recent Anti-Indian legislation and other inequities.

4th Punjab Govt. announced that 852 persons were tried under Martial Law of whom 582 were convicted and 270 acquitted.

Commander-in-Chief's Despatch on part played by India in the War published.

5th Congress Deputation's memo. on Reforms presented to Joint Committee of Parliament by Mr. Patel.

6th Mr. Llyod George, British Premier, in public speech on war anniversary day thankfully eulogised India's contribution in men and money in the late war.

Famous House of Lords Debate on Earl Russel's enquiry *re* Punjab Massacre.

8th Afghan Peace treaty signed at Rawalpindi—Text published.

9th Judgment in the notorious Katarpur Riot case delivered—out of 165 accused 10 sentenced to death, 135 to life-transportation and 20 acquitted !!

Report of Sadler Commission on Calcutta University Reform—five large volumes published, other volumes to follow.

12th Madras Legislative Council—the first reconstituted council under Lord Willingdon opened—a clear non-official majority elected in anticipation of the proposed Reformed Councils. Government Resolution that the business of the council should be conducted in English adopted by a majority and passed. H. E. explained that the measure was necessary in view of what Mr. Narasimier did some months ago.

17th "White paper" published giving Viceroy's explanations, regarded as very unsatisfactory, about the breakdown in medical arrangements in the Afghan campaign for which Government of India was seriously censured in Parliament.

22nd to 24th Madras Provincial Conference opened at Trichinopoly under the presidency of the Hon. the Raja of Ramnad. Continued for next 2 days ; strong resolutions condemning Government action in Punjab passed and cable sent to Prime Minister.

23rd Andhra Provincial Conference at Anantpur opened, Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao presiding.

27th Mr. Kalinath Roy released from Jail—received grand public ovation.

28th Mr. Montagu receives a mixed Indian and European deputation to protest against the Transval Trading Act and promises to recommend Indian representation on proposed commission of enquiry.

29th Senator Malone of the U. S. A. Senate addressed the Foreign Relations Committee of the American Senate on behalf of India, urging complete Home Rule to India and complaining of the foreign domination over her by England as being inconsistent with the principles of the League of Nations.

September

1st Bengal Chamber of Commerce Committee meeting at Calcutta to discuss with Mr. Howard the Finance Member the question of exchange position. Hon'ble Mr. W. E. Crum Presides.

Public meeting in the Essex Hall, London, to protest against the enforcement of Martial Law and the outrageous conduct of Civil and Military Authorties in Punjab, before a large number of English ladies and gentlemen. Mr. Syed Hasan Imam was voted to the chair.

3rd Imperial Council opened by Viceroy with an unsympathetic speech re Punjab massacre—several minor bills passed.

Bengal Legislative Council at Calcutta, H. E. the Governor presides. The Calcutta and Suburban Police Bill passed. Mr. Phelp's resolution to appoint a commission to investigate

into the causes of High rent and excessive land value accepted.

5th Government of India Press Communique regarding the new recruitment to the I.C.S. issued.

8th Text of the Dacca Universily Bill published at Simla.

9th Text of Anglo-Persian agreement published in India.

New Reform in the Travancore Legislative council promulgated by H. H. the Maharaja. Power of interpellation and Budget discussion conferred on the Reformed Council now made more representative.

Munificent Gift of Rs. 500000 and a recurring grant of Rs. 24000 a year to the Hindu University by H. H. Maharaja of Patiala for the promotion of instruction in Mechanical and Electrical Engineering.

10th Imp Council, Simla, presided over by H. E. the Viceroy; Pandit Malaviya's resolution on the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry on Punjab Disturbances. Hon'ble Mr. Sarma's resolution of thanks to the Army, Navy and Air force passed.

11th Imperial Legislative Council. The Indian coinage Act Amend. Bill, the Cantonment Act Amend. Bill, the Ciematograph Act Amend. Bill, the Indian Merchant Shipping Act, the Indian Tariff Act and the Dacca University Bill introduced.

Public meeting at Madras under Dr. Subramania Iyer to protest against H. E. the Viceroy's opening speech at the Imperial Legislative Council regarding Punjab affairs.

12th Imperial Legislative Council. Pundit Malaviya's resolution for the appointment of a committee of Enquiry into the Punjab Disturbances to be composed of men unconnected with Indian administration discussed and negatived by official votes.

The Indian Peace Contingent leaves London for India.

13th Madras Provincial Congress Committee annual meeting.

Travancore Council—Dewan's important closing speech.

15th to 17th Imperial Legislative Council—minor resolutions.

15th Annual Session of the Bombay Provincial co-operative conference at Poona. H. H. the Governor presides.

18th Imperial Legislative Council. The Punjab Indemnity Bill introduced by Sir William Vincent. Hot debate continued upto 25th when the Bill was passed against the majority non-official opposition.

Bombay Legislative Council at Poona opened for the session, and continued up to the 20th.

22nd U. P. Council—Town planning Bill passed—Hon. Raza Ali's resolution on shoe-removal question lost—so also other non-official resolutions.

23rd Imp. Council—Private resolutions, Mr. B. N. Sarma's resolution for establishment of State Bank rejected by Govt.

October

1st Government of India Resolution on Female Education in India issued.

5th Punjab Relief Fund opened with a Bazar in Gokhale Hall, Madras, by Dewan Bahadur Govindaraghava Ayyar.

8th Sir Michael O'Dowyer, the Hero of Punjab, gave evidence before Parliamentary Joint Committee on Reforms condemning "dualism" and the educated Indians who are, in his view, all seditionists ! !

10th Mysore University Convocation. Justice Sir Abdur Rahim delivers address on invitation from H. H. the Maharaja.

13th Indian Railway Conference opened at Simla under Col. Cameron.

14th Mysore Representative Assembly—Last day meeting.

Sir Sankaran Nair's evidence before Joint Committee on Reforms strongly urging further liberalisation of the Bill.

Order of externment against Mahatma Gandhi of 9th April last under Defence of India Act cancelled on this day. Similar order on Lok. Tilak also cancelled.

16th Government of India Resolution setting out conditions under which members of Public services may resign published.

17th The Khalifat Day—day of fasting and prayer as enjoined by the Khilafat Conference at Lucknow.

18th U. P. Provincial Political Conference at Saharanpur—Dr. M. N. Ohdhedar presides—strong condemnation of Punjab Frightfulness and Reign of Terror.

Government of India published correspondence with colonial Governments regarding reciprocity question on Indian Emigration.

21st Maharaja Bikaner in closing his Legislative Council opened on the 18th. made famous speech regarding Political Reform in India.

Rev. Andrews on tour in Punjab wired message that impartial enquiry on Punjab disturbances impossible owing to harrassing Police interference.

22nd Government of India appoints two special officers to survey the water-power resources of India. H. E. the Viceroy at Patiala—state Banquet.

24th Mahatma Gandhi's visit to Lahore on his mission of peace—a rousing and enthusiastic reception by the whole population.

29th Mysore Council—Bill to amend constitution enlarging Council from 21 to 30 members, each District to send a representative, passed.

30th London Times severely condemns Government secrecy about the Afghanistan Peace treaty.

31st **Disorders Enquiry Committee** under Lord Hunter opened its first public sittings in Delhi to examine witnesses on Punjab misrule and oppression.

November

1st Mahatma Gandhi issued message that Indians cannot participate in peace celebrations so long as the Khalifat wrong remains unredressed.

2nd Akola District conference with Mr. J. Baptista, president, proposal to subscribe to Labour organisations of England to secure Indian aims carried.

3rd Conference of Indian Princes and Chiefs opened at Delhi, Viceroy presiding. Creation of a Chamber of Princes or Narendra Maha Mandal proposed—closed on 8th.

Bombay Educational Conference under Principal Pranjpey.

4th Second Railway Conference at Surat under Mr. P. Thackersay strongly condemning policy of Government of encouraging company-management of Railways.

5th First Oriental Conference opened at Poona by Governor Llyod ; Sir R. E. Bhandarkar, presiding, delivered important address.

8th Nationalistic conference opened its first sessions at Madras with Mr. S. Kasturiranga Iyengar as president.

10th Mr. W. N. Hailey, Chief Commissioner, Delhi, appointed Finance Member, Government of India *vice* Sir James Meston.

Punjab Council—last day of the year, Sir E. Maclagan presiding.

11th Armistice Anniversary day celebration throughout the Empire—2 minutes complete silence and stop of all work, all locomotion, all sound, by Royal Command.

14 to 16th All India Libraries conference at Madras with Mr. J. S. Kudalkar of Baroda as President.

15th Public meeting at Lahore to bid farewell to Rev. Andrews starting for South Africa in support of the Indian cause.

Government of India Resolution on Industrial Commission Report with the Sec. of State's despatch of 25th Sept. issued.

21st Recommendations of Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Reform Bill published.

H. E. H. Nizam inaugurated new executive council for his dominions with Sir Ali Imam as President replacing personal rule.

22nd Big Mill-hands strike at Cawnpore, 17,000 go out, 5 mills closed down. Strike continued for 10 days

23rd Government of India communique preventing Germans from coming to India first for 3 years after conclusion of war.

27th Government of India communique on new rates of pay and allowances for I.C.S. men, both British and Indian.

Bombay Nationalist and Home Rule Leagues present address to Lokmanya Tilak who in reply made a long speech on present nationalist outlook and standpoint.

29th St. Andrew's Dinner at Calcutta, Lord Ronaldshay presides.

Patna University Convocation, L. G. given Honorary Degree of Ph.D. Sir R. N. Mookerji invited to address on future outlook.

December

1st Viceregal tour in Mysore lasting over a week; then in South India.

2nd Pundit Moti Lal Nehru, president elect of National Congress, issued appeal to Moderates to join Congress.

London "Times" strongly commented on "extraordinary ineptitude of the Simla authorities, both military and civil" in respect of the scandalous Afghan War and Peace muddle.

3rd and 4th. Government of India Bill went into House of Commons in Committee—the Bill considered clause by clause with amendments.

5th **Government of India Bill**—Third reading in the Commons passed. Mr. Montagu's triumphant speech in conclusion.

Sir G. Barnes receive deputation from British Guiana sent to India to open up Indian emigration despite keen protest of Indians.

10th to 12th—Bombay Council—Gambling Act passed—village Panchayat Bill introduced and referred to select committee—Non-official Resolutions.

11th Government of India Bill—2nd reading moved by Lord Sinha in a long speech in the House of Lords.

12th House of Lords Debate on Government of India Bill—2nd reading passed.

13th Indian Peace Celebrations commenced, Indian public not joining enthusiastically following Mahatma Gandhi's lead owing

to national grievances on Punjab atrocities and Khalifat wrong remaining unredressed.

15th House of Commons interpellation on Jhallianwala Massacre.

16th Sir J. C. Bose's lecture and demonstration of his epoch-making discoveries at the India House, Mr. Balfour presiding.

House of Lords went into Committee to consider Government of India Bill, Lord Donoughmore presiding,—various amendments moved but all rejected.

17th London *Times* and other papers strongly comment on the Punjab Massacre, condemning in unmeasured terms the action of Sir Michael O'Dowyer and the officers concerned.

Big Public meeting in Madras to present address of welcome to Lokmanya Tilak from local provincial Congress Committees and Home Rule Leagues.

18th **Third reading of the Government of India Bill in the House of Lords** passed after Lord Sydenham and a few others vainly tried to throw it over.

19th Moderate's reply to Congress President declining to accept invitation and setting forth reasons for abstention.

22nd Famous speech of Col. Wedgwood on the Punjab atrocities in ths House of Commons.

25th **H. M. the King-Emperor's message** to Princes and People of India announcing enactment of Reforms Bill—his gracious message of amnesty to all political prisoners and appealing to all to forget the past and work in concord for the future.

26th Indian National Congress at Amritsar opened by President the Hon'ble Pundit Moti Lal Nehru—10,000 delegates attend from all over India.

27th 33rd Mahomedan Educational Conference at Khairpur Mirs, (Sind), Hon'ble Justice Sir Samsul Huda delivers presidential address.

29th All India Muslim League opened at Amritsar by President Hajiq-ul-Mulk H. Ajmal Khan.

30th All India Moderate Conference opened at Calcutta by President Sir P. S. Shivaswamy Iyer and some 300 delegates.

India in 1919

India in 1919

INDIA IN 1919 was the scene of the most sanguinary and outrageous oppression followed by political reforms of a type which has since the late war become obsolete. The ruling class ran mad with rage because the people clamoured for popular institutions and refused to submit to an order of things belonging to an old world, forgotten during the war, and sought to be imposed despotically upon the people. The year, however, will remain ever momorable in her history for the beginning of breakdown of a despotic bureaucracy and the inauguration of political reforms on a popular basis. Early in the year Indian polity was swamped by a sudden release of those passions held in restraint during a serious war-tension which in recent years have been swaying it from the very bottom. In 1918 the great German menace was threatening the very existence of the Empire, and from His Majesty down to the Provincial Governors and District officers touching appeals went forth to the people to rally to the Empire against the common danger and to sacrifice all to furnish man-power and war-materials. The people nobly responded to the call and rose to the height of the occasion. The Viceroy held a war-conference at Delhi in April 1918 in which Princes and People, European and Indian, all shades of political opinion joined, and said His Excellency: "The guns are thundering and men are dying on the fields of Flanders and of France to settle the great issue "Is right might" or "Is might right"? We hold that moral purpose is the achievement of right. Remember blazing Louvain, we hear the cries of children. Old men are shot, women are outraged and butchered."

And alas! within a year of this rodomontade Jhallianwala outmartyred Louvain, Indians too heard the cries of children; they too saw old men shot, women outraged, towns bombed by aeroplanes—and all this under the very nose of the noble Viceroy!!!

And again "I want to feel that I am carrying India herself along with the Empire at large. I want her to realise that this is her war and that her sons go forth to fight for their own motherland". We must close our ranks, expostulated His Excellency, "in the face of a common danger there is no room for smaller issues. The liberty of the world must be ever won before our aspiration for libera-

lising of Indian Political Institutions can acquire any tangible meaning.'

War-Unity

Before the "common danger" all ranks were closed ; for a time all thought, all action were led into a single channel, that of war-preparation. In every province, in every district, war-loans were floated and largely contributed, recruiting centres were opened and recruits more than could be equipped and trained by the authorities volunteered. India did contribute beyond her capacity. Prince and peasant, Government officers and political leaders, Anglo Indian merchants and platform demagogues—all joined unto a common cause. Princes emptied their coffers ; popular leaders consented to colossal War loans, and people bowed to every demand for the Sirkar was in peril.

As said the Maharajah of Bikaner at the Jubilee Dinner of the Royal Colonial Institute held in June 1919 at the residence of the Duke of Connaught :—

War Contribution

"The essential aims of the Allies appealed strongly to the moral sense of the people of India, and their growing consciousness of nationhood attached them the more deeply to the British cause. India's opportunities were in many respects limited. She sent overseas to every theatre of the war contingents of highly trained men in the critical early days before the new armies of Great Britain and the Dominions had been raised and trained. Lord Curzon wrote that the Indian Expeditionary Force arrived on the Western front in the nick of time and helped to save the cause both of the Allies and of civilization (Cheers). Altogether India had put into the field close upon one and half million men and her casualties amounted to over 106,000. In addition to substantial contributions from the general public for war purposes and charities, India had made a free gift of £100,000,000 to the British Exchequer, and last September she made herself responsible for a further £46,000,000. Her military Budget had risen from some twenty one and one fourth millions in the last pre-war year to nearly 32 millions in 1918-19.

"India also rapidly improvised manufactures for export, and poured forth an ever-growing supply of munitions, foodstuffs and produced clothing and equipment. Shortly after the conclusion of the Armistice a writer in *The Times Trade Supplement* laid it down as indisputable that " if the resources of India had not been placed at the disposal of the Empire, the difficulties of the Allies would have been enormously increased, and the prosecution of their campaign on the great scale ultimately reached would not have been possible."

Dealing with the war record of the Indian Princes and States, the Maharajah spoke of the valuable services of the Imperial Service Troops which some of the Indian Princes voluntarily provided for the service of the Emperor. Further, with the active co-operation of the Princes, the number of men recruited from States for the Indian Army ran into six figures. Fifteen Ruling Princes went on active service to various theatres of war, and those who were compelled to stay behind did all in their power to help.

Indian Princes

"The free-will contributions of the Princes towards the war and to relief funds—supplementary to their military expenditure, ordinary and extraordinary, amounted to over £4,000,000, or at the present rate of exchange to more than £5,000,000. Their gifts included tanks, aeroplanes, armoured cars, and machine-guns, hospital ships and hospitals, motor ambulances, and comforts for troops, launches, horses and other animals, and supply of equipment and foodstuffs. Railway locomotives and rolling stock were made available for military purposes overseas, and munitions were manufactured in the workshops of several States. In addition the two Indian War Loans were considerably augmented by subscriptions from the Princes, their Governments, and their subjects.

"The cessation of hostilities came when India was suffering from famine conditions, owing to the failure of the monsoon, and was passing through an exceptionally virulent epidemic of influenza, affecting in some parts 80 per cent. of the population and costing the lives of some 6,000,000 people. Moreover it was impossible for India to remain unaffected by the irresistible sway of world forces arising from the war. It was inevitable that the convulsions of this mighty struggle should be felt for many months after the sword was sheathed. The fountains of the great deep had been broken up, and the unrest and unsettlement produced were world wide. The difficulties had been further accentuated by the unrest caused among the 67 millions of Indian Mahomedans arising from uncertainty and alarm in respect to the fate of Turkey and their spiritual Khalif. There had recently been lamentable disturbances among certain sections and portions of India. Whether or not further untoward manifestations of unrest had to be faced, it was earnestly to be hoped that public opinion would not allow itself to be perturbed by these event or by alarmist statements or propaganda. The outstanding fact was that India, having rallied to the cause of the Empire in August 1914, and having been staunch in both faith and work in the darkest days of the war, was loyal to her King Emperor to the core, and faithful to the British connection."

Tribulations.

Suddenly the war came to an end. The German offensive broke down. Armistice was signed in October 1918. The huge war-tension got a sudden release. Suddenly restraint was flung to the four winds, and abandonment to natural predispositions of the body politic became as perfect as was the necessitous restraint imposed before. Arrogance sulking in retreat before German menace now raised its head, and trumpetted more loudly the more it felt popular derision was abroad. Anglo-India talked big of British Victory, while people knew that it was really the American Army and money which saved the allies from the mighty German thrust. President Wilson, that great saviour of Europe, began to be openly rediculed. Prussianism smitten to the ground in Europe was smitten only in name ; it re-erected itself in India, and flourished all the more as the war-detent was raised. The history of India in the early part of 1919 is a history of the sudden rise and decline of the most perfect piece of Repression framed on the latest model of the Kaiser.

The Armistice October 1918.

Three years ago Lord Hardinge left the shores of India with the loving regrets of a loyal nation. His sympathetic administration at a particularly trying period awakened the highest instincts of a grateful people who allowed themselves cheerfully to be "bled white," (to quote his own words) unto the cause of the Empire. At the beginning of the war, when things were going hard with the unorganised British forces in the fields of Antwarp and Marne, India had been depleted of nearly all her troops, Indian and European, save only a few thousand territorials, full trust was reposed on her by the Viceroy, and the people in return reposed full trust in him. In the notorious Cawnpore Mosque affair, Sir James Meston, the then Lieutenant Governor of the Province brought matters to such a head that a serious Mahomedan rising was imminent. Lord Hardinge, with that quiet tact which characterised him, personally hastened to the scene, brought the provincial satrap to a right sense of proportion, quietened the wounded feelings of the Moslems and brought peace and satisfaction where feelings were at the point of bursting. Under very similar circumstances in April 1919 the present administration countenanced nameless coercion and declared Martial Law ! Lord Hardinge's strenuous fight for the unhappy plight of Indians in South Africa and elsewhere abroad, his nobilty of soul and freedom from chauvinism, helped to create an atmosphere in India in which people began to feel that they too could live as men. Since then, however, more particularly just previous to Mr. Montagu's arrival here in connection with the Reforms, repression has taken place of trust, except where serious war-emergency dictated prudence.

Lord Hardinge

Under the pretence of the Defence of India Act politicians and pressmen have been interned, Council members have been warned, an ex-Chief Justice has been dishonoured, public men have been forbidden entry into certain provinces, the press law rigorously applied, public speakers prosecuted, the Anglo-Indian Press have grown more and more abusive and insulting, and last came the crowning peace of despotism—the Rowlatt Act—in the face of the strongest popular feeling.

Such was India's heritage in 1919.

Conference of Princes

The first important public affair of the year was the annual meeting of the Princes and Chiefs of India at a Conference at Delhi presided over by the Viceroy. The most important question discussed at this conference was the distinction to be drawn between rulers enjoying full powers of internal administration and the others, with particular reference to eligibility for membership of the proposed Council of Princes. There was a divergence of opinion on the subject, a number of Princes being in favour of limiting the membership to States possessing full powers of internal administration, while others were for giving some kind of representation to the smaller States. There was no unanimous recommendation on this point. The Conference warmly endorsed the principle of the creation of a Council of Princes and proposed that it should be given an Indian name, the title suggested being "Narendra Maha Mandal" or "Chamber of Princes." The conference further approved the idea of a standing committee to which the Viceroy or the Political Department might refer questions of custom and usage, such committee to be representative of the more important groups of States, namely, Rajputana, Central India, Bombay and the Punjab. The principle was also endorsed of the proposal that all important States should be placed in direct political relations with the Government of India and the Conference supported the recommendations that two commissioners should be appointed, the one to deal with disputes that might arise between two or more States or between a State and Government, and the other to advice the Viceroy, when any occasion arose of depriving the ruler of a State of his rights, dignities and powers. The proposal for a joint deliberation on matters of common interest between the Council of Princes and the Council of State was left over for consideration when the result of the reform proposals relating to British India became known. With regard to the recommendation referring to the codification of treaty rights it was proposed to appoint a permanent committee to report to the next conference held later in the year in November (See pp. 81-100).

The newly awakened hydra of race-dominance raised its head in the form of wanton indignities offered to prominent Indians. Early in January 1919 was decided the notorious Imam-Clayton case, in which Mr. Clayton, a high I. C. S. officer of the Behar Govt. was charged in the law court for his outrageous behaviour in a train towards Mr. Hasan Imam, the great moslem leader and ex-judge of the Calcutta High Court. While travelling in a train Mr. Imam was reclining on his bed and in a road side station Mr. Clayton boarded the same first-class carriage, and seeing that an Indian was there, at once sat down on his chest! Further abuse and threat followed on explanation being demanded. In the court Mr. Clayton made false counter-allegations which he had to withdraw and the case ended with Mr. Clayton unreservedly apologising in open court and throwing himself absolutely on the generosity and mercy of Mr. Imam! Similar cases of assault, insult, indignities inflicted on Indians cropped up in Bombay and elsewhere.

Race-dominance

As if to lay bare the inner workings of the Anglo-Indian mind, about this time came to light the famous I. C. S. mutiny. On January 11th the *New India* of Madras published a document purported to have been indited by I. C. S. men of Madras in which reflections were made on Indians which were, to say the least, most unworthy of reasonable men. This matter has been fully discussed on pages 211-231 to which the reader is referred.

I. C. S. Revolt

Clearly the atmosphere was becoming surcharged with suspicion. People long suspected that the Reform question was a mere camouflage, with no sincerity behind it, forged to bring discord in the ranks of the nationalist Congressmen by splitting it into warring sections. In the attitude of the ruling class they saw the re-enactment of the old principle of *divide et impera*. Whittling down was a foregone conclusion.

Then came the famous Viceregal pronouncement of February 6th 1919. In opening the Delhi session of the Imperial Legislative Council the Viceroy delivered a speech which substantiated in the fullest manner possible popular apprehension of coming events. As a piece of juncker oration it was as best as the limited vision of His Excellency could make it and lacked only grandeur of delivery to make it genuinely Curzonian. It was a *volte face* of rare audacity. In clear terms the mutinous Civil Service, instead of receiving a well-merited snubbing, was fawningly placated; the real significance of the position of Indian Ministers under the new Reforms, where they

Viceroy's Speech
6th February

will be practically under the thumb of the Governor and his I. C. S. advisers, were laid bare; foreign commerce was assured of Government protection, and Indians were once more declared unfit to take over the management of their country. The clear assurance given in the two previous years that *even* the invidious Arms Act racial distinctions would not be tolerated now became faltering and the "bristling difficulties of the subject and the knotty nature of the problem" were emphatically put before the Council. To crown all His Excellency firmly declared that his government was determined to carry the repressive legislations then on the anvil despite all opposition.

The Rowlatt Bill which was immediately after the Viceroy's speech introduced into the Legislative Council by the Home Member, Sir William Vincent, was to say the least, a measure of unparallelled coercion. Govt. wanted to have extreme summary powers and to do away with the least legal formalities. Under the new act there were to be **no vakeel, no dolil, no appeal.** The executive will work in secret, will condemn in secret, verily in the manner of the infamous Star Chamber Courts. No rational ground was given of the necessity of such a despotic measure in time of peace. In the repressive armoury of the Govt. there was enough and to spare, and the power proposed to be taken under the new Bill was already there in the hands of the Govt. As Sir O'Moore Creagh, the ex-Commander in Chief in India, said:

"The present unrest about the Rowlatt Bill is typical of Indian maladministration. There would be no need for the Bill had certain old Bills of 1818 and earlier, now brought into action, been utilised. These having until now been declared obsolete or forgotten, new measures were considered unavoidable, but it is a matter of common knowledge that the Indian Government has a mania for legislation ignoring the amazing array of equally suitable Acts that it possesses in its legal armoury."

Rowlatt Bill Passed

Popular agitation over the "Black Bill," as it was called, was intense. It started from Madras and Bombay and gradually spread over the whole country. It grow in volume with lightening rapidity not so much for the Bill itself as for the manner in which it was forced through the Council. It savoured of Potsdam politics. All the Indian members of Council opposed it to a man. From every town, from every political organisation in the country mandates went forth to the Indian members of the Viceroy's Council to oppose it to the bitter end. And the firmer the opposition the speedier the Government's movements. The Bill was moved on the 6th February, the Select Committee report signed only by official members was presented on the 1st March, it was taken up

for consideration on the 12th, and the next three days the Viceroy forced the Council to sit continuously up till late at night to dispose of the 150 and odd amendments proposed by the Indian members. The official members exhibited a demeanour and used language towards their Indian confreres which can only be used in an Indian Council. At last on 18th March by sheer official vote the measure passed into law. At once the Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma resigned in protest and other resignations followed soon after. Mr. M. A. Jinnah in tendering his resignation wrote the following letter to the Viceroy :—

Resignations

"Your Excellency.—The passing of the Rowlatt Bill by the Government of India and the assent given to it by Your Excellency as Governor-General against the will of the people has severely shaken the trust reposed by them in British justice. Further, it has closely demonstrated the constitution of the Imperial Legislative Council which is legislative but in name, a machine propelled by a foreign executive. Neither the unanimous opinion of the non-official Indian members nor the entire public opinion and feeling outside has met with the least respect. The Government of India and Your Excellency however have thought it fit to place on the statute book a measure admittedly obnoxious and decidedly coercive at a time of peace, thereby substituting the executive for the judicial. Besides, by passing this Bill Your Excellency's Government have actively negatived every argument they advanced but a year ago when they appealed to India for help at the war-conference, and have ruthlessly trampled upon the principles for which Great Britain avowedly fought the war. The fundamental principles of justice have been uprooted and constitutional rights of the people have been violated at a time when there is no real danger to the state, by an overfretful and incompetent bureaucracy, which is neither responsible to the people nor in touch with real public opinion, and their sole plea is that the powers when they are assumed will not be abused. I therefore, as a protest against the passing of the bill and the manner in which it was passed, tender my resignation as a member of the Imperial Legislative Council, for I feel that under the prevailing conditions I can be of no use to my people in the Council, nor consistently with one's self-respect is co-operation possible with a Government that shows utter disregard for the opinion of the representatives of the people in the Council chamber and for the feelings and sentiments of the people outside. In my opinion the Government that passes or sanctions such a law in times of peace, forfeits its claim to be called a civilized Government and

Mr. Jinnah's Letter

I still hope that the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Montagu, will advise His Majesty to signify his disallowance to this Black Act."

Subsequently, early in April 1919, Hon'bles Rai Bahadur B. D. Shukul, Pt. M. M. Malaviya, and Mr. Mazha-rul Haque also resigned. Mr. Shukul in tendering resignation wrote :—

Mr. Shukul's Letter

"My Lord.—I respectfully beg to tender my resignation... it is an overwhelming sense of duty which impells me to take this course.

"As your Lordship is aware, I never concealed my detestation of the Rowlatt Bill. I always regarded it as a most inopportune and an ill-advised measure, particularly at a time of peace, when nothing but calm prevailed throughout the country and I have always held that the Emergency Law, as now enacted, is not only subversive of the fundamental principles of liberty and justice, but is also destructive of the elementary rights of free citizenship on which is based the very safety of the country as a whole and the State itself, and as such it is fraught with dangerous consequences. ..... I expected and hoped that in view of the critical situation created in the country by the passage of this obnoxious Bill into law, the Secretary of State of India, Mr. Montagu, would advise His Majesty to signify his disallowance to the Bill, and I waited so long but waited in vain ... It is therefore with the greatest reluctance and regret that I decide to tender my resignation."

Meanwhile, colossal protest meetings unavailing the despairing people had taken recourse to the last plank in their forlorn hope. On March 1st, Mahatma Gandhi issued his famous Satyagraha manifesto. A careful and appreciative perusal of the Rowlatt report brought him to a conclusion just opposite to the authorities. The greatest alarm lay in the *setting* of the Bills. "Their introduction," said he, "is accompanied by certain assurances given by the Viceroy regarding the Civil Service and the British commercial interests," which cut at the root of civilised government. The Satyagraha Covenanters, therefore, determined to undergo every form of sufferings in order to secure the very objects which the Rowlatt Bills aimed by showing to the "believers in efficiency of violence as a means of securing redress of grievances," the infallible remedy which blesseth those who use it and also those against whom it is used. The text of the Vow was :—

Satyagraha. 1st March.

The Vow

"Being conscientiously of opinion that the Bills known as the Indian Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill No. 1 of 1919 and the Criminal Law (Emergency Powers) Bill No. 2 of 1919 are unjust, subversive of the principle of liberty and justice, and destructive of the elementary rights of

individuals, on which the safety of the community as a whole and the State itself is based, we solemnly affirm that in the event of these Bills becoming law and until they are withdrawn, we shall refuse civilly to obey these Laws and such other Laws as a Committee to be hereafter appointed may think fit and we further affirm that in this struggle we will faithfully follow the truth and refrain from violence to life, person or property."

The vow was at once taken by all the Home Rulers of Bombay and gradually secured increasing numbers of signatories from all parts of India. Within a fortnight Satyagraha permeated the country even back into the remote villages as a call of religion, and up rose people in religious animation to wash the gloom off their soul. Passive resistance, Satyagraha, Mahatma Gandhi, his words, his exposition, his Press notes, were the only topics of the day, and the great personality of the Mahatma, his easy march over to victory in every impossible struggle with a fierce soulless bureaucracy, breathed a rousing spirit of assurance in the success of the great venture.

On the 23rd March Gandhi issued his famous *hartal* manifesto, fixing the 6th of April for the observance of an All-India Hartal, to be devoted entirely to fasting, prayer and penance for the purification of the soul, preparatory to offering self-mortification to purge the body politic of its filth.

Delhi Outrage. 30th March.

The local Satyagraha Sabha of Delhi made arrangements to observe the 30th March as a day of humiliation and prayer. Accordingly shops were closed on that day and *Bhajan* parties came out singing religious songs in the streets. Boys out for a fun and bawling street idlers enjoyed the pastime of stopping trams and carriages and with folded palms asking their occupants to get down. Such persuasions were easily heeded to. At midday some of the over-enthusiast demonstrators roaming about the streets proceeded to the Railway Station to persuade the station stall-keepers to close their shops. This they refused to do and quarrel ensued. The station police came out and took two of the mob into custody. Hearing of this more men hurried to the Station and asked for the release of those arrested. The gates were locked up and the mob cried abuse. The railings of the enclosure were partly damaged and panic reigned within the station yard. The Police was informed and soon after the additional Magistrate came on the scene armed with a small military force and machine guns. Fire was opened and in confusion the crowd took to its heels. The whole affair was finished in 3 hours. In another quarter of the town, Chandney chowk, the hartal crowd was fired at. About a dozen was killed or disabled. Swami Shradhanand, head of the local Satyagraha sabha hurried to the spot and quieted the

mob now mad with rage over the indiscriminate shooting of the military on the helpless unarmed crowd. He took them in a quiet procession to the place of meeting. About 15 thousand men were present and by evening the number swelled up to 40 thousand. A Military cordon surrounded the vast assembly ready with machine guns to open fire. The Chief Commissioner came, called the Swami and demanded to know what was being done. He went back on being assured of the peaceful nature of the meeting. The meeting resolved to suffer all violence in silence like true satyagrahis and passed resolutions protesting against the Rowlatt Act.

When Gandhi heard of the outrage, he said in a meeting at Bombay : **For Satyagrahis it was not a bad beginning.** No country has ever risen, no nation has ever been made without sacrifice and we were trying an experiment of building up ourselves by self-sacrifice without resorting to violence in any shape or form.

Delhi—31st March

31st March saw Delhi *en masse* in mourning. Funeral processions, carrying biers of those fallen on the preceding day, attended by tens of thousands in hushed agony of mourning, marched to the graveyards and cremation grounds of Muslims and Hindus respectively with a solemnity never to be forgotton. The military, however, were not unmindful of their duty of "keeping peace and order" and rattled with their machine guns in the rear of the processions.

Next morning the local leaders went round the Bazars and exhorted people to resume business ; after much persuasion shops were opened but soon closed on the appearance of the military near the Clock-Tower. Rumour ran afoot that there will be another firing. The popular leaders who had ever since been untiring in their efforts to pacify the crowd and dispel false fears, both on the part of the police and the people, requested the authorities not to exasperate the despairing people by a show of the Military, and pointed out how they had detected several spies and hirelings haranguing the crowd with a view to further excitement. The military was then withdrawn and for the next two days business ran as usual.

Delhi—4th April

On April 4th Colonel Beadon, a man heartily disliked by the people for his rough insulting behaviour, called a meeting of the popular leaders, threw the whole blame on them, and issued an insulting circular maligning the people. On the same day about 30,000 Hindus and Mahomedans assembled in the Jumma Musjid to pray for peace of the souls of the beloved innocents who fell on the fateful 30th March. Hindus and Mahomedans joined hands and prayed and

mourned together. The blood of the martyrs at last cemented their hearts.

Then came the Great Hartal of April 6th, set in motion by Mahatma Gandhi, and memorable in the history of Indian Nationhood as the day of political purification of a people long suffering from the sins of their fathers. As Dr. Subramaniam said at a mass-meeting at Madras: "the right way to carry out the pledge is to *will* day after day, as forcibly as one can, that the autocracy now so much in evidence in the land, the expolitation to which it is exposed, should cease ; the present servile state of the country is not an accident but the necessary consequence of our past collective Karma. It is no other than the punishment inflicted by Providence through the instrumentality of that Autocracy. None who takes this rightful view of the matter ought to sit still, but atone by striving by all legitimate means to prepare for better conditions to our successors." From Simla to Cape Comorin, from Calcutta to Bombay, in the capital cities and in the mofussil towns, people in a body suspended their daily avocations, passing it in fasting and bathing, in pujas and prayers, and organising meetings to deplore the passage of the Rowlatt Act. Prayerful protest meetings were held everywhere, attended by thousands in the mofussil and by hundreds of thousands in the big cities, imploring His Majesty not to allow the Black Act to sully the fair name of a loyal country and its people. There was no disturbance any where ; there was nothing left to the authorities and the police but merely to look on, just as they do on such occasions as the Mohurrum and Durga Puja. National protest thus came to acquire a religious meaning.

The Great Hartal
6th April

There was, however, a riit in the lute. Sir Michael O'Dwyer of Punjab detested the successful turn Satyagraha was taking. Mass movements were galling to him and popular demand was rebellion in his eyes, On the eve of his retirement, on April 7th, he held his last Council and in his last Council Speech delivered his hymn of hate of Indian Leadrs as follows.—

Sir M O'Dwyer

Certain individuals at Lahore and Amritsar,.....whatever their motives, were openly endeavouring to arouse public feeling against the Government. The British Government which has crushed foreign foes and quelled internal rebellion could afford to despise agitators" and he threatened that the agitators "have a day of reckoning in store for them."

In the same blustering speech, however, he told the Council that Punjab was loyal to the core. "From the prince's palace down to the peasant's hut I found I could meet a Punjabee

whatever his class or condition as man to man without suspicion or mistrust." And yet but a couple of days later this very Punjab was declared to be in revolt by this very man.

On April 8th Mahatma Gandhi left Bombay for Delhi on a mission of peace, to assuage the sufferings of the people. When the train steamed in, the European travellers seeing people waiting for Gandhi laughed, jeered and cried 'Arrested'! Mr. M. Desai, Gandhi's secretary, alighted from the train and reported that "Mahatma Gandhi on his way to Delhi at Kosi was served with an order not to enter the Punjab, not to enter Delhi and to restrict himself to Bombay. The officer serving the order said that it would be his painful duty to arrest him, if he elected to disobey. Mahatma Gandhi smilingly said that he must elect to disobey as it was his duty, and that the officer must also do what was his duty. He was accordingly arrested." The arrest took place at Palwal station on the 9th afternoon. The Mahatma's carriage was detached and brought back under Police escort to Muttra from where he was despatched by special train to Bombay.

Gandhi's Arrest

On April 10th the news of the arrest was flashed all over the country: "Arrested and Deported"! The effect was terrific. India was dazed at this exhibition of "Might." Anglo-India at once sprang up in boundless merriment. Delhi and the Punjab were thick with rumours of further arrests.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the mighty apostle of the cult of the "Mailed fist", now had his opportunity. He wanted to teach a lesson to the public agitators, the galling hartal-makers, and the sinful opposers of bureaucratic Will and Might. "Remember, Raizada Saheb," he said to L. Bhagat Ram "there is a mightier force than Soul force" (Gandhi's) to illustrate which he banged the table with his clenched fist! He applied the spark-plug to popular rising and then had his "Day of reckoning". On April 4th he signed the order of deportation on M. Gandhi. On April 9th he sent further orders of deportation on Drs. Satyapal and Kitchlew of Amritsar. The Hartal was not much of a success in the Punjab for, Sir Michael had taken care to isolate his province by diverse prohibitive orders from the rest of India. Drs. Satyapal and Kitchlew had therefore invited the Mahatma to the Punjab to organise Satyagraha in a wider scale. There was nothing unusual at Amritsar when the order for deportation reached the unsuspecting and amazed Depy. Commissioner Mr. Irvine, but he had to carry out orders much against his wish. The doctors were privately invited at Mr. Irvine's bungalow and at once secretly deported, military arrangements having been previously made to disperse anticipated mobs by fire. The

news of the deportation spread like wild fire and within a few hours Amritsar was ablaze with riot and incendiarism. At first a huge procession marched to the Depy. Commissioner's place to make a representation for the release of the leaders; it was not allowed to proceed and was dispersed by fire. The huge crowd now mad with rage divided itself into parts which ran in different directions and committed hideous outrages in the way. Several Banks were burned down and looted, several Europeans were foully murdered, the Town Hall, the Post office and other Government offices were demolished, an Anglo-Indian Nurse and a Lady Doctor were brutally assaulted, and the whole town was in the hands of the surging rioters till late at night. The European population, men, women and children, were removed to the Fort and military reinforcements were summoned. Relief came from Lahore and Jhullunder. Next day the town was quiet and under military occupation.

Amritsar Ablaze

At Lahore news of the deportations and of the Amritsar riot spread on the 10th about midday. At once shops were closed and disorderly crowds collected here and there but were dispersed by military fire. Stringent steps were taken to prevent any processions or demonstrations, and musket fire was freely indulged in. Many people were killed and wounded. There was no riot.

On the day previous, April 9th, Amritsar itself was *en fete* on the Ram navami festival. The local officials all joined the orderly processions. Next day came the deportations and the acts of popular fury. On the 11th April the military was in occupation. Next two days the atmosphere was charged with panic. Rumour of the deportations spread far and wide and local riots occurred. Sir Michael now had his chance; he wirelessed to Simla that there was Rebellion and imperatively demanded declaration of Martial Law. But Amritsar remained still unpunished when late on the evening of April 11th General Dyer came over from Jullunder with his brigade and occupied the town on the 12th. And then was enacted one of the most gruesome massacres known in history. There was a proposal to hold a meeting next day at Jhallianwalla bag—a plot of land used for national melas and festivals. On the morning of the 13th, General Dyer marched through the streets of Amritsar and prohibited any sort of gathering on pain of being shot—the warning given being "**gollee sa chittar bhittar dega.**" On hearing that a crowd had collected at the Bag he at once marched to the spot.

Genl. Dyer

It was the *Baisakhi* day of Amritsar. Thousands annually meet here on this day to hold an annual fair and come over from long distance. Thousands of Sikhs and Jats assembled here from distant places innocent of riots and proclamations. Thousands also of Amritsar people collected not knowing that the prohibition in the morning included also a non-political national *mela*. The mela people numbered between 16 to 20 thousands : they were all collected inside the bagh which is a square plot of land surrounded on all sides by houses and high walls with only 4 narrow entrances allowing not more than 2 persons to walk abreast.

Jhallianwella Bag

Such was the pin-hole, more congested now than the mythical Black hole, in which was enacted the most horrible massacre of modern history. On arriving at the scene the General entered with his troops through one of the entrances but had regretfully to leave the armoured cars outside because of its narrowness, and forthwith proceeded to a high ground, deployed his troops to the right and the left, and **within 30 seconds opened fire.** The firing was individual and not volly-fire. It continued for 10 minutes ; from time to time he directed it against where the crowd was thickest. It continued till ammunition ran short. Altogether 1,650 rounds were fired. Some 5 to 6 hundred were killed outright, and three times the number lay wounded. People ran for their life as soon as the firing commenced. There was no warning, no demonstration. The unarmed innocent people, most of them villagers, sat at that time squatting on the ground, knew not what was happening. They fled and fell. They tried to climb up the high walls and fell. They cried, they shrieked, panick-striken, terror-striken, were *golle sa chittar-bhittered*"—their plight can better be imagined than described !!!

Before the Hunter Committee the General naively declared that he could have dispersed the crowd easily without firing but then, he said, " they would have come back and laughed at me, and I would have made myself, what I consider, a fool of myself." His object was to go on firing till the crowd dispersed and as, he said, a little firing would not have been sufficient, he considered it right to fire and fire well. After that awful carnage, the General went away with his troops and did not care for the medical or any relief for the dead and wounded lying on the field of his exploit ! 'That was not his job", he said. They were left there unattended for full two days and nights, and no relief came. "They could go to the hospital" was the General's opinion, and no body from the hospital or elsewhere could go to them. Children, babes in arms, women, boys and elders lay weltering there in their blood and mangled limbs, with the

April sun of Amritsar blazing full on their face and not a drop of water for the parched dying lips!

Martial Law was established in Districts of Amritsar and Lahore on the 15th April, in Gujranwalla on the 16th, in Gujrat on the 19th and in Lyallpur on the 24th. It remained in force till the 25th August when it was abrogated throughout, though in the interval its operations had been partially removed from particular places for a short period. The towns of Amritsar, Kasur, Gujranwala, Wazirabad, Ramnagar, Lyallpur, Hafizabad remained under its tyrannical heels up to 9th June, and Lahore up to the 11th midnight.

Martial Law

It is wearisome to detail all the horrors of the Reign of Terror of this period. The German atrocities in Belgium, to avenge which India, in the language of Lord Hardinge, "had been bled white", pales into insignificance before the ferocity of the Martial Law administrators of the Punjab. As says Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer : "The wholesale slaughter of hundreds of unarmed men at Jallianwalla Bagh without giving the crowd an opportunity to disperse, the indifference of General Dyer to the condition of hundreds of people who were wounded in the firing, the firing of machine-guns into crowds who had dispersed and taken to their heels, the flogging of men in public, the order compelling thousands of students to walk 16 miles a day for roll-calls, the arrest and detention of 500 students and professors, the compelling of school-children of 5 to 7 to attend on parade to salute the flag, the order imposing on owners of property the responsibility for the safety of the Martial Law posters stuck on their property, the flogging of a marriage party, the censorship of mails, the closure of the Badshahi Mosque for six weeks, the arrest and detention of people without any substantial reason and especially of people who had rendered services to the State in connection with the War-Fund or otherwise, the flogging of six of the biggest boys in the Islamiah School simply because they happened to be schoolboys and to be big boys, the construction of an open cage for the confinement of arrested persons, the invention of novel punishments like the crawling order, the skipping order and others unknown to any system of law, civil or military, the handcuffing and roping together of persons and keeping them in open trucks for 15 hours, the use of aeroplanes and Lewis guns and the latest paraphernalia of scientific warfare against unarmed citizens, the taking of hostages and the confiscation and destruction of property for the purpose of securing the attendance of absentees, the handcuffing of Hindus and Muhammadans in pairs with the object of demonstrating the consequences of Hindu Muslim unity, the cutting off of electric and water-supplies from Indian houses, the

removal of fans from Indian houses and giving them for use by Europeans, the commandeering of all vehicles owned by Indians and giving them for Europeans for use, the feverish disposal of cases with the object of forestalling the termination of Martial Law, are some of the many incidents of the administration of Martial Law."

Flogging

Among the ghoulish horrors of Martial Law nothing could have been more debasing and inhuman than public floggings—"the kindliest method of punishment" according to Col. Frank Johnson, the Martial Law administrator of Lahore, and calculated "to make a good impression" according to General Dyer of undying fame. The victim was stripped bare of his clothes and tied to the triangle. The man who took the place of the executioner came running from a distance and smashed the lash with full force. Bleeding started at the 2nd or 3rd stripe, an awful shriek gradually dwindling to an agonising moan went forth from the victim; the wretched fellow had to faint away after a few lashes; then a sprinkling of cold water on his face, the regaining of consciousness, and again lashing and so on till the required number had been given and then the butchered mass of human flesh was unleashed from the triangle and thrown out—to be picked up by friends or relatives or by the jail peons to undergo further punishments. For any trivial offence against the Martial Law prohibitions, whipping was the punishment: for not *salaaming* a European, for strolling in the streets beyond the prohibited hours, for selling milk or vegetables at higher rates, for any complaint that the underlings of the police and military might make. Before the Hunter Committee Genl. Dyer said :—

Justice Rankin.—You said that whipping is the ordinary punishment under martial law?

General Dyer—Yes, under martial law.

Justice Rankin.—I gather that was adopted in Amritsar?

General Dyer.—Yes.

Justice Rankin. What is the authority for saying that because martial law was instituted in the city the ordinary punishment for minor offences is the sentence of whipping?

General.—It is the custom, I presume.

Justice Rankin.—In the Indian Army whipping continues as a recognised punishment?

General.—It has practically disappeared. Martial law wants speedy punishment and that is why whipping came in under martial law.

Justice Rankin.—It is a humiliating punishment?

General.—Yes, it is humiliating.

Justice Rankin.—You do not believe that it was inflicted in fact upon people of respectable classes.

General.—I do not think I have said that.

Justice Rankin.—As far as you are concerned, there ought to be no discrimination?

General.—If they are guilty under martial law, they ought to be punished.

Justice Rankin.—Under martial law there were a great many proclamations issued every other day. It might easily be that a respectable person would commit an offence against these proclamations!

General.—They should not do things which would bring them under martial law.

Crawling

Only less diabolic was the Crawling Order. The whole length of a street in Amritsar, 150 yards in length, occupied thickly by wealthy tenements, was ordered to be crawled through by anyone who wished to pass. British soldiers were posted by General Dyer on both ends of the street with strict orders that all persons who lived in that street were to pass it crawling after the manner of worms and reptiles. Old and young, rich and poor, all had to submit to this nameless atrocity. If by any chance, the crawler rised his back to avoid the dirt or rubbish which was lying about, he was struck down to the ground with the rifle butts. The result was that the sick could not get medical relief for no doctor consented to crawl; children had to starve for no fresh milk or provision could be brought, and the whole neighbourhood soon became the hot-bed of disease germs for the sweeper could not crawl with his broom and basket on!

Gujranwala

At Gujranwala the military indulged in a practice of aerial bombing. On the false rumour that Col. O'Brien, the officer of that placed had been murdered, three aeroplanes were despatched and they dropped more than half a dozen bombs, on schools and mosques etc. and fired about a 1000 rounds from machine guns. There about were 40 casualties, including women with babes in arms and school boys! Even in war civilised custom is to give warning before armours of destruction are discharged from the air—this was done even with the Wazirs and Mashuds with whom the Government was at war, and omitted where a small Indian village was reported to have at most rioted!

Lahore

At Lahore Martial law was most intensely applied, more than 600 martial law orders were promulgated restricting in every conceivable way the liberty of the people. The revered Principal of a local college was wantonly insulted and fined for an alleged "offence" committed by some unknown hand.

Kasur

At Kasur the whole male population of the town was turned out to the Station Compound and made to rub their nose on the ground. Capt. Doveton, who was in charge, ordered the shooting and burning of the property of persons not found in their house; persons convicted were made to rub the ground before his shoes with their

forehead, and he passed fantastic sentences such as climbing ladders, skipping, dancing with fool's cap on, and so on.

Mr. Bosworth Smith outdid all. At Mahmianwalla soldiers promiscuously shot down people on the 19th April under his orders. He beat the women of the whole village out of their houses, paraded them out in front of him, outraged their modesty by removing their veils with his cane as he was reviewing them on horseback and used the most unmentionable language, such as bitches, swine, and worse things.

Cable to Premier
29 April

To consider the grave situation in the Punjab an emergency meeting of the All-India Congress Committee was called at Bombay on April 20. As a result of its deliberations the following cable was sent on the 29th to the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State, and Lord Sinha.

"The All-India Congress Committee desire most earnestly to represent to His Majesty's Government the intense gravity of the present situation in India, the real causes and the need for a change of policy pursued at present.

"While deploring and condemning popular excesses which have occurred in some parts of the country and which popular leaders have everywhere used their influence, not unsuccessfully, to restrain, the Committee urge the impartial consideration of the circumstances which have so aggravated and embittered the feelings of the people throughout the country as to make such outbreaks possible. The resolution of the Government of India dated 14th instant, describing the present situation as arising out of the Rowlatt Act agitation, makes only a partial statement of the case. Undoubtedly, intense universal bitterness of opposition to the Rowlatt Act, forged through the legislature by official votes against the unanimous protest of all Indian members and in the face of the unparallelled opposition throughout the country, was the immediate cause of the recent popular peaceful demonstrations. But the subsequent excesses were provoked by the needless and unjustifiable action of the Government of India and the Punjab and Delhi Governments against so revered a personality as that of Mr. Gandhi and against the other popular leaders.

Causes of Discontent.

"For a complete understanding, however, of the present discontent and its causes, other important factors must be considered. The attitude of India throughout the war was one of consistent loyalty and helpfulness. Cheered and encouraged by the declared aims for which the great struggle was waged, and the promises of the British statesmen of political freedom and self-determination for all, followed

by the visit of the Secretary of State to India to frame recommendations for reform, the people uncomplainingly suffered the hardships of war conditions and gave their aid ungrudgingly. India's services were handsomely and unreservedly acknowledged by the Premier and other leading statesmen. Since the signing of the armistice, the people however feel there has been a notable change in the attitude of the European community, official and non-official, towards Indian aspirations generally and reform in particular.

"The sufferings of the middle and lower classes, owing to high prices of foodstuffs and clothing, have been intensified by the failure of the monsoon in several parts of the country and grave mismanagement of the control of foodstuffs, Railway and shipping freight. The people feel the Government have been indifferent and failed to do all they might have done to alleviate the sufferings. Criticisms and complaints in the press by leading journals and well-known public men were ignored. The hostile attitude of the Anglo-Indian Press and the European community towards reform and the malignant campaign of the European Association in India and the Indo-British Association in England greatly intensified the bitterness of feeling. The impression is now widespread that the European official and non-official community are generally opposed even to the mild recommendations in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report which are regarded as inadequate by the bulk of Indian opinion. Added to this, circumstances have encouraged the belief that the Government do not desire to encourage Indian industrial enterprise, to admit Indians to equality of privileges and opportunities with Europeans as illustrated by the meagre proposals for the admission of Indians to Commissions in their own army and the fact that out of two hundred officers employed by the Munitions Board, only one was Indian.

"A further important factor of the popular discontent is the deep and universal feeling among Indian Mahomedans regarding the Khalifate and the holy places and apprehensions that their claims are not sufficiently regarded by the British Government and the Allies and are not adequately pressed at the Peace Conference. The Mahomedans feel bitterly that their loyalty during the war is without appreciation since the danger is passed. Such a feeling too is general among the Indians of all classes and is fanned by the sudden change of the Indian Government's attitude from one of conciliation during the war to obstinate opposition to the will of the people since the armistice and by a similar attitude of other officials as evidenced by such boastful and intimidating utterances based on the victories of British Arms as that of Sir Michael O'Dwyer in his Council on the 7th instant when he threatened the ruthless repression of political agitation disagreeable to him in peace as well as in war time.

The Rowlatt Blunder

"In such circumstances, the two Rowlatt Bills were introduced and the principal one was forced through the Council in spite of the unanimous opposition of the non-official Indian members, and appeals for postponements and reconsideration and warnings of the agitation that would inevitably follow throughout the country which was stirred by this measure and the uncompromising attitude of the Government in a degree unparalelled in the history of the country.

"The Committee here cannot enter in detail as to the justifiable apprehensions caused by the passing into law of this Act. They are content to represent that it is a total distortion of the facts that an agitation against a measure placed on the Statute Book in time of peace depriving subjects under any circumstances of the sacred right of free and open trial and otherwise restricting the fundamental liberties and depriving accused persons of normal and essential safeguards designed for the protection of innocent persons should be regarded as an unreal agitation engineered by political agitators for their own ends. The Committee have no authority to discuss the merits of the Passive resistance movement led by Mr. Gandhi, but would emphasise that nothing but the feeling of high souled patriotism and intense realisation of the injustice involved in the passing of this measure could have actuated a man of his saintly character and noble record. The Committee submit that so far as facts are publicly known no violence had anywhere been committed by the people until after the arbitary restrictions placed on Mr. Gandhi's movements leading to his arrest and the forcible deportation without any announcement about his destination while he was on his way to Delhi with the object of pacifying the people after the unfortunate episode there on March 30th. Grave allegations were made that the authorities in Delhi unjustifiably fired on crowds killing and wounding several. The Government of India have ignored the demands for an enquiry into this and have published an exparte statement of the Local Government exonerating the local authorities on unconvincing statements. Had Mr. Gandhi been allowed to proceed to Delhi, the Committee believe he would have restored normal conditions. The Goyernment, on the contrary, by his arrest and deportation, provoked outbreaks in Ahmedabad and Viramgaum.

"An outbreak had become imminent in Bombay also, but it was averted by the wise action of the authorities in restraining the police and the military and the efforts of Mr. Gandhi and other leaders pacified the people and restored quiet. The Committee invite attention to the contrast between the rapidity with which

tranquility was restored in Ahmedabad by the presence of Mr. Gandhi, his co-operation along with that of other leaders with the authorities and the continuance of disorders in the Punjab where reckless and horrible methods of repression under Martial law such as the public flogging of citizens in the street, dropping of bombs from aeroplanes and wholesale firing on people assembled in the streets, have been resorted to. These methods of repression have created horror and resentment throughout the country. The Committee recognise the need for strong measure to deal with popular violence where popular leaders and bodies and all public men are ready to co-operate with Government in putting down popular excesses and violent movements against authority, but the use of such methods as have been in force in the Punjab antagonise the feelings of the people towards Government and sow seeds of bitterness and distrust.

"The Committee most earnestly urge His Majesty's Government to intervene and put an end to these methods and to order the appointment of a commission of official and non-official to investigate the cause of discontent and allegations of excesses by the authorities in repressing popular outbreaks.

Change of Policy Needed

"The Committee strongly urges His Majesty's Government to consider that popular discontent have been provoked by causes set forth above. At Amritsar the disturbances followed immediately on Sir Michael O'Dwyer's action in arresting and deporting Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal. The Committee most earnestly represent that the situation cannot be dealt with alone by repression and the attitude of sternness towards the people displayed in the resolution of the Indian Government on 14th instant which gives a free hand to Local Governments to employ every weapon in the armoury of repression and is sadly lacking in the spirit of conciliation. The situation calls for the highest statesmanship which will deal with it in the spirit which animated the British Government and the Indian people in their recent struggle for the maintenance of the liberty and freedom of people from despotic domination and not in a mood of ruthless repression.

"The All India Congress Committee feel that they can appeal with confidence to His Majesty's ministers to consider this representation with sympathy and to take definite steps forthwith to reverse the policy of repression and to satisfy Indian feeling with regard to the Mahomedan question, the reforms, and the repeal of the Rowlatt Act. The Committee respectfully submit this action alone will secure real peace and contentment in the land.

At Ahmedabad, the great centre of textile industry, news of Gandhi's arrest reached on the 10th April morning and a rumour also ran that Bai Anusuya Debi had also been arrested. Both the Mahatma and the lady are regarded with religious devotion by the thousands of mill hands of this place, for having worked and fought for them with divine sympathy to ameliorate their hard life of toil. The news of the arrest fanned into fable by rumour maddened them. At once shops were closed; business was suspended. The workers came out and formed crowds. They marched in a body to the Railway Station and met two European mill-officers in the way, driving in a motor-car. Them they asked to come down; they refused and escaped into a neighbouring mill. The crowd attacked the mill, poured Kerosine over the wooden fence and set fire to it. Eventually troops were brought in. Order to fire was given, and the men dispersed after several had been shot. Next day the mill hands again came out in larger numbers bent on further mischief. They burnt the Government offices, set free under-trial prisoners, cut the wires of the city, set fire to the telegraph office, cut to pieces a Police sergeant and molested several officers who fled with their families from their homes left to the pillage of the rioters. At Viramgaum the mob burned the Railway station, looted the goods-shed, and what was most awful, burnt alive an Indian Magistrate who had a reputation for dealing severely with criminals.

Ahmedabad

Further riots, quelled by Military fire, took place also at Delhi, Calcutta, and other places, following M. Gandhi's arrest.

The riot at Ahmedabad resulted in some 150 casualties but the government of Sir George Llyod did not think it necessary to take as stringent measures as in the Punjab. Mr. Gandhi went to the place on the 14th April; the officials at once co-operated with him; he called all the mill-hands together and pacified them. No further precautionary methods were found necessary.

The members of Sir George Lloyd's government, however, it was rumoured, threatened to resign in a body if stronger methods were not taken against the leaders of the Satyagraha movement. Accordingly Bombay, specially Sind, the home of the staunchest satyagrahis, was subjected to special police raids.

The months of April and May were given up to Martial Law in the Punjab and various acts of coercion in the other provinces. Innumerable Martial Law cases cropped up, tried by Summary Courts, Commissions, etc, and lawyers were not available for defence even where the penalties involved and ultimately awarded were death, transportation and forfeiture of property. The Viceroy issued an

Martial Law Cases

ordinance on the 15th April making offences committed on or after the 13th April triable by Martial Law Commission. On 22nd April however he issued a second ordinance making offences committed on or after the 13th March triable by the same Commissions in order to bring the Hartals of 30th March and 6th April within the purview of the Martial Law Courts. Almost all the great Nationalist Leaders, including such men as Lalas Harkishan Lal, Duni Chand, Rambhuj Dutt, Mangal Sen, Satyapal, Dr. Kitchlew and others too numerous to mention were sentenced to death or transported for life with forfeiture of all property. The enormity of the sentences dazed the people—the full significance of the "day of reckoning" now became apparent to all. Never before or since has popular detestation of British justice mounted to such heights. Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore gave vent to current feelings in his famous letter to the Viceroy in which he sought to be relieved of the burden of a British knight-hood. Said the Poet :—

Tagore's Letter.

Your Excellency,—The enormity of the measures taken by the Government in the Punjab for quelling some local disturbances has with a rude shock revealed to our minds the helplessness of our position as British subjects in India. The disproportionate severtity of the punishment inflicted upon the unfortunate people and the methods of carrying them out, we are convinced, are without parallel in the history of civilised Governments, barring some conspicuous exceptions, recent and remote, considering that such treatment has been meted out to a population disarmed and resourceless by a power which has the most terribly efficient organisation for the destruction of human lives.

We must strongly assert that it can claim no political expediency, far less moral justification. The accounts of the insults and the sufferings undergone by our brothers in the Punjab have trickled through the gagged silence reaching every corner of India and the universal agony of indignation roused in the hearts of our people has been ignored by our rulers, possibly congratulating themselves for imparting what they imagine salutary lessons.

This callousness has been praised by most of the Anglo-Indian papers which have in some cases gone to the brutal length of making fun of our sufferings without receiving the least check from the same authority relentlessly careful in smothering every cry of pain and expression of judgment from the organs representing the sufferers.

Knowing that our appeals have been in vain and that the passion of vengence is blinding, the noble vision of statesmanship in our Government which could so easily afford to be magnanimous as befitting its physical strength and moral traditions, the very least that I can do for my country is to take all consequences upon myself in giving voice to the protest of the millions of my countrymen surprised into a dumb anguish of terror.

The time has come when badges of honour make our shame glaring in their incongruous context of humiliation and, I for my part, wish to stand shorn of all special distinction by the side of those of my countrymen who, for their so-called insignificance, are liable to suffer a degradation not fit for human beings, and these are the reasons which have painfully compelled me to ask Your Excellency, with due deference and regret, to release me of my title of Knighthood which I

had the honour to accept from His Majesty the King at the hands of your predecessor for whose nobleness of heart I still entertain great admiration.

Yours Faithfully,
Rabindranath Tagore

Press Act

Amongst the coercive measures taken in the other provinces, the most inequitous was the application of the Press Act in gagging Indian papers. On April 17 the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* had to forfeit its deposit of Rs. 5,000 under the Press Act, and was ordered to furnish a fresh security of Rs. 10,000. The *Protap* of Cawnpore, the *Independent* of Allahabad, the *Hindu* and *Swadeshmitram* of Madras, the *Hindvasi* and *AlaMur* of Sind and many other nationalist papers were ordered to deposit securities, and what looked most audacious, the *Bombay Chronicle*, the premier newspaper of Western India, was pre-censured, and its Editor Mr. Benjamin Horniman, an Englishman of the type of Burke and Fox and a warm Satyagrahist and follower of M. Gandhi, was deported. On May 2 the Press Association of India sent the following cable to the Secretary of State :—

The Press Association of India begs to invite attention to repression of Indian Press under Press Act 1910 resulting in suppression of legitimate expression of Indian opinion creating great alarm in public mind.

The Act since enactment penalised over 350 presses and 300 newspapers, demanded securities amounting over £ 40,000 and proscribed over 500 publications. Owing to demand of security over 200 presses and 130 newspapers not started. Since 1917, Act even more rigorously administered. Leading influential Indian English journals "Amrita Bazar Patrika," "Bombay Chronicle," "Hindu," "Independent," "Tribune," "Punjabee" and leading vernacular papers like "Basumati", "Swadesamitram", "Vijaya" "Hindvasi", "Bharat Mitra" subjected to its rigours. Several Indian newspapers arbitrarily barred from different provinces. On the other hand violent provocative writings in Anglo Indian Press are entirely immune. Government refused last September open inquiry into the operation of Press Act urged by Indian Members in the Imperial Council.

Legitimate criticism on Rowlatt Act, Punjab Martial Law and other grievances crippled by executive action. Influential journals disappearing because of existing Act and its administration. Unventilated expression of public opinion bound to drive discontent and unrest underground. Extreme and unjustifiable severity to which journalists are subjected is painfully evidenced by arbitrary deportation of Mr. Horniman, Editor, "Bombay Chronicle" and President of this Association. Association presses repeal of Press Act urgently."

Afghan War

Taking advantage of the state of disorder in the Punjab and encouraged by Bolshevik influence from the Caucasus, the Afghans declared war on May 8th, 1919 (see pp. 65-80). In the campaign that followed, the Government of India which according to Sir Michael O'Dwyer not only despised agitators but frantically imposed martial law and quelled sedition by machine guns and aerial bombs, showed, according to the London Times "extraordinary ineptitude, both military and civil.' There was a huge break-down in the medical arrangements,

epidemic broke out in the camp, water supply was starved, and the whole show was painfully reminiscent of the famous Mesopotamian muddle of 1917. Both Indian and British contingents suffered terribly and in the Houses of Parliament strong comments were made on the secrecy and dilatoriness which characterise the Indian Government in every important political and foreign affair.

At this juncture Sir Michael who could have used his heroism to a better cause, to the Afghan War for instance, retired, and Punjab sighed relief. Lord Pentland of Madras preceded him in March last. With the exit of these men India was at last rid of two of her worst oppressors. Lord Willingdon took charge of Madras early in April and at once inaugurated reforms in anticipation. Sir Edward Maclagan assumed charge of the Punjab on 25th May and proceeded forthwith to mitigate the horrors of his predecessor.

While the most elementary civic rights of a people were being trampled under the high heels of Martial law and Star Chamber proceedings were being accorded legal sanction, Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State, was introducing his pet Reforms Bill in the House of Commons. In his speech on the Second Reading of the Bill on June 5th, 1919 he delivered his master-thrust of denunciation of such Government as that of Lord Pentland in Madras, and of the Sydenham gang whose counter-scheme he characterised as a scheme of bureaucrats, for the consumption of bureaucrats, and intended for the enthronement of bureaucracy. Under their scheme, he pointed out, "future Sydenhams would remain upon the throne, untrammelled by control from above and undismayed by criticism from below." With regard to the I. C. S., he defined their proper sphere to be to carry out, as behoved loyal servants, the policy dictated to it, firstly in the House itself and ultimately in India. Barring these purple patches of declamation, the Bill that was actually presented fell far short of the expectations raised by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. The fact was that the famous announcement of August 1917 was at that time dictated by high war-policy which persisted when the Report was issued in June 1918 but did not survive the armistice of that year. However much his liberal predelictions Mr. Montagu was no match for the Government of India—a huge soulless, heartless, tradition-ridden bureaucracy, "too wooden, to iron, too antediluvian to be of any use for modern purposes" (to quote his own words)—a veritable Car of Jaggarnath drawn by the host of I.C.S. Pandas. The whittling down of the reforms proposed in the parent report had already commenced as adumbrated in the Viceroy's speech of the 6th February. The despatches of the Government of India to the Secretary of State

The Reforms

published in India about this time totally falsified the famous pledge of August 1917. Their whole tenor was to further fortify the bureaucratic autocracy in the Central Government, and but for Sir Sankaran Nair's classic minutes of dissent thoroughly exposing their reactionary casuistry, the Government of India might have carried the palm. Said Sir Sankaran ;

Sir Sankaran Nair

> Notwithstanding much that can be said against the Reforms Report Scheme a number of critics rallied to its support for the reasons, among others, that it provided for a unified budget and for its being voted for by the Legislature. We are now asked to treat the council as an advisory body in all matters—legislative, financial and administrative—pertaining to the reserved departments and to reduce its financial powers as proposed in the Reforms Report scheme even as regards the transferred departments————What is put forward is a combination of the draw-backs of autocratic and irresponsible government with none of the advantages of the latter. Under the proposed scheme the position of Ministers will be untenable and that of the Legislature no better than it is at present.

During the Punjab atrocities there was a strong rumour that Sir Sankaran was going to resign in protest ; this he did on May 21st after doing the signal service to his country of inditing his famous minutes of dissent.

On September 3rd the Imperial Legislative Council met at Simla. The speech that the Viceroy delivered in opening the Council belied all expectations of hope and trust for the future, and in the whole gamut of Viceregal utterance people heard nothing of a soft soothing strain. Lord Chelmsford, a military man, was blissfully ignorant of statesmanship. Now with the characteristic insouciance of a fighter he said :

September Council

> " Last sessions certain Hon Members during the passage of the Rowlatt Bill gave me warnings of an almost minatory character that if that Bill were passed into law, there would be agitation of a serious nature. Hon. members will realise that no Government could deviate from a policy which it regarded as essential on account of any threat of agitation. However there were those who thought that it was necessary to make good this threat and as a consequence the deplorable events occurred."

Nowhere in the long speech of His Excellency was a word on the hundreds of innocent lives butchered in the pin-hole of Jhallianwala, nor a passing reference to those great souls of Punjab who were suffering brutal incarceration in the dark dungeons of Martial Law creation. He had, however, to announce the appointment, under pressure from the Sec. of State, of the long-delayed Commission of Enquiry on the Punjab Disorders to be presided over by Lord Hunter, and in the same breath laid down the dictum that whatever the findings of the Commission an Act of Indemnity was going to be passed.

The proposal to pass an Indemnity Act to exonerate in advance the guilty officers before even the Enquiry Committee started enquiry, showed that Michael O'Dwyer still ruled Simla in spirit. Eminent men like Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Sir P. S. Shivaswamy Iyer, Dr. Subramaniam and M. Gandhi showed the utter untenability of the Government's position while the whole country was ringing with protest. The bill itself was introduced on the 18th September and passed on the 24th. Pt. Malaviya delivered his historic four hours' speech. Its masterly exposition, its forceful eloquence, its lofty appeal to all the nobler instincts of man, and above all its calm and solemn dignity will ever remain seared into the hearts of those who heard him inside the council and of those who read his speech outside it. During the debate the official members carried an aggressive military air and cast both manners and decency to the four winds. Rarely if ever did the Council fall so low as during this debate. Gone that old dignity of that august Chamber under Curzon, Minto, Hardinge. Arguments lacking and sophism unavailing, high officials lapsed into base personal abuse. The Home Member held Mr. Ayyangar in derision for his personal infirmity—deafness, the Law Member falsely charged Raja Sir Rampal for reading a speech which he could not write, Pandit Malaviya was insulted at every turn and even Mr. Thompson, Sir Michaels' Chief Secretary, had the audacity to "correlate the intelligence and mentality of the Hon. the Pandit with that of lower orders of people." The effect was quickly seen. On the day of voting, the result being a foregone conclusion, more than 10 Indian members did not attend.

Indemnity Bill

Meanwhile a non-official congress committee had been making enquiries in the Punjab. Difficulties were thrown in its way to co-operate with the Hunter committee. In a statement that was issued to the Press the Committee set forth the reasons that led then not to co-operate. Referring to a resolution passed on 8th June last it said :

Punjab Enquiry committee

The Committee urge the following among other matters be included within the scope of the inquiry : (1) Policy of the Government of India and the Government of the Punjab in dealing with recent disturbances ; (2) Sir Michael O'Dwyer's regime in the Punjab with special reference to methods of recruitment for the Indian Army and labour corps, raising of war loan, administration of Martial Law and complaints of excessive and unlawful use of force by the authorities ; (3) recent occurrence in Delhi and other places. The committee further urge that interests of justice and good govern-

ment demand that an inquiry should begin at an early date. At the same meeting the committee appointed a Sub-committee consisting of gentlemen whose names are noted below (a) to arrange for the conduct of an inquiry into the recent occurrences in the Punjab and other places through such agency as they may determine, (b) take such legal or other proceedings in relation thereto in India or England as may be necessary and (c) to collect funds for the purpose by public subscriptions :—Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, President ex-officio, Sir Rash Behary Ghosh, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Syed Hassan Imam, Mr. B. Chakravarty, Mr. C. R. Das, Mr. Kasturi Ranga Aiyangar, Mr. Umar Sobani and Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, Secretary ex-officio with powers to coopt others as members. The Sub-Committee coopted the following members at its meeting held on the 16th October 1919 ; Mr. Gandhi, Swami Shradhanand, Mr Purushotam Das, Mr Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. Ganpat Rai, Sheikh Umar Baksh, Bakshi Tekchand, Gokulchand Narang, Mr Santanam., Badr-ul-Islam Ali Khan and Lala Girdharilal.

We the undersigned went to the Punjab shortly after the withdrawal of martial law and began our investigations on the 25th June last. We need hardly say that at every step we felt the need of the assistance of the leaders of people who had occupied a prominent position in the public life of their respective towns and none of whom had taken an important part in the events which followed the disturbances. We found that many people who knew what had happened would not come forward to give evidence because of fear, real or imaginary, of police. Whilst we were going on with our inquiry the appointment of Lord Hunter's committee was announced and we redoubled our efforts to collect evidence for the purposes of the inquiry. But as we proceeded we realised more than ever that the presence of principal Punjab leaders was necessary to guide and help us in collecting some of the most valuable evidence, to hearten those who were still keeping back from fear and to show to profit that Government wanted inquiry to be carried on fairly and that they wanted the whole truth to be told to Lord Hunter's committee.

We had also expressed the desire that the committee should have power to revise the sentences passed by the Martial Law Commission and summary courts through whose agency it is our firm belief (?) amount of permanent and prolonged injustice has been possible. But the Government of India restricted the scope of Lord Hunter's committee and appointed special judges for such revision. The judges appointed were both Punjab judges and rightly or wrongly (we think more rightly than wrongly) the public objected to this work being entrusted to the Punjab Judges. It was

therefore necessary that this tribunal should be so composed so as to inspire confidence and that to that end one judge at least should be from outside the Punjab and that the tribunal should have power to admit fresh evidence where records were found to be insufficient or material evidence was in first instance shut out. We had also some apprehension that our counsel might not be allowed to appear before the committee and that even if they were allowed the right of cross-examination might not be extended to them. We may mention here parenthetically that it was our desire to hasten the inquiry and to avoid bitterness that led us to waive our substantial objection that the enquiry should be made by a Royal Commission appointed independently of the Government of India.

Early in October we wrote to the Government of India informing them that our Sub-committee engaged lawyers to put the case of the people before Lord Hunter's Committee and desired to know the terms of reference of the committee and the procedure to be adopted by them. Having been referred by the Government of India to Lord Hunter's Committee for information regarding procedure we wrote to Lord Hunter's Committee for permission to lead evidence through our counsel and cross-examine witnesses of the other side.

In the same letter we informed Lord Hunter's committee that we considered it equally essential for a proper and fair investigation of recent events in the Punjab that the Punjab leaders who are undergoing imprisonment should be released on parole or bail for the period of the enquiry. We thought however that this was a matter on which proper authority to be approached was the Punjab Government, the Government of India and the Secretary of State. In this view so far back as the 12th September last at a meeting of the Indian Legislative Council one of us had urged upon the Government of India and the Punjab Government the release of the Punjab leaders on such security, personal or pecuniary or both as may seem adequate to His Honour the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab in order that they should be able to give evidence before the committee and have the people's case properly put before it. A cablegram was sent to the Secretary of State on the 27th ultimo praying for the right of appearance by counsel and for the release of the Punjab leaders for purposes of enquiry when time came for leading evidence before Lord Hunter's Committee. The Punjab Government was approached regarding all three points mentioned above.

There were protracted negotiations and appearance by counsel with right of cross-examination was allowed and status of the Congress Sub-Committee recognised. Mr. Justice Mullick of the Patna High Court was appointed as one of two revision Judges

and we have reason to believe that the Judges have power to admit fresh evidence in the circumstances already referred to. But the third equally fundamental need was left unsatisfied. The Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab rejected our request for the temporary release of principal leaders under due security in the following terms :—"As regards suggestion that certain prisoners convicted in connection with disturbances should be released from jail in order to ensure satisfactory presentation of case I am to say it will not be possible to comply with this suggestion. If however the Committee desire to hear evidence of any prisoner this will be duly arranged and if it found necessary for counsel engaged in enquiry to visit prisoners for consultation in connenction with enquiry, proper facilities for such consultation will be given." We considered the reply to be highly unsatisfactory. Lord Hunter's Committee was approached with a view to the wrong being righted. We were all to cite the precedent of the Solomon Committee of 1913 of South Africa for the suggested action of His Lordship's Committee but our suggestion was rejected. Then followed Mr. Gandhi's interview with the Lieutenant-Governor and His Honour was prepared to allow the principal leaders to be released on parole for a day or days they had to give evidence before Lord Hunter's Committee and His Honour was willing also that Counsel should visit in jail all prisoners whose evidence was to be tendered before the committee. But it was clear that while the demand for the release of the leaders was being granted in principle by advance made by His Honour upon previous position the substantial and most practical part of the request stood rejected.

By securing release of the principal leaders and their presence in committee room we desired to get valuable assistance from them for our counsel in examination of witnesses. Those who know anything of law will at once recognise the force of this remark—the presence of party interested, provided he is intelligent, is most helpful whilst his case is going on. No trials can take place in the absence of the accused. Lord Hunter's Committee is in a way trying these leaders as conspirators in a political conspiracy to wage war against the King. They have been held by the Government to be responsible for the so-called rebellion. We hold the committee cannot do justice to the matter before them if they do not have at least the leading prisoners before them. It may be mentioned here and that we had asked Lord Hunter's committee at Delhi to be supplied with a list of official witnesses and their printed statements to enable the sub-committee's counsel to cross-examine witnesses punctiliously but this request was not granted. Thus it is not possible for our counsel to take instructions from prisoners

beforehand by visiting them in jail. Some of our colleagues thought, on their interpretations of Lord Hunter's letter referred to above, that those prisoners who were principally interested in events then being examined by the committee would be permitted to appear before the committee as prisoners under custody and that they would be able then to help counsel in course of examination of witnesses but we wanted to take nothing for granted. Mr. C. F. Andrews, therefore, kindly offered to go to the Lieutenant-Governor and had the point made definitely clear. He told us on return that His Honour would not allow the prisoners to appear before the committee except as witnesses and on the day or days that they were actually required for that purpose. There was then nothing left for the Congress Sub-Committee to do but to abide by its manifesto not to participate in the proceedings of Lord Hunter's Committee.

The Congress Sub-committee arrived at this decision after the greatest and most anxious consideration. It weighed every consequence but it felt that if it was to discharge the trust laid upon it, if it was to vindicate national honour and honour of the great Punjab leaders, if it was to see truth and innocence established, it could not possibly engage in an inquiry in which the people's party was so heavily handicapped. It must be remembered that officials are as much upon their trial as leaders. But not only are Government officials free to appear before Lord Hunter's Committee but also to instruct Government counsel. In the words of the Congress Committee's letter to Lord Hunter it cannot be expected to be party to a position under which Government officials whose acts are under review can freely appear before committee, when people's representatives whose acts are equally under review are not allowed to appear even as prisoners under custody. It remains for us to say what constructive course we have proposed to adopt. We have to come to the conclusion that our work of collecting evidence must continue. We have already in our possession most valuable evidence. It needs to be supplemented and checked. The congress committee have therefore appointed Mr. Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. C. R. Das, Mr. Abbas Tyabji, Ex-judge Baroda High Court and Mr. Fazlul Haq as Commissioners with Mr. Sanatanam, bar-at-law as Secretary for work and the Committee hopes before long to place before the public a full and accurate statement of events. The first undersigned begs to state in order to avoid any misunderstanding that he has purposely refrained from allowing himself to be appointed a commissioner as being the Chairman of Committee he should be free to guide the work of the committee as a whole.

The Punjab Disorders Enquiry Committee with Lord Hunter as president and Mr. Justice Rankin, Mr. Rice, General Barrow, Sahibzada Sultan Ahmed and Sir C. Setalvad as members, evoked strong disapprobation on all sides ; the members were all officials or ex-officials. There was no need of an official committee to whitewash official acts and sing mutual praises in chorus. Later on two non-officials, Mr. Smith of Cawnpore and Hon. Pt. Jagat Narain, were added.

Hunter Committee

It commenced its sittings on October 31st at Delhi. The first witness examined was Mr. Orde, Superintendent of Police. There was no counsel or other authorised person on behalf of the citizens of Delhi. The regular public sittings began from November 3rd when Pt. Malaviya, Mr. C. R. Das and others sat at the counsel table to watch the proceedings on behalf of the people. The Congress Commitee did not lead evidence as they refused to co-operate for reasons given above. For the next few days about 30 witnesses including all the leading Delhi officials and public men were examined. Lord Hunter as chairman put only general questions, while Pt. Jagat Narain and Sir Setalvad put witnesses to long and searching cross-examination. The result was that the pet theory of "rebellion" broke down and the popular cause was thoroughly vindicated. "Apalling ineptitude" proved itself through its own mouth.

It was, however, during the Lahore sittings of the Committee by the end of November that the most shocking disclosures and admissions were made. Till then the Indian public did not know the full extent of the gruesome murders of Jhallianwalla, the machine-gunning and aerial bombing, the flogging and crawling, the salaaming and nose-rubbing, the veil-removing and body searching of women and other acts of official vengence in the Punjab. The Indian leaders who were in the know were in England on deputation to the Joint Committee on Reforms. A seal of secrecy had been put upon the whole episode, it was believed, inspired from very high quarters. Rumour had it that Mr. Montagu himself had urged upon the Indian deputations the necessity of shelving the Punjab muddle for the time being, as otherwise an agitation in England at that time would have revealed facts that would have involved his own resignation, and imperilled Reforms.

Once more the theory of "Rebellion" broke down. Evidence showed that it was vengence and not rebellion that was abroad ; that Martial law was there to teach the people a lesson, to make a wide impression of the might of the British Arms. And for this, unnameable outrages that would have shamed the arch-Hun ! The Report of the Evidence was flashed all over the seven seas and the

world stood aghast. In England the Press shrieked in horror, in Parliament Col. Wedgwood cried "Murder" and Mr Montagu hung his head and mumbled excuse, in America Senator Mason uttered execration, and in India resusciated agony choked all expression.

Of breach of faith so commonly charged to British statesmanship none was so glaring as that concerning the Turkish Khalifat (see p. 248-52), and also one in the matter of the grievance of Indians in South Africa. A deputation headed by the Hon. S. N. Bannerjea waited upon Mr. Montagu on August 28th and made a strong representation to which the Sec. of State in the course of a sympathetic speech said :—

Indians in South Africa

"I have asked that the Government of India should be directly represented upon the Commission, and in case anybody should think, which I know is not the case, that there is any difference of opinion between officials and non-officials, we have suggested that the Government of India should be represented by one official and one non-official on the Commission. Both these gentlemen will be chosen, if our demand is acceded to, by the Union Government, from those who are most competent to make a good case, a case which we have set our hearts upon winning as soon as possible.

General Smuts, the South African Premier, also said to another deputation in the same matter :—

India will be represented on the Commission to watch over the interests of the Indians, so that no stigma might attach to them. * * * * Now that the Indians, are here, I hold they should have fair treatment in all parts of the Union. We have to live side by side in conciliation, and we must endeavour to understand each other's standpoint, so that we may live together and grow together. We are members of one family and belong to the same Empire.

But late in October 1919 a Govt. communique was issued which stated that in the matter of the Sec. of State's assurance a "mistake had arisen through the words "upon the commission" being taken in too limited a sense. As a matter of fact no request that India should be directly represented on the Union Commission was ever made..... that Govt. has been asked to agree to the presence of two nominees of the Govt. of India to assist the commission in its enquiry". How often the makers of promises speedily turn into their breakers! But in these instances palpably it was sulking imperialism afraid to come out in the open that smirched delicate public affairs. The affairs of Indians in Fizi once more came to the surface at this time. A Fizian deputation was coming on deputation to the Government of India to re-open the question of indentured labour.

Time was now fast approaching for the annual sessions of the great National Assemblies. The Indian National Congress was, in its last session at Delhi, invited to Amritsar, the sacred city of the Sikhs, mainly on the proferred support of Lala Harkishen Lal. Amritsar was now reeking with the blood of the innocents. The great Banker Prince of Punjab along with all her leading lights were in jail awai-

The National Congress.

ting the hand of the executioner. In this gloomy atmosphere was conceived the resolve not to change the venu of the Congress despite official displeasure. The thinned band of men of the Reception Committee saw the Clutching Hand advancing but they quailed not. So early as on September 28th the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar wrote to the Reception Committee calling in question the propriety of holding the Congress at Amritsar or any other "central area" of the late disturbance. The grounds given of this "impropriety" were amusing : because the Hunter Committee was likely to issue its Report by X'mas next and the Privy Council was likely by that time to pass judgment on some of the Martial law appeals then pending, therefore, were there not grounds for popular excitement? It was typical of the mentality of authorities of a sort. People seek judgments not for justice but for excitement ! Commission reports do not appease but excite ! If this is administrative experience in India, it is one that reflects the administrator and not the people in this or in any country or any clime.

On the 7th October the Reception Committee met to consider the situation. They resolved not to swerve and exposed the fallacy of the Depy. Commissioner. The latter again interfered and asked the committee to consider the possibility of holding the Congress only on condition that there should be no reference to the past events of the Punjab, their causes and effects. This was a matter entirely outside the scope of a Reception Committee and it could not possibly bind the whole Congress to any condition. The proceedings of a representative assembly such as the Congress, lie wholly to be determined by its Subjects Committee. After long controversy it was at last settled that the Congress will sit at Amritsar as previously arranged. In the absence of Lala Harkishen Lal Swami Shradhanand was elected Chairman of the Reception Committee and the Hon'ble Pundit Motilal Nehru the President of the great Congress.

The Appeal

Almost the first thing that the President-elect did was to issue a touching appeal to the whole nation to sink petty differences of partisan politics and join the Congress in the consecrated cause of outraged Punjab. Response came freely from all parties except from the small band of extreme Moderates who had pledged themselves to the Montagu Reforms and being Indians of the old school could not back out from their pledged troth inspite of their saturation in western ethics, even when such a grave affair as that of the Punjab was at issue. To the pathetic appeal of Pundit Nehru they replied as follows :—

" Dear Sir,—We acknowledge receipt of your letters of the 20th November and 2nd December exhorting us to attend the next session of the Congress. We

need not say we have considered your suggestion with the care the importance of the subject and courtesy due to yourselves, demands, nor we trust, need we assure you as old Congressman to whom severance from that institution could not but be painful, that we would not have abstained from its last two sessions and set up a separate organisation of our own if we did not deem that the interests of the country dictated such a course of action.

Moderates Reply.

2. The course of events during the last fifteen months and more has in our view fully indicated the line we took after anxious thought. We must repudiate the suggestion made in Swami Shradhanand's letter that personal considerations weighed with us in the decision we took and hasten to tell you that the political party to which we have the honour to belong, far from thinking as Swami Shradhanand says "their keeping away from the national assembly has not advanced the cause of the motherland in the slightest degree", are convinced more than ever that they did valuable public service in acting as they did Swami Shradhanand is good enough to say every right-minded person has realised that our abstention from the Congress has retarded our real progress. This view is not supported by our information, knowledge and belief, and we regret that a person occcupying the position of the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Congress should have deemed it right to commit himself to such a statement and that in the letter intended to persuade us to attend the Congress.

3. It is perfectly true that the doings of the Government and its officers in the Punjab are viewed in the same light by Indians of all parties. It is equally true, we venture to say, that the members and organizations of our party have laboured strenuously as any others to bring relief to the victims of the policy of the Government and the acts of its officers, and if we felt attendance at the Congress was the only or the most effectual means of showing our sympathy with or rendering help to our countrymen of the Punjab, we should unhesitatingly decide to attend it and take part in its deliberations. Frankly we do not think so : nor are we able to say there is agreement between us about the methods by which to promote the object we equally have at heart. There is, for instance, the question of our attitude towards the Hunter Committee. While we hold strongly that the imprisoned leaders should have been released on bail in order to prepare and state the popular case fully before the Committee, our opinion is that it was a great mistake on the part of the Congress Sub-committee to have decided to withhold non-official evidence from the Committee and we cannot be parties to such proceedings. It is perhaps not out of place to mention here that we are informed by our deputation in England that they would not have been able to render what service they did to the Punjab if they had not acted independently of the Congress deputation.

4. We find in your letters no mention of the Reform scheme and we gather from Swami Shradhanand's quotation with the approval of newspaper opinion, that he thinks that in matters other than the occurrences in the Punjab such differences as there are, are not of capital importance and the main trouble here is entirely personal and we are admonished. Surely, Indian leaders should and could rise superior to personal differences in view of tremendous national issues involved. The fundamental divergence between the position of two parties on the reform scheme which surely is a subject of capital importance is wholly ignored by the critic, and the gratuitious assumption is made that the action of our party has been determined by mere personal considerations. We must emphatically protest against such an aspersion finding place in the letter of the Chairman of the Reception Committee. We would have liked to know what lead you would give to the Congress on the question of the Government

of India Bill which is about to be passed into law, but are left in the dark on this important point.

5. The fundamental reasons of abstention of our party from the Congress are too well known to need repetition. They are convinced of the wisdom of the deliberate step they have taken and in view of the attitude of your party towards questions that divide us we are convinced no useful purpose will be served by our attending the forthcoming session of the Congress.

The letter is given in full as it puts Moderate politics in a nut-shell. The 'fundamental difference' of the two parties is a difference of age. The older people, myopic with age and coming from a period when concessions and boons rather than self-determination and self-assertion of inalienable rights were the limit of political expectancy, had crystallised round the coveted, but now quite obsolete, Reforms proposed by the Secretary of State, Mr. Montagu. That wizard of a British Statesman had in 1917 by a dexterous throw of his famous August 20th announcement bowled out the united Nationalist party of the country. He had seen that the then stalwarts of the Congress had their strong attitude based on despair of political advancement. To keep them engaged in a practicable scheme of constitutional Reforms he threw open the door to endless discussions and held out hopes of placing India on the road to self-Government. The famous announcement of August 20th was aimed just at that part of the huge political organisation of the country where the dwindling Old and the surging New stood almost ready at the parting of ways. The Congress broke into two. Since then the Reforms have been the special care of Mr. Montagu and his Moderates.

The Moderates held their separate conference at Calcutta on 30th December and the two following days. It was, as is natural, a Reforms conference. The great National Congress opened at Amritsar on December 27th. It was the People's Parliament voicing the feelings of the dumb millions in their own language, in their own artless, unpolished, honest manner. There was very little talk of the Reforms. The Punjab and the Punjab—her woes and sufferings—rang and reverberated inside that vast assembly of 25,000 people. A new departure was made in the proceedings. Hitherto resolutions used to be prepared in the subjects committee which met on the second day and proposals and amendments were made and settled inside the Committee. Now amendments were moved in the open congress to the resolutions issued from the subject committee and a poll taken at the spot. The most important resolutions were with regard to the events of the Punjab and those demanding the recall of Lord Chelmsford and impeachment of General Dyer and Sir Michael O'Dyer. It was while the Congress was in session that

news came of the release of the Punjab leaders in pursuance of an amnesty granted by His Majesty. The news and the leaders who soon came to join the Congress were received amidst scenes of the wildest enthusiasm and then the people shed tears of joy at the kind and sympathetic message of the King-Emperor to his people (see Congress section, *post*, pp. 321-84, and Part II pp. 1-6).

India in 1920

The legacy that the year leaves behind is a precious bit of experience. The graceous message of His Majesty the Emperor has quietened the ebullition of bad blood after the worst had been let out. The wild cries of impeachment so loudly heard in the latter part of 1919 has gradually subsided and given place to the voice of sanity: "Resist not evil" for by resistance it groweth more. Of all the blessings of British rule in India, the most abiding is the disillusionment of superstitious and ignorant fetishes; and in proportion as new light is coming the old legends, which have so long been sedulously cultivated by small interested classes to hold the people eternally down in chains, are being exposed and given the go by. In this new light of experience the children of the soil are being gradually welded by a common intelligence into an undivided social polity. The sledge-hammers of a Curzon, O'Dyer or Influenza simply accelerate the process. The great Congress and the Moslem League remain separate only in name, labour is just uniting, and though trades are still unorganised and the Professions individualistic, they are fast moving to come in line with world movements. The march of events in the present epoch of World's History is very rapid. The tiny seed sown only two years back at Kaira and Champaran has already shown itself a spreading tree in the great Hartal of April 6th last. It is rapidly drawing its sap deep from the very heart of the people and its future growth, whether as a mighty buffeting macrophyte or as a mean dwarfling nettle, is being keenly watched by discerning men not only in India but also outside it. And while all these are happening, slowly and steadily, in the sacred bosom of the Motherland, the New Call of a resusciated people in a far away foreign land is resounding in her distant northern hills. That Call has already been caught up by one people after another and in the world abroad a new order of polity is being forged ahead. Whether this ancient land of the Rishis—the tomb of all that is great and glorious on earth—will, too, join in chorus, it is not for us mortals to say while her destiny is being shaped in the lap of the Gods.

The Afghan War

1919

Historical.—The long and troublesome history of the relation between Afghanistan and the British remained misty even after the Durand agreement of 1893 by which the British Government agreed to subsidise the Amir with 18 Lacks of Rupees per year against the Russian menace, and the partial settlement of the boundaries. A small section of territory to the West of the Khyber remained a fruitful source of trouble, but the extremely friendly attitude of the late Amir Habibulla towards the British was ever since 1901, the year of his accession, a bulwark to peace and loyal neutrality. During the late War, however, things were taking an ugly aspect, for successively German, Austrian, Russian, Turkish, and Bolshevik emissaries have been trying to bring about defection amongst the Afghans and to rouse them against the British. The late Amir Habibullah was much exercised to keep all these at an arms length and to check the propaganda stirred up by the Turko-Germans of a Jihad or holy war of Islam. He took vigorous steps to suppress them and declared that no foreign troops, whatever their nationality or religion, should be allowed to traverse Afghan territory.

Suddenly, however, Habibulla was murdered on the 20th Feb. 1919 at Laghman near Jellalabad and immediately his brother Nashrulla Khan got himself proclaimed Amir at the spot. The third son of the late Amir, Amanulla Khan, had in the meanwhile secured the support of the sardars and of the Harem at Kabul, proclaimed himself Amir at Kabul and called upon the faction of Nashrulla Khan to submit. Nashrulla abdicated, was seized and thrown into prison. Col. Shah Ali Raja was condemned to death as the actual murderer of the late Amir, and the other sons of Habibulla suffered confinement.

About the intrigues that were going on inside and outside Kabul at this time, little is known. But the probability is that the young Amir found a derelict ship of State and to secure internal reorganisation was pursuaded by some of his restless advisers to engage in war to divert the attention of his people.

Events in Afghanistan moved with startling rapidity from the 13th April when Amir Amanulla held a Durbar nominally to place the case of Amir Habibullah's murder before it for trial but in reality to

secure its imprimatur to the sentences he himself had already decided upon. Despite the ostentatious unanimity with which the Durbar condemned Colonel Ali Raza to death as the actual assassin and Sardar Nashrulla Khan to lifelong imprisonment for complicity, murmurings were heard in the audience even before it left the assembly. Before many days passed these murmurings grew in volume and it was openly bruited abroad that an innocent man had been executed and Sardar Nashrulla Khan equally innocently incarcerated for life in order to shield the real assassins. Accusations against many of the new occupants of high office were freely levelled and the name of Amanulla himself was not spared. Disaffection spread especially among the troops who had been foremost in insisting upon vengeance for their murdered Amir and among the Afghan tribesmen and Mullas with whom Sardar Nashrulla Khan had always stood in high favour. Amanulla's position now became one of greater danger and in this lies the explanation of the sudden change from his marked demonstrations of friendliness for the British Government to open hostility. Disaffection threatened to grow into rebellion when he resolved on distracting the attention of his people from internal troubles by embarking on war. He sought to win over the soldiers and peasantry by spreading absurdly exaggerated stories of the disturbances in the Punjab, the rich bazars and fair fields of which he described as lying defenceless at the mercy of the Afghan invaders.

On the 2nd May Zar Shah, a Shinwari of Nigrahar, moved out with his Laskar and murdered five coolies of the Khybar Water Works and the following day he attempted to interfere with the caravan escort of the Khyber Rifles. The same night a party of 130 Afghan regulars or irregulars occupied the water spring of Bagh, a spot just on the British side of the disputed boundary. On the 5th May three regiments of the Afghan Army with two guns arrived at Bagh while reports were received of the despatch of Afghan troops towards various points on the border.

Viceroy's Proclamation.

On the commencement of hostilities the Viceroy issued a proclamation in which he declared :—

Evidence is in His Excellency's hands which shows that the Amir excuses his act of treachery by pretending that India is in a state of revolution which will react on his own country. The Amir has professed to his people that in India neither men's property nor their religion is safe. That three men are forbidden to speak together, that Muslims are excluded from their temples. Every man in India knows that these statements are false. Relying on such misstatements, the Amir has called on the Hindus and the Muslims

alike to show his allegiance. He has also caused it to be falsely stated that the Sikhs have fired on the British troops; that Germany is about to recommence war, and that the English have been destroyed. The Viceroy has also proof that the Amir has caused to be prepared false leaflets and proclamations of this kind for dissemination in India and has made plans to corrupt such newspapers as he hoped might be bought.

Inspired by these futile hopes of seducing His Majesty's subjects from their allegiance the Amir has already commenced military operations. Yesterday the Afghan troops were driven back by our forces from various points which they had occupied in our limits in the vicinity of Landi Kotal. The military objectives at and near Dakka in Afghanistan were bombed by our aeroplanes with excellent results.

In his suicidal folly the Amir has ventured to measure his strength against us. The Government have over-whelming strength at near disposal, and this wanton and criminal incursion will meet with the speedy punishment that it deserves. Meanwhile His Excellency the Viceroy, having thus taken into his confidence the people of India, bids them to abstain from believing the false rumours which the enemy seeks to circulate, and to do nothing to impair public confidence, and to refrain from any conduct which may add to the burden of his Government. They have in times now long past had sorrowful experience of invasions from the North West Frontier. From any repetition of these miseries the power of the Government has always been and is well able to protect them. In the name of the King Emperor His Excellency the Viceroy enjoins all loyal people to assist his Government and to refrain from any action which might give colour to the false stories so assiduously disseminated.

God save the King Emperor.

Chelmsford, Viceroy and Governor General of India.

Commencement of Hostilities.

The first incursion of the Afghans into British territory occurred on May 8, when they occupied **Asa Khel**, but before that date an escort of the Khyber Rifles had been threatened near Landi Khana by tribesmen under Zar Shah. On the 5th the Afghans occupied Tor Sappa, Spin Tuska and Bagh and two days later they fired on an aeroplane reconnaissance near Landi Kotal. First steps to meet them were taken on the 5th, **Landi Kotal** was reinforced from Peshawar, and on the following day martial law was declared at Peshawar where the Afghan postmaster had been distributing inflammatory literature and had made himself the centre

of agitation of the wildest character. On May 9 the Afghans were driven out of Asa Khel, a small village near Landi Kotal, and an advance was made down the pass to the west of Landi Kotal to secure the springs and reservoirs at **Tangi**. On the same day the Afghan headquarters camp at **Dakka** was bombed by aeroplanes. On the 11th Indian advanced troops at Landi Kotal were reinforced, and the enemy were defeated at **Bagh** and driven off the Khargall bridge which they were holding in force. On the 13th Dakka, which had previously been reported to have been evacuated by the enemy, was occupied by our troops without opposition. A communique issued on the 15th showed that the Afghan Commander-in-Chief had made a request for the cessation of hostilities after complaining of the aggression of the British.

On the 17th May the Afghan position about two miles west of **Dakka**, held by eight battalions and guns, was attacked and the enemy suffered heavy defeat losing five guns and about 300 killed. On the 19th **Jallalabad** was systematically bombed by aeroplane, two tons of explosives were dropped, and on the following day Sardar Abdul Rahman, the late Afgan envoy in India, made unofficial overtures for peace which being not supported by any credentials were so construed as being no more than a ruse to gain time. The air raids were continued, Kabul and Jallalabad being bombed on the 24th. In the mean time the enemy extended the field of its operations which had so far been confined chiefly to the Khyber area. On May 14 a party of Afghans had been found, defeated and driven out of the **Chitral** limits and again on the 23rd the enemy was defeated and lost 250 killed and 4 guns near Arnawai in Chitral. A few days previously the enemy had entered the **Mohmand** country and threatened the people, and were also making demonstrations on the **Paiwar** ridges.

Nadir Khan was at this time reported to be sending troops down the Kaitu river and towards Tochi. That report was soon verified and as a result the G. O. C. Tochi had to evacuate all the posts on the Thal-Idakm line and in **Upper Tochi**, so that the Afghans were able with Mahsud and Waziri assistance to occupy Spinwam and then to destroy the upper Tochi posts. This naturally reacted on the North Waziristan Militia who had until then remained loyal (the Khyber Rifles had been disbanded before as they were strongly suspected to be disloyal.) Desertions of militia men became frequent, and it was evident that the attitude of the tribes-men was very hostile. In the Khyber area and futher north, however, the attitude of the tribesmen continued satisfactory, and the capture of the Afghan frontier post of **Spin Baldak** (May 26) by British troops in the Chamar area had a far reaching effect. Practically the whole garrison

of that fort, which was said to be the strongest in Afghanistan, was either killed or taken prisoner. On May 26 the enemy occupied the hills near **Thal** and two days later entered and gutted the town, and the fort was several times unsuccessfully attacked by Nadir Khan's troops. On the following day the British troops had to evacuate Wana, Sawarkai and the militia posts in the **Gomal** ; the ammunition which could not be removed being destroyed previous to the evacuation. Except for several attacks on isolated posts the operations from this time onwards assumed an increasingly desultory character and the Afghans had clearly an advantage. On June 1st troops from Kohat reached Thal and after considerable trouble drove the enemy off the hills to the south-east and on the next day defeated a small party of the enemy on the hills north-west of the town.

Meanwhile peace was in the air. His Majesty the Amir and the Viceroy were both eager to end a meaningless hostility and informal overtures had for some time been passing between the two camps. The Punjab was at this period growling under the most inhuman chastisement inflicted by that Hero of Punjab—Sir Michael O'Dowyer. It was thought prudent therefore to end hostilities at the earliest moment and to establish old pacific relations, in view of the strange rumours of the growing Bolshevik menace from North Persia.

The Peace

Amir Amanulla sent a letter dated 28 th May to the Viceroy which reached Simla on the evening of the 3rd June. After referring to the friendly communications which had been passing between the two Govts. the Amir ascribed "the strain of relations resulting in an outbreak of war to certain unpleasant events which arose from certain misunderstandings." He explained that the disturbances and disorders in northern India and more especially the unruly demonstrations in Peshawar had reached such a pitch that he was compelled to despatch troops to protect his frontiers. The Commandant of the Eastern Army considering certain points included in his own territory according to maps and plans in his possession proceeded to carry out some digging as a precautionary measure whereupon the British troops violated the Afghan territory and the Amir was then obliged to declare war. In the meantime the Afghan envoy Abdur Rahaman had reached Kabul and explained that the Foreign Secretary had impressed upon him the necessity of desisting from war. It thus became apparent that the "events and

movements which had taken place were accidental and undesirable." The Amir therefore put off the publication of a proclamation of a holy war by the Islamic Shaikhs of Afghanistan and referred the matter to the National Council who decided that an envoy should be sent to India to offer explanations and to stop the fighting. After taking exception to the bombardment of Kabul and Jalalabad by aeroplanes, which he compared to the bombardment of London by Zeppelins, the Amir proceeded in that letter to emphasise that he did not desire that the century old friendship should be broken or that bloodshed should lead to perpetual enmity between the two nations. In proof of his sincerity he pointed to the marked friendliness of his letter and to the fact that he enclosed a signed copy of his firman to his commandants to suspend the movement of troops and to stop hostilities. He wound up by affirming that his Government has never had any idea of severing friendly relations with Great Britain and was in no case whatever desirous of upsetting old obligations and old relations.

In reply the Viceroy expressed pleasure at learning that the Amir was sincerely anxious for a cessation of hostilities and renewal of friendship between the two Governments. An explicit recital of various acts of hostility committed by the Afghans culminating in the violation of British Territory by Afghan troops was given. After adducing the proofs in his possession of the Amir's preparations of hostilities, His Excellency reminded him of the opportunity which he gave him. The Viceroy expressed his readiness to meet the Amir's overtures in a friendly spirit actuated by a knowledge of the Amir's youth and inexperience by desire to avoid bloodshed and mindful of our obligations to the late Amir, the faithful friend and Ally of the British Government. His Excellency's Government, therefore, agreed to an

armistice on the following terms.

1. That the Amir should at once withdraw all his troops from the frontier. No Afghan troops are to be located within twenty miles of the nearest British force.

2. That the British troops should remain where they now are in the Afghan territory, with freedom to continue such military preparations and precautions as may be deemed necessary. The troops will however take no offensive action whatever so long as the terms of the armistice are observed by the Afghans.

3. That British aircraft will not bomb or machine-gun Afghan localities or forces so long as the armistice is observed, but they will have freedom of movement in the air to reconnoitre and observe the positions of the Afghan forces in order to ensure against any concentration or collection of the Afghan forces or tribesmen in

contravention of the armistice. Further that the Amir undertakes that his people will not fire at or molest British aircraft and will return without delay unhurt any British aircraft and airmen who may have been forced to land in Afghan limits, and use his utmost endeavour to ensure the safety of any British airmen who may be forced to land in tribal territory.

4. That the Amir should at once send urgent messages to the tribes both on his own side and on the British side of the Durand frontier, into whose limits his troops have been excited by his agents and proclamations, stating that he has asked the Government of India for a cessation of hostilities and that he will not countenance further aggressive action on their part against the British Government. If they take such action it will be at their own risk and they will receive no support from the Amir and find no asylum in Afghanistan, from which they will be ejected if they come.

Amir Amanulla's Reply to Viceroy.

Amir Amanulla's reply to the Viceroy's letter of June 3rd communicating the British Armistice terms reached Simla on June 18th.

While recognising the force of His Excellency's warning of the unlimited resources of the British Empire, and frankly admitting Afghanistan's lack of organisation the Amir alludes to Afghanistan's passion for independence, the power of the religious appeal, and the newly awakened world-spirit of freedom.

He then points out certain practical difficulties in the literal fulfilment of the armistice terms. Thus a literal interpretation of British demand for the withdrawal of the Afghan forces to a distance of twenty miles from the British orces would involve, he contends, the uprooting of thousands of villagers and tribesmen from their homes, seeing that the Afghan forces consist of a levy 'en masse'. Again he pleads the impossibility of guaranteeing the immunity of our reconnoitering aeroplanes in a country where every man has a rifle and eyes the presence of our aeroplanes overhead with bitterness and excitement.

As for the place of meeting for the peace delegates the Amir accepted His Excellency's choice of Rawalpindi. He announced the nomination of nine delgates, headed by Sardar Ali Ahmad Khan, his Home Minister, as President.

In reply the Viceroy explained that all that was meant by his last letter was that all regular Afghan troops should be removed from the British frontier to a distance of 20 miles. On the understanding that the Amir was prepared to accept the armistice terms

the Viceroy appointed Sir Hamilton Grant to be the Chief of the British Delegation to the Peace Conference to be held at Rawalpindi.

The Peace Conference at Rawalpindi.

Accordingly the Peace Conference met at Rawalpindi and began work on the 26th July 1919. **Sir Hamilton Grant** in his opening speech first recounted the British view of the causes of the war and pointed out that the Afghans had made two miscalculations. He continued :—

"In the first place they expected the Hindus and Moslems of Northern India, already, so they had been told, in open mutiny, to rise with one accord to welcome an Afghan invasion. In the second place they expected a complete rebellion by all tribes along the frontier. In both they were disappointed. Such local disorders serious though they were, as had taken place in India, had already been quelled. The vastly preponderating loyalty of India had reasserted itself. From the start it was clear that nothing could be more abominable in the eyes of both Hindus and Muslims than the prospect of an Afghan inroad. Indeed the Amir's action was from the outset condemned by all classes throughout India. The Princes and Chiefs vied with one another in their offers of assistance, while our ally Nepal placed her gallant troops once more at our disposal. As for the tribes, despite a number of serious defections, they have withstood the strain with remarkable fidelity. One other thing the Amir's advisers forgot. When Afghan troops violated the skirts of an Indian province, they were not merely pitting themselves against the Government of India, they were outraging the great British Empire with all its infinite resources.

"It was not long, however, the Amir realised the folly of this war and appealed for peace. The British Government had ample justification for continuing the war until they should receive an unconditional surrender. But believing the Amir was contrite and repentent of his hasty action, they accepted his overtures in a friendly spirit and laid down the terms on which hostilities should be suspended. The result is that we are met here to-day, but I must ask you clearly to bear these two facts in mind throughout—first, that it is the Amir who began the war ; and, second, that it is the Amir who is now asking for peace. This being so His Majesty's Government have a right to expect on the part of the Amir's delegates an attitude of contrition and compliance. They are not prepared to consider counter-claims or counter-demands. I shall of course gladly listen to any representations you may have to make on any matter, but I must warn you that I am not authorised to entertain

or even to refer to my Government, any form of claim or demand. This warning appears the more necessary because, while we on our side have been most scrupulous in our observance of the armistice terms, Afghanistan has in more than one way flagrantly disregarded them. Thus all along the frontier Afghan officials and Afghan agents have been at work stirring up instead of quieting the tribes, and the intrigues of Shanghassi Khwaja Mohammed Khan with the Afrids have been as notorious as they have been unsuccessful. All this the British Government have borne with the utmost patience and forbearance. You may ask why. I will tell you. It is because they are big enough and strong enough to deal gently with a small State with whom they have so long been on terms of friendship. They have nothing to gain by the prosecution of this war, while Afghanistan, to foster whose independence and well-being has been their policy in the past, has everything to lose. They have no wish to dominate or annex your country. Had they had such a wish what better opportunity could they have than the prosecution of the war? Finally, they are mindful of the old ties of friendship with Afghanistan's wise rulers of the past, Zia-ul-Millat Waddin and Sinjul Millat and would gladly extend the hand of forgiveness and peace to their successor if he will make this possible. But do not imagine that the desire of the British Government for peace had come during the armistice. I beg you therefore not to trade on the idea that the patience of the British Government is inexhaustible I warn you that any connivance of intrigues with the tribes must make negotiations between us impossible.

"Believe me as a friend that brave though the Afghans are, jealous though they are of their independence, their can be only one result if the war is renewed. And the conditions then offered by the British Government would inevitably be very different from the conditions which they are now prepared to offer. I fear that I have had to begin these proceedings by saying a number of unpala'able things. But when there is illness it is necesary to take the ill-tasting drug first and the sweetmeat that removes the evil taste comes later. I trust that this may be so. Now, having purged our discussion of misunderstanding, we may hereafter feel the benefit. You will find in my colleagues and myself sympathetic coadjutors in our common task. It is perhaps a happy augury that I myself had the pleasure of meeting some of you on two earlier occasions when the ties of friendship between the two Governments were drawn closer, first in Kabul fourteen years ago, and later in India during the visit of the late Amir, those personal friendship I shall always be proud to remember."

The following is the written statement of Saidar Ali Ahmed Khan to the speech made by Sir Hamilton Grant at the opening of the Peace Conference :—

My friend and friends—On my own behalf and on behalf of the Afghan Government I express our pleasure that we meet again to-day with the noble intention of making a peace between the exalted Governments of Great Britain and Afghanistan that will be honourable to both the countries. In all friendship, I may remark, that the exalted and independent Government of Afghanistan has for many years had the most friendly relations with the British Government. It has lain like an iron barrier between the British Government and her enemies. The British Government in virtue of this co-operation has been able to rule India without trouble or inconvenience and has had nothing to fear from its Asiatic enemy, because unless the Afghans were completely destroyed nothing could interfere with the tranquil administration of the British Government in India. The British Government moreover considered itself the supporter of the Afghan Government. The Afghan Government on its part was firm in its friendship and had never violated that friendship or acted against it, particularly since the beginning of the rule of the late Amir, Zia Millat Waddin, to the time of the assassination of his late Majesty Siraj-ul-Millat Waddin.

"Notwithstanding this old alliance the British Government did not try to consummate this friendship or to eliminate certain defects. On the contrary, their refusal to allow the tribes to be included in Afghanistan in spite of the close tribal relations between them was objectionable to the Afghan peoples. No harm could have occurred to the British Government if the tribes had been placed under Afghanistan, while unlimited trouble and expenditure which the British Government had to incur during this period would have been saved. The result was incalculable loss to the British Government. If the British Government considered the question fairly and carefully they would realise that if these tracts had been under the Afghan Government such wars and troubles would not have occurred, nor would the British Government have suffered such loss in property and life. However, as the Afghan Government considered the British the supporter and helper of Islamic nations it did not lose patience and forbearance, but the British Government had disappointed the expectations of Afghanistan and made them hopeless.

Mahomedans all over the world were disappointed that a great Power which considered itself the friend of Islam and Afghanistan could have anything to do with such things. In the brain of every individual the fight of independence and liberty was burning and the politics of the world had assumed a new aspect. The Govern-

ment of Afghanistan cherishes to the utmost that spirit of freedom and liberty which is inherent in every individual in the world and it considered itself as much an independent Government as any other Power in the world. So long as a single individual of Afghanistan remained alive the Afghan would not give up this resolve."

The speaker proceeded to say that just as the British Government had been a friend of the Afghan Government for many years past so was the sublime Government of Afghanistan a friend of the British Government, which had derived numerous advantages, moral and material, from the friendship of Afghanistan. These were well-known to the British Government and to other Powers in the world. He hoped, therefore, that both parties would try to put an end to the unavoidable events which had caused a breach of friendship and alliance and make every effort to ensure that the mutual bonds of friendship might be cemented afresh in such a way that the friendship would be firmer than before, based on honour to both Governments.

Cause of the War.

"At the first meeting the Chief British Representative had called this war a foolish, unprovoked and wanton war, perhaps on account of the unexpectedness of certain events, and had said h was not acquainted with the causes which had brought about a revolution in the Government and had led to this state of affairs. Had the Chief British Representative been acquainted with all the circumstances he would have attributed this war not to the causes referred to but to misunderstandings on the part of thoughtless officers on both sides of the Frontier and would not have held the Afghan Government and the Amir responsible for it. I shall therefore briefly mention these events, starting from the beginning of the reign of our young King Amir Amanullah Khan. It will then be possible to conclude peace without difficulty and the sincere friendship of the two parties will be memorable and last for ever. God places the Crown of a kingdom on the head which He considers most suitable for it. God willing then, the Crown of Afghanisthan was placed on the head of Amir Amanullah Khan. At the beginning of his reign His Majesty communicated in a friendly letter to the British Government the news of the assassination of his father and of his own succession and the independence and integrity of his kingdom and his friendly attitude in future. The reply to this letter was received after the lapse of 44 days and did not properly appreciate the views which the letter had put forward. The British Government did not show the consideration that the Afghan Government deserved for her friendly services towards the

British Government in maintaining neutrality, but remained silent on the subject. Nor was any reply received to the proposal of the Afghan Government, that delegates from Afghanistan should take part in the Peace Conference. Reports moreover showed that owing to the introduction of martial law and certain legislative measures by the British Government, disturbances had occurred on the Peshawar frontier. This excited the people of Afghanistan who had temporarily been kept quiet by the late Amir, and stirred up the same ideas with even greater force. The fear was entertained that these disturbances might affect the Afghan frontier as it was the beginning of the Amir's rule. It was considered necessary to take certain measures for the protection of the Afghan frontier and detachments of troops were posted at different places on the frontier. The detachment intended for the eastern border reached its destination and was making a tour in the district to inspect the frontier. This caused an apprehension to the British troops and misunderstandings on both sides which led to war.

They bombarded us with artillery, and aeroplane dropped bombs on our troops who were without aeroplanes and on the unprotected buildings at Jelalabad where the late Amir lies buried. The late Amir was a faithful ally of the British Government and during his 18 years of rule had maintained a daily increasing friendship with the British Government, particularly during the period of the five years of the European war. He had demonstrated his neutrality in spite of very heavy expense and in face of powerful foreign influences in a manner which cannot be denied by anyone. The British Government cannot deny this.

Amir's "Unparalleled Wisdom."

When the inhabitants of Afghanistan heard of these acts they were excited and proceeded towards the frontier. When the Amir witnessed the state of affairs, and saw that the British Government instead of attributing it to a misunderstanding considered it intentional and had advanced their troops, he considered it necessary to proclaim a 'Jehad' in Kabul. Mr. Bray, the Foreign Secretary had expressed a desire for peace through the Afghan envoy (Sardar Abdul Rahman Khan) to His Majesty the Amir. In spite of what had happened the Amir maintained his friendly attitude and agreed to the proposal. His unparalleled wisdom temporarily checked the universal excitement among the Afghan tribes and he communicated to the British Government his orders for an armistice.

Impartial consideration will show which Government made the first overtures for peace. Still what does it matter whether

overtures for peace were first made by the Afghan Government or by the British Government? In my opinion and in the opinion of my companions whichever side made these overtures performed a good act and will be commended by every just man and by every humanitarian. It is incumbent on both parties to ponder over this most carefully, so that events might be attributed to the right causes and the present state of affairs be put right to the advantage of both Governments now and in the future. It is not unknown to the delegates of the Indian Commission that from ancient times disputes and bloodshed have prevailed among the tribes and that this is due to two causes · firstly, the question of faiths and religion which concern the establishment of truth and the eradication of false-hood, that is one of the parties considers its religion true and under the influence of religion takes steps to destory the other religion and introduce its own. Secondly, worldly interests and considerations of self-defence have caused the introduction of political principles which often have been made to assume a religious garb and caused the flowing of rivers of blood. At this period of civilisation differences and disputes about material interests are not given a religious colour until religion really suffers or until a blow is openly struck against it. On one side there is the desire for the acquisition of possessions and extention of dominion along with moral and material benefits, on the other the assertion of freedom which is the essence of human life. In the struggle and turmoil of the world when one nation becomes subordinate to another, it is either absorbed in the dominant people like Persia and Turkistan and other countries first conquered by Islam, or it has disappeared from the face of the earth like the original inhabitants of India and America or it still continues to express its feelings like Morocco, India and Egypt in the present day. At the same time you must admit that the desire for peace and liberty is a natural one and the wise statesmen of the world have never condemned the idea of liberty. Otherwise the British Government would not have made such sacrifices in the cause of slavery.

Discontent in Afghanistan.

After referring to the recent disturbances in Egypt, Ireland and India he said: It is worthy of remark that while the subjects of the British Government are in this state, Afghanistan which has maintained its freedom for such a long time and has nourished feelings of liberty has been in a state of disturbance. When international relations are expanding on every side and the world is being revolutionised how can Afghanistan remain where it was fifty years ago. The subjects of Afghanistan could not give open expression

to their feelings owing to the power of their rulers. If you enquire why the attitude of friends has suddenly become hostile I will inform you. Consider the circumstances prevailing in the world. Italy trampled over the Mahommadans of Turkey. Bulgaria did not lag behind in this matter and other great European powers followed suit. When the great Europeon war began Mahommadans were sorry to see it and were wondering why these civilised nations were resorting to bloodshed. Then there was war between Great Britain and Turkey. Whether Turkey was in the wrong or in the right the hearts of all Islamic people in the world naturally went out towards the Turkish Government. The news of the fighting of the European war with Turkey spread over the frontier hills and affected the hearts of the Afghan people. If the European war had come to an end before the assassination of his late Majesty the Amir, temporary disturbances like the present war would not have occured ; bloodshed would have been avoided and the friendship of the two governments would have been uninterrupted. The feelings of the Afghans had long been kept under restraint but when the voices of the peoples of India also were raised the Afghans who have always had sympathy with them felt suppressed. His Majesty the Amir openly agreed with his people whose power is very considerable but secretly by strategy he endeavoured to keep them quiet. He meant to introduce reforms into his country but mistakes made by officers of both sides as mentioned before brought about an unexpected state of affairs. The temporary check which the Amir has placed on the Afghan tribes depends entirely on the promise of the attainment of their national aspirations until the object of our nation is properly gained. However it is impossible to restrain them.

Well, knowing the goodwill of the British Government and hoping that your subjects may be released from the pressure of war, I assure you that it is in your hands to put an end to the Afghan war and to renew the relations of friendship between the two Governments in such a way that, please God, it will be ensured for a very long time and will permanently endure. The British Government will be released from the pressure of the present war and relieved of the trouble of finding men and money. The friendly attitude of both parties in view of the exigencies of the present time and the probable events of the future will result in moral and material progress and as partners standing shoulder to shoulder they will attain political supremacy in the east. They will gain their material interests and ensure their power of self defence. One source of trouble and anxiety to both parties is the question of the frontier tribes. As they are of the same nation they are called Afghans with us. Their raids on British territory are attributed

to the intrigues of our Government. This had been a cause of anxiety and interference with the friendship of both Governments. This remains so. The solving of the problem is absolutely necessary for the maintenance of peace and friendship between the two Governments. I hope that the attention of the delegates of both Governments will be drawn to this. The soldiers of both Governments who are thirsting for the blood of each other will then shake hands in friendship with each other."

After deliberations lasting over several days, peace was at last concluded.

The Text of the Peace.

Treaty of peace between the illustrious British Government and the Independent Afghan Government concluded at Rawal Pindi on the 18th August 1919 corresponding to the 11th Zfqad 1337 Hijra.

The following articles for the restoration of peace were agreed upon by the British Government and the Afghan Government :—

Article 1. From date of signing of this treaty there shall be peace between the British Government on one part and the Government of Afghanistan on the other.

2. In view of the circumstances which have brought about the present war between the British Government and the Government of Afghanistan the British Government to mark their displeasure withdraw the privilege enjoyed by former Amirs of importing arms, ammunitions, or warlike materials through India to Afghanistan.

3. The arrears of the late Amir's subsidy is granted to the present Amir.

4. At the same time the British Government is desirous of the re-establishment of the old friendship that so long existed between Afghanistan and Great Britain provided they have guarantees that the Afghan Government are on their part sincerely anxious to regain the friendship of the British Government. The British Government are prepared therefore, provided the Afghan Government prove this by their acts and conduct, to receive another Afghan mission after six months for the discussion and amicable settlement of matters of common interest to the two Governments and the re-establishment of the old friendship on a satisfactory basis.

5. The Afghan Government accept the Indo-Afghan frontier accepted by the late Amir. They further agree to the early demarcation by a British commission of the undemarcated portion of the line to the west of Khyber where the recent Afghan aggression took place and to accept such boundary as the British commission may lay down. The British troops on this side will remain in their present positions until such demarcation has been effected.

THE CHIEFS' CONFERENCE
DElhi, 3 Nov. 1919.

The Annual Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs was opened by the Viceroy, H. E. Lord Chelmsford in the Council Chamber of Delhi on November 3rd, 1919. The Viceroy presided and delivered a lengthy opening Address. There was a large attendance of distinguished visitors, European and Indian and about 40 Ruling Princes and Chiefs with their *entourage* attended.

The Viceroy's Opening Address

YOUR HIGHNESSES,—This is the fourth occasion upon which I have had the honour to preside at your conference. I find that I look forward each year with increased pleasure to our annual meetings and I trust that Your Highnesses do the same. Apart from the really valuable work which we got through in our formal debates there are opportunities which I greatly value for the renewal of old friendships and for the formation of fresh ones. Further, it is of particular advantage to a Viceroy to be able from time to time to exchange ideas with Princess who share with him and with the provincial Governors the burden of rule in India. I am very glad to see so many of Your Highnesses present here to-day and I offer you a warm welcome on my own behalf and on behalf of the Government of India . I congratulate you heartily on the excellent rains that have fallen in your states and I trust that a good agricultural year may be before you and that this and the peace may be a prelude to an era of great prosperity. I deeply regret that several of our most distinguished members including Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal and His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur have been prevented by ill health from joining us on this occasion. We shall greatly miss their advice and co-operation.

At our meeting in January last I referred to the losses which your order had sustained. We had then to deplore the death of no less than six members of the conference. This year we have to mourn the loss of Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Bhavnagar and Ajaigarh and the Rajas of Sailana, Chamba and Suket. I have no doubt that Your Highnesses will all desire that the Conference should express its sympathy with the ruling families. In another matter in which regret has no place the Conference will be equally unanimous. I mean in according welcome to the

Maharaja of Bikaner. We are all sincerely glad to see him among us again both on personal grounds and because of the valuable contributions he could make to our discussions. This is not the time or the place to dwell on His Highness's services to India and the Empire at the Imperial Conference in London and at Peace Conference at Versailles. They are well-known to us all. I will only state what I am sure is the general opinion of the Conference that the Indian states were fortunate in their representative and are proud that his signature should have been placed on the peace treaty.

Since we last met one event has occurred of outstanding importance to the world, to the Empire and to India, the signing of the treaty of peace with Germany. I will not attempt to enumerate in detail the services rendered by the Indian rulers and their contributions in men, money and material to the prosecution of the war and to the attainment of those ends which find their realisation in the treaty, but I do not wish to let this occasion pass without expressing once more the thanks of His Imperial Majesty and of the Government of India for the splendid part played by the princes and chiefs. I must thank Your Highnesses warmly, also for the unanimity with which you placed your services and your resources at the disposal of the Government for the Afghan war and I wish to acknowledge particulary the prompt and whole-hearted assistance rendered by the princes of the Punjab in the suppression of the recent disorders in that province. Your assistance and your offers of support have been of great value both in themselves and as evidence of the solidarity of the Indian states with the Supreme Government. The British empire is now by the mercy of the Almighty at peace both in Europe and in the east and tranquility reigns in India but that does not mean that there is no longer occasion for very special efforts on the part of Governments, Princes and people. The difficulties and dangers of peace are less patent than those of war, but they are on that account more difficult to cope with. The struggle lacks the stimulus of open danger and the appeal of obvious patriotism. There is a new spirit aboard in the world impatient of restraint, prone to look upon order as tyranny, prosperity as profiteering and expensiveness of living as the result of mal-administration. This spirit is embittered by high prices due partly to the failure of the last monsoon and partly to the diversion of the world's energies from production to destruction, excited by the downfall of great powers and encouraged by secret and subtle propaganda to think that anarchy means happiness and prosperity for all. This spirit is the most subtle and the greatest danger that has ever come upon mankind. The Indian states, perhaps also India

as a whole, are less likely than Europe to be primarily assailed, but sooner or later we may all be forced to repel that attack whether it comes from without or within the body politic. The strongest weapon in the panoply of our defence is good Government which inspired with sympathy for the legitimate aspirations of the people is resolute at all times in the maintenance of public order. By this means only can peace after war, safety after danger, be secured. I most earnestly enjoin upon Your Highnesses to see to it that your armoury is well furnished in so far as concerns the portion of the Empire for which you are responsible. The Government of India have their own problems to deal with in which it is not your principal part to give direct aid, although even outside your states you have much influence upon popular opinion, which I am confident you will exercise in the right direction. Your Highnesses can however lend valuable assistance by ensuring that your states are places in which the lawless and malicious spirit is not tolerated, where lying stories find no favour, where the motives of the British Government are not misrepresented and where British rule is not held up to obloquy. You will have difficulties to contend with in your own states. You cannot expect that the demands of the new after-war spirit for liberty and freedom from restraint will be confined to British India. Such demands becoming more and more insistent will make themselves heard in the Indian states. I know that several of Your Highnesses have been thinking very deeply about these questions and most of you must no doubt have felt that your states also must move with the times. As to the lines on which progress is to take place Your Highnesses must decide for yourselves with due regard to local circumstances and sentiment. You are rulers in your states, but if you will allow me to offer you some words of advice, I would counsel you in the first place to determine that whatever measures of reform may be introduced shall be substantial. If you decide to extend your administrative structure, remember that what is needed is not a facade however beautiful but buildings in which men can live and work. In the second place I would advise you in planning additions to maintain the fabric of your society and preserve its structure and its solid walls, pillars and tower. The rocks in which they are imbedded are the work of nature. The foundations were well and truly laid by your ancestors. Time has proved the strength of the edifice. I urge you therefore to repair these, to develop their design, to add to them the convenience and freedom of our age but not to demolish them. Do not believe that a brand-new modern building can compare as a place of safety, as a work of art or as a true expression of your life and the life of your people, with one which rests on natural foundation, which has stood the

test of centuries and which has grown with your race and embodies its spirit and is tradition. I should like to quote here a thoughtful remark which I read recently in a durbar speech of a Central Indian ruler.—"We have to remember the extent of our conservatism and try to remove it without wounding the feelings of those who adhere to it and who have adhered to it through so many ages past." There is no reason why your nobles and jagirdars should not be in the future, as they were when you first entered into possession of your state, the bulwarks of your rule if you place reliance upon them and educate them to work with you in your important task, and if they on their part recognise that it is their duty to serve you with loyalty.

I have dwelt at some length on subjects which are not directly connected with the business before the Conference, but I have done so because opportunities of meeting a representative body of the Princess and Chiefs are not very frequent and because I feel that we stand now at the parting of the ways where we need all our foresight, all our wisdom, to guide us in taking the right path. I should be failing you if I did not indicate what I thought might be useful to you in coming to a decision as to the path to choose and as to the arrangements for the journey. I wish also to take this opportunity of impressing on Your Highnesses that the Government of India and my political officers will be ready at all times to advise you in the solution of the difficult problems before you and to assure you that you may continue to rely on our friendly support in the introduction of measures for the benefit of your subjects and for the moral and material development of your states.

Chamber of Princes.

Turning to the questions with which we are more immediately and directly concerned I should explain to Your Highnesses that early last May the Government of India addressed the Secretary of State regarding the resolutions passed by your conference held in January of this year. (See the Registers for 1919).

We forwarded copies of the resolutions and of the proceedings and of the recorded opinions of the princes. We made our recommendations and asked for the views of His Majesty's Government. I will proceed to communicate to Your Highnesses the decisions arrived at by the Government of India with the approval of His Majesty's Government on matters which have reached the state of decision, the reasons on which the decisions are based and various considerations which may help in the solution of the questions which are still before the conference. I am glad to be able to announce to Your Highnesses the intention of the Government of India and His Majesty's Government to call into being a per-

manent Chamber of Princes, although I might ask you to regard this announcement as merely a preliminary statement of intention. The formal establishment of recognition of the Chamber must be reserved for a later date when the details of its constitution and functions have been worked out.

As regards that very important question, the position of that "Demarcation line," Your Highnesses will remember that in my speech at the last conference I said that Mr. Montagu and I felt that it would be unwise to base upon the salute list as it stands any fundamental distinction between the more important states and the remainder. It appeared to us that if such a distinction were to be made, it must be based upon constitutional considerations, that is to say, upon the nature of the link between individual States and the crown, etc., and therefore we recommended in our report that the line should be drawn at separate rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration from the others. I said in my speech that in my opinion the essential question for classification purposes would appear to be whether a ruler has normally the power to legislate for the welfare of the subjects and to conduct the administration without the intervention of British officials. I learned however from the debates of the last Conference and from the written memoranda forwarded by rulers who are not present that a marked divergence of opinion existed on the subject of the principle to be employed for effecting the division. I do not propose to discuss critically the resolution which Your Highnesses passed on item (1) of the agenda of the last Conference because if the solution which I am about to suggest commends itself to Your Highnesses I think it would be a waste of time to do so. I will only say that owing to the extreme difficulty of defining with precision the "full powers of internal administration" and the embarassment which must be caused by applying the test when formulated in individual cases, I am convinced that it would really be wisest after all to base the distinction primarily upon the salute list.

The Scheme of the Chamber.

The scheme, which, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, I desire to propound for Your Highnesses consideration is as follows:—First, that all states the rulers of which enjoy permanent dynastic salutes of 11 guns or over should be entitled as of right to membership of the Chamber. Second, that states whose rulers enjoy a dynastic salute of 9 guns but have at present such full or practically full internal powers as to qualify them in other respects for admission to the chamber, should be so admitted. Third, that as regards those states whose rulers possess a

dynastic salute of 9 guns but are not at present in possession of full or practically full internal powers, the Government of India should investigate each case and decide whether to grant the internal powers required in order to make the state qualified for admission to the Chamber. I may add that in my opinion the necessary enhancement of powers should be granted in every case where no sufficient reason exists to the contrary, since it is of the highest importance that the question of admission to the Chamber should be dealt with on broad and generous lines, the deciding factor being the salute of the particular state and not the personal qualifications of the ruler for the time being. I know that on the occasion of the last conference some of Your Highnesses who claim feudatory rights and other rulers were apprehensive lest those rights should ultimately be affected by the inclusion of lesser states within the group formed by the dividing line. You added on this account a proviso to your resolution to the effect that the removal of restrictions on the powers of a state, and its consequent admission to the chamber as a member should not in any manner or to any extent impair or prejudice the rights of any other state that can legitimately claim suzerainty over such state. I am entirely in accord with Your Highnesses as to the importance of maintaining the status quo in the matter of feudatory relations, and I think I may safely say that your proviso will be accepted by the Government of India. On the other hand I am of opinion, and in this I think you will agree with me, that at the present stage and pending the final adjudication of particular claims to feudatory rights, no state whose qualifications for membership of the chamber has to be scrutinised, should be prejudiced as regards eligibility by the mere existence of an established claim to feudatory rights which might, if admitted, limit the exercise by the ruler of full or practically full internal powers and so disqualify him for membership. In this connection I must also reiterate what I said in my last speech, namely, that it would not be of course appropriate to regard mere payments, originally of a tributary nature, made by one state to another as necessarily constituting feudatory relations. Next item alludes to another point which has a very important bearing on the question of the dividing line. Your Highnesses will remember that in my last speech I said that Mr. Montagu and I felt that the whole question of salutes needed most careful investigations in view of the anomalies which appeared to exist. If the principle which I now advocate is to be adopted as the basis of classification it will be additionally desirable that this investigation should be undertaken at an early date, in order that anomalies whether already existing or likely to ensue from the institution of the dividing line should be corrected wherever possible. My Govern-

ment are ready to give their earnest consideration to this matter, and will make the necessary recommendations to the Secretary of State for submission to His Imperial Majesty in due course.

Lesser States.

Assuming that the question of the dividing line is settled in the manner indicated above the next problem for Your Highnesses' consideration relates to the representation in the chamber of the interests of the lesser states, whose rulers have no salutes and do not possess practically full internal powers. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner very clearly explained the issue in paragraphs 19-22 of the note which he sent in last year, though he did not suggest a plan for adoption. The Government of India are in complete accord with the view which seemed to be generally held by the conference last year, namely, that some scheme ought to be devised whereby a reasonable and proportional representation of the lesser states may be secured in the chamber so as to enable them to have a voice in matters affecting their interests. The question as to the best means for securing this result is one which needs to be fully weighed and discussed by Your Highnesses, and I will not attempt to prejudice your conclusions by offering suggestions at the present stage, although I shall be glad to help you in any way that I can to work out an effective scheme. If the scheme which I have briefly outlined above is acceptable to your Highnesses it would seem desirable that the rulers of all states which are qualified for admission to the chamber should be described as Ruling Princes, the rulers of the lesser states whose interests will be represented in the chamber being described as Ruling Chiefs, and I propose to adopt this nomenclature. I may add that it is the full intention of the Government of India that changes which may be introduced in the relations between the Government of India and the Princes, as for instance, in regard to commissions of enquiry, judicial commissions etc, shall be applicable when this may seem appropriate and possible to the lesser rulers also.

As regards the functions of the chamber and the rules of business which should regulate its procedure, I would remind Your Highnesses that although there is a strong and influential body of opinion in favour of the chamber, yet at the time of the last conferences the Princes and Chiefs were not unanimous in their desire for the institution of a more formal assemblage than our annual meetings. The chamber will have to justify its existence and win its spurs. I have expressed the view on more than one occasion that the chamber must evolve gradually on lines which experience may show to be best suited to its healthy growth, and that it is important to avoid unnecessary restrictions

or complications at the outset. The points which it is important to bear in mind are as follows:—First, attendance and voting in the chamber will be voluntary. Every Prince must decide for himself whether he will attend and take a share in the business, and although we may sincerely hope that abstentions will be few and that Your Highnesses will realise in an increasing degree the advantages of taking part in the deliberations, yet no pressure of any sort can be exercised. Second, the chamber will be a consultative and not an executive body. Resolutions passed by the chamber must inevitably exercise influence on the relations of Government with darbars not participating in the deliberation of the chamber since such resolutions will be weighty contributions affecting the settlement of matters of common concern to the states in which the final decision must rest with the Government of India. It will, however, be the particular concern of the Government to safeguard the interest of the absent rulers by ensuring that their views are elicited and duly weighed, and in this manner opportunity will always be afforded for the darbars concerned to place before the Government of India their recorded views on questions of importance that may come before the chamber. It has hitherto been the practice to lay copies of such recorded views before the conference, of course with the consent of the Darbars which have given utterance to them, and special provision should certainly be made for the continuance of this practice, when the chamber is constituted. Rulers who do not attend the meetings will thus be assured that their views receive full consideration from their brother Princes as well as from the Government of India. Third, the direct transaction of business between the Government of India and any State will not be prejudiced by the institution of the Chamber since each individual State whether represented in the Chamber or not will maintain its right of direct communication with the Government as heretofore. It will be necessary in this connection to provide specifically that the Chamber shall not discuss the internal affairs of any particular State or the actions of any individual Ruler.

Other Subsidiary Questions.

With these observations I invite Your Highnesses to undertake the task of formulating your proposals for the institution of the Chamber. In Clause (*b*) of the resolution passed by Your Highnesses on the agenda 1 (3) of the last Conference the recommendation was made that the term NARENDRA MANDAL (Chamber of Princes) should be adopted as the designation of the proposed body. It is possible that Your Highnesses may wish to make some alteration in this designation if it is eventually decided that the Chiefs as

well as the Princes are to be included in the chamber. If, however, Your Highnesses adhere to the recommendation, and if I find that it meets with the concurrence of the Musalman Princes the Government of India will readily agree to it. The next question on the agenda is the codification of political practice. Your Highnesses will remember that at the informal discussion held in February 1st, 1918, some of the rulers complained, without specifying particular instances, that the Government of India had on occasions infringed treaties and engagements. As you are aware, the Darbars were invited to bring to notice any cases in which they considered that there had been a failure on the part of the British to fulfil treaties and engagements. In response several of the Darbars intimated that they had no complaint to make and of the complaints which have been made a number of them are appeals against the decisions of Government in cases affecting the interests of particular States. Where there appears to be a justification for re-opening such disputes recourse might suitably be had to the commissions of enquiry proposed in paragraph 308 of the report on the Reforms scheme. Many Darbars however contended that the political practice and usage of the past had encroached on the dignity and rights of Darbars, and was in conflict with the spirit of treaty relations. Copies of a list of 23 matters regarding which this allegation has been made will be distributed for Your Highnesses' information. The examination of some of the points summarised in the list was taken in hand last September by the committee which Your Highnesses appointed. The conclusions which were then arrived at will be reported to you by the Committee.

Political Practice.

There is no doubt that with the growth of new conditions and the unification of India under the British, political doctrine has constantly developed. In the case of extra-territorial jurisdiction, Railway and Telegraph construction, limitation of armaments, coinage, currency and opium policy and the administration of cantonments, to give some of the more salient instances, the relations between many states and the Imperial Government have been changed. The change however has come about in the interests of India as a whole, and I need hardly say that there has been no deliberate wish to curtail the powers of Princes and Chiefs. We cannot deny, however, that the treaty position has been affected and that a body of usage, in some cases arbitrary, but always benevolent, has insensibly come into being. Some of Your Highnesses have therefore asked that the Darbars should for the future have a voice in the formulation of political practice.

The Government of India entirely concur in the justice of this claim and with the approval of His Majesty's Government have decided to accede to your request in regard to that portion of our political doctrine which can be expressed in the form of general principles in so far as it is based on considerations other than treaty rights. From the point of view of Government also it cannot but be of the greatest advantage that decisions as to political practice which may have a bearing on the States' prerogatives should be taken after formal and collective discussion with rulers We have come to this conclusion with the reservation that the paramount power retains the right of ultimate decision with regard to the principles to be adopted, and with regard to the extent of their application. We cannot anticipate that we shall always be in absolute agreement, but we believe that generally speaking opposition has been in many cases directed rather at the form in which doctrines are set forth than at their substance and we feel that you will in future view them in a new light when the reasons on which they are based, and the economic inter-dependence of British India and the States are frankly explained to you. The committee which sat in September has had the advice and assistance of the Hon'ble Sir George Lowndes and various officers from the Secretariat and Administrative Departments of the Government of India to explain questions concerning telegraphs, telephones, currency and mining concessions which had afforded occasion for the development of new principles. Lastly, with regard to the procedure to be followed in examining the question of modification of political practice, I understand that there has been a difference of opinion. That is to say, the question is whether we should scrutinise and test our practice and procedure in the light of general principles to be abstracted from the body of the treaties and engagements in the hope of thus defining the true position of the States with the Government of India, or whether we should endeavour to derive principles from the body of case law which has grown up. The latter method was provisionally adopted by the committee which met in September, but it was adopted on the understanding that it should not prejudice resort to the deductive method at a later stage if this seemed to be required.

It is a pleasure to me to be able to inform Your Highnesses of the intention of the Government of India and of His Majesty's Government to adopt your proposals for the appointment of a Standing Committee in this matter ; as, in the case of the Permanent Chamber a more formal pronouncement will be made at a later date. In clause (*b*) of the resolution passed on the subject by the last conference Your Highnesses made proposals in regard to the constitution of the Standing Committee. These proposals may

perhaps be the subject of further discussion during the present meeting, so that I will say nothing in regard to them at present. In clause (*c*) of the resolution Your Highnesses recommended that the committee should be competent to initiate questions affecting Indian States generally or of common interest to India as a whole either of their own accord or at the direction of the Chamber of Princes for the consideration of the Viceroy. You also recommended in clause (*d*) that the agenda for the Chamber should be decided in consultation with the committee. The Government of India accept these recommendations, but I desire to make it clearly understood that the committee's initiative is restricted absolutely to matters of common concern to the States in general. We should, I think, bear in mind that the real function of the standing Committee is to continue the work of the permanent committee engaged on the modification of Political Practice, provision for the interests of individual States and rulers is made for them in the commissions of enquiry and courts of arbitration to which I will allude at a later stage.

The Commission of Inquiry.

In this connection I would however add that these remarks are not applicable to the suggestions made by some of the Central India Darbars for the constitution of Local Committee for the settlement of local disputes. The matter is not now before the conference for consideration, but I take this opportunity of informing the Darbars concerned that the suggestion has not been lost sight of. In the matter of commissions of enquiry I will remind Your Highnesses that the original draft proposal framed at the informal discussion at Delhi in 1918 provided for the appointment of commissions of enquiry in regard to two descriptions of cases. The first related to the settlement of disputes between the Government of India or any local Government and a State or between one State and another or to the decision of cases in which a State is dissatisfied with the advice of the Government of India or their local representative. The second contemplated the tender of advice to the Government of India when aquestion arises of depriving the ruler of an important State of his rights, dignities and powers or of debarring a member of his family from succession. The Government of India with the approval of His Majesty's Government have decided to differentiate the appellation of the Commissioner convened for these two purposes. In accordance with the resolution passed on the subject at the last conference the term "Court of Arbitration" will be given to Commissions of the first kind, and the term "Commission of Enquiry" to those of the second kind. The Government of India are unable to accept

the recommendation made in the first part of the resolution passed by the last Conference on the subject of the Court of Arbitration, namely that His Excellency the Viceroy before rejecting the request of any party for a Commission of Enquiry should invite the opinion of the Standing Committee on this point, and that when the request comes from both parties, it should be favourably entertained. The Government of India regard it as of the greatest importance that as proposed in paragraph 307 of the Reform Report the Standing Committee should refrain from considering or offering advice, in regard to questions affecting any individual State or Ruler unless on the invitation of the Viceroy who would only refer to the Committee with the concurrence of the Darbar concerned and if he considered that such a reference would be helpful. Similarly the Government of India are unable to agree to the stipulation that when the request for a Court of Arbitration comes from both parties, it should be favourably entertained by the Viceroy since although it would be in the highest degree unlikely that His Excellency would reject such a request, it is nevertheless desirable that he should retain discretion to do so. But the Government of India accept both the suggestions made in the resolution passed by the laste onference on agendum (1) (6), namely, (*a*) that it should be made clear that the party concerned, on the names of the proposed commissioners being intimated to him, will have the right of challenging the nomination of any of the Commissioners, this right to be exercised only once, and (*b*) that the machinery proposed should not be put in motion if the ruler of the State concerned himself prefers the question to be decided by the Government without a commission of enquiry. When circumstances arise in an important State such as would be dealt with by a commission of enquiry it will invariably be appointed unless the ruler of the State concerned prefers that the Government of India should come to a decision without the appointment of a commission. It must be understood of course that the right of challenge will apply to each original nominee, but not to the person substituted for each nominee challenged. The question of the establishment of more direct relations between the States and the Government of India has not been lost sight of. I described in my address to Your Highnesses in January the general views of the Government of India on the question, the advantage of introducing changes of the kind proposed and the difficulties in the path. These points were communicated at length to the Secretary of State who has signified the general concurrence of His Majesty's Government in our views, and His Majesty's Government equally with the Government of India are anxious that early progress should be made with the scheme. Very great difficulties and complexities

are, however, involved in its introduction, and I cannot do more than ask Your Highnesses to accept my assurance that time is not being lost in action. His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab proposes to discuss the subject with the Punjab rulers concerned during the ensuing cold weather, and I have arranged with the Bombay Government that a special investigation shall be commenced at an early date in that presidency as a preliminary to further consideration of the scheme as affecting the Bombay States. The question of straightening the channel of communication with states which are in direct political relations with the Central Government, such as those in Rajputana and Central India, is also being carefully considered. As regadrs the question of lotal statistics which has been placed on the agenda, I propose to say a few words to Your Highnesses later. As regards item (IV) of the Agenda, the question of the desirability of co-operation in matters of public health, I feel that no useful purpose would be served by adding to the memorandum which has been placed before Your Highnesses. It is unnecessary for me to make any remarks regarding item (V) of the agenda. It is satisfactory that Your Highnesses are considering the question of the future organisation of the Imperial Service Troops. The Government of India regard the matter as being of the highest importance and I am sure that Your Highnesses will concur in this. I trust that your deliberations with the military authorities will be productive of good results I recommend to Your Highnesses' earnest consideration the desirability of adopting measures for the encouragement of horse-breeding in your States. The matter is one of imperial concern, and I hope that the Government of India may rely upon the co-operation of those darbars whose territories are suitable for the breeding of horses. You may count on the expert advice of General Templer, the Director-General of the Army Remount Department, who has the matter much at heart. Connected with this subject is the adoption of preventive measures against the spread of surra in Indian States. I hope that your deliberations with Col. Farmer will be productive of a joint system to combat the disease. I trust that your discussions with Dr. Hayden, the Director of the Geological Survey of India, may have convinced Your Highnesses that it is equally in the interests of your states and of India as a whole, that grants of mineral concessions in your States should not be made without careful scrutiny. The question was discussed at length by the committee appointed by Your Highnesses which sat last September at Simla, and you will no doubt give your careful attention to the recommendations made by them. Your Highnesses will remember that in the session of 1917 certain resolutions were adopted regarding statistics, es-

pecially in regard to the production and distribution of food and raw materials. Events have taught us the great importance of accurate statistics in assisting administration, and in the solution of those economic problems which now confront the world. The result of the resolutions to which I have just referred has been very satisfactory, and the co-operation of the States has brought the agricultural statistics of India on to a new plane. Last year a class of instructions was for the first time held in Calcutta and was attended by representatives from Hyderabad, Baroda, Mysore and other states. It proved so successful that it will be held again this year and I understand that officials from the Hyderabad, Baroda, Mysore, Gwalior and Bundi States have again been nominated to attend the instructional class to be held this month. Since the Conference His Exalted Highness the Nizam has appointed a Director of Statistics for Hyderabad.

Conclusion.

I fear I have detained Your Highnesses for a long time and you may think I have gone into unnecessary detail. But I have spoken at length deliberately thinking it desirable that you should have before you a comprehensive survey of the situation as it now stands. Looking back on the progress made since then inception of the Conference scheme, I think we may congratulate ourselves on what has been achieved. We must not be impatient if at times our progress may seem slow. Remember the old saying that "That to which time has not been a party, time will not ratify." Progress is not to be judged only by the quantity of the resolutions passed and the decisions taken or even by their quality We must look higher and higher than this. We are engaged in the designing and erection of an edifice intended to endure for many years. The success of a building, whether the test be its durability, its convenience or its beauty, depends not only on the solidity of its foundation, the quality of the material used and the skill of the workmen employed, but on the spirit which inspires the architects who make the plans. In our building enterprise, are we the architects inspired by a spirit which will guide us to success? The answer in my opinion is emphatically 'yes.' It is, yes, because we have begun in a spirit of candour, loyalty, liberality and goodwill. I am sure that if this spirit guides us till our task is done, when we reach the end we shall be able to say we have done well. It only remains for me to convey to you at the express desire of his Majesty's Secretary of State his cordial wishes for the success of the Conference.

Peace Resolution.

At the conclusion of the Viceroy's speech the Maharaja of Gwalior moved a resolution congratulating the Government on the conclusion of Peace and in the course of his speech paid an eloquent tribute to the officers of the Government for their splendid devotion to duty.

The Maharaja of Bikanir seconding the resolution said :—Your Excellency, I beg to second the resolution moved by my old and valued friend, the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior. I heartily associate myself with what His Highness has said, and am happy to join him in the tribute which he has paid to our splendid Indian army, to Lord Hardinge, to Your Excellency and the Government of India, to His Excellency General Sir Charles Munro and the other Commanders-in-Chief in the various theatres of War, also, in view of the part which our own troops have been privileged to take in the War, to the officers, services, and departments of the Imperial Government, not forgetting our friends of the political department, and the British officers associated with our troops, at the victorious termination of the world war which so completely absorbed our attention and energies during the five dreary years of its duration. It is but natural that our thoughts should turn to the future, to the period of regeneration that has already begun and of construction that lies before us. It is true we have the problems of individual states and of our own peoples to attend to. Important though they are the ordeal of the great war through which we have emerged and the comradeship which it occasioned have necessarily left their mark upon our perspective. Consequently the things which a few years ago loomed large on our horizon have now as a matter of course suffered diminution in stature. We cannot but regard them now as somewhat parochial affairs. The close association in danger, the participation in adversity as also the sharing of the ultimate triumph have united the Imperial Government and the Indian States more closely than ever, and have led to a better realization of our respective difficulties and anxieties, our hopes and aspirations, our standpoints and ideals. They have brought home to us, better than anything else ever could, the very real identity of interests which exists between the British Government and the Indian Princes, a fact, which I venture to assert can never be over emphasized. Unless I am greatly mistaken it is considerations such as these that have led His Highness the Maharaja Scindia to touch upon the Imperial aspect of our relations ; doubtless to them are also attributable some of the remarks which have to-day fallen from Your Excellency's lips, as also the welcome and highly grati-

fying announcements which you, sir, have just made of the decision of His Imperial Majesty's Government in regard to matters of the highest import to us. Some old time arrangements having served their purpose well for many years naturally stood in need of adjustment and reform, and therefore the decisions announced must be productive of the highest good. The end of the war leaves with the Princes the gratifying feeling of a solemn duty loyally and conscientiously performed, and performed also to the utmost of their capability and resources, with the Imperial Government. It leaves the will and determination to allow nothing to remain undone which is calculated further to strengthen the bonds that already unites us and so we are surely entitled to look at the future with high hopes and to assume it to be full of bright augury. As for the relative position of the British Government and the Princes the paramountcy of the former is beyond dispute, and the relation of the latter as allies and friends is as freely admitted as it is clearly defined. Guided as we, in Your Excellency's eloquent words, are by candour, loyalty, liberality and goodwill, there is no need between us for that evil thing ' secret diplomacy ' . We have stood together in the past and weathered many a storm. We devoutly hope that an era of peace and prosperity lies in front of us for many a year to come, but should fortune be fickle, should we have to faceonce again external aggression or internal trouble, should we have to fight the Bolshevik menace or to repel the invasion of a foolish or arrogant foe, the Britjsh Government and the Ruling Princes will assuredly continue to stand together shoulder to shoulder, united in their loyalty and devotion to Their Gracious King Emperor. Whatever betide, and come who may, the union shall abide and stand every strain.

The Maharaja of Navanagr next said :—Your Excellency :—I have much pleasure in moving the following resolution :—' 'That this conference records a hearty vote of thanks to His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner and tenders him warm congratulations for the eminent services rendered by His Highness at the peace conference."

Not many words are needed to commend this proposition to the cordial acceptance of this conference and it is with a light heart that I am discharging the pleasant duty which we Princes assembled here owe to our distinguished brother who combines in himself brilliant accomplishments of a varied kind, any single one of which would raise its fortunate possessor to an eminence far beyond the average line. In greeting the Maharaja of Bikaner we are gratefully recognising his strenuous work always readily and willingly undertaken for the welfare and advancement of our order, his gracious statesmanship which is invariably enlisted

on the side of progressive advance of India and the Indian states his burning patriotism and his loyalty and devotion to the Crown. If nature is prodigal in endowing him with the best of her gifts she has enriched and raised the prestige of our Order and has enabled one of us to play a prominent part in the great events that have just closed, a unique chapter in the world's history for which we are justly proud. Your Excellency related to us two years ago what Sir Robert Borden said in the Canadian House of Commons regarding His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner. He was referred to as a man of splendid loyalty and devotion who governed his country along progressive lines, and who had contributed in every possible way to the winning of this war. Your Highnesses, this was said in 1917 and it admirably epitomizes the character and the role of His Highness, and was almost a prophetic utterance when we remember that not two years had elapsed before His Highness joined Sir Robert Borden in signing the peace which won the war, and closed the reign of military terror which Germany had established over Europe since Bismark inflicted dishonourable terms of prostrate France at Versailles. Your Excellency, if your Vice-royalty has synchronised with dark years of national danger and difficulties, it has also witnessed noble efforts unparallelled in history in which India bore an honourable part crowned at last with a glorious victory. Further, it has ushered in for India not only a magnificent future but a present recognition of her position in the cabinet of the empire, the doors of which were barred till 1917. It was Your Lordship who selected His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner as a representative of Indian Princes to attend the Imperial War Conference and the Imperial War Cabinet in 1917 along with two representatives from British India. It was not only an honour much appreciated by us but a recognition of our partnership in the Empire which until then was an academic phrase, valued in theory but passed over in practice. The mantle that His Highness then wore with characteristic success and dignity fell at Your Excellency's choice on worthy shoulders in 1918, and my esteemed friend His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala nobly carried on the traditions established by his distinguished predecessor of the previous year. We are again grateful to Your Excellency for selecting His Highness of Bikaner to represent us at a table where sat the great statesmen of the world charged with a mission the extent and magnitude of which included the disposal of nations, and the safeguarding of humanity and its civilisation for the future. It was no small honour to us that His Imperial Majesty was graciously pleased to appoint His Highness as a plenipotentiary Commissioner and Pro-curator in respect of the Indian Empire along with Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha under the

Royal Sign Manual and signet authorising His Highness to negotiate and conclude any treaties, conventions or arrangements which might ensue as a result of the deliberations and discussions at the Peace Conference. Regarding His Highness' work it would be a presumption on my part to review the great services His Highness has rendered to India and the Empire. It was with a thrill of pride that we learnt that His Highness alone conducted important negotiations regarding India's inclusion in the League of Nations at Paris during the unavoidable absence in England of both Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha. This single instance is sufficient to show the implicit confidence that His Highness inspired in the minds of the British Empire Delegation by reason of his commanding abilities and far-sighted and reliable statesmanship. Devotion to the empire has for His Highness an interpretation which is all embracing and knows no distinction of caste, country or religion. Alike to the cause of his Order and to that of British India he advocated progressive reforms for India. Fearless of criticism His Highness further interpreted the Mahomedan sentiment strenuously and ably at the Paris Congress for which he was gratefully thanked by the Mahomedan Community of Bombay on his return. As rumour has it, and the information is that it is a reliable that, rumour His Highness's presentation of the Mahomedan case at the Peace Conference was far abler and exhibited greater sagacity and acumen than that submitted by the representatives of the Turkish Government itself. The Prime Minister's validictory letter to His Highness contains a generous appreciation, a part of which I will here quote with Your Excellency's permission :—"You have devoted yourself to the interests of the Indian Empire and return with the satisfactory knowledge that you have played a part much appreciated by your colleagues." Mr. Montagu has similarly eulogised His Highness on great public services. Your Excellency has also shown your great appreciation of His Highness' work in a letter which is recent and although we all may possibly remember it well I would like to quote a short extract from it :—"I feel however that I should like to write you a line to congratulate you very heartily on the great part which you have played since you accepted the Prime Minister's invitation last year to assist in the peace deliberations as the representative of the Princes and Chiefs of India. I know with what remarkable ability and political sagacity Your Highness has performed your task, and India owes to you and to your colleagues a debt of gratitude for having so worthily represented her in the greatest gathering of statesmen that the world has ever seen." I should like to take this public opportunity of congratulating Your Excellency if I may respectfully do so on your Excellency's selection of India's

delegates to the War Conference and the Peace Conference which in every case is more than justified by the exceptional merits and splendid work of each of the delegates selected. India has no more valuable servant and friend than the Hon'ble Sir James Meston, and Lord Sinha's elevation to the peerage is a testimony of the exceptionally high regard in which he is held by his Imperial Majesty the King Emperor and the British Cabinet. Turning to Maharaja Bikaner, he said : Your Highness, it must be a matter of deep gratification to you that you have immeasurably advanced and signalised the noble tradition of your glorious house, and of the most distinguished of your ancestors who were trusted councillors of the Mogul Emperors by an equal display of splendid devotion, gallant services in the field, and sagacious and valuable advice in the council chamber of the empire. Your Excellency, without trespassing further upon your valuable time I submit the resolution for the hearty acceptance of this Conference.

The resolution was carried *nem con.*

Viceroy's Closing Speech

In closing the conference on the 8th November the Viceroy made an interesting speech defending the action of the Government of India in the Afghan muddle. Said His Excellency :—Your Highnesses will forgive me if I take this opportunity of dealing with another matter of public interest though not directly affecting Your Highnesses. I have always made a rule of ignoring attacks made in the press, but I must take an exception in the case of an article in the "Times" cabled out by Reuter. The summary which appeared yesterday contained the following passage. "Curzon's statement that the vital letter of Sir Hamilton Grant, by which the Government relinquished control of external affairs of Afghanistan, was not kept back was erroneous. The letter was not only withheld from public for some days, but was not even received by Mr. Montagu until the day after the text of the treaty had reached London. The whole episode, says the "Times" is in keeping with the policy of evasion which too often marks the action of the present Government of India."

I do not propose to deal with the question of policy embodied in that letter of Sir Hamilton Grant beyond saying this, that we deliberately turned our backs on the past policy of attempting to control Afghan foreign relations through a paper condition. The aim of our policy is, to quote Lord Curzon's recent speech in the House of Lords as summarised by Reuter, "some arrangement with the Afghan Government which could differ in many important respects from the preceding arrangements, but which would give us

what was really solely the essential thing, namely, a neighbour on the frontier who was friendly and loyal to Britain and with whom we could live in the future amicably." If we secure this result it connotes that Afghanistan's foreign relations will be such as to have our approval. Till we are satisfied that Afghanistan's foreign relations are such as to meet our approval, this second chapter containing the treaty of friendship will not be written.

But what I wish to refer to, more particularly to-day, is not the wisdom or unwisdom of my conduct of our foreign affairs, but the charge of a policy of evasion which is made against my Government. Here again, if the charge had been couched in general terms, I would have ignored it, because it is obviously unprofitable to bandy arguments over a question which must largely be a matter of opinion. In this case, however, it is coupled with the concrete accusation that we had withheld Sir Hamilton's letter not only from the public for some days, but even from the Secretary of State until the day after the text of the treaty had reached London. Now this allegation can obviously only be based on conjecture. For the Secretary of State alone could inform the "Times" of the facts and no one is more punctilious than Mr. Montagu in such matters.

Let me give one or two dates which will I hope dispose of this matter. I find that I communicated the terms of the proposed letter to the Secretary of State's telegram on the 4th of August. It presumably reached him either on the 4th of August or on the 5th, as I received his reply on the 6th of August. The treaty was signed on the 8th of August and the actual text of the letter, as delivered to the Afghans, was telegraphed the next day. It is said that the letter was not even received by the Secretary of State until the day after the text of the treaty had reached London. It must be obvious that with the best will in the world and with the most efficient cable system, the text of a letter delivered with a treaty of Peace on the 8th of August could not have reached London more expeditiously, and moreover the substance of the letter as actually delivered to the Afghan Delegates was contained in my telegram to the Secretary of State of August 4th to which I have referred above.

Your Highnesses, this is a matter which can be of little interest to you and I hope you will forgive me for introducing this subject into my speech, but I felt that I had to take the earliest opportunity of dealing with a matter which so closely affected my honour.

Indian Councils

Constitution of
The Government of India, 1919.

Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

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

Council.

Sir G. S. Barnes, K.C.B. Took his seat, 6th April, 1916
,, William Henry Hoare Vincent Took his seat 21st April, 1917
,, (Now Lord) James Scorgie Meston K.C.S.I.,
,, C. H. A. Hill, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Took his seat, 5th July, 1915
,, C. Sankaran Nair Took his seat, 2nd November, 1915 Resigned, July '19
,, Khan Bh. Mian Muhammad Shafi (Vice Sir Sankaran Nair- 28 July '19)
,, G. R. Lowndes, K.C.S.I., Took his seat, 20th December, 1915

Extraordinary Member—

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

Secretaries to the Government of India.

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

Personal Staff of His Excellency the Viceroy.

Private secy	J. L. Maffey, C.I.E., I.C.S.
Asst. pte. secy.	Capt. W. Buchanan Riddell
Mily. secy.	Lt. col. R. Verney, Rifle Brigade
Persnl asst.	R. Parsons.
Comptlr. of household.	Maj. J. Mackenzie, C.I.E, 35th Sikhs

The Supreme Legislative Council

A.—Elected members—27.

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

B.—Nominated Members—33.

OFFICIAL MEMBERS.

Lt.-Col. S. L. Aplin, C.S.I.	Burma.
Sir. J. S. Donald, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.	The N. W. F. Provinces
,, Verney Lovett, K.C.S.I.	The United Provinces
Vacant	The Punjab
Mr. A. R. Lofttus-Tottenham	Madras
,, F. J. Monahan	Bengal
,, C. A. Kincaid, C.V.O	Bombay
,, E. H. C. Walsh	Bihar and Orissa
,, F. S. A. Slocock, C.I.E.	Central Provinces
,, W. J. Reid, C.S.I.	Assam
Sir E. D. Maclagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.	Government of India
,, R. W. Gillan, K.C.S.I.	Do
,, A. H. Grant, C.S.I., C.I.E.	Do
, J. H. Duboulay	Do
Surgeon-General W. R. Edwards	Do

Major-General A. H. Bingley, C.B., C.I.E.	Do
Mr. C. H. Kesteven	Do
„ H. Sharp, C.I.E.	Do
„ R. E. Holland C.I.E.	Do
„ S. R. Hignell C.I.E.	Do
„ R. A. Mant.	Do
„ F. C. Rose	Do
„ A. P. Muddiman, C.I.E.	Do
„ G. R. Clarke, O.B.E.	Do
„ G. B. H. Fell, C.I.E.	Do
„ H. F. Howard, C.I.E.	Do
„ J. P. Thompson	Do
„ C. E. Low	Do

Non-Official Members.

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

Present Constitution of the Council.

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

Officials—

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

Non-Officials—

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

Official majority, exclusive of the Governor-General 3

Proceedings of
The Indian Legislative Council

Feb.-March, 1919.

The Council met at the Council Chamber, Imperial Secretariat, Delhi on Thursday, the 6th February, 1919.

PRESENT :

His Excellency Baron Chelmsford, P.C., G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E. G.C.M.G., G.C.B.E. Viceroy and Governor General PRESIDING, and 59 Members, of whom 52 were Additional Members.

H. E. the Commander-in-Chief first laid on the table telegrams thanking the Council for its congratulations to the allied armies for their victories. Then came the Viceroy's address.

H. E. the Viceroy's Opening Address.

In his review of the position of affairs since the Council last met in September 1918, His Excellency at the outset alluded to the elevation to the Peerage of Sir S. P. Sinha, and next explained why the life of the Council, which would have ordinarily terminated in September next, had been extended to one year, so that it remained as it was till 20 July 1920. He next said :—

"Among the **legislative matters** to be brought before you in the ensuing Session are two Bills of the highest importance. I refer of course to the Bills to give effect to the recommendations of the Commission presided over by Sir Sydney Rowlatt. These recommendations were unanimous, and coming as they did from persons who command the greatest authority, the Government of India decided that they should be brought before this Council in the shape of the necessary legislative measures. The necessity for proceeding with legislation on the subject in this Session is of course due to the early termination of hostilities and the prospect of the conclusion of peace in the near future. The very important powers which have enabled the public peace and order of India to be preserved during the war will shortly come to an end. It is essential in my judgment that they should be replaced by adequate substitutes. The sudden release from restraint and control of the forces of anarchy would involve a position which we cannot contemplate. The reaction against all authority which has manifested itself in many parts of the

civilised world is not likely to leave India entirely untouched, and the powers of evil are still abroad. We cannot shut our eyes to the undoubted existence in India of definitely revolutionary organisations.

"There are facts which can neither be denied nor explained away, and the Government of India would be failing in its duty if it did not make preparation to deal with them. After the most anxious consideration of the subject I have come to the very clear conclusion that special measures are essential, not only to the maintenance of His Majesty's Government in this country, but to the safety of the lives and property of its citizens. I can only commend these Bills to your very earnest and careful consideration."

Then he announced that the Committee for investigating into Jail administration, held in abeyance since 1913 owing to the war, was soon to be appointed, and also that the recommendations of the Arms Act Committee are being considered and a communique was soon to be issued. He next turned to

Education.

"I have already mentioned in this Council the Bill introduced by the Hon'ble Mr. Patel to enable district municipalities in Bombay to adopt with the sanction of the Local Government compulsory elementary education for children. That Bill has now become law, and I am glad to see that the Government of Bombay propose to behave in a liberal manner to any municipality which desires and is able to adopt its provisions. I have recently given my assent to a Bill of a similar nature but of wider application in Bihar and Orissa, and other Bills are either awaiting introduction or have arrived at various stages in the process of legislation.

"It is a matter for congratulation that in two provinces where primary education has hitherto been peculiarly backward, namely, the United Provinces and the Punjab, vigorous action is now contemplated.

"The compulsory education Bills which are in process of becoming law require that Government should be satisfied that proper facilities are, or can be provided before the measure becomes applicable in any particular area. This is a very proper condition and I make no doubt that Local Governments, when laying down rules under such sections, will also pay special attention to the very important problem of the training of teachers. Among our vernacular teachers only 32 per cent are trained. If, as we hope now that the war is over, the rate of expansion of mass education is accelerated, the institutions for the training of vernacular teachers will have to be multiplied, enlarged and strengthened. For, the first essential of a school is an efficient teacher, and if our teachers are

inefficient, the money spent upon their pay and upon the buildings, equipment and up-keep of the school is only too likely to be money thrown away. We addressed the Local Governments on this important matter in 1916, and further allotted a recurring Imperial grant of 30 lakhs for the training and pay of teachers in the ensuing year. I observe with pleasure that the resolution issued by the Government of the United Provinces in pursuance of the policy for the expansion of primary education lays special stress upon the importance of training teachers, which is indeed, as I have frequently urged, a necessary preliminary to any effective advance.

Industries Commission.

"Since the last occasion on which I addressed you, we have received the long-expected Report of the Industrial Commission. I regard this Report as a State document of the greatest value and importance. With the underlying principles which form the basis of the Commission's recommendations, namely, the urgent necessity not only for the improvement of Indian industries, but for the more active participation of Government in developing them, I imagine there will be unanimity of opinion. I believe strongly that there is a great future before Indian industries, but it is necessary that, if the full harvest is to be reaped, the land must be ploughed and the seed sown at the best time and in the best manner. It is essential that Indian Industries should be guided on right lines at the early stages of their development. Few people, I imagine, will hesitate to agree that in order to ensure such guidance, a great expansion of the scientific and technical advice at the disposal of industry in this country is essential, and the proposals of the Commission for the organisation of scientific and technical services form probably the most important part of their Report. I need hardly say that we have lost no time in considering this Report and in consulting Local Governments on the proposals made by the Commission while I believe that the commission's proposal for the organisation of an Imperial Department will be found essential to supply the necessary stimulus to industrial development and to afford advice and assistance where required. I fully recognise that the actual work of developing industries will have to be chiefly carried out by Provincial effort and under Provincial control. I know that this is a matter on which local opinion is keen, but I have no fear that the organisation which will be ultimately established will involve any undue centralisation. I cannot conclude my remarks on this subject without expressing my appreciation of the work of Sir Thomas Holland and his co-adjutors in producing this Report. The labour which with great public spirit they devoted to their difficult and complicated task was

unstinted, and the care and thought with which they have elaborated their conclusions is beyond praise.

Then he went on in usual platitudes on the War and India's efforts and sacrifices, and next referred to the dreadful epidemic of Influenza (which had carried away 6 millions of Indians) and said that it taught two lessons : the defects of Sanitation in India and the importance of increased facilities for research. (This piece of Viceregal piety, however, could nowhere be found during Budget debate in March).

Then came the most important pronouncements of His Excellency :—

The Reforms and the I. C. S.

"You will expect me now to say something in regard to the Reform proposals. The Committees under the chairmanship of Lord Southborough are now sitting in Delhi, and hope in conjunction with the Government of India to lay their Report shortly before His Majesty's Government. I have dealt on other occasions with various aspects of this important question. To-day I wish to deal more particularly with the position of the services and the English commercial community." (To placate these bodies it had become absolutely necessary by this time, for they had since the famous announcement of August 20, 1917 been more and more openly in revolt).

"It is indeed natural that the services should feel keen anxiety as to their place in the future scheme of things. The Secretary of State and I could not within the compass of our report elaborate in full detail all the issues arising out of the proposals for Reform, but now that the criticisms and discussions of the past months have brought home to us something of the misgivings and anxieties which our services are feeling, I propose to take this opportunity of stating, as clearly as I can, what my conception of their future position is.

"And first let me say this. The services of India have just come through a long period of exceptional strain. Their strength has been seriously depleted by the war. They have been called upon not merely to run the administration with a far weaker staff ; not merely to help to steady men's minds during periods of depression and alarm ; but they have also had to organise and promote many forms of war activity. It has been out of the question to let them take leave, and so they have stayed at their posts year after year doing double work, often to the detriment of their health and commonly at the sacrifice of domestic comfort. They have been hard hit by rising prices ; and they have come in for attacks arising out of the agitation in connection with Reforms which have sometimes been

ungenerous and unfair. But they have risen superior to all these things, and as Viceroy, I am proud and glad to acknowledge on behalf of my Government the part they have played in keeping India contented and quiet, and in helping to win the war. And now the war is over, and they seem to see before them difficulties and sacrifices greater still. I want the service to know that my Government and I are fully cognisant and deeply appreciative of all these things.

"Let me state then, as clearly as I can, what I conceive to be the governing conditions of this problem. The changes which we are setting about in India must gradually involve a profound alteration in the position of the public services. Hitherto the great administrative and technical bodies of men recruited from England—such as the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Police, the Indian Medical Service, the Indian Education Service, the Indian Forest Service, the Public Works Department—have not been civil services in the sense in which that word is generally understood. I have indeed seen criticisms which assumed that our public services had usurped to themselves a place which Parliament never assigned to them. That, as every reader of history knows, is a wholly wrong and unfair suggestion. The services were sent to India by Parliament not as the executive agents of a popular government in India, but to administer the country under the official Government of India. No one else could have done the work they have done. They could not have done it themselves, had their position been different. Now with the introduction of responsible government in India, however limited at first, a change must begin. If we set up ministers, ministers must administer ; and the permanent services must execute. That is so well accepted a maxim of our British polity that no one will dispute it. This then is my first proposition.

"But to suppose as has been alleged that we propose to place the services as a whole in helpless subordination to inexperienced and possibly hostile ministers ; that we intend not merely to deprive them of power, but to require them blindly to execute policies which they cannot reconcile with their self-respect, is very seriously to misconceive our purpose. Let me explain at once why that is impossible. Progress to further constitutional growth in India is to come not by a process of drift ; not by the English Departments or Governments throwing up the sponge out of weariness or a sense that they are fighting a losing game ; not by our taking back our hand from the plough ; but by the response made by Indians to the great opportunity now offered them—by the measured verdict of the highest outside impartial authority upon their performance. It is recognised at the present moment that

the time is not ripe for Indians to take over the entire management of the country. Every moderate and thoughtful Indian admits that truth himself. And government, believe me, is not the simple thing it may sometimes seem. The help of the services, trained, efficient, impartial, with their high standards of duty, of character, of the public interest, is absolutely essential if this vast experiment is to succeed. We cannot afford and we do not mean to lose them until India acquires, what she has not got at present, something approximately as good to put in their place. That is my second proposition.

"The Secretary of State and I have declared our intention to protect the services in the defence of their rights and the discharge of their duties. I see that apprehensions have been aroused by the general character of this phraseology. Let me now, speaking for myself and Government, endeavour to give precision to the undertaking. In the first place as regards their pay and pensions, I propose that the pay, pensions, leave and conditions of service generally of the services recruited from England shall be guaranteed at least by statutory orders of the Secretary of State, which no authority in India will have power to disregard or vary. My idea is that the all-India services are to be retained, as in a mould cast by Parliament and the Secretary of State, as an exemplar to all the services drawn exclusively from India. In this respect, therefore, I see no cause for disquiet.

"I pass to a more difficult question, and one which I know is causing more doubt than any mere questions of money—the position of the services which are under Indian ministers. Now I am not going to recite the series of ways in which I conceive it possible that difficulty may arise. I ask you to take it from me that my Government and I have considered this field very anxiously and have had vividly before our minds the sort of troubles that may arise over postings or promotion, or policy or professional questions or discipline. How then can these potential difficulties be mitigated? In the first place, we hope to get as ministers responsible men who will realize how greatly the services can help them. There is more in this than a pious hope. We may look to what has happened elsewere. It has often been the case that men going in fresh to office, full of prejudice against the public services, have found them their best ally and protector against the critics which every administrator encounters, and have ended by gaining the full confidence of the service and giving the service theirs. Secondly, we do not intend to leave the handling of the services wholly to the minister. We propose to instruct the Governor, in a published instrument, that we lay on him a personal responsibility for securing the welfare of the services. He will disallow proposals that aim

or tend towards their disintegration. The head of every department under ministers will have access to the Governor. He will be in a position to represent difficulties to him before they become acute : and it will be for the Governor to deal with them by influence and persuasion, and finally by tactful exercise of authority. Lastly, we propose to secure all existing rights of appeal to the Government of India and the Secretary of State whenever an officer is prejudicially affected as regards emoluments or pension by a minister's order.

"How these arrangements will work, you and I can only leave it to experience to show. But I think that the services will accept them as an earnest attempt to fulfil the pledges which we have given. It may be that even more provisions will be required. But about those I will say nothing at present, because I am anxious to give no countenance to the idea that the services will find their position made impossible. I will merely add that the Government of India will always regard this question of the fair treatment of the services as one of the cardinal tests by which our great experiment will be judged.

"Let me now turn to the very important matter of **British commercial interests** in this country. It would distress me profoundly if I thought that we could with justice be accused of underrating either the colossal financial interests at stake, or the enormous part which British non-official energy, character and brains have played in the task of making India what she is. For myself I regarded these facts as self-evident and thought that, so far as it was necessary to reassure this important community, we had in our Report made our attitude towards them quite clear. However, the complaint has been made that we have dealt too summarily with the subject. So let me emphasise our intention. I have not found, by the way, in the papers of a year ago, or the criticisms just received, any reasoned statement of the ways in which it is supposed that British trade interests may be jeopardised by the changes which we have in view. I note, however, that in the joint address which some representatives of European commerce in Calcutta signed last year, reference was made to the risk of injury by 'predatory or regulative legislation' or the neglect of transportation and other facilities ; and I see that the Bengal Chamber of Commerce appear to have chiefly in mind proposals for provincial taxation likely to prejudice commerce or industry.

"Now let me explain the position as I see it. The legislation on which British commerce in the main depends is mainly all-India in character. Some of it is embodied in the great commercial codes ; some of it deals with matters of peculiar interest to industry like railways, factories, petroleum, explosives or mines. Now

inasmuch as these will remain with the Government of India, who will, as I have laid down more than once, retain indisputable authority, there is surely no reasonable ground for apprehension. Commerce can make its voice heard just as effectively as heretofore. It may be said however that, in the future, Provincial Councils will exercise more freely the power of amending all-India Acts. But that they can only do with the previous sanction of the Governor General. In any case there is the safeguard of the triple veto of the Governor, the Governor General and the Crown; and this applies to all provincial legislation.

"It seems to me indeed that the control of the matters of peculiar interest to European commerce is to a great extent concentrated in the hands of the Government of India. I am thinking of the tariff and the currency; of banking, railways, shipping, posts and telegraphs. In these respects no existing measure of security is being diminished, and therefore apprehension is surely groundless.

"But evidently it is in the minds of some people that in the provincial sphere it will be possible injuriously to affect the commercial community. Say, for instance, by special interests being singled out to bear the burden of provincial taxation or by rival interests being artificially stimulated by bounties. What protection will there be in such cases? Well, the Secretary of State and I have pledged ourselves in paragraph 344 to reserve to Government power to protect any industry from prejudiced attack or privileged competition. To speak for myself, I believe this can be secured by embodying this undertaking in the instructions given to the Governor on appointment, wherein he will be informed that His Majesty's Government lay on him a responsibility for seeing that the pledge is made good. With such a public document in his hands the Governor, with the Government of India and Secretary of State behind him, would be in a very strong position to resist all proposals of his ministers which appeared to him to be acts of hostility to British commerce. There will moreover be representatives of that interest sitting in the provincial chamber; and I cannot do them the injustice of supposing that they will fail to bring any just grievance effectively to the Governor's notice, or if need be to remind him of his responsibility."

After talking for a while on the supreme might of the British arms and the still more supreme power of the British character which have won the war, he then assured his Council that he did not fear Bolshevism in India, and of his faith on the good sense of the Indian Masses. H. E. then concluded with the peroration:—

"The good sense of India has been tried in this great war as never before and it has not been found wanting. The test, as I have

said, is not yet over ; but, speaking for myself, I look forward confidently to the days ahead, fully assured that, when the dust of these days has subsided, a greater India will emerge—greater in resources, greater in self-help, great as ever in her loyalty to the King-Emperor."

After His Excellency's speech, interpellations followed and then Sir William Vincent introduced the Criminal Law Emergency powers Bill, well known as the infamous Rowlatt Bill. After a very hot debate with the unanimous opposition of the non-official Indian Members, which lasted during the whole of the 6th and also the 7th February, the motion to refer the Bill to a select committee was passed by sheer Official majority of 36 against 21, Messrs Bannerje's and Patel's amendment to postpone the Bill having been defeated by Official Votes. On the 10th February, the Council again meeting, the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Bill, popularly known as the Second Rowlatt Bill was introduced by the Home Member. Sir Sankaran Nair then brought forward the Local Authorities Pensions and Gratuity Bill which was introduced.

Sir James Meston next introduced the Excess Profits Tax Bill. He explained "We are now faced with a possible deficit of £ 4 Millions and additional taxation was inevitable. Large grants of money would be wanted for Railways. Government would be left with only 3 millions to meet eight and three fourth millions required next year. The super-tax and the excess profits tax would not both be levied, but only whichever yielded greater." He expected to realise £ Seven and half millions from this tax. Mr. Hogg and Mr. Ironside opposed on behalf of the European Chamber of Commerce, while Mr. F. Currmibhoy also opposed the Bill. The Bill however was referred to a select Committee with instructions to report on 12th March.

At the next meeting of the Council on Feb. 26th, after a long list of interpellations, the Local Authorities Pensions and Gratuities Act was passed, and Sir W. Vincent introduced the Indian Oaths amendment Bill. Mr. Patel was then permitted to introduce his Bill, the Indian Electricity Amendment Bill, the object of which was that local authorities may have a right to be consulted and preferentially treated as against a rival licensee. Mr. Patel next introduced a bill, readily accepted by Sir T. Holland on behalf of Government by reason of its great usefulness, to amend the Negotiable Instrument Act, 1881. The amendment referred to cheques. It had recently been held in the Bombay High Court that a Cheque with the word "bearer" struck out and no substitution of the word "order" is not negotiable within the meaning of the Act, although the custom of trade in India is, as a matter of fact, quite the contrary.

The Council assembled on March 1. After interpellations the finance Member Sir James Meston presented his financial statement of the year (see next page). Sir W. Vincent next presented the Report of the Select Committee on the Rowlatt bill, one peculiar feature of which was that all the Indian members dissented from it ; Messrs Banerji, Sastri, Shafi and Nawab Ali signed the Report subject to strong dissentient minutes, while 3 other Indian members, Pundit Malaviya, Messrs Patel and Khaparde refused to sign the Report but gave separate dissentient notes which Government rejected and were not published along with the Report.

Sir James Meston then introduced the Indian Paper Currency amendment Act the object of which was to continue the Ordinance of 7th December 1918 to increase the maximum limit of the issue of Currency Notes against British Treasury Bills by another 11 crores temporarily, so as to make the whole total of reserve 100 crores. He further introduced the Motor Spirit Amendment Bill, and the Indian Income Tax Amendment Bill by which Income below Rs, 2000 P. M, was proposed to be free from the tax,

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Financial Statement of the year 1919-20.

Speech of Sir James Meston.

MAIN FEATURES OF THE BUDGET.

The current year has been a period of crisis and dramatic change. The first half of it was marked by great manufacturing energy, high prices and a great deal of diffused prosperity. When the year opened the long threatened German offensive was developing in France, and India was called upon to redouble her efforts to provide men and munitions of war. Her response, as is known to this Council, was immediate Recruiting made great strides, and under the guidance of our colleague, Sir Thomas Holland, the munitions Board set to work in grim earnest in supplying the Allies with material, military and otherwise, of which they stood in urgent need. Its financial consequences were derived from the great manufacturing activity of the period, the heavy exports of foodstuffs and every kind of article of national importance for which England and the Allies were indenting. The first consequence of these factors was a tremendous run on our currency resources to provide the money to pay for all this vigour of production. The second was a sharp upward movement in our revenues ; the harvest of our railway returns had never been so rich ; and the heavy sale of bills against our exports by the Secretary of State brought us lavish gains in exchange, for Sir William Meyer had cautiously refused to budget for anything better than a 1*s*. 4*d*. rupee, and large sums were being paid into our Home treasury at 1*s*. 5*d*. and 1*s*. 6*d*. It was not unnatural, therefore, that in September last, there were expectations of a record surplus. Then came the cessation of hostilities and the scene completely changed. Military activities could not of course be curtailed all at once, but private trade was very suddenly checked. Astute merchants who had been gambling on protracted fighting and a continuing rise in prices found all their calculations upset and Nemesis descended upon much unhealthy speculation, especially in the cloth and share markets of Bombay. By this time also it had unfortunately become evident that considerable areas in Bombay, the United Provinces and other parts of India would be unable to share in the general rejoicings about peace ; for the monsoon had

failed badly, scarcity was imminent, and at the most critical time a fierce epidemic of influenza attacked the whole country, took a very heavy toll of the rural masses, and seriously weakened the agricultural labour power. The withdrawal of military orders and the impending shortage of supplies combined to check exports. The Secretary of State issued no more Council drafts after October, and the whole financial position began to undergo the painful transition back to a healthier and saner state of affairs. There was at first a little, not wholly unnatural, depression at the suddenness of the change ; but we know that it is very largely disappearing now, and it may be hoped that we shall succeed in getting back to a healthier plane of business and finance without serious dislocation. The immediate result, my Lord, is that we have not got a bumper surplus. Nevertheless we have done uncommonly well. If it had not been for the large donation towards the expenses of the war which was undertaken by this Council last September, we should probably have closed the current year with a revenue surplus of over £8 millions in place of the £2½ millions which Sir William Meyer had budgetted for. As the donation in question, that is, the payment for an extra 200,000 Indian troops and the acceptance of a corresponding pension charge, has cost us £12¾ millions this year, we shall really close with a deficit of about £4½ millions instead of a surplus of £8 millions ;—revenue £85½ millions and expenditure about £90 millions. I am sure that if Sir William Meyer had foreseen this —it was quite impossible that he should do so—if he had foreseen it, he would probably have asked last year for the extra taxation which we are now seeking to impose. As it is we must be content to take the deficit out of our cash balances, which only means that we shall have to borrow it directly or indirectly sooner or later.

"Well, my Lord, that is the story of the year which is now coming to an end. I need not weary the patience of the Council by discussing the figures in any detail, but pass on to the year which is before us. The year in front of us cannot possibly be a period more varied or full of surprises than that which is closing. Our trouble is that we cannot prophesy. We have no experience of the immediate sequels of a great war, either on the military or civil side of the administration. We cannot foretell the movement of prices in the next twelve months ; and we have nothing to show what shipping will be available for our external trade. It follows, therefore, that the yields from our customs revenue, from railways, exchange and many other heads are all far more uncertain than they usually are. The Army in parti-

cular has a financial future which it is very difficult to forecast. All that we know is, that the scale of expenditure must be very much higher than in the pre-war peaceful days. The requirements of modern armament, of much more rapid and efficient transport, of the entirely new military art of fighting in the air, all these mean money. The huge aeroplane which we have seen hovering over Delhi in the last few days is a much costlier instrument of war than its predecessors, just as the motor lorry means a good deal more than the old bullock or camel transport. We cannot resist taking our share in these developments ; and I am all the more deeply indebted to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief for the great consideration he has shown for our financial difficulties in stating his requirements for the next year. They have been placed at the very moderate figure of £30 millions, and I am sure it is only his unflinching determination to insist on economy that insures the adequacy of that figure. To it we have added £2½ millions as a special war bonus to British troops, which has just been sanctioned ; the duration of this in our present exceptional circumstances it is quite impossible to foresee. We also have to add the next year's instalment of our official contribution to the expenses of the war which, as I mentioned the other day, comes to £8 7 millions ; and thus we arrive at the total anticipated military expenditure of about £41¼ millions net. Military expenditure thus represents just a half of our total budget of outlay for next year. Seeing that we have practically no naval charges, this proportion certainly is nothing wonderful at a time like the present. It will, we hope, decline as the world returns to the paths of peace ; but none of us can hope that our military charges will ever again drop to the old pre-war standard. Turning to the rest of our expenditure the Council will find a considerable reduction in our political charges, through the curtailment of expenditure which had to be incurred on and beyond our frontiers as a direct consequence of hostilities. In many other directions savings have been possible on a smaller scale. At the same time, we have had to face the inevitable rise in wages which materially affects Departments like the Posts and Telegraphs ; and we have a considerable bill, though fortunately not nearly so heavy as it would have been without the recent winter rains, for famine relief. The chief rise in expenditure however is under our provision for renewing the permanent-way and the rolling stock of our railways. For that purpose we have allowed the very large figure of £6½ millions ; and I am sure that my friend Sir Arthur Anderson would gladly have taken a good deal more if he could have it. There will be, on the part of no

one in this Council, any disposition to contest a provision which the tension of recent years has now made absolutely necessary. To many of us it is a standing marvel that the railways have been able to do what they have done, with a wholly starvation allowance for even their barest necessities. The exigencies of war left the Railway Board with no option, and we ought cheerfully to assist them to the best of our power in recovering the ground that has been lost.

"There are of course many other items of interest in these elaborate statements, but the total result is to show that we require £85⅓ millions for the services of the year; or, if we exclude the second instalment of our special war contribution, £76⅔ millions. We have been able to make good the smaller sum; but without extra taxation, the higher figure was beyond us. For revenue we have taken liberal estimates, very liberal estimates; for example, we are estimating our gross receipts from railways at 80 crores, the highest figure of its kind which has ever yet been attempted. Under Customs, in spite of the possibility of falling prices, we have taken an increase even over this year's figures, and are putting up the total to 20 crores. This includes, I ought to note, the continuation of the special duty of 6 annas a gallon on motor spirit. As the Council are aware, this duty was imposed two years ago as a war measure, and has brought a very useful addition to our revenues. I have not heard that it has done any one any harm, and consequently I shall shortly ask the Council to accept legislation for its retention for the present at least. Under Mint and Exchange we cannot expect the same windfall as we enjoyed this year. Our recoveries from the War Office will be fewer and Our Council Bills an uncertain quantity. There is also a heavy loss on our coinage to be still adjusted, for it must be remembered that we are turning out vast quantities of rupees at something less than what they cost us to manufacture. Under the head of income-tax there appears the only concession in this hard-hearted budget. It is the raising of the taxable minimum from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 2,000 a year. With the hardship that we see all round us owing to the pressure of high prices on humble people with minute incomes, we fell that it is no longer possible to levy income-tax from assessors who draw less than £100 a year; and if we are going to establish a new minimum, there are great advantages in going up at once to Rs. 2,000. I will explain these in greater detail in asking for leave to introduce the necessary legislation.

"Omitting all the less interesting heads we arrive at a total estimate of revenue of £80 millions. It will be remembered

that we set out to find £76⅔ millions, without the special contribution. This we have succeeded in doing with a considerable margin in hand. If we put aside some what under £1 million of this as a surplus, we are left with about £2⅔ millions towards the payment of our special war contribution of £8.7 millions. In other words we are still £6 millions short, and hence the necessity for our excess profits duty. As I explained the other day in Council, we hope that it will provide us with that sum net, after allowing for remissions of super-tax and income-tax and after adequate deduction for depreciation and the other subsidiary allowances that may have to be made. I trust that this brief statement of our position, read with the figures which are being communicated to Hon'ble Members, will justify to the hilt the sheer necessity which has driven us to undertake a levy upon war profits.

"Our formal estimate thus stands at £86.2 millions for revenue, including the excess profits duty, £85.4 millions for expenditure, and a surplus of £868,000. Those who lament the tightness of our revenue estimates will, I am sure, rejoice when they turn to the Capital Account and find the imposing figure which we propose to allot for railway developments. The biggest railway programme ever yet undertaken has been £12 millions; the ideal figure, never yet attained, which Lord Inchcape's Committee pressed upon the Government of India seven or eight years ago, is £12½ millions. In recent years we have been down, I think to four and five millions. For next year we propose no less a figure than £17¾ millions. I sincerely hope that this is the first augury of the coming expansion of India's commercial and industrial power. It is at any rate the first step that we can take to prepare the way for that advance. In order, however, to realise our hopes in this direction, I must warn the Council that we shall be dependent once more on a substantial loan. The conditions of the loan will be announced later, when we see how the money market is likely to receive it in the slack season. We shall be glad of all the money that we can get; but, so far as can be estimated now, we shall require at least 15 crores, and that is the figure for which we are budgetting to balance our ways and means account. There have been suggestions that concerns affected by the excess profits duty will find great difficulty in subscribing for any part of our loan. I trust that this pessimism is unjustified; and in any case I trust that our Victory Loan, as it may be described, will find friends enough in the country to prevent us from curtailing the generous programme of railway development which it is intended to finance.

"I now come to the third and last part of my story, a brief review of our general financial situation. Before embarking upon it, I would invite attention to the tale of our silver crisis last year. Very few would suspect the forbidding portals of the Finance Department of harbouring a romance—and yet the whole story of how Sir William Meyer and his trusty henchmen held the gate against inconvertibility and its attendant woes, and of how our old friend Sir James Brunyate fought our battle simultaneously in Washington—the whole story is as good as any romance. Since the days of classical mythology there has been nothing to equal the manner in which the United States descended on India in a shower of silver. To those like myself who were anxiously watching the situation from London, it seemed from week to week an utter impossibility that the Government of India could possibly escape from suspending specie payment; and yet the feat was accomplished, and India owes no inconsiderable debt of gratitude to those whose skill and tenacity averted the misfortune. The crisis however has a lesson; and that lesson is that we are on permanently unsafe ground until India learns to abandon its secular habit of hoarding money in unsettled times. India's reputation as the 'sink' of the precious metals is an unhappy one; and we all trust that in time she will outlive it. Meanwhile, Government cannot possibly go on meeting this insane demand for silver rupees, which disappear from circulation almost as soon as they are minted, without serious effects on the world price of silver, already far too high for our comfort. There is absolutely no justification for the continuing panic which has drawn twelve hundred millions of rupees from our mints during the last four years, and unless it is checked, and the hoarded coins restored to circulation, we may be forced to reconsider the whole basis of our currency and exchange policy.

"The second uncomfortable feature in our financial position is the large quantity of floating obligations, directly due to the war, which we must redeem before we can go ahead with generaous programme of remunerative borrowing. We shall have to curtail our paper currency investment and to get rid of the troublesome discount upon our notes. We shall have to meet a considerable volume of short-term bonds, cash certificates and treasury bills which had issued since war began; and for the next few years we shall be hard put to it to pay off these liabilities and keep up the supply of revenue for our current requirements.

"However, my Lord, there is no possible reason for alarm. All that has happened in the past few years may well fill us with pride and hope. We know the splendid part that has been

taken by all classes in meeting a great emergency. We are, in this Department, particularly indebted to the leaders of British commerce in the great centres and to the banks;—to the Presidency Banks for the lead that they have given in supporting our big loans, and to the great Exchange Banks for the cheerful and unselfish way in which they have accepted the inconvenient restraints that had to be laid upon trade and finance in the interests of Imperial defence. We look forward to a time of Industrial awakening; we have enormous strength in our command of raw materials. Whatever inconveniences therefore there may be in store for us, owing to the temporary difficulties which I have mentioned, will be transient and can be largely mitigated by a determined policy of economy. With this I close these remarks and lay the Financial Statement before the Council. We have come through a really great emergency. Our position is strong and with care it should grow stronger still; but there is no margin for lavish expenditure. Among its many lessons, the war has taught us all, the State and the individual alike, that we can live less extravagantly than we used to do. I trust that the lesson has come to stay; for our old familiar watchword of Economy will be just as necessary in the future as it has ever been before."

NARRATIVE OF THE HONOURABLE FINANCE MEMBER INTRODUCING THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1919-20.

A—General characteristics of the Financial year 1919-20.

"2. It is doubtful whether, in the financial history of British India, there has been a year of more diversified character or varied difficulties than 1918-1919. To understand our transactions during the twelve months, and our commitments for the future, explanations are necessary which, however briefly put, must cover a wide area.

"3. *The Armistice*.—Dominating all other features of the year, financial or others, was the sudden cessation of hostilities in November. The last budget was presented at a time of grave crisis for the Allied arms, when Germany was making its final and greatest endeavour to break through our line in France. The peril had the effect in India of calling forth more strenuous effort, in men and materials; and the first seven months of the year were a period of great and widespread activity. Up to the end of October, the value of the external trade of India was bigger than in either of the two previous years; the exports of food-grains,

tea and gunny bags being evidence of India's material help to the Allied countries, and the imports of sugar and textiles being indicative of the high prosperity which she reaped in return. The railway revenue corresponded : and at one time it looked as if trade remittances through the Secretary of State would be heavier than the record figure of the previous year. Prices remained high, and there was much speculation based on the expectancy that this hectic energy would endure. With the armistices came a sudden change. The wheat export had stopped in September for other reasons ; but cotton now fell off immediately, and there was a great slackening in gunnies. Imports of all kinds declined sharply, chiefly sugar and piece-goods. Panic fell upon the cloth market : prices came tumbling down, forward orders were cancelled and peace brought catastrophe to those who had been gambling wildly on the continuation of war. The reaction on the Government exchequer was mainly caused by the complete cessation of trade remittances to India. The Secretary of State stopped selling bills near the end of October, and since then we have lost the large exchange profits which a one-and six penny rupee had been yielding us, while we had to go on at express speed coining rupees, and losing on them, to meet the unassuaged thirst of the people for metallic currency. All these factors will be discussed in more detail later. The cardinal point is that peace has laid its hand upon the unhealthy prosperity which the war had brought us; and we have now to descend to a more normal plane of trade and business.

"4. *Scarcity.*—To this painful process the chief obstacle at present is the persistenly high range of prices for all the necessities, as well as the comforts, of life. The world factors responsible for high prices have been supplemented. so far as cereals are concerned, by the unfortunate agricultural situation over a large area in India. The outlook when the last Budget was prepared was generally good, although the several meteorological disturbance of the cold weather type which had appeared in January and February 1918 were all feeble and gave little. The weather was accordingly exceptionally dry throughout northern and central India. In the Peninsula on the other hand conditions had been unusually disturbed during January and February, and very heavy rain for the time of the year occurred in the west coast districts. The Arabian Sea monsoon appeared nearly three weeks before its normal date and gave widespread and unusually heavy rain over nearly the whole of the Peninsula for about five weeks. Its activities then began to decline and, after an appreciable improvement during the latter half of August

it merged during September into a complete break which continued till the end of the regular monsoon season. The Bay monsoon also arrived upward of two weeks earlier than usual, and was of normal intensity. But unfortunately its activities were confined during nearly the whole season to Burma and north-east India. The average rainfall over the plains was in defect by 6·5 inches, or 19 per cent., which is the highest deficiency on record since the year 1899. The prolonged break in the monsoon adversely affected the area and yield of the principal crops. The condition of the crops now standing is on the whole favourable, especially in the northern and central parts of the country, but there is a serious reduction in area. The shortage of rain has affected most provinces, although the Peninsula was favoured with abundant rain during November and December and more recent falls have much improved prospects in the Punjab, Central Provinces and the United Provinces. The Agricultural record of the closing year is therefore an unhappy one, and has entailed the usual consequences. Famine has had to be declared in the Ahmednagar district and in certain other parts of Bombay. Scarcity has been declared in 2 districts of the United Provinces, 6 districts of the Central Provinces, 11 districts of the Kathiawar Agency of Bombay. Distress prevails in Bankura, and is impending in Angul, in 5 districts of the United Provinces, 2 districts of Madras, and considerable areas in Central India. The number of persons on test works, in receipt of gratuitous relief, and in poor houses during the week ending 15th February 1919 was 128, 178. Cattle are suffering even more than men, for there is a serious scarcity of fodder in the United Provinces, the Punjab, Bombay, Rajputana and the Bogra district of Bengal. Concession rates for the carriage of fodder by rail to affected areas have been sanctioned, and Fodder Controllers have been appointed in the Punjab and Bombay. All the elaborate mechanism for famine relief, well tried and now thoroughly understood, is ready to combat distress in its various forms. The approved prophylactic of argicultural loans on a generous scale has been already applied, the large sum of two crores having been sanctioned for advances in the United Provinces alone. The good seasons of recent years and the full prices paid for agricultural produce must have accumulated unusual reserves of rural wealth, and it may be expected that Widespread or acute distress will be averted ; but it is a sad reflection that this calamity should have befallen the country at a time when it had hoped to join in the universal thanksgiving at the end of the war.

"5. *The Influenza.*—More calamitous than famine, or than

a great campaign, has been the epidemic of influenza which ravaged India in the autumn of 1918. A reference to this terrible scourge was made by His Excellency the Viceroy in his speech at the opening of this session ; and all that need be added is to emphasize the effect of the epidemic in weakening the capacity of the rural population to cope with their ordinary work, and particularly with the drought which simultaneously fastened on them. It has had most depressing results on rural efficiency, and has complicated the task of famine relief.

"6. *Commerce and Prices.*—In judging of the year's trade, it has to be remembered that the steady rise in prices, which continued from 1917-18 into the current year, frequently obscures an actual fall in the volume of imports or exports. Subject to this reservation we have an increase of £8 millions in the total value of private merchandise imported into India during the first nine months of the current year, as compared with the same period in 1917. For exports of private merchandise, the increase is over £9 millions. The export figures incidentally demonstrate the extent to which India was able to increase her assistance in the way of supplies to the Allied nations and their armed forces. Exports of cereals rose by over 50 per cent, to a total in 1917-18 of 5,400,000 tons valued at £36,000,000. In the case of wheat the record figure of 1,500,000 tons was reached. In the earlier months of the current year, India's contribution of foodstuffs was maintained at an even higher level than in 1917. With the failure of the monsoon, however, the exportable surplus rapidly diminished and artificial checks on export have had to be imposed. Fortunately a marked improvement took place in the food situation in the Allied countries during the summer months.

"7. Our command of raw materials apart from cereals placed us in a highly favourable position until the effects of scarcity began to make themselves felt. The trade in oilseeds suffered, it is true, from the shortage of freight, which was naturally most marked in the case of seeds not essential for war purposes. But a rapid expansion has taken place in the crushing of seed for the export of oil, and there is a marked rise in prices ; oil cake tends more and more to be retained for local consumption. Last year raw jute continued to decline as an export, and prices were low. In the summer of 1918 a sharp recovery took place, when it was apparent that the crop was likely to be short ; and with an improvement in shipping facilities exports during the first nine months of the current year showed an advance in value of 100 per cent, on the 1917 figures. In manufactured jute, high prices appear to have restricted to some extent the foreign demand for

gunny bags, but none the less this great industry has beaten all records by exporting goods to the value of £28,000,000 during the nine months, April to December 1918. Record quantities of tea were exported in 1917-18 though at a somewhat less remunerative price than in the previous two years. The current year promises to be equally prosperous for the tea industry. Coffee planters have been less fortunate during the war, but should be able to look forward to the future without apprehension. Valuable new markets have been exploited and the English market has now been re-opened to Indian coffee. Exports of rubber have grown steadily during the war, though prices ruled low during the current year. The price of raw cotton reached unprecedented heights early in the current year and there was consequently a striking fall in our shipments both of the raw material and of cotton yarn. Another consequence was that the rates for country cloth became so exorbitant as to cause much hardship and discontent. With better news from the theatres of war, the holding up of stocks for still higher prices came to an end, and the whole position became easier ; but there are again signs of an upward tendency. In cotton piece-goods from Indian mills, the export naturally diminished, with the high prices ruling in the local markets ; but it is noteworthy that in the first nine months of this year, a decline of 14 per cent. in the volume of export has been concomitant with a rise of 36 per cent. in its value. The net result of this brief review is to show the enormous strength that India has acquired as a producer, under peaceful conditions, of the chief necessities of life..

"8. *Restrictions on trade.*—With the cessation of hostilities, it has already become possible to withdraw many of the restrictions on trade which have been inevitable during the war. No one is more anxious than the Government of India to complete this process of liberation, and a word may now be said as to how far it has been possible to go in this direction and what is the position of Government with respect to the restrictions that still remain. Interference during the war with the normal course of trade has, as a rule, been undertaken in pursuance of one of three aims;—to satisfy India's own needs ; to satisfy the needs of Great Britain and the Allies ; and to hamper the enemy. Restrictions of the third class remain in full force. They consist in a complete prohibition of trade with enemy countries and a very strict control of trade with neutral countries adjacent thereto. These restrictions apply to other countries equally with India and their relaxation depends entirely on the decisions of the Peace Conference. Of the second class of restrictions, namely, those designed to

the Allied cause; some are of necessity still in force. Until the food situations has become normal in the Allied countries and until their depleted industries have been rehabilitated, it is only just that they should have some form of preference in the supply of certain raw products and other necessities of national existence. The scheme for the control of tea which gave to the producer a guaranteed market at a fair price for a large percentage of his output has been maintained in the interest of the consumer hitherto, but will shortly be terminated. Control is still being maintained over mica which is an essential to Allied industry, and a system of licensing is being retained for certain other products for which a survey of the Allied demand is not yet complete. On the other hand, the restrictions on the export of jute manufactures, saltpetre, tanning materials and petrol have been removed. The control of raw and tanned hides has been very greatly relaxed subject to certain safeguards in the interest of the future of the trade. The tanning of skins is no longer prohibited and restrictions on the transport of skins by rail have been withdrawn and export has been reopened. Shellac exporters have been relieved of their obligation to give preferential supplies to the Ministry of Munitions and free export of oilseeds, vegetable oils and manganese is now permitted. The prohibitions on the import of motor cars has been raised. The Ministry of Shipping has already, subject to certain safeguards, terminated the Liner Requistion scheme and freights have been reduced to a fraction of their recent rates.

"9. In the case of interference with trade undertaken in India's own interest, much has also been done. Restrictions on the transport of wool by rail and coastwise by sea, which were imposed in order to ensure adequate supplies of wool for the manufacture of Army blankets, have been removed, and numerous textile and other industrial undertakings brought under control for the production of war supplies have been freed from that control. The difficulty of obtaining supplies of manufactured articles from the United Kingdom has during the war forced many of the British Colonies in the East to look to India for the replenishment of their stocks. India herself has had great difficulty in obtaining supplies and it was eventually found necessary to establish a system of priority for demands of this nature on India similar to that instituted in the United Kingdom, and to couple with it a comprehensive set of restrictions on the exports from India of manufactured articles. With the termination of the Home priority scheme and the re-opening of exports in theUnited Kingdom, the necessity for these restrictions has largely ceased. The Indian priority system has, therefore, been abandoned as

regards both demands from India on the United Kingdom and demands on India from the Colonies, and the great majority of manufactured articles have been expunged from our export prohibition list. Similary in the case of drugs, for which the war produced a universally enhanced demand, the prohibition on export has only been maintained in the case of a very limited number, such as quinine which are of vital importance to the health of the country. The failure of the 1918 monsoon has necessitated certain further restrictions on the movement of foodstuffs. The machinery for the control of rice originally set up in the interest of the Allies is now being applied to the relief of distress in India and to the distribution of supplies so far as possible to countries with Indian population. It has also been found necessary to prohibit the export of certain other cereals which formerly were unrestricted.

"10. I may refer to one other respect in which it has not been found possible to remove the interference with the normal course of trade which Government has been obliged to effect. As this Council is aware, Government took powers during the last session to provide for the manufacture of standard cloth. Soon after this legislation was passed, the piece-goods market slumped and for some time the Act was not applied. Now, however, it has been found necessary to commence the manufacture and distribution of standard cloth in the interests of the poorest classes and I am sure that, if he were here, Sir George Barnes would like me to take this opportunity of acknowledging the willinguess of the local industry to co-operate in the working of the scheme.

"11. *War Effort.* The beginning of the year witnessed the great German offensive in the West,—an offensive which had been foreseen by the Allies and to meet which every possible preparation had been made. The initial successes of the enemy were, however, great, and the situation became so critical that the Prime Minister called on India to rally again to the assistance of the Empire. How successful that effort has been is well known to this Council. His Excellency the Viceroy summoned a Conference at Delhi towards the end of April, and as a result of the resolutions passed thereat the Government of India offered to raise and train an additional 500,000 men in the twelve months commencing from the 1st June. This offer was accepted and recruitment proceeded apace. The raising of a large additional body of Indian troops involved heavy expenditure in many directions. Temporary accommodation had to be hastily provided; the recruiting and training staff had to be largely increased; the men had to be clothed, fed, armed and equipped; large bodies of

men had to be moved by rail ; more officers had to be entertained ; and instructional classes of various kinds had to be hastily organised. I will not weary this Council with detailed figures, but will merely mention that the immediate result of this great expansion of our military activity led to an increase in our recoverable war expenditure from a scale of £60 millions in 1917-18 to an estimated expenditure of £70½ millions in 1918-19. This latter figure would have been far higher, had it not been for the decision by this Council last September to relieve His Majesty's Government of the charges of 200,000 additional troops with effect from 1st April 1918, and a further 100,000 troops from 1st April 1919. Fortunately, with the collapse of our principal enemies in October and November last, the necessity for continuing recruitment on this scale ceased. Nevertheless, the offer made by India of further assistance to His Majesty's Government has resulted in an addition of £12·7 millions to our military expenditure during the current financial year, and there will be further large sums due to His Majesty's Government next year, after which the Government of India will only be responsible for meeting certain non-effective charges as they accrue.

" 12. The raising of recruits was in some ways the simplest part of the task which India set before herself. Thanks to the loyalty and martial spirit of the peoples of India and to the magnificent efforts of the Provincial recruiting boards, men, both combatant and non-combatant, were obtained in large and increasing numbers. To stimulate recruitment, it was decided to offer still better terms to the Indian Army, which had already received a material concession in the grant of free rations to all ranks from the 1st January 1917. Consequently a gratuity was granted to each man on completing the recruit's course, and in addition, to every Indian officer and soldier, a war bonus payable every six months until the declaration of peace, or until general demobilization is declared. It was, however, the provision of the necessary munitions of war which presented the most urgent and difficult problem. To meet this, the activities of the Indian Munitions Board, which had been started early in 1917-18, were expanded in every direction. Additional staff was engaged ; the Army Clothing Factories were expanded ; the output of the Ordnance Factories was increased ; and closer control was exercised over the stocks of imported articles still available in India. After three and a half years of war, India had been almost drained of such stocks, and it was essential to conserve for military purposes the little that was left. This, however, proved quite insufficient in most cases to meet our needs, and it became necessary

to stimulate the local manufacture of many articles for which India had hitherto relied upon importation from abroad. A Controller of Contracts was appointed to supervise the purchase of all foodstuffs and various other articles for the use of troops. This measure led to considerable economies, as did also the assumption of control over a number of mills which were employed solely on producing flour and atta for the Army. In order to increase the world's food supply, and in particular to reduce the enormous demands made by Mesopotamia on India for feeding the troops in that country, a large and costly scheme of agricultural development was adopted in Mesopotamia. This, too, had to be financed by recoverable advances from India, and seed grains and most of the agricultural produce had to be furnished by this country. To meet the ever-increasing strain on our Railway system due to the larger movement of troops, passenger traffic had to be curtailed. Large quantities of locomotive and rolling stocks were sent from India to Mesopotamia and the whole output of rails from Tatas' works was utilized to meet overseas requirements, though the condition of our own lines was such that rails were urgently needed to replace those which were worn out. These we had to forego. Simultaneously India had to be prepared to meet the contingency of a strategical situation arising which would enable the Powers in the west to threaten our Northern Frontier. This new danger entailed special measures to increase the mobility and radius of action of the troops which guard our country, and thus added to our already heavy financial burden.

SECTION II—THE YEAR 1919-1920.

F.—Budget Estimates of Revenue and Expenditure.

"39. The task of forecasting our resources and requirements for next year is unusually perplexing. On the military side there is no experience to guide us in calculating the legacies of a great war. The pace and cost of demobilization, the future strength of the army and its reserves, the new equipment which the lessons of the war will force upon us—all these are uncertain. On the civil side our external trade is largely governed by shipping, which may or may not be available, and there is thus no estimating with any confidence for our customs revenue, our gains or loss by exchange, etc. Our internal trade will be affected by scarcity and may be seriously hit by a slump in prices : hence uncertainty about our railway earnings and other important heads of revenue. After the strain and artificial conditions of recent years it is not easy to speculate how far the rebound will go or what directions it will take, and the only thing that is certain is that we must

incur a large expenditure to recover the ground which has been lost in a period of severe economy. There is, however, no cause to be pessimistic for 1919-20. A depression may come in time, but we need not anticipate that will come so soon as next year, and there is much diffused prosperity in the country which even high prices and local scarcity cannot seriously impair. We have therefore felt justified on the revenue side in taking an optimistic view of our general prospects and we have allowed for a substantial improvement in receipts under the majority of the more important revenue heads. Before discussing these it will be convenient to examine first the needs of our spending departments and to arrive at the total revenue which will be necessary to provide for them.

"40. *The Army*.—For next year we trust to do without the special war provision of £1·8 millions for expenditure on our own frontiers which appears in the current year's estimates ; and there is a reduction of nearly £1 million in our expected outlay on Military Works, in view of the cessation of many of the special works, including accommodation, which were called for by our greatly expanded army. But these and other economies have been outpaced by the imperative demands of military efficiency in the light of the lessons taught by the war ; and we have had to accept an extra charge of over £2 millions for the war bonus to British troops. Another heavy liability which we have to face is the clearing of the war stores suspense account, which has been steadily grown up in the last few years. A large part of this will be taken off our hands by the War Office ; but still a substantial quantity of the stores will have to be taken over by the military authorities in India as a nucleus for the mobilization stores which experience has shown to be absolutely necessary. As a beginning of this process we have decided to provide £1 million in next year's budget. For all the many unforeseen contingencies of a year of reconstruction, we have inserted a lump provision of only £871,000 No one can assert that this is extravagant in view of the large new up-to-date equipment which will be forced upon every modern army now-a-days,—its improved armament, its requirements of more rapid transport, and in particular its air fleet. With the most cordial and helpful co-operation of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, however, have decided to fix the net figure in the budget for our ordinary charges at £32½ millions as against £31¼ millions in the current year. To both of those figures have to be added the instalments of the war contribution which we offered last September. These amount to £12·7 millions in the current year and £8·7 millions in the coming year : further details

"41. Without entering into wearisome details, I may mention a few of the heads under which substantial savings are expected next year. The first of these is *Political*, where we estimate for a reduction of £2 millions as compared with the current year. This is due mainly to the curtailment of our expenditure in South Persia and to the omission of special political expenditure which the cessation of hostilities has happily brought to an end. Another head is *Refunds*, where we are budgeting for over £½ million less than in 1918-19. The bulk of this is due to the omission of a large provision made this year for the refund of advances which salt traders in Northern India had paid in during the period of high speculation in that commodity. We have also been able to reduce our customs drawbacks very materially. These were specially high in the current year, as owing to shipping difficulties large consignment intended for Mesopotamia, have been sent in the first instance to India and reshipped to Mesopotamia, the customs duty upon them having had to be refunded on their re-export. Another head under which we expect a saving of £½ million is *Miscellaneous*; the reduction here is an echo of the war, being due to the absence of the provision which had to be made this year for losses of stores at sea on the voyage between England and India.

"42. A few of the heads may now be mentioned under which we expect the chief increases of expenditure next year. Of these the most prominent is *Famine Relief*, where the Imperial share of our extra liability will be about £450,000. It is expected that the total requirements under this head will be nearly 90 lakhs in the United Provinces and 45 lakhs in Bombay, while Bihar and Orissa will require 16 lakhs and the Central Provinces over 14 lakhs. Against this, however, we have much lower figures for remission and suspension of revenue, and our betterment under that head is very substantial, close on £1 million. Another expenditure head which is growing is *Post and Telegraphs*. Here we have had to replenish stores which were depleted by military requirements, as well as to contemplate substantial improvement in pay and in postal efficiency generally. Increases in pay and wages will run through most of our spending departments, and may indeed upset estimates which we have had to frame before the full effects of high prices have been made evident.

"43. Apart from these, and the Railway figures which will be discussed below, there is no starting variation from the position in the current year. Full details are as usual given in the Finance Secretary's Memorandum. The aggregate result is

that we find ourselves obliged to make provision for Imperial expenditure amounting to £85,357,300. Our task is to provide that amount from our current revenues ; and, as will be shown below, we are unable to do so without extra taxation. A few of the main heads of revenue may briefly be examined.

"44. *Railways*.—The gross receipts taken in the current year's budget were, as I previously mentioned, Rs 70½ crores, against which we now expect to receive Rs. 76½ crores. All our experience shows a rapid and unfaltering growth of traffic, and as military requirements fall off, private demands for railway facilities will more than take their place. For next year, therefore, we propose to go up to Rs. 80 crores,—a figure which is regarded in the Railway Department as daringly optimistic. There will be a corresponding rise in working expenses : but the heaviest deduction will be for special renewals after the forced neglect of the past few years. Apart from the large capital programme to which I shall shortly refer, we propose to earmark no less than £6½ millions or Rs. 9¾ crores for renewals from current revenue. It is a large sum, but the railway authorities are confident of being able to spend it profitably and it is impossible to deny either the need or the urgency for drastic renewals. We take our net railway revenue at about Rs 33½ crores against about Rs. 40 crores in the current year.

Customs.—It may reasonably be assumed that tonnage will gradually get easier next year and that the return of peace will bring down prices. The latter movement will tend to reduce the proceeds of customs dues which are levied on an *ad valorem* basis ; but we count upon an inrush of commodities to replenish exhausted stocks. We are consequently budgeting for Rs. 20 crores against about Rs. 19 crores expected in the current year. This assumes that we shall adhere to the special duty on petrol which is a very reasonable addition to our revenues even in peace time. I shall subsequently introduce a small bill continuing our present Motor Spirit Duties Act, which covers only the period of the war and six months thereafter and which probably would otherwise lapse before the close of the coming year. Under the majority of the other tariff heads we have allowed for substantial increases, but we anticipate a considerable decrease in (*a*) the export duty on rice, owing to the large diversion of Burma rice for Indian requirements, and (*b*) the import duty on cotton manufactures, as a result of agricultural conditions and the present disparity between European and Indian prices.

Mint and Exchange.—The gain on exchange is taken at a little over £1 million. Though high, this figure is a serious drop from

what we expect in the current year—nearly £4¼ millions. There are three reasons for the decline. First, there will be a large falling off in our gross receipts from exchange in consequence of the great reduction in our anticipated recoveries from the War Office against expenditure undertaken on their behalf in India. Second, we are estimating for much smaller sales of Council Bills, while there will at the same time be a diminution of the gain on exchange which we shall realise from them. This is due, not to any expectation of departing from the present rate, but to an arrangement into which we entered with the Exchange Banks during our period of financial strain. I think it is an open secret that, in consideration of their insuring the finance of exports of national importance, the Secretary of State guaranteed the six British Exchange Banks that they would be allowed to bring back to India, at the rate at which the transactions took place, funds to the extent to which they were compelled to overbuy in that connection. Third, though we do not anticipate that our actual silver coinage will be as great as in the current year, we expect that the loss on coinage to be set off against the gain on exchange will be no less; since a considerable portion of our silver coined in the current year was paid for by rupee credits granted to the United States Government, the rate of which is so adjusted that no formal loss arises out of these transactions.

We have also again allowed for high receipts under Mint, though here too there is some reduction owing to the fact that a somewhat smaller amount of new silver will come under coinage. The estimates as they stand include provision for seigniorage on the coinage of the balance of the American silver as well as for new purchases by the Secretary of State, also for a large amount of subsidiary coinage which we expect to undertake in view of the present extraordinary demand for small coin.

Other Heads.—We provide for increases, as the result of normal growth, under Stamps, Excise and Posts and Telegraphs after allowing in the case of excise revenue for the prevalence of famine conditions in several provinces. Under Posts and Telegraphs, there will be a falling off in the volume of military traffic, but we shall realise a full year's yield from the enhanced rates introduced in the current year. We anticipate some decline under Salt as we expect further large issues against uncleared indents in respect of which duty has already been paid.

Income tax.—The figures here will be explained in a moment. They cover however one concession—the only fiscal concession possible in this budget—which we have felt ourselves constrained to make. On none has the present range of prices fallen more

heavily than the people on low salaries who are caught in the smallest mesh of our income-tax levy. There can be no question that the Rs. 1,000 minimum is now a serious hardship, and we have decided to raise the taxable limits of income to Rs. 2,000. We estimate that we shall thereby lose 75 lakhs or £500,000; we shall relieve no fewer than 237,000 petty assessees, out of the total number (381,000) of people who pay the tax now. Incidentally I may explain here that as income-tax revenue is shared between Imperial and Provincial, a portion of the loss would in the absence of any adjustment fall on provincial revenues. It will, however, of course be necessary for us to make good to the provinces by assignments the amount so lost, just as we took assignments from them in respect of the additional receipts due to the enhancements of taxation effected in 1916 when these would otherwise under the ordinary classification have been credited to provinces.

"45. Enough has been said to show that we are not free from difficulty with our revenue estimates, but that we have not allowed the uncertainty of the future to deter us from pitching our figures as high as prudence permits. The total result is that we get a revenue of £80,192,100 all told, or a shortage of £5,165,200 in comparison with our estimated expenditure. To fill this gap, and to give us a small surplus as a margin for the fluctuations of the year, we are asking the Council to impose a duty on Excess Profits earned in the current year. We estimate the gross yield of this duty at about £7½ millions. Against this, there will be a loss of super-tax (estimated at £1 million), since super-tax and excess profits duty will not be both assessed on the same business, and also of income-tax (to the extent of about £450,000) since a rebate will be given for the purposes of this tax in respect of the amounts paid as excess profits duty. Allowing for these losses, we place our net estimated receipts from the excess profits duty at about £6 millions, and our estimated surplus will be £868,100.

"46. *Revenue and Expenditure—Provincial*—The provincial revenues are taken in the Budget at close £37 millions, and the expenditure at a little over £38½ millions. With the conclusion of the war we felt that we could not reasonably ask Local Governments any longer to refrain from drawing to a moderate extent on the large accumulated balances which most of them have now at their credit. We therefore informed them that in our opinion additional expenditure may now be resonably incurred upon:—

(*a*) the extension of education in directions where it has been specially hampered by war economies;

(*b*) the development of industries;

(*c*) the repair of actual damage which the financial stringency of the last three years has caused to public institutions and services, and

(*d*) purposes which, though not immediately remunerative, will secure an improved and not greatly deferred return to the State or the country at large, such as capital outlay on the development of forests, agricultural experiments and the like.

It was also added that of course expenditure in connection with the relief of distress and the like in consequence of the present agricultural situation in several provinces, whether in the form of famine relief outlay or of advances, should be duly provided for and incurred in accordance with real requirements. The province have taken full advantage of this advice, and it will be observed that the estimates provide for a draft on provincial balances of over £1½ millions. This does not, however, represent the full extent of the proposed expansion of provincial expenditure as compared with that undertaken in the current year, as the provinces collectively are now budgetting for an increase of £3¾ millions on their revised estimates of £34.8 millions.

The details of the Budget are set out in the following table.

	Accounts. 1917-1918.	Revised Estimate, 1918-1919.	Budget Estimate, 1919-1920
REVENUE.	£	£	£
Principal Heads of Revenue—			
Land Revenue ...	21,607,246	20,945,500	22,653,100
Opium	3,078,903	3,229,000	3,056,200
Salt	5 499,487	4,176,300	3,914,300
Stamps	5,727,522	5,896,500	6,097,100
Excise	10,161,706	11,541,300	12,133,300
Customs	11,036,588	12,603,200	13,352,400
Income Tax	6,308,104	7,300,900	13,521,500
Other Heads	3,885,177	4,094,600	4,568 900
TOTAL PRINCIPAL HEADS ...	67,304.733	69,787,300	79,296,800
Interest	2,170,108	4,020,800	3,637,400
Posts and Telegraphs ...	4,616,690	5,322,900	5,716,800
Mint	517,401	1,716,800	1,303,200
Receipts by Civil Departments ...	1,935,364	2,085,600	1,957,500
Miscellaneons	4,868,356	5,771,000	2,507,400
Rilways: Net Receipts	24,141,708	25,347,400	21,372,900
Irrigation	5,063,879	5,402,200	5,498,600
Other Public Works	323,599	331,909	312,900
Military Receipts	1,720,509	1,713,600	1,287,300
TOTAL REVENUE .	112,662,347	121,500,500	123.190,800
DEFICIT ...	. ...	4,350,600	.....
TOTAL ...	112,662,347	125,851,100	123,190,800
EXPENDITURE.			
Direct Demands on the Revenues ...	9,854,695	11,676,600	11,293,300
Interest	7,328,169	7,733,200	7,763,500
Posts and Telegraphs	3,567,730	4,116,500	4,580,200
Mint	167,382	267,000	284,500
Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments	20,855,368	24,474,800	24,336,400
Miscellaneous Civil Charges ...	5,918,707	6,130,700	6,115,700
Famine Relief and Insurance ...	1.000,000	1,000.000	1,502,400
Railways: Interest and Miscellaneous Charges	14,227,385	14,154,000	14,468,900
Irrigation	3,784,838	3,988,300	4,075,400
Other Public Works	5,048,294	5,596,800	6,761,400
Military Service	30,763,650	45,639,600	42,782,300
TOTAL EXPENDITURE, IMPERIAL AND PROVINCIAL	102,516,650	124,777,500	123.964,000
Add—Provincial Surpluses, that is, portion of allotments to Provincial Governments not spent by them in the year	2,256,623	1,165,900	11,500
Deduct—Provincial Deficits, that is, portion of Provincial Expenditure defrayed from Provincial Balances ...	197,568	9[illegible],300	1,652,800
TOTAL EXPENDITURE CHARGED TO REVENUE.	104,575,273	125,851,100	122,322,700
SURPLUS ..	8,087,074	.....	868,100
TOTAL ...	112,662,347	125,851,100	123,190,800

Discussion On Imperial Budget

Hon. Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy congratulated the Finance Minister and laid stress on the increased grant on railways which would facilitate the development of trade. He believed that the levy of Excess Profits Tax would seriously handicap trade. The commerical community had already borne a severe burden during the War, and it was not fair that they would be asked to pay more. He welcomed the proposal about increasing the minimum of incometax. He said that a free hand should be given to Provincial Governments for the extension of education, and they should be free to draw on the provincial balance.

Mr. Khaparde said that this annual budget debate was like the annual Xmas dinner when all departments were present, some invited, some uninvited, all wanting a slice from the revenue. Some got more than others, for instance, Railway people, being masters of the locomotion, got the largest slice of pudding, though they paid nothing out of the large amount of money made here on account of large traffic. Railway kings sat in England, and did not pay the excess profits tax. The money was earned in India, and he did not see why they should not pay a share to the Indian Exchequer. He did not grudge soldiers getting 33 percent, because they had fought the War and won it, and after all that was a great thing. There was one item in it, however, of eight lakhs provided for barbers(?) and he thought that to be very excessive. He was of opinion that the railway grant should be cut by half and distributed between sanitation and education.

Mr. B. D. Shuku said a beginning had been made in the direction of what the Finance Member had said "strict economy," but the country had been disappointed in that nearly 33 per cent of the total revenue would be consumed by the Military Department, and a heavy capital outlay amounting to £17.7 millions had been budgetted for railways, while the beneficent department, such as education, sanitation, agriculture and industries had been allowed to starve. It was in the fitness of things that the Government should divert their attention from the problems of the War to no less complicable and urgent problem of peace and reconstruction. India had already missed a great opportunity for the develo. ment of indigenous industries. The failure of a single monsoon was sufficient to create famine and acute distress, and the people had hardly any staying power to face it, and it was a pity to find no effort had deen made by the Government to improve the moral and material condition of the people. Famine, scarcity,

plague and pestilence had become permanent factors in rural life in India. He suggested that the railway allotment be reduced to ten million pounds, and suitable grants made for irrigation which would greatly add to the resources of the people and large grants should also be made for sanitation and education. He concluded by urging (*a*) fiscal autonomy for India, (*b*) a sum of fifteen crores out of fifty crores of Gold Standard Reserve held in England should be withdrawn for industrial purposes (*c*) large exports of foodstuffs should be stopped, and (*d*) the establishment of a High Court and a University at Nagpur.

Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji said that it was a people's budget. He congratulated the Finance Member for the raising of taxable income from 1000, to Rs 2000, and appealed for a reduction in the military expenditure at the earliest possible opportunity. Mr. Banerji asked for further information about the extra charge of two millions as bonus for British Officers.

He then deprecated the vast sums put down for Military and Railways and criticised at length the Government attitude towards the sanitary problem, and recommended the transfer of two millions from railways to sanitation. He said, for the highest ends of National progress and for the advent of a new era about which they were all anxious, education was the one indispensable condition. He earnestly pleaded for the transfer of another 3 million pounds from railways to education. Mr. Banerji trusted his appeal would not go in vain.

Rai Sitanath Roy called the budget one of surprises and disappointments in which the disappointments overshadowed the surprises. High hopes had been entertained that after the War, large sums would be available for the spread of education, improvement of sanitation and the establishment of industries. It was disappointing that the Government had not signalised the victorious termination of the War with the inauguration of a more liberal policy in these matters.

Mr. Chanda was glad of the relief in the income tax but what painfully oppressed him was the colossal growth of expenditure, military and civil which, from an economic point of view, must be regarded as wasteful. The claims of sanitation, medical help and education had been almost absolutely ignored. He criticised the sanitation policy of the Government, and said they should not grudge the money required, and expressed disappointment at there being no mention of provision for industrial development made in the budget. No doubt the Report of the Industry Commission was receiving consideration. The war had come and was as good as gone,but India was still standing by and her markets were

being captured by other people owing to their unpreparedness. They could cut a substantial sum from railway and military expenditure, and provide for industries, sanitation and primary education. Mr chanda pointed out that there was no reference to the acute distress prevailing in most harts of the country, and said they would be grateful, if some of the ambitious provisions in the budget were cut down and the money diverted for alleviating the distress. Dealing with the increase in the military expenditure, he said they could not go on increasing it indefinitely without endangering the stability of the financial position of the country. He questioned the urgency of the work in connection with new Delhi, and urged that the grant be cut down. In conclusion, he submitted that, in view of the frightful increase in the expenditure, their whole financial position would have to be looked into and systematically overhauled. This could only be done by an independent commission, and he urged that the matter should receive consideration. He also emphasised the desirability of letting the nonofficial members to have opportunities to know the real financial position, and, if necessary, to form small committees.

Mr. W. A. Ironside said that the whole tone of their criticism had simply been "cut down the efficiency of one department irrespective of the results to the community at large in order that some other departments may benefit". Now he looked upon the railway programme as vital necessity, and he observed that it must be maintained at any cost. Some members had urged for expenditure for other very necessary projects such as education, medical relief and the like. He gave them his assurance, and assurance of the commercial community, that there was nothing which they felt affected the future of the country to such an extent, but they could do that efficiently by finding money in other directions. The proposal they had heard to day proved that the financial future of the country was going to be one of stringency in all directions. They had heard appeals for the increase of expenditure in one form or another, but apparently, except with the reduction of the vital chord of the economic future of the country. They had not heard one concrete suggestion about finding the wherewithal to meet this position. It seemed the members had very little idea of the necessities of railways in India.

Mr. Patel said that, in his opinion, there were three pressing problems at present, poverty of the people, illiteracy and high mortality. Very little had been done to combat these evils. He asked the Finance Member to enlighten him if the contribution of 45 millions towards War they had voted last session had been sanctioned by Parliament. They could not be too sure

of that, in view of the numerous protests, that had gone forth against the contribution. He also wanted to know whether provision had been made in the present budget for increase of emoluments of medical and police services recently sanctioned by the Secretary of State. There was no mention of this in the financial statement. He would like to know in this connection whether the Council would be given an opportunity to express its opinion on the subject.

Mr. Sarma thanked the Finance Member for relief in income tax and for the inauguration of a policy of active railway expenditure, but he emphasised that the railway expansion should always be accompanied by irrigational activity. The main feature of the budget was that it was an orthodox service and army-railway budget. Dealing with military expenditure, Mr. Sarma hoped it would soon come down to a normal level. If the League of Nations Scheme was worth the paper on which it was written, he hoped to see considerable reduction in military expenditure. The speaker questioned the correctness of the theory that Indian commerce was protected by the Navy. India exported raw produce, and someboby else sent in the manufactured goods, and ships were non-Indian and so it could not be said that the Indian commerce was protected by the Navy

Mr. Ayyangar first drew attention to the Excess Profits Tax and complained that Govt. was following Russian ways in alienating the wealthier classes and sending them into the arms of socialism. He strongly criticised the Govt. on its huge expenditure on Railways which is cruelly draining the resources of the country for the behoof European exploiters.

Sir Dinshaw Wacha said that he was one of those who would bless the budget twice It was only ignorant critics who cursed it. He did not blame them, for they were not well informed. He cordially associated himself with most of what had fallen from his esteemed and worthy old friend, Mr. Surendranath Bannerji. His criticisms were indeed very sound. During the debate, they found the railways and military expenditure had been criticised most. He did admit that at the present moment military expenditure had gone very high but they had to take into consideration the extraordinary times they were passing through. He would congratulate himself, if the Finance Minister were able to reduce the military expenditure by many millions next year. He asked those gentlemen who had criticised the expenditure to consider what might happen if the enemy were at the gates of Peshawar or Kashmere. Many more millions would then be required. Where were they to come from? Their first

duty was security from external aggression, and the preservation of internal law and order. And so long as they were incurring reasonable expenditure on this, he for one would not oppose it.

Turning to the head of railways, Sir Dinshaw said that this was another subject to which he had paid great attention for the last fifty years, and had written a series of articles which he had issued in pamphlet form in 1909 At that time he had said that railways were being built at breathless pace, and he was one of those who clamoured that more attention should be bestowed on irrigation. He was glad to say that, since then, almost all great works of irrigation had been completed, and other large works were projected. These could not make great progress, as he understood there was dearth of water works engineers. Apart from that, he must admit that they were getting on very smoothly. Coming back to the railways, he observed that, though he had been one of the greatest opponents, at the present moment he was convinced that the expenditure that was going to be incurred was absolutely necessary, considering the enormous depreciation of railway stock. He asked them to consider the enormous transplantation of railway material to Mesopotamia. He thought that, by doing that, India had helped a great deal in bringing Victory. In this connection he also pointed out that it was their good fortune that they had the Tata Iron Works which supplied rails to them in a way. The great Tatas were really helping the Government and the people. Then he asked them to consider the high prices of materials, and he was of opinion that the prices would not go down for at least three years to come. He believed that, if the railway board would put all estimates of how expenditure was made up, every member would be satisfied that the amount was actually required. They must remember that they must put railways in such a position that they could carry food in a cheaper way. It was for cheapening food that this expenditure was required.

NON OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS ON THE BUDGET

Ist. Resolution:—Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma moved :—

"This council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that the Budget allotment providing for the flotation of a loan of £ 10 Millions be reduced by £ 4 millions".

There was only a short debate, only Hon. Pundit Malaviya supporting it. It was put and rejected.

2nd. Resolution.—Hon. Mr. B. N. Sarma :—

"This Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that the Budget allotment "24-B—Sanitation, etc" be increased by Rs. 50 lakhs towards the equipment and improvement of the Health department, and by Rs. 50 lakhs for the improvement of water-supply in rural areas".

The mover pressed the urgency of the matter and implored the Government to take this resolution sympathetically and vote the money. The first man to oppose it was Mr. Ironside who tried to throw dirt on Mr. Sarma and the province (Madras) from which he came, and sneeringly quoted statements to show the "utter incapacity of the educated class to grasp the value of sanitation". "When one deals with finance," he declared, "the immediate necessity is to see what expenditure gives the quickest return," and asserted that Railways have first to be provided for (Mr. Ironside was the head of the Burn Company). Mr. Ironside was at once taken to task for his insulting and utterly groundless attack on the "educated class" by the Hon. Mr. Banerji, Sir Dinshwa Wacha and others and he was made to withdraw his unparliamentary remarks. The resolution was strongly supported by most of the Indian members as also by Mr. Malcolm Hogg. The finance Member (Sir James Meston) accepted the principle of the resolution but opposed it on technical grounds : first, that when proposals are put forward for extra grants, we should clearly specify where the money is to come from, and this the mover has not done ; secondly, that it is primarily a matter for the provincial Governments ; thirdly that it is reviving the old, the discredited, the dead system of doles. He, however, promised to look into such matters as sanitation, education etc and on this **the Resolution was withdrawn.**

3rd. Resolution.—Mr. Sarma moved,—

"This Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that the expenditure under Education be increased by Rs. 150 lakhs for the extension and improvement of primary education".

The mover said that the provincial governments have passed Local Acts for the extension of primary education but these remain merely as paper Acts for want of funds. And the India Government should only give back a part of what is due to the provinces. During the last five years the revenues of the country have increased by 60 Crores but education has received only 4 more. "Am I to be told," he exclaimed "the Army wants this, the Railways want that, a third administration want money, therefore we cannot provide for the prime necessities of education ?" The finance Member opposed on the same grounds as before and put

forward the hackneyed argument that the trained teacher, the pivot of the whole scheme, can not just be found, so what is the use of the 150, lakhs? The motion on being put to vote was defeated by 32 to 18, all the non-official Indian members voting for it.

4th. Resolution,—Hon. Mr. Kamini K. Chanda moved :—

"This Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that the grant to the Assam Government be increased by a non-recurring grant of Rs. 11 lakhs and a recurring grant of Re. 1 lakh for the Murarichand College of Sylhet".

The finance Member opposed it on the ground that the matter was one for the local Government to decide. The Resolution was withdrawn.

5th. Resolution :—Mr. Sarma moved that.—

"The allotment 26B—Scientific and Miscellaneous Departments be increased by Rs. 50 lakhs for carrying out the recommendations of the Industrial Commission".

There was a strong non-official support but Sir T. Holland on behalf of Government said that he thought it unwise at the moment to make the grant and that local Governments must be consulted before large sums could be spent in the direction indicated. He gave several instances showing that the Government was not altogether idle in the matter. The motion was therefore put and negatived.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT—3rd. STAGE.

Sir Claude Hill.—opened the third stage on the Budget discussion on heads "Revenue" and public works".

He said that although the failure of the monsoon had been widespread, the number of relief work was undoubtedly small when compared with 1900. Agricultural schools were being started in several provinces, but development in agriculture was being severely handicapped bv the shortage of research officers. He hoped that an inquiry committee would be appointed during the ensuing year. In Forestry, the United Provinces and the Punjab had made great strides in the production of of revenue ; the Forestry Board at Dehra Dun would shortly consider methods for improving lac industry which is worth £1½ millions. With regard to irrigation, the system had produced 345 lakhs of rupees that year and he hoped for an increase of 16 lakhs in the forthcoming year. Messrs. Barlow and Mears had been appointed to examine and make a preliminary survey of the potentialities of India in utilising water-power for the development of industries and the preliminary report was expected in

the following June. He concluded with a reference to the necessity for restricting exports from India.

6th. Resolution. Rai Bahadur B.D. Shukul then moved that "this Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that the provision for expenditure in agriculture be increased by Rs. 50 lakhs to provide for the extension and improvement of agricultural education". After discussion the resolution was by the leave of the Council withdrawn.

On March 10, Sir C. Sankaran Nair pointed out that under the revised Budget estimate for the current year the expenditure on education was nearly 731 lakhs. He gave the figures by which the education grants had been increased during the past two years and said that in five of the major provinces measures permitting adoption of **compulsory education** had either been passed or were on their way to being passed. The Government of Bombay had guaranteed one half of the cost of providing compulsory primary education incurred by the Municipality for this purpose in any given year, and in certain cases even a larger amount might be given. He also gave various figures regarding sanitary improvements and hoped that much would be done in the matter of sanitary research work during the next year.

7th. Resolution. Rao Bahadur B.N. Sarma moved that the Railway Budget programme be reduced by £500,000 sterling. The gist of his complaint against the proposed expenditure was that the money was not to be spent on increasing the total mileage of railways but was solely and wholly to be used to develop opened lines, to add to the existing rolling stock and to make other improvements. He tried to show that for such additional expenditure there was no justification Mr. M. N. Hogg in opposing the resolution detailed the tremendous difficulties under which the railways had worked and how necessary the proposed grant was. The proposed sum, far from being excessive, was really inadequate and expenditure would have to be maintained on the present programme level for several years to come. Amongst others who opposed the resolution was Sir Thomas Holland who pointed out that the increase of wagon capacity would only be about 6 to 7 per cent : on the other hand the ton-mileage, that is the amount of goods carried per mile, had increased from 15 thousand millions in 1915 to 21 thousand millions in 1918: that is an increase of 40 per cent. The motion was put and negatived.

8th. Resolution. Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda then moved the following resolution. "That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that the surplus of the budget estimate for 1919-1920 be reduced by Rs. 10,000 in order to provide for the

appointment of a Committee to inquire into the administration of Delhi Province."

He declared that in Delhi an entirely bureaucratic Government had sprung up in a short time in proximity to the Imperial Government and that the Province of Delhi did not enjoy the benefits which people in other Provinces enjoyed. The Province was denied direct representation in the Imperial Legislative Council. The speaker complained that official high-handedness interfered with personal liberty, right of public speech and public action. The Home Member opposed, rediculed the idea and submitted that no case has been made out for an elaborate inquiry into matters of the kind touched upon by Mr. Chanda. The resolution was, by leave of the Council, withdrawn.

9th. Resolution Rao Bahadur B.N. Sarma next moved that :—

"This Council recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council that the expenditure under Miscellaneous 32 be increased by (a) Rs. 10,000 to meet the cost of a Committee to recommend the measures needed for organising and developing the banking system of the country; and (b) by Rs. 30,000 towards the cost of a committee to inquire into and report upon the civil expenditure of the country during the last five years and recommend measures for the retrenchment of the annual expenditure."

In moving this Resolution Mr. Sarma stated his belief that there was enough capital in this country if only people would use it to run their industries without much extraneous help. If there was to be any industrial advance, however, the habits of the people would have to change considerably. He quoted statistics to show that from £200 millions to £300 millions worth of gold had been imported into this country and about Rs. 400 crores worth of silver for coinage etc., whereas in England there was not so much gold or silver as in India, although the fluid resources there were incomparably superior. Mr. Howard said Government fully recognised the importance of banking development. So far as industrial banking was concerned, it was certain that there must be an inquiry. With regard to Mr. Sarma's second suggestion, he thought the time inopportune, especially considering that the country was on the eve of great reforms. The resolution was put to the Council in two parts, both parts being lost. It was then put as a whole resolution to the Council and was rejected it by 31 official votes to 9.

The Council again met on the 12th March. The Com. in Chief introduced the I. D. F. amendment Bill to extend the period of operation of the I. D. F. Act of 1917 for six months more. Then the Indian Paper Currency Amendment Bill was passed, as also the Motor Spirit Duties bill which retained the tax on petrol of annas Six per gallon. The Income tax Amendment Bill to relieve taxation on Income less than Rs. 2000 p.a. was passed.

Then came that most unpopular bill for consideration—the infamous Rowlatt Bill. The Council sat from 11·14 a.m. on the 12th till 7. p.m, from 11 a.m. to long after midnight on the 13th! and again for the whole day till 7 p.m on the 14th and the 18th when the Bill was passed by sheer official vote, the whole body of non-officials with the vast country behind them hotly opposing, condemning, praying against, this most insulting piece of arbitrary and high-handed legislation (For this terrible outrage on India see "Punjab Unrest—Before and After"—where the Act and the full Council Debate are given).

After this despotic legislation the Council met again on the 19th March when the *Termination of the present War Bill* was passed. The I. D F. Amendment Bill was then passed after meeting some opposition from the non-official European members. Mr. Patel's Negotiable Instruments Amendment Bill was then passed. Then came the Excess Profits Duty Bill It was hotly opposed by the European merchants, who had made enormons unconscionable profit during the war, and also by the representatives of trade. Govt. was firm and said that they wanted to raise £ 6 millions from this source and after a hot contest the Bill was passed. The next measure was the Punjab Courts supplementing Bill which was passed with out discussion and the Council adjourned to the 21st.

On the 21st March, the closing day of the Delhi Sessions, Sir J. Meston presented the Budget in its final form, and said that the estimated surplus was £ 669,000 against £868000. Provision was made for Famine Relief in the C. P., and also for a new public health fund. The Viceroy then closed the sessions with a short speech.

Imperial Legislative Council

The September Session.

The Viceroy opened this session on Sep. 3rd at Simla with a preliminary speech reviewing generally the events of the foregoing months. He first referred to the Punjab disturbances of last April and said:—

"Last sessions certain Hon members gave me warning of a minatory character that if the (Rowlatt) Bills passed into law, there would be agitation.....No Govt. could deviate from a policy which it regarded as essential on account of threat of agitation. However, there are those who thought that it was necessary to make good this threat, and as a consequence deplorable events occurred."

It was difficult to understand what was intended to be conveyed by this piece of Viceregal wisdom. It showed, if anything, the utter unfitness of Lord Chelmsford to understand the Indian people and at the same time his profound ignorance of political history. When a governor can not prevent 'deplorable events,' it lies upon him and not on agitators to show why he can not maintain peace, for after all, Governments and Governors are intended to keep social order and not machine-gun it.

His Excellency then announced that a Punjab Disorders Enquiry Committee (popularly known as the Hunter Committee) have been appointed with Lord Hunter as chairman to enquire into the late Punjab disturbances, and in the same breath said that an Act of Indemnity legalising the (illegal) acts of officers of the Punjab was soon to be passed. He then referred to the Afghan War (see p. 65) and said that though a treaty of peace had been signed there still remains a treaty of friendship to be concluded. He then made a heroic attempt to defend the medical arrangements during the Afghan Campaign entailing serious hardship and loss of life on the troops about which he had been strongly taken to task in England. Turning next to the Reforms he denied the popular belief that Govt. was trying to "whittle it down" and affirmed that he would loyally carry out whatever may be the decision of Parliament. He next referred to the failure of the Monsoon of 1918 and of the good rains of the year under review and expressed genuine sympathy with the European Commercial Community for fluctuations in Exchange which were greatly hampering European trade.

He then announced that two Govt. nominees were being sent to the International Labour Conference at Washington to represent Indian Labour there, as if labour in India could not elect its own representatives ! Referring to the inequitous South African Anti-Indian Legislation he said that it was unjust but pleaded for calmness and moderation and announced that Sir Benjamin Robertson was being deputed by Govt. to South Africa to urge Indian interest. Another very alarming announcement that he made was that a Fizian deputation under a Christian Bishop was soon coming over tc India to open negotiations for resumption of Indian Cooly emigration, and the Viceroy hoped it would be given a patient hearing, as if Labour to open up Industries here in India was in surfeit ! After making big promises about industrial development in the country and alluding to the Sadler Committee Report on the Calcutta University and the forthcoming Dacca University Bill, His Excellency then advised to his betters : "do not wrangle for what has been done in the past, that will fan up racial animosities"—a very unwise thing to do—but "let us reach forward to those things which are before us"—a piece of wisdom much more than once heard in the world, specially from the world of junckerdom !

After the speech sometime was given to interpellations and then Mr. Shafi introduced the Sea Customs Amendment Bil. The following Bills were also introduced :—Provident Fund Amendment Bill ; Census Bill, Calcutta High Court Jurisdictional Limit Bill, Naturalisation Amendment Bill and the Land Acquisition Amendment Bill—Sir W. Vincent then introduced the Charitable and Religious Trusts Bill intended to check misapplication of Trust funds by obtaining information and audit of accounts through Civil Courts.

On the 10th Sep. the Council reassembling, Mr. B. N. Sarma moved a **resolution** congratulating His Majesty's naval, military and air forces on the victorious conclusion of peace, and it was accepted. Then came **Pundit Malaviya's Resolution on Punjab Disorders** :—

" That this Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that he should request His Majesty's Government to appoint without further delay a **commission** consisting of gentlemen not connected with the Indian administration to inquire into (*a*) the causes of the **recent disturbances in the Punjab** and (*b*) the propriety of the measures taken in dealing with them, and to vest such powers with legal authority to annul or modify

sentences passed by the Martial Law Commission or by Magistrates specially empowered to deal summarily with cases alleged to have been connected with such disturbances." Pundit Malaviya said that had certain officials managed affairs better, these disturbances would never have taken place. Indian members, he said, had strongly objected to the constitution of the Commission announced by the Viceroy, and strongly urged a larger number of Indians being appointed on the Committee on the ground that Indians were more concerned in the matter than Europeans. The Indian community would have far more confidence if a third Indian were appointed. He strongly urged that the Commission should have powers to annul or modify the sentences passed by the Martial Law Commission.

Discussion on this resolution was suspended and during the suspension, the **Indian Coinage** Amendment Bill, the **Cantonments** Bill, the **Cinematograph** Amendment Bill, the **Indian Companies Restriction** Repealing Bill, and the **Indian Merchant Shipping Law** Amendment Bill were passed.

The member for Commerce and Industry introduced the **Indian Tariff** (Amendment) Bill the effect of which was to impose an export duty of 15 per cent. on hides and skins and a rebate of 10 per cent on hides and skins exported to other ports of the Empire. Its object was to ensure that Indian hides and skins shall be converted into fully tanned leather for articles of leather as far as possible in India. The present position in India was that there were some hundreds of tanneries for the tanning of hides, a large number of which had come into existence in order to satisfy military requirements during the war but which might dwindle and disappear with the termination of military requirements, if some other support were not given. Mr. Crum and Mr. Nigel Paton, Sir Dinshah wacha and Mr. Sarma supported the Bill. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said that he did not see the justification for the rebate of 10 per cent. to other parts of the Empire. He advocated that Government should start tanneries and schools and the importation of expert tanners from any country whence it could be obtained.

The Home Member introduced a Bill further to Amend the **Indian Arms Act** of 1878. One of the changes contemplated in the Bill was a curtailment of the number of unlicensed persons; it was probable that a number of persons in lawful possession of arms and ammunitions would be in unlawful possession when the curtailment took place. The present Bill, for the safe custody

of such arms and ammunions, would give their possessors an opportunity to dispose of their property.

Mr. Shafi introduced the **Dacca University Bill.** He went fully into the objects and reasons of the university and outlined the provisions made. The march of education in East Bengal had been extraordinarily rapid since 1904. Now that the war was over domestic problems could no longer be neglected. He believed that the new university would be heartily welcomed and that it would relieve the burden falling on the Calcutta University.

The debate on Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's Punjab Enquiry resolution was continued. Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda strongly urged another Indian member to the Committee selected in such a manner as to give satisfaction to the Indian community. Raja Sir Rampal Singh questioned the necessity of declaring the Punjab in open rebellion and pressed for the appointment of a greater number of Indians on the Committee. The Home Member insolently replied to the debate, mercilessly humiliating the Indian Members, and said finally that he deplored the tendency to minimise the dreadful happenings in the Punjab. Govt. secured the defeat of the motion in the usual way.

Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda next moved "That this council recommends to the Governor-General in Council the appointment of a mixed committee of officials and non-officials to investigate the causes and nature of the recent outbreak of disorder in Delhi and the circumstances of opening fire on the crowds there." The resolution had naturally to be withdrawn.

Mr. Chanda then moved that "this council recommends to the Governor-General in Council the appointment of a mixed committee of official and non-official members to investigate into the causes of firing on the crowds in Calcutta in April last." This too was withdrawn.

Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda then moved: "that this Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that Simla should cease to be the summer headquarters of the Punjab Government." He quoted the Government of India to show that it is undesirable for the supreme Government to be at the headquarters of the Provincial Government. Further the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab was the only Provincial Governor having a seat on the Imperial Council which gave him opportunities not enjoyed by other rulers. The Home Member opposed, saying that to make Simla an Imperial enclave would be very expensive. The cost of the move might be at least 50 lakhs, which would not include

railway communications, which might bring the cost up to 124 lakhs. The motion was put and lost

Mr. Chanda then moved: "This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that immediate steps be taken for the reduction of the unprecedented **high prices** of necessary articles of food and of cloth which obtained in several provinces either by further controlling all exports or facilitating imports or both and by such other means as may be considered proper." He urged that the situation was dangerous and its acuteness was being felt by both Europeans and Indians. He mentioned a suggesstion that Burma rice should be freely imported and Government control removed He said that it was generally understood that stocks were being held up by merchants in Calcutta. Mr. Mant on behalf of Govt. said, owing to the war there was a **world shortage** of produce and this was bound to react on India. Widespread failure of the monsoon in the previous year and the restricted cultivation of rice and other crops had grave effects on the food position. He quoted figures showing how heavily the exports of grain and rice had been curtailed in the present year. There was really a general shortage of rice throughout the East. Government had refused to export rice to Japan and Java but had done their best for Indians across the seas. Government were also indebted to the Wheat Commission for their assistance in getting wheat from Australia at a resonable rate. He finished by declaring that the crisis had passed as the last monsoon had been good and a plentiful *kharif* harvest was now assured all over India. Mr. Sarma said the question was how did the Government propose to relieve the position in the near future? The inflation of prices was bound to continue owing to the currency position and he argued that wages in India had not increased in the same proportion as prices. About 50 milions of people in India could now only afford one meal a day. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya also contended that there was pressing need for action. He believed that the present scarcity was largely due to facilities which had been afforded for exports to other countries. The food produce in India was not enough for the people in this country, nor have the poor in India enough money to buy enough food and he quoted Lord Sinha saying in London that millions in India were on the border of starvation. The resolution was slightly amended and was put to the meeting and accepted.

Rai Bahadur Sitanath Rai next moved that a **university** be established in **Nagpur** and the resolution was accepted. Mr. Crum next recommended that the **Calcutta Mint** be removed from its

present site. The removal of the Mint would effect a much needed improvement from a trade and health point of view. Government accepted the resolution with a proviso that it would not bind itself to immediate action and the question must be fully gone into *de novo*.

On 17th September the Viceroy invited attention to two tablets, one in bronze and the other in marble, which had been prepared for the purpose of recording in villages the number of recruits furnished for the war. The **Sea Customs** Amendment Bill, the **Provident Fund** Amendment Bill, the **Calcutta High Court** Jurisdictional Limit Bill, the **Indian Naturalisation** Amendment Bill and the **Repealing and Amending** Bill were all passed.

The **Indian Tariff** Amendment Bill was then taken up. Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma moved that the duty be raised from 15 per cent to 20 per cent. Mr. Crum opposed saying that practically all hide exporters were of opinion that the proposed duty should be reduced. The figure proposed by Government was the fairest that could be taken. The motion was negatived. Mr. Sarma then moved that in column 4 in clause 3 the proviso be omitted, which was tantamount to deleting the clause giving rebate between the various parts of the Empire. Mr. Sarma's amendment was put to the vote and lost. Mr. Sarma then moved several other amendments to secure Indian interests but govt. secured their rejection. His last amendment : "Provided, further, that no rebate shall be granted to any Dominion, State or Territory which discriminated against the Indian tariff policy" was also opposed by Govt. and so lost !!

The Home Member next introduced the **Workmen's Breach of Contract** Amendment Bill.

On September 18 the Member for Commerce and Industry introduced a Bill to extend the duration of the **Import and Export of Goods** 1916 by two years and six months, as it was necessary to retain the powers of control in the interests of India and the Empire for some time to come.

The Viceroy then rose and said that the **Indemnity** Bill was now before the Council. (For the Bill and Council Debate, see "Punjab Unrest—Before and After," which gives every thing about this matter).

On September 23 Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma moved "This Council recommends to the Governor -General in Council that a **State Bank** on the lines suggested by Professor Keynes in his

annexure to the Report on the Indian Currency be established in India at a very early date." Mr. Sarma said that his justification for it was the example of almost every European State. They in India had considered the desirability of establishing a central bank on the lines indicated by the Government of India in 1901. He believed that it was advisable to relieve Government of its present heavy responsibilities and to secure the advantages arising from a centralised control of the banking system. It had been suggested that the Presidency Banks should be amalgamated under one control, but such large sums as were involved could not be entrusted to amalgamated banks. The State control of banks should be very stringent and such control would be to the advantage of the people of India. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya pointed out that Indian Banking was in a very backward condition and that the enormous industrial and commercial interests which had grown up in India required sound banking facilities. Other Indian members strongly supported. The Finance Member said that Government supported many of the remarks. He was not, however, altogether in favour of the immediate establishment of a State Bank. The Presidency Banks had carried on when the Government had their hands full and after the armistice the amalgamation of the Banks was suggested and the opening of a number of branches had been promised. At present the main object was to push forward the work in hand as under present arrangements and,when the latter had somewhat developed, the establishment of an Imperial Bank in India could be given consideration to. Mr. Sarma's resolution was put and negatived.

Mr. Crum then moved a resolution : "That the Council should recommend the **electrification of the suburban railways** within 25 miles of Calcutta and improvement generally of the local passenger transport and travelling facilities." By the electrification of suburban railways much quicker train service would be possible, and great numbers of clerks and others who were compelled to live outside Calcutta owing to lack of accommodation in the city itself would be helped. Owing to the bad train service, very many people had to catch a train before eight o'clock in the morning in order to get to their offices in time. The Member for Commerce and Industry declared that he hoped to discuss the matter further with the officials concerned when he visited Calcutta in the cold weather, and the resolution was accordingly adopted.

Mr. Sachidananda Sinha then moved "That this Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that he may be pleased to

make a representation to the Secretary of State for India (or, if not, to His Majesty's Government) that an Indian Member chosen from the non-official Indian members of the Council be appointed to the **Indian Army Commission** recently constituted." He said that, as there had been an impression in India for many years that the expenses of the Indian army had been much greater than the finances of India, it was necessary that a public man be appointed to the Committee to give his advice to the military members. General Bingley announced that Government had anticipated the Resolution and had appointed Major Sir Umar Hayat Khan to the Commission. He also mentioned that the other members of the Committee would be President: Viscount Esher; Members, Sir Michael O'Dwyer; Lieut-General Sir H. V. Cox: Lieutenant General Sir W. C. Jacob, Lieut. General Sir H. Hudson, Lieut. General Sir J. P. Du Cane; Sir G. Fell, Major General Sir W. Gillman and Secretary Brigadier General C. M. Wagstaff. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya declared that he did not think that the selection would be welcomed by the Indian people. The questions to be decided greatly affected the life of the people of India and the personnel of the commission was alarming to them.

On September 24 the Law Member presented the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill further to amend the **Provincial Insolvency** Act, 1907, the Bill to amend the **Indian Arms** Act, 1878, **Indian Coinage** Act, 1906, the **Cantonments** Act, 1910, the **Cinematograph** Act, 1918, the **Indian Merchant Shipping** Act, 1859 and 1883, and the Bill to remove the restrictions imposed on the withdrawal of capital from the money market by Companies. They were all passed without discussion.

The Finance Member then introduced a Bill further to amend the **Indian Paper Currency** (Amendment) Act, 1917. In introducing the Bill Mr. Howard said that the amount of Treasury Bills outstanding amounted to 50 crores and advances to the amount of 13 crores had been obtained from the Presidency Banks. The reason for the present urgency of the measure was that Government had deferred the introduction of the Bill to the last possible moment owing to the undesirability of such a finacial measure. Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma opposed the Bill. He described it as a tinkering measure. The normal channels for the flow of gold and silver must be re-opened and the issue of more notes must be backed by the British Treasury. The Bill was then taken into consideration and passed.

For All About the Indemnity Bill The Text, Debates in the Imperial Council Pandit Malaviya's famous indictment and the full Speech Malaviya's Searching questions disallowed by Government. Etc.

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Acts Passed in 1919

By the Imperial Legislative Council of British India

1. **The Local Authorities Pensions and Gratuities Act** enacted that the local Government may grant a pension or gratuity to any of its officers who may, since the 4th August 1914, have been wounded or otherwise incapacitated in the service of Government or to the widow or child of any such officer who may have died in consequence of injuries received or illness contracted since 4th August 1914 during such service. This grant may be in addition to the pension or gratuity granted already ; but will not ordinarily exceed the amount of pension or gratuity payable in case his employment had been for service for the same time and on the same pay under Government (s. 4.)

2. **The Indian Paper Currency (Amendment) Act.**—On the 7th December, 1918, the Governor-General in Council promulgated an Ordinance increasing the maximum limit for the issue of Currency Notes against British Treasury Bills by fourteen crores of rupees to eighty crores of rupees. This Act merely embodied the provisions of that Ordinance.

3. **The Motor Spirit (Duties) Amendment Act**—In February 1917, the Government of India passed Act II of 1917 providing for the imposition of an excise and customs duty of six annas per gallon of motor spirit. The duty was imposed as a war measure to conserve the use of motor spirit in India and was to expire at the end of six months after the conclusion of Peace. But since its operation the tax has been found to be a useful source of revenue. The duration clause was therefore removed by this Act and it was placed permanently on the Statute Book.

4. **The Income Tax (Amendment) Act.**—By this Act the minimum limit of taxable income was raised from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 2,000 per annum. It came into force on the 1st April 1919 The scale under the new Act stands as below :—

1. No tax : when the taxable income is less than Rs. 2,000
2. Tax of Five pies in the rupee for income of more than Rs. 2,000 and less than 5,000.
3. Tax of Six pies in the rupee for incomes more than Rs. 5,000 and less than Rs. 10, 000.
4. Tax of Nine pies in the rupee for incomes more than Rs. 10,000 and less than Rs. 25,000.

5. One anna in the rupee for income of Rs. 25,000 or upwards.

5. **The Termination of the Present War (Definition) Act.**—During the war a number of emergency Acts were passed to be in force during the continuation of the war and for six months thereafter. The war came abruptly to an end on the 11th November 1918; but since peace terms were not finally settled even in a year it was found necessary to keep in existence all the emergency measures till peace is finally settled. In England a statute (8 & 9 Geo. V, c 59) has already been passed for the purpose. The present Act is on the lines of the English Statute and provides that the present war shall be treated as having continued to and as having ended on such date as His Majesty in Council may declare in that behalf in persuance ot the provisions of the Termination of the Present War (Definition) Act, 1918.

6. **The Indian Defence Force (Amendment) Act.**—Indian Defence Force Act of 1917 was timed to expire after six months from the conclusion of the war, but was by this Act extended to one year.

7. **The Negotiable Instruments (Amendment) Act.**—In a recent Bombay case B. L. R. Vol. XXI, p. 1, it was held that a cheque from which the word "bearer" has been struck out and with no substitution of the word "order," is not negotiable within the meaning of the Negotiable Instruments Act 1881 But in the Bombay market such cheques are regarded as order cheques : the learned Judge treated the custom as void. The present Act was enacted to validate the custom and such cheques are now to be treated as order cheques

8. **The Punjab Courts (Supplementing) Act.**—On the 1st of April 1919, a High Court of Judicature was established for Punjab at Lahore by Royal Letters Patent replacing the Punjab Chief Court. The Act enacted that all suits, appeals, revisions reviews, executions and other proceedings whatsoever, whether Civil or Criminal, pending in the Chief Court shall be continued and concluded in the High Court at Lahore, as if the same had been instituted in such High Court.

9. **The Indian Oaths (Amendment) Act.**—The provisions of the Indian Oaths Act 1873 do not apply to proceedings before Courts Martial. They are further made inapplicable to oaths, affirmations or declarations prescribed "by or under any Instruction under the Royal Sign Manual of His Majesty." The reason for this exclusion is that s. 16 of the Oaths Act of 1876 abolished official oaths. These are now revived, for it has been found that the

assumption of their high offices by the Governor-General, Members of Executive Councils and Chief Commissioners, is hitherto lacking in any formality of a nature to mark the serious nature of the occasion or the weight of responsibility involved. The effect of this Act is that oaths or affirmations of allegiance and office should in future be taken with due solemnity by the officials concerned at the time of entering upon the discharge of their duties.

10 **The Excess Profits Duty Act**, the most contentions measure, was introduced as a bill on the 13th December 1918 and was passed and came into force on the 20th March 1919. Persons who have reaped excess profit owing to war conditions were called upon to contribute fifty per cent. of their excess profit to the State exchequer. All incomes below thirty thousand rupees were exempted. "Subject to the provisions of this Act, there shall, in respect of any business to which this Act applies, be charged, levied and paid on the amount by which the profits in the accounting period exceed the standard profits, a duty of an amount equal to fifty per cent. of that excess. Provided that the amount of the said duty shall not exceed such sum as would reduce the profits in the accounting period below thirty thousand rupees" Sandard profits are : (1) an amount calulated at the rate of 10 per cent. or at such rate not being less than 10 per cent. as may be prescribed, on the capital of the business as existing at the end of the accounting period, or (2) at the option of the person by whom the duty is payable (*i*) if the profits of the business have been assessed in 1913 and 1914 for the purposes of income tax—the aggregate of half of the profits so assessed and half of the interests, if any, received in these years on securities forming part of the assets of the business : or (ii) if the profit of the business have been assessed for the said purposes in 1913 and 1914 and in two only of three years 1915, 1916, 1917—the aggregate of one-fourth of the profits so assessed ; or (iii) if the profits of the business have been assessed for the said purposes in all the five years 1913 to 1917—the aggregate of one-fourth of profits assessed in the years 1913 and 1914 and in each two of the years 1915, 1916 and 1917 as may be selected by the said person. Exemptions from the operation of the Act are :—(1) agricultural incomes , (2) offices or employments , (3) any profession depending on the personal qualification of the person by whom the profession is carried on.

11. **The Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act.**—This is popularly known as the **Rowlatt Act** or the **Black Act.** It was passed against the unanimous and strenuous opposition of the Indian members of the Legislative Council. The Act contains

four parts. Part I deals with the trial of offenders, defines offences, establishes Courts and provides procedure to be followed at trials. The provisions of the Act can be put into force in any area by a notification published in the *Gazette of India*, when the Governor-General in Council is satisfied that anarchical or revolutionary movements are being promoted and that scheduled offences in connection with such movements are prevalent to such an extent that it is expedient in the interest of public safety to provide for the speedy trial of such offences (s. 3). Proceedings under the Act can be taken by the Local Government ordering any officer of Government to prefer a written information to the Chief Justice against any person. The trial is to be before a special bench of three Judges of the High Court nominated by the Chief Justice (s. 5). In passing judgment the opinion of the majority of the Court is to prevail (s. 14). The judgment of the Court is made final and conclusive ; no appeal is allowed (s. 17). There are special rules of evidence which go far beyond the provisions of the Indian Evidence Act. When it appears that a witness is dead, or cannot be found or is incapable of giving evidence and it is proved that such death, disappearance or incapacity has been caused in the interests of the accused, then the statement made by such person to a Magistrate and read over, explained to and signed by him may be admitted in evidence.

Part II deals with preventive measures. Government can bind down persons to good behaviour. The Local Govt. can place all the materials in its possession relating to a case before a judicial officer who is qualified for appointment to a High Court and take his opinion thereon. If the officer is satisfied that action is necessary, the Local Government may require such person to (1) execute bond with or without sureties agreeing that he will not take any part in any of the offences alleged against him for a period of one year, or (2) to notify his residence and any change of residence ; (3) or to remain or reside in any part of British India ; or (4) to report himself to the officer in charge of the police station nearest to his residence at stated periods (s. 22).

The inquiry before the investigating authority shall be *in camera*. The investigating authority is to report secretly to the Local Government the conclusions at which it has arrived (s. 26). On receipt of the report, the Local Government may make any order it pleases. If the accused disobeys the order he is liable to be sentenced to imprisonment for 6 months or to pay a fine of Rs. 500 (s. 28). There are to be Visiting Committees, whose function will be to report upon the welfare of persons kept under restraint (s. 31).

Part III can be put into operation by a notification published in the Gazette of India by the Governor-General in Council. The procedure is : Where the Local Government is of opinion that any person in the prescribed area is concerned on any scheduled offence it will place all materials before a judicial officer. If such officer agrees, the Local Government may make an order s. 22 and may further order (1) the arrest of any such person without warrant ; (2) the confinement of any such person in any place and (3) the search of any place specified in the order.

The fourth part deals with persons already under executive control. It provides against the contingency of the expiration of Defence of India Act which being a war measure is timed to exist during the continuance of the war and for 6 months thereafter. Persons already under detention at the date are to de deemed under detention under the provision of this part (s. 39). The last two sections are very sweeping in their scope. Section 12 provides that orders passed under the Act cannot be called in question by the Courts. The last section enacts that the powers given by the Act are in addition to, and not in derogation of, any other powers already conferred by any other enactment !!!

12. **The Poisons Act.**—The present Act empowered Local Governments to make rules for (1) grant of licence to persons for poisons for sale ; (2) the classes of persons to whom licences can be given and the classes of persons to whom the poison may be sold ; (3) the maximum quantity that can be sold ; (4) the keeping by vendors of register of sales ; (5) the safe custody of such poisons and the labelling of vessels and packages in which the poison is kept ; (6) the inspection and examination of such poison. The Governor-General of India in Council has the power to prohibit importation of any poison except under a license. The Local Government have the power to regulate possession of any poison in any local area.

13. **The Sea Customs (Amendment) Act** was passed to prevent importation of adulterated foods and drugs by sea. It is an amendment of s. 195 of the Sea Customs Act (VIII of 1878) and provides that the Customs Collector may take samples of imported drugs or articles intended for consumption as food and submit them for examination to a specified officer of Government. The Act does not authorise detention or seizure of the foods by the Customs office.

14. **The Provident Funds (Amendment) Act.**—This Act makes provisions for the old age of teachers in non-pensionable

service of Government by making applicable the provisions of Act IX of 1897.

15. **The Calcutta High Court (Jurisdictional Limits) Act**—The limits of the Original Side of the Calcutta High Court was fixed as early as 1794. The marks and limits which then existed are now no longer to be found. These are now demarcated afresh and defined by this Act.

16. **The Indian Naturalization (Amendment) Act.**—By this Act a certificate of naturalization granted to an alien is liable to be cancelled not only when it is proved to be obtained by fraud or misrepresentation but also when the person to whom it has been granted has shown himself by act or speech to be disaffected or disloyal to His Majesty or is shown to be otherwise unfit to continue to enjoy the privileges of British nationality.

17. **The Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act** puts the registered societies within the meaning of Co-operative Societies Act (II of 1912), on a par with companies. It enables them to acquire any building cites required by them. It is designed to remove the difficulty experienced by those societies to secure sites for buildings.

18. **The Repealing and Amending Act 1919** a periodical measure resorted to by the legislature from time to time to weed out surplusage from the Statute Book.

19. **The Indian Tariff (Amendment) Act.**—This Act enables the Government of India to levy a duty of 15 per cent. on raw hides and skins exported to foreign countries with a rebate of 10 per cent. for hides and skins tanned within the Empire. Raw hides and skins exported to and tanned outside the British Empire are hence forth liable to an export duty of 15 per cent: whilst those exported and tanned within the British Empire are to pay an export duty of 5 per cent. only. The object of the Act is to encourage tanning industry in India.

20. **The Indian Arms (Amendment) Act.**—On the 21st March 1919 the Government of India issued a Resolution (H. D. No. 2125c) to the effect that from the 1st January 1920, with very few exceptions, every person of whatever caste, creed or nationality had to obtain a license for fire arms in his possession. This resolution received legislative sanction by this Act; it also makes provision for custody of fire arms after the 1st January 1920 when the possessor has not obtained a license.

21. **The Indian Coinage (Amendment) Act**—to make up for shortage of silver so sorely felt by every one including Govern-

ment who had accordingly to replace two anna silver coins by nickel coins of the same denomination. The four anna and eight-anna pieces are also made liable to be converted into nickel currency. The former coin is to be 90 and the latter to be 105 grains troy in weight.

22. **The Cantonments (Amendment) Act** —The Cantonment Committee are authorised to prohibit the practice of any profession or of the carrying on of any trade, calling, or occupation in any part of the Cantonment otherwise than in accordance with the conditions of a license · and to levy fees for the grant or renewal of licenses. The Committee are also authorised to make rules for the suppression of brothels and for prevetion of prostitution.

23. **The Cinematograph (Amendment) Act**—Before the Cinematograph Act II of 1918 could come to operation it was found that some modifications were necessary to be introduced into it. The Local Government are given the authority to constitute Certifying Boards, not more than one half of whose members shall be officials. The certifying authority is to require production before it of a film already certified by any other authority. It is also enacted that the Act may be introduced into any area piecemeal, in order to allow a preliminary period during which owners of films now in use may submit them to optional certification before the Act comes into force.

24. **The Indian Companies Restriction Repealing Act.**— During the pecuniary war it was found expedient to conserve resources of the country by placing certain restriction on the power to call of capital by companies already floated or about to be floated With the termination of the war the Act was repealed.

25. **The Indian Merchant Shipping Law Amendment Act.**—Section 5 of the Indian Merchant Shipping Act (V. of 1863) exempts ships in the service of His Majesty or the Government of India from the provisions of the Act relating to investigations into shipping casualties. Section 114 of the Indian Merchant Shipping Act (I of 1915) exempts ships in the service of His Majesty from the provisions of the Act. The result of these exemptions has been that proper investigations cannot be made into shipping casualties occuring in connection with hired transports or of suitable disciplinary measures being taken against officers and crews of such vessels when found guilty of infringements of the shipping law and regulations. This anomaly has therefore been removed, and the exemptions are granted only to ships belonging to His Majesty or the Government of India.

26. **The Indian Paper Currency (Further Amendment) Act.**—The maximum of Currency reserve which was fixed at 80 crores of rupees by Act II of 1919 was raised by this Act to Rs. 100 crores, of which 85 crores must be in British Treasury Bills. Opportunity has also been taken to provide for the issue of notes against gold held on behalf of the Secretary of State in the United State of America or in transit therefrom to India.

27. **The Indemnity Act.**—Another plague spot on the Indian Statute Book. It was passed against the most bitter opposition of the Indian Members. Early in March, April 1919, riot took place in the Punjab and other parts of India under the Iron Rule of Sir M. O'Dowyer. To quell them, martial law was declared at those places and the assistance of the military was invoked to restore order. The most abominable inhumanities were committed on the helpless people by the military, and thousands of people were machine gunned, bombed by aeroplanes, killed and mutilated. To examine into the working of the martial law, a Committe known as the Hunter Committee, commenced its sittings from the beginning of November 1919. But before the Committee could sit and report, the Government of India thought it fit to pass the Indemnity Act in order to protect its officers. That no suit or legal proceeding whatsoever whether civil or criminal, shall lie in any Court of law against any officer of Government or against any other person acting under the orders of such officers, or in respect of any Act done or ordered to be done for the purpose of maintaining or restoring order in any part or British India where martial law was enforced between 30th March 1919 and the 26th August 1919, provided that such officer has acted in good faith and in a reasonable belief that his action was necessary for the said purposes. A certificate from a Secretary to Government that any Act was done under the orders of an officer of Government shall be conclusive proof thereof; and all action taken thereunder shall be deemed to have been taken in good faith unless the contrary is proved (s. 3). Every person confined under, and by virtue of any sentence passed by a Court or authority constituted or appointed under martial law and acting in a judicial capacity shall be deemed to have been lawfully confined (s. 4). Where, under martial law, the property of any person have been taken or used by an officer of Government, the Governor-General in Council shall pay to such person reasonable compensation for any loss immediately attributable to such taking or using (s. 5).

MADRAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, 1919

The first meeting was held in February 4th. The object of this session was the consideration of the amended draft financial statement. But at the outset the Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar brought in a motion for the adjournment of the house for 24 hours on the ground that certain paragraphs which appeared in the Administration Report of the Presidency betrayed an attitude antagonistic to popular aspirations, that the Government were creating the impression that they were taking sides with the capitalists in the economic struggle of the labourers. It was also widely believed that the I. C. S. circular was engineered by the Government. H. E the Governor disallowed the motion. The Hon'ble Member stated that the ruling had not the support of any provision of law or statutory rule and protested against the ruling by leaving the Council Chamber. The Hon'ble Sir Alexander Cardew then presented the draft Financial Statement 1919-20 on the 5th Feb.—the discussion extended for over three days when numerous non-official Resolutions were moved asking for grants to Mahomedan College, on Education, Sanitation, etc, which were all rejected by Govt. On the succeeding four days the consideration of the Madras City Municipal Bill and the Madras Agricultural Pests and Diseases Bill was taken up The **Madras City Municipal Bill** was by far the most important piece of legislation that the Council had before it during the administration of Lord Pentland and no less than four and a half days at this session and nearly two days at the March session were devoted to the consideration of its various clauses. 130 amendments were proposed to the various sections of the Bill. They related, among other things, to the securing of the panel system of appointing its chief executive officer, powers for fixing the salary that should be paid to the higher officers, the representation of the Muhammadans and other minorities, the prevention of persons interested in contracts with the Corporation (mainly European Merchants) from becoming members of the Corporation Council and for securing additional powers for the imposition of new taxes. The Bill in the form in which it was finally accepted by the Council gave effect to the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission in regard to the control of the Local Government of the City Municipal Corporation. It conferred on the Council full control over taxation and the budget, subject only to certain statutory limitations and full powers in regard to the staff, the right of the Local Government to exercise a veto in the case of certain high officials

being now reserved. It transferred many powers from the Local Government to the Council and from the Council or the Standing Committee to the Standing Committee or the Commissioners. It also increased the borrowing powers of the Corporation and authorised it to raise new taxes. The changes introduced will have the effect of popularising the administration and associating a much wider circle of people in the task. The motion for the City Municipal Bill being passed into law had, however, to be deferred to the meeting held in March as the sanction of the Government of India had to be obtained on certain details. An interesting scene occurred when the motion that the Bill be passed into law was brought in. The Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar, in opposing it began to read his speech in Tamil The President of the Council (Lord Pentland) objected. Mr. Narasimha Ayyar, asked for a ruling prohibiting a speech in Tamil. The President had to rule him out of order Mr. Ayyar thereupon walked out.

The Madras Agricultural Pests and Diseases Bill was taken up on the 8th Feb. The few amendments proposed to the clauses of the Bill related to matters of detail. They were mostly accepted by the Government The non-official members, in giving their support to this Government measure, recognised that it was a piece of beneficent legislation intended for the welfare of agriculturists. The Bill was passed into law on the 13th February, 1919.

At the March meeting, the Hon'ble Mr. B V. Narasimha Ayyar moved that a committee of officials and non-officials be appointed to enquire into the grievances of the public regarding the distribution or supply of kerosine oil, paddy and other **necessaries of life**. Similar resolutions were brought forward by the Hon'ble Mr. K. Rama Ayyangar for the allotment of funds to relieve distress caused by the high prices of food-stuffs and by the Hon'ble Mr. B. Venkatapathi Raju asking for the issue of instructions to the Director of Civil Supplies to remove the inter-district restrictions on the transport of food-stuffs. The Hon'ble Sir A. Cardew, on behalf of the Government, explained that the Government were alive to the seriousness and gravity of the situation and rejected the motion.

The resolution for checking the growth of **juvenile smoking** was next considered and overthrown, Government not being satisfied that on the information before them legislation on the subject could be undertaken. The next resolution was that certain of the recommendations of the Government of India made

in their resolution on Local Self-Government for the non-officialisation of local bodies should be given effect to immediately. The Hon'ble Mr. P. Rajagopalachariar, on behalf of the Government, promised that the suggestion would be considered in connection with the District Municipalities and Local Boards' Bill which were then under revision. The resolution was thereupon withdrawn. A resolution suggesting that the Government of India should be approached for a lump grant for the development of industries in this Presidency was also withdrawn when the Government pointed out that under the existing financial relations, the proposal was not acceptable.

At the April meeting, the Hon'ble Mr. Todhunter presented the Budget for 1919-20. A Bill to amend the Madras Outports Fees Act was then introduced and referred to a select committee.

On August 12, the newly elected Legislative Council was held under the new Governor Lord Willingdon. Resolution congratulating His Majesty the King-Emperor on the victorious termination of the war and the successful signing of the Peace Treaty was adopted.

A resolution expressing regret and the sense of the loss to the Council in the death of Mahomed Azimuddin Sahib was carried, the Council standing.

Mr. B. V. Narasimha Iyer moved a similar resolution touching on the death of Dr. T. M. Nair.

H. E. the President then addressed a few words to the Council. His Excellency referred to the constitution of the Council and to the non-official majority as at present constituted. Government were anxious to secure as far as possible representation for the various important communities in the Council. His Excellency went on to say that another reason which had prompted Government to put in more non-officials was that having regard to details of the clauses and purposes of the Reforms Act which they all hoped would be passed in England before very long, it would be desirable to secure a clear non-official majority so that the opinions and notes of members may be governed by a sense of responsibility.

The Hon. the Advocate General then moved :—That the business of the council shall be conducted in English. The Hon. Narasinha Iyer moved an adjournment and an amendment. Both were rejected and the original proposition was carried. After the bills amending the Outputs Landing and Shipping Fees Act., Civil Court Act and Madras Forests Act were passed and after the election of the members of the Finance Committee for the year 1919-20, the Council adjourned.

At the November session Lord Willingdon exhorted the interpellators to have some consideration for the overworked Secretariat and to use their powers of interpellation only in regard to matters of real public interest, and suggested that the Publicity Board and the Editor's Table may be freely used to obtain the information they wanted. He also advised them to take the District Officers into their confidence as most of the matters interpellated upon were within their knowledge.

The **Village Courts Bill** was passed into law. It vested full and autonomous powers in the hands of villagers to deal with the civil and criminal litigation, the former up to Rs. 50 and the latter confined to petty cases of theft and mischief arising in the village. These are to be panchayet courts, the members of which will be wholly elected by the villagers, and the members, in turn electing their own President. These courts will practically have exclusive jurisdiction of village litigation.

The District Municipalities Bill was a comprehensive measure introduced to revise and bring up-to-date the law relating to these bodies which are coming into existence in increasing numbers in the Presidency. As in the case of the City Municipal Act, the measure is intended to vest larger powers in the Municipal bodies, increase their elective element and develop their resources. Non-official members sought to have the measure postponed till after the Reforms had been introduced, as they were of opinion that the Bill could not be further enlarged and that it could not introduce popular and progressive reform in urban areas in the districts. This, was strongly resisted by the Government and by those who felt that to postpone it would be to throw away so much labour and thought bestowed on the Bill, which was a great improvement on the present Act.

BENGAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, 1919

The first meeting of the Council was held on Jan. 21, 1919.

Hon'ble Mr. Ambica Charan Mazumdar asked a question regarding the formation of the Indian Civil Service Association in Bengal. The Hon'ble Mr. Kerr gave the following reply :—The Indian Civil Service Association was formed in Bengal in 1894. The objects of the Association are (1) to deal with questions affecting the interests of the Indian Civil Service as a body, (2) to

promote unity among its member, and (3) to ascertain and formulate the views of the Indian Civil Service on matters in connection with which in the opinion of the Association a knowledge of the views of the service would be useful to the Government. After the territorial re-adjustments of 1912 a separate branch of the Association was formed in Bihar and Orissa. Membership of the Bengal branch is open to all officers of the Indian Civil Service serving in Bengal and Assam. There are at present 130 members of the Bengal branch of whom eleven are Indians. The Association has no regular office. Its affairs are managed by a general committee of five members elected annually. The members of the existing committee are Mr. K. C. De, Mr. A. R. Cumming, Mr H. R. Duval, Mr. A. J. Chotzner, Mr. J. A. L. Swan, Mr. H M. Veitch is the Honorary Secretary.

The Hon'ble Sir Devaprasad Sarbadhicary moved a resolution expressing thanks to His Majesty the King Emperor for the appointment of Sir S. P. Sinha as the first Indian Minister of the Crown and also expressing thanks to the Prime Minister and congratulations to Sir S. P. Sinha.

The resolution was put to vote and carried unanimously.

Babu Akhil Chander Dutt moved that all detenues interned in Bengal be now set at liberty and made a very impressive and eloquent speech. The motion was opposed by Mr. P. C. Mitter and Rai Debendra Chunder Ghose as also by Sir Henry Wheeler on behalf of the Government. The motion was lost.

On February 18, Sir Henry Wheeler moved that the report of the Select Committee on Bengal Village Self-Government Bill, 1919, be taken into consideration. The Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq moved an amendment that the Bill as amended by the Select Committee be republished. He pointed out that the Bill as amended was quite different from what it was originally and the public should be given an opportunity to express opinion. The Bill was the foundation of Self-Government in Bengal and as such should not be rushed through. Sir Henry Wheeler replied that he was not convinced that there was any use in republishing the Bill. The amendment was put to the vote and lost, seventeen voting for and twentythree against. Mr. Fazlul Huq moved another amendment that the Bill be recommended to the Select Committee. The Hon'ble Mr. W. E. Crum pointed out that 283 amendments on the Bill as amended by the Select Committee were on the agenda for discussion by the Council. If all their amendents were taken in this Council, it would mean enormous waste of time. By referring it back to the Select

Committee they might be able to arrive at quick decision by informal discussions. He was therefore in favour of Mr. Huq's amendment.

Sir Henry Wheeler on behalf of the Government opposed the amendment. The amendment was put to vote and carried, twenty-one voting for and nineteen against. Most of the non-official European members voted for the amendment.

Then the Bengal Primary Education Bill came up for consideration. There were forty amendments on the agenda on this Bill, of which 34 were disposed of by 6-30 P M. when the Council adjourned

On February 19, discussions on the amendments on Primary Education Bill were proceeded with. After amendments were disposed of, the Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Ray member in charge of the Bill, formally moved that the Bill as settled in Council be passed. The Hon'ble Mr. Ambica Charan Muzumdar moved that the Bill be not further proceeded with on that day. In support of his motion Mr. Muzumdar said that the Bill in the select committee had been altered beyond recognition and he objected to the Bill being rushed through highly. The Hon'ble Mr Akhil Chandra Dutt supported Mr. Muzumdar. Hon'ble's Mr. Surendra Nath Roy and Mr. P. C. Mitter opposed the objection of Mr. Muzumdar. His Excellency after informally associating with the views of non-official members admitted Mr. Muzumdar's objection and consequently the Bill was not further proceeded with.

The Council met again on 5th March when the financial statemet for 192 was laid on the table by Sir Henry Wheeler. It met again on the 13th. The Budget debate continued for three days when various resolutions were moved. Hon. Mr. Phelps wanted Rs. 200 000 for Calcutta Hospitals which was refused. Rai M. C. Mitter wanted Rs. 2 lakhs for the Medical College—the motion had to be withdrawn. Mr. Fazlul Huq moved for 3 Lakhs for famine relief—motion lost. Several other non-official resolutions met the same fate.

The Council met again in Calcutta on July 3rd.

The Honble Maharaj Dhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan moved on behalf of the Government that the Calcutta Municipal Bill 1917, be withdrawn. The bill was introduced in 1917 with a view to provide the Calcutta Corporation with a more liberalised constitution and to enlarge the principle of local self-government. Instead of evoking a warm welcome the bill met with hostile criticism from many quarters. Government did not desire to force upon the Corporation a constitution which they did not like. The bill was accordingly withdrawn.

Sir Henry Wheeler introduced the bill to amend the Calcutta Police Act and the Calcutta Suburban Police Act of 1866. Amendments were intended to remedy immediately some defects in the Calcutta Police Act which were likely to impair the discipline of the police force and which might at any time lead to serious practical difficulties.

Sir Frank Carter moved a resolution urging the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry into the whole problem of leprosy in Calcutta and the legislation required in connection therewith.

Government appreciated the sentiments expressed by Sir Frank Carter but there were practical difficulties in the appointment of a provincial commission of enquiry. The attention of the Government of India would be drawn to this matter. The motion was withdrawn.

In reply to a question the Hon'ble Mr. M. C. Alpin said that experiments had been made in Bengal with a view to producing paper pulp from bamboo, but these experiments had been carried out by private (European) firms who desired that the result should be kept confidential.

On July 4, the Hon'ble Surendra Nath Roy moved resolutions recommending the adoption of early measures for the reduction of high prices of rice and other necessary articles of food and also of cloth in Bengal. The Hon'ble Mr Cumming, on behalf of the Government, accepted the resolution and promised that steps would be taken to meet the situation.

At the Sept. meeting of the Council Mr. Phelps moved for a committee to be appointed to consider causes of high rent in Calcutta. This was adopted with a view to controlling house rent and land values.

On Nov. 19 Hon. Mr. S. N. Ray moved that Govt. do approach Govt of India for grant of Rs. 50 lakhs to alleviate distress in East Bengal during the recent cyclone. This was carried.

The last meeting of the year was held on Dec 18th when the Cruelty to Animals Bill was passed.

BOMBAY LEGILATIVE COUNCIL.

Sir George Lloyd, the new Governor, opended the first Council of the year on 12th March. In his opening speech the Governor referred at length to the invaluable services rendered by the Navy and the Army during the War and also to the glorious achievements

of the Mahratta Army in the fighting line. He next referred to the pressing problems of housing, famine and high prices.

The Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Parek, the oldest member of the Council, welcomed and thanked His Excellency on their behalf and assured him of full non-official support and co-operation.

The Council met again on July 7th.

Replying to the question by the Hon'ble Mr. D. V. Belve, whether Mr. A. Montgomarie, I. C. S., had been deputed by the Government to assist Sir Valentine Chirol in a civil suit brought against him by Mr B. G. Tilak the Government replied that Mr. Montgomarie while on leave in England was placed on deputation in connection with the Tilak Chirol case as the issues in the case involved questions concerning the administration of the Bombay Presidency.

GOVERNOR'S SPEECH.

At a meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council Sir George Lloyd in the course of his speech said :—Peace is to bring to India new responsibilities and with them possibly new dangers. The reforms Bill is, I am glad to say, now before the parliament, and I hope will be passed into law without any great delay. It is our task, both the task of my Government and of you, gentlemen, to guide India's national aspirations and enthusiasm which after all the British people are responsible for awakening—and it is our pride that we are so responsible—out of the difficult and sometimes stormy waters of transition into ample harbours of prudent and deliberate achievements. Just as in your armies a regiment that tries to move with forced marches becomes a rabble so equally in our national development, you should remember that safety and solidarity of a state is perfected by steady advance rather than by forced marches. But this must not delay us in starting out on that march. The sooner we come to grips with the problem, more certain we shall be of our success.

On July 8 in winding up the debate on the budget in the Legislative Council His Excellency the Governor strongly advocated the increase of pay of the police forces and educational staff such as teacher. It was the duty of the Government, as well as non-official public, to provide facilities for industrial and technical education and see that the people recognised the importance of industries. With regard to famine measures the Government was bound to move with certain amount of prudence.

On July 8 there were two prolonged and animated debates on the social betterment of depressed classes in the presidency. The

most interesting discussion was over a resolution by Mr. Paranjpye recommending that instructions be issued to the Commissioners and Collectors asking them to include among nominated members of various local boards and municipalities suitable men from the depressed classes whenever such men were available.

Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah on behalf of the Government accepted the resolution with an addition that such instruction should be to include as far as possible men from depressed classes.

The second was Mr Belvi's resolution recommending that the Government might be pleased to make it compulsory on all municipalities and local boards in the presidency including Sind either to throw open the existing wells and dharmasalas owned by them to the members of untouchable classes or to maintain separate dharmasalas for their use.

Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah on behalf of the Government welcomed the debate. He pointed out that this was a matter which local bodies themselves had power to adjust.

On July 7 the revised Financial statement for 1919-20 was presented. The figures show an opening balance of 45,52,60,000, revenue 10,38,27,000, expenditure 10,52,00,000, closing balance, 4,41,53,000.

The second Poona sessions of the Bombay Legislative Council commenced on 25th Sept. His Excellency the Governor spoke on the housing problem of Bombay which had been constantly engaging his personal attention. He had hoped to have laid some concrete proposals for the solution of this great problem within six months of his arrival but the disturbances of the earlier part of the year engaged the full attention of the Government. The problem could not be solved in a moment. The Government had extended the period of the Rent Act in Bombay not as a substitute for housing operations but as a necessary palliative to those who needed it for another two years; during the time the Government plans were being matured and schemes undertaken. The demand for accomodation was confined not only to the labouring classes but almost to every other class, whether Indian or European. They must provide at least fifty thousand one-room tenements for the labouring classes in as short a time as possible. Government were going to do something but they counted on local authorities such as the Port Trust, Railways and others.

JUVENILE SMOKING BILL.

Hon. Major Fernandez moved the first reading of his Juvenile Smoking Bill. There was a three hours' discussion on the measure,

in the course of which the Council seemed to be almost equally divided in opinion, and Major Fernandez withdrew his motion.

The Council reassembled next day. His Excellency referred to the new procedure introduced for taking a division. Hitherto the practice was to circulate the voting list among the members for recording their votes. Under the new arrangement, which also obtained in the British Parliament, the members are required to go to a place in the hall where two tables have been provided, one for "Ayes" and the other for "Noes," there to record their votes.

Among the resolutions the most important was the one from the Hon. Mr. Thakurdas regarding the movement of food-grains in India. The Hon. Mr. Curtis complimented Mr. Thakurdas on the excellent work he had done in connection with the famine and said that the Government could make no definite statement of policy in the matter, but they would place before the Government of India the views expressed by the hon. members in the Council. The resolution was agreed to.

The resolution from the same member asking for a survey in the Presidency of suitable sites in beds of rivers for growing green fodder as a protection against scarcity was fully discussed, but as the Government of India had appointed a special officer to inquire into the matter the resolution was postponed.

The Council came to a close on 27th Sep. It was a three and a half hours sitting devoted solely to the resolutions of the Hon. Mr Purshottamdas Thakurdas on irrigational matters. The Hon. Mr. Manmohandas Ramji's resolution to make provision for more medical colleges was withdrawn.

The Hon. Mr. Thakurdas then moved a resolution urging Government to accelerate further the pace of construction of irrigation works in the Presidency.

The Hon. Mr. Godbole thought Mr. Thakurdas was too optimistic with regard to the irrigational development of the Presidency. The great question was that of funds. Only three out of the fifteen irrigational works were paying and unless the Government of India raised its grant from thirty lakhs to a crore of rupees there was no change of Mr. Thakurdas' heroic measures being carried out. The Hon. Mr. Curtis and the Hon. Mr. Gebbie were of the same opinion. Mr. Thakurdas replying on the debate submitted that it was not the Government of India, but the Government of Bombay, that was in fault, for he gathered from a conversation he had as chairman of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau with Sir William Meyer

some time ago that the Bombay Government was not pressing the Government of India for more funds for this purpose.

Mr Thakurdas pressed for a division which resulted in the resolution being carried against Govt. by 22 votes against 17.

The Council next met at Bombay on Dec 10, 1919

The proceedings opened with the swearing in of two new members followed by the answering of questions. His Excellency then addressed the Council. Speaking on the Reforms Bill, His Excellency said the success or failure of this great measure would depend now upon the spirit that animated both Government, and the peoples of India. During the negotiations with regard to the reforms scheme, his Government had made every effort to assist, and it was determined that so far as Government was concerned, a spirit of cordial sympathy and co-operation shall prevail in all ranks. He earnestly hoped that not only the honourable members of his Legislative Council, but also the press and public at large would treat this moment in a large spirit of statesmanship and by their words as well as their actions assist in cultivating an atmosphere of good-will between the various communities so as to ensure the fruition of the seeds now sown.

The Bill to amend the Bombay Prevention of Gambling Act was passed. The two main objects of the Bill were (1) to make it clear that betting offices, or as they are popularly known "bucket shops," were within the purview of the Act and (2) to suppress betting in streets and other public places.

All classes of the public and all sections of the press in Bombay had by their demand clearly shown that there was need for this legislation

On the motion of Sir George Carmichael the Bill further to amend the City of Bombay Police Act was read a first time and referred to a select committee. The Bill provided (1) for the more effectual control of prostitution in the City of Bombay; (2) a summary remedy for enforcing bonds taken under the Act; and (3) means of enforcing an order prohibiting smoking and spitting in public buildings.

The Hon. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola then moved that the Bill to provide for the Constitution of Village Panchayats be read a first time. The Bill was conceived in a most democratic spirit. It gave all male adults of a village the opportunity of voting, a principle which was introduced in that Council in advance of any other province in India. The second principle embodied in the Bill was that the

village panchayat would be wholly an elected local body. There would be no Government nominations and the only person who would be a member of the panchayat ex-officio would be the village patel. The third advance that the Bill established was that the control of the rural bodies was transferred from the revenue officers of the Government to the District Local Boards, which where even then largely elected bodies. The principles of the Bill were far-reaching.

The Hon. Mr. P. A. Desai also thought that the village panchayats should be invested with civil and criminal powers, but as this provision could not be embodied in the Bill without the previous sanction of the Government of India, he submitted that the consideration of the Bill should be postponed until such sancion was obtained. Under the present system if a villager had to bring a suit on a bond of say Rs. 10 or Rs. 15 he had to travel sometimes 40 to 50 miles to go to a Sub-Judge's Court. He had to take witnesses with him from his village, and if the bond was contested he had to meet the evidence of the defence. The Council would thus realise to what trouble and expense he was put to recover such a small amount. Therefore if they were to give judicial powers to these village panchayats to decide petty cases on the spot, it would be a great boon, to poor villagers. Mr. Desai also submitted that every big village with a population of over one thousand should have a panchayat as a matter of course, and in such cases it should be left to the Collector or the District Local Board to prove that such village was not fit to have a panchayat. He also took exception to Section 6 which disqualified a female from becoming a member of the panchayat. The motion was carried.

The Council then proceeded to discuss matters of general public interest. In all there are 18 resolutions standing in the names of different members,of which four were discussed and one was postponed. A resolution from the Hon. Shaikh Hidayatallah urged for a substantial increase in the number of police officers doing investigation work in Sindh. The resolution was accepted by the Government. There was a lively discussion on the Hon. Mr. Paranjpye's resolution asking the Government to reconsider its recent orders regarding the changes in the curriculam of the vernacular training colleges, viz., the abolition of Sanskrit (or Persian), and algebra and the alteration of the course in geometry. The Hon. Mr. Covernton, Director of Public Instruction, explained that these subjects were dropped because the teachers in the vernacular schools were not required to teach these subjects. The resolution was lost.

Hon Hidayatullah moved : This Council recommends to His Excellency the Governor in Council that the present inadequate number of police officers for the work of investigation in Sind be substantially increased. Mr. Hidayatullah said the whole police strength of Sind was 6,812 in officers and men, and out of these there were 199 sub-inspectors who were investigating officers. For a large province like Sind this number of investigating officers was small, and the result was that head constables, who were mostly uneducated men and who drew salaries ranging from Rs. 16 to Rs. 20 were entrusted with the work of investigation. He submitted that it was not fair to entrust head constables with such responsible duty. In consequence of this state of things a great deal of crime remained undetected.

The Hon. Sir George Carmichæl accepted the resolution.

The resolution was carried.

The Hon. Mr D. V. Belvi moved : " This Council recommends to His Excellency the Governor-in-Council to be pleased to direct all Mamlatdars and Mahalkaris in the Presidency not to hear as far as possible criminal cases and suits under the Bombay Mamlatdars' Courts Act, 1906, while on tour "

Mr. Belvi said his object in moving this resolution was that the rural population of the Presidency should be freed from the inconvenience and the enormous expense to which they were put at present by the practice of Mahalkaris and Mamlatdars to hear criminal cases and civil suits under the Bombay Mamlatdars Courts Act, while on tour. Some times parties had to travel fifty to sixty miles with their legal advisers in connection with such cases and to incur large expenditure. This would not be the case, if the cases were tried by stationary magistrates at headquarters.

The Hon. Sir George Carmichæl said that he would like the resolution to be so altered as to enable Mamlatdars to dispose of possessory suits in villages which they might happen to visit while on tour. With regard to the rest of the resolution he was prepared to say that the Government accepted it and would act upon it.

The resolution was amended as follows : ' This Council recommends to His Excellency the Governor-in-Council to be pleased to direct all Mamlatdars and Mahalkaris in the Presidency not to hear as far as possible criminal cases while on tour and as far as possible suits under the Bombay Mamlatdars' Courts Act. 1906, in the villages where the suits arise or failing that at taluka headquarters."

The resolution thus amended was agreed to.

THE U P. LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, 1919.

The Council met at Allahabad on 24th January, Sir Harcourt Butler presiding. Mr. Chintamani moved that the development of industries should be a provincial subject with full liberty of action to the Local Government and Government of India officers should stand in the relation of advisers to the Local Government. Mr. Chatterjee, the Chief Secretary said the question was under discussion between the Government of India and the Local Government and he was not in a position to express any opinion. Mr. Chintamani also moved that the Government of India should allow the Local Government to draw upon its accumulated balance to the needed extent for expenditure non-recurring or recurring in coming financial year. Mr. Sim opposed and said : as regards the first part, Government had no objection to make provision for non-recurring expenditure in the coming financial year. The first part of the resolution was carried and the second lost. Mr. Chintamani then moved that the Lieutenant Governor should abrogate the rule requiring Deputy Collectors to call on Superintendents of Police. The resolution after discussion was withdrawn. Mr. Shahid Hosain moved a resolution of congratulation to Lord Sinha on his elevation to the peerage. Govt. agreed.

The Council next met at Lucknow on 4th March, Mr. Sim presented the **Financial Statement** The Budget estimates for the financial year 1919-20 provide for an income of Rs. 8,11,03,000 and an expenditure of Rs. 8,53,56,000. The estimated income is Rs 83,14,000 in excess of the original and Rs. 43,99,000 in excess of the revised estimate for the current year, while the estimated expenditure exceed the original budget figures of 1918-19 by Rs. 1,34,24,000 and the revised by Rs. 99,94,000.

The Council met on 13th March. The United Provinces Public Gambling (Amendment) Bill, the United Provinces Municipalities (Amendment) Bill and the United Provinces Primary Education Bill were passed.

The discussion of the Budget took place on 7th April. Among the speakers were Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, Mr. Chintamani, Mr. Crawshaw, the Maharaj-Kumar of Benares, the Maharaja of Balrampur and Sheikh Shahid Hosain. All of them offered their congratulations to Mr. Sim, the Financial Secretary, on the excellence of the Budget, especially that which with the expenditure on education. Mr. Sim thanked his non-official colleagues for the able assistance he had received from the Finance Committee. The Government accepted a resolution moved by Mr. Chintamani recommending the early consideration of the subject of minute subdivision of agricultural

holdings and the taking of such steps to remedy the evil as may be found practicable.

The Council met at Naini Tal on 2nd June. Mr. Lambert introduced the **Town Improvement Bill 1919**, and said that advisory committees had for some time been working in examining improvement schemes for Lucknow, Allahabad and Cawnpore and the reports from Lucknow and Cawnpore were now ready. In both cities schemes of farreaching importance had been considered and the benefits which they were designed to confer should be realised as soon as possible. Government was anxious that no further time should be lost in pressing on this important piece of legislation.

At the meeting of the Council at Naini Tal on 22nd September, Mr. Lambert moved that the U. P. Town planning Bill be taken into consideration and passed. Munshi Narayan Prasad Asthana moved certain changes but these were rejected by the Government. Several other minor amendments proposed by Hon'ble members were lost. The Bill was passed. Munshi Narayan Prasad Asthana subsequently moved another amendment to the Bill providing for appeals to the High Court from awards given under the Act. This was accepted by Government, subject to restrictions Lalla Sukhbir Singh moved a resolution providing for the increase of the rate collection allowed to zemindars on account of the water rate. This was accepted in a modified form.

Hon' Raza Ali moved a resolution on the shoe-removal question. High officers are in the habit of requiring their visitors to leave back their 'native shoes' outside the room. This was a highly objectionable practice. The resolution was however lost

PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, 1919.

Sir Michael O'Dowyer, that mighty Hero of Punjab, was the president up till April 7th. He held the first Council of the year, on February 6 and 7. Four important Bills were passed by the Council. Of these the **Punjab Courts Act** (Amendments) Bill converted the Chief Court into a High Court. The **District Boards Act** (Amendment) Bill, was also passed. The **Punjab Custom** (Power to Contest) Bill proposed to enact restrictions on the power to contest an alienation of immoveable property or the appointment of an heir by descendants or collaterals on the ground that it was contrary to custom ; it was circulated for opinion. The **Adulteration of Food** Bill which aimed at securing the sale of food in a pure and genuine condition and for prevention of adulteration was passed. Punjab **Compulsory Education** Bill, to which a full day's

sitting was devoted was passed into law under the new title of "The Primary Education Act," A resolution brought before the Council by R. B. Bakshi Sohan Lal, recommending that in future not less than three-fourths of the educational expenditure of local bodies should be met from provincial revenues was lost, and another in the matter of sanitary expenditure, was withdrawn.

The amended draft **Financial Statement** was presented by the Hon. Mr. O. F, Lumsden, Finance Member, at a meeting of the Council on March 7. The opening balance was Rs. 2,23,35,000 ; the revenue Rs. 5,88,50,000 ; the expenditure, Rs. 6,02,28,000 and the closing balance Rs 2,09,57000. The statement dwells on the fact that the year did not pass withoutfinancial anxieties, owing to failure of the rains, high prices of food grains, provision of a special war allowance to Government servants, etc. : and provincial balances escaped being indented on only by unexpected and substantial betterments under certain land revenue heads and a large surplus under excise. The discussion on the budget took place on March 13 and was characterised by the way the President gagged free expression of non-official views. Under the Reform Scheme he said non-official members would probably have a great increase of power and responsibility and the chief direction in which this would be employed was the region of finance. His Honour congratulated the Finance Member on the manner in which he had run the gauntlet of non-official criticism. Of three resolutions on the Budget moved by the Hon. K. B. Fazli-Hussain, two were negatived and one had to be withdrawn.

There was a full meeting of the Council on April 7 when **Sir Michael O'Dwyer** held his last Council and the Budget after final discussion was passed. His Honour gave a parting kick to Indian Leaders in his farewell speech dwelling at some length on the success of the frightful measures which he had taken to secure public order in the Province. He emphasised that Government would not hesitate to use all means at its disposal to check any disorder As a matter of fact however he lashed up the people into fury and then made good his threat by letting loose all the horrors of war on the unarmed people. Punjab during the months of April and May under Sir Michael was very much worse than was Belgium during the German occupation in the early part of the late War.

On Nov. 10 the Council met under the new Lt. Gov., Sir Edward Maclagan, with blasted hopes. There was a sigh of relief from the tortured soul of the whole Punjab on the departure of that paragon administrator, Sir Michael, and Sir Edward began his work in an atmosphere of deep depression.

Mysore State.

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

YUVARAJA—Sir Sri Kantirawa Narasimharaja Wadiyar Bahdr G.C.I.E.

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

The Council.

Dewan & Presdt, of Council—M. Kantaraja Urs.
Extraordinary Member of Council—Sir Sri Kantirava Narasimharaja Wadiyar. Bahdr. G.C.I.E. Yuvaraja of Mysore, Pro-Chancellor of the Mysore University.
Members of Counc l, 1st. member—Albion Raj Kumar Banerji, M.A. I.C.S. C.I.E. (Actg. Dewan), 2nd member.—Mir Humza Hossai ·i
Actg. 2nd member—P. Raghavendra Rao, B.A. B.L.
3rd. Member—Mr. K. S. Chandrasekhar Iyer.

Legislative Council.

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

NON-OFF. MEMBERS,—
Dewan Bahdr K. P. Puttanna Chetty, C.I.E. ; M. Chengaiya Chetty, B.A. Nawab Gulam Ahmad Kalami, M. Basava Iyar, B.A. B.L. ; B. Narasinga Rao, M. Karnik Krishnamurti Rao, C. Narasimhaiya, B.A., B L ; B. K. Garudachar, M. Venkata Thrishnaiya, B. Venkata Samanna, B.A. B.L. ; S. Seetaramaiya, Rao Saheb H. Chennaiya and L Srinivasa Iyengar.

Mysore Legislative Council.

Bangalore—March 24, 1919.

Mr. A. R. Banerji, the acting Dewan, opened the sessions. He alluded to the illness of sardar Kantaraj Urs who was rapidly progressing, and then made a lengthy and detailed statement regarding food situation in the state, mainly recapitulated what was being done since July 1918 and mentioned various orders of the government issued from time to time. He also detailed the steps that was being taken to handle the situation in the future. This includes representation to the Government of India against export from the state and importation of Burma Rice and opening of depots for sale of food stuffs to the poor in Bangalore and Mysore cities and in

headquarter towns. He alluded to the help accorded to agriculturists in the matter of irrigation facilities in Taccavi loans etc. to increase production.

There was an interesting and lengthy discussion over the new Bill to introduce income-tax in the Mysore State. Dewan Bahadur, J. S. Chakravarthy, Financial Secretary to Government, moved to introduce the Bill. He pointed out the necessity of imposing the tax and spoke of the need of more money in the interests of efficient and progressive administration. He referred to the non-official support to the measure on various occasions, attempted to justify the tax on various standpoints and said that it was not a measure of financial necessity only, but was also of financial justice. Three non-official members supported the motion and eight other non-officials opposed the measure.

During Interpellations question was asked as to the cause or causes of the heavy mortality in the Kolar Gold Fields, and to ascertain the minimum and maximum dimensions of huts of coolies, number of occupants, the number of latrines provided and lighting convenience. Mr. Mir Humza Husseni, Member of the State Executive Council replied :—From enquiries made the Government have no reason to think that mortality on Kolar Gold Field is heavy as compared with other important industrial cities and therefore they see no reason to make any special investigation as suggested. The minimum dimension of a hut is 998 and maximum 2,498, and in minimum size 2 children and in maximum size 4 adults and 4 children, and 4 was the average number of actual residents over all huts. There are public latrines on the surface with accommodation of four per cent of the population at one time, in addition to which latrines (sanitary boxes) are provided underground at convenient points in every working level and regularly cleaned by a special sanitary staff. The number of scavengers employed is 909 or an average of one for 57 persons. All thoroughfares are lighted by electricity and it does not appear that any other special lighting arrangements is necessary.

On MARCH 24 Dewan Bahadur Chakravarti moved for leave to introduce the bill to amend the law relating to paper Currency in Mysore. He said that the measure was intended to place permanently on the statute the emergency regulation passed last year making Government of India notes legal tender in Mysore State. Till last year notes were legal tender in Bangalore City only.

Mr. K. P. Puttanna Chetty drew attention to the statement in newspapers that the Government was considering the introduction of currency notes within the state, and enquired whether the present measure had anything to do with it.

The Dewan :—This measure has nothing to do with that.

On the next resumed discussion on the **Income-Tax Bill** Dewan Bahadur Chakravarthi in the course of his long speech recapitulated his argument in support of the measure and replied to non-official criticisms. The motion was carried by 12 against 7.

Mysore Representative Assembly

Supplementary Session—28 April, 1919.

The Acting Dewan, Mr. A. C. Banerji in his opening address reviewed the general situation and deplored the widespread distress caused by Influenza which had carried away 166,000 souls! Then rainfall was poor, the monsoons failed, food became scarce, and prices rose higher and higher. He then detailed the measures taken against these and passed on to Finance. He presented the Financial Statement prepared on the lines recommended by Mr. K. L. Datta, and "based on his scheme of Financial Settlement."

"A hurried retrospect during the past six years shows that the receipts have gone up from 251,08, to 305,79 that is 55 lakhs and the expenditure from 197,18 to 304,00, that is, 107 lakhs. The expenditure of 304,00 includes a sum of 55-26 on account of contributions to Departments and Reserves not actually spent in the year. Making allowance for this, the actual expenditure was only 248,74 which means a growth of 514 lakhs. It will be seen that the increase in expenditure was well within the growth of revenue. Besides owing to increased activities in several directions, the establishment charges alone have risen from 1912-13 in five years by 14 lakhs per annum and since up to the current year by 11 lakhs. Education expenditure has increased from 11 lakhs in 1912-13 to 26 lakhs in 1916-17 and in the current year, it is expected to rise further to 36-30. Public Works expenditure has increased from 24.66 in 1912-13 to 34-20 in 1917-18 and is expected further to rise to 42.21 in the current year. The figure for 1917-18 and the current year include a contribution of 5 lakhs on account of irrigation capital reserve. The capital expenditure not charged to revenue has increased from 18.61 in 1912-13 to 49 lakhs in 1916-17, 41 in 1917-18 and in the current year it is expected to be 58 lakhs. It was Mr. Datta who advised Government in 1919 that optional and obligatory expenditure should be separated. He said: "It should be seen how far the growth of both obligatory and optional expenditure was justified, and what steps should be taken to keep down nexpenditure without affecting the efficiency of the administration and then to frame an approximate estimate of the

probable rate of growth of the obligatory and optional expenditure under each head in future. The growth of the charge for salaries and establishment should be carefully examined and it should be considered whether the growth is justified by the needs of the administration." In his opinion the State should satisfy itself that its normal revenue would yield a surplus sufficient to meet not only the charges for interest on the capital expenditure during construction of work, but also to meet the deficiency in the net earnings for some years. He however sounded a note of warning about the present scale of expenditure chargeable to revenue and said : "I am, however, not quite so sure about the present scale of the expenditure chargeable to revenue. Such expenditure appears to have grown at a tremendous rate during the last five years and I am unable to say at present how far this has been justified by the annual growth of its revenues or how far the additional expenditure is really conducive to the material prosperity of the State."

The Dewan admitted that careful scrutiny of the position is certainly desirable both as regards ordinary revenue and expenditure as well as capital expenditure. Referring to capital expenditure, Mr. Banerjee quoted the late Dewan's (Sir M. Visvesharaya's) opinions on the subject that for productive works loans should be raised : " I am gratified to observe that this view of our financial policy has now received acceptance at the hands of the public and suggestions for financing productive works from borrowed funds have been made by the members of this Assembly." Mr. Banerjee continuing said :—

" Mr. Datta had advised us to sell away securities as fast as possible up to 80 lakhs, to fulfil our capital programme, and his forecast was that we can provide for a capital expenditure of 60 lakhs in 1919-20 without borrowing. Our Budget forecast is framed accordingly and we have provided for a capital expenditure of 90 lakhs without proposing to borrow. But we have to so adjust our finances that our annual revenue and expenditure account result in a sufficient surplus to meet—

(1) The growth of expenditure for expansion and development : (2) Interest on loans : (3) Depreciation charges : (4) Several reserves, e. g., famine, etc.

"It would be a foolish policy to cut down our capital programme in respect of works already in progress or commenced. It is also incumbent on us to frame future budgets in such a manner that the normal standard surplus of 50 lakhs is guaranteed to meet the necessities of the position under the four heads specified above. I think our resources also require watching, and expenditure, a more detailed scrutiny.

"I will now take you through the figures of the revised estimates for the current year, and budget estimates for the coming year The revised estimates of receipts for the current year is 3/4 lakhs better than the budget, as a net result of large increases under some heads and decrease in others. We have lost ground under Land Revenue, Forest, Mining, Revenue, Krishnarajasagara Works and Cauvery Power Scheme, and gained under Excise, Assigned Tracts' Revenue, Railways and Sandal Oil Factory.

Under expenditure, the budget figures are exceeded, so far as General Administration, Sanitation and Civil Works are concerned. Influenza, food control, and war and grain compensation allowances are responsible for large increases. There are however anticipated lapses under Education, Irrigation Works charged to revenue, Agriculture and Army. The result of these estimates is a net surplus of 49,000 as against the budgetted estimate of 41,000. The next year's budget estimate of revenue shows an improvement of five three-fourth lakhs as a net result of variations, increases being noticeable under Land Revenue, Forest and Excise ; also under industrial concerns which are expected to bring a net revenue of one lakh, a very pleasing and hopeful feature."

Mysore's present position is that under the scheme of Financial Settlement, the whole of the normal revenues of the State is distributed amongst the several groups of spending departments and the reserves. The annual anticipated surpluses due to growth in the revenue are similarly distributed. "It is therefore plain that further demands for extra expenditure can be met only as our revenue grows. The normal annual growth from the existing sources has been calculated at 6 lakhs. But this rate can be secured only under favourable conditions of seasons and trade. For rapid growth of expenditure beyond the rate thus indicated, new sources of revenue will have to be discovered.

The Budget Estimate.

"For the ensuing year, we have budgetted for a revenue of Rs. 304,98,000 and for an expenditure of Rs. 306,08,000 chargeable to this revenue, resulting in a deficit of 1,10,000.

"The net assets of the State by the end of the current year will be 639.75 lakhs and during the next year there will be a further accretion of about 4 lakhs. The captial expenditure on productive works by the end of the current year is expected to amount to 704 lakhs and as the programme for next year is fixed at 90 lakhs the total amount invested by Government in these works by 30th June 1920 will be 794 lakhs."

In conclusion the acting Dewan said :—

"We are rich in ideals and schemes, and have put our hand on the plough, started and continued in motion by successive administrations for tilling the almost unlimited expanse of Mysore's possibilities, under the wise and benevolent guidance of His Highness the Maharaja. Consolidation of work done in the past should be our motto for sometime to come and if we succeed in keeping burning the flame of enthusiasm for progress, kindled by Sir M. Visvesvaraya and his distinguished predecessor, and in showing continued and tangible results in at least some of the schemes and projects so often mentioned in the Dewans' Addresses in this Assembly of past several years, we should deserve well of all classes amongst His Highness' subjects."

Next day, April 29, the Representative Assembly met at 12 Noon when subjects relating to Revenue Survey and Settlement were taken up.

To the representation that no resettlement of a Taluk may be sanctioned until the report of the Settlement Officer is considered by a representative non-official body and both the reports are discussed by the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council, the Government replied that orders will be issued in about 10 days in the matter.

In reply to the representation that each district may be given the privilege of electing a member to represent it in the Legislative Council, that power of electing four members now vested in the Representative Assembly should continue while providing for the election of a member from each district, and that the Mysore Economic Conference, the University, and the Chamber of Commerce, should each be allowed to elect. Govt. promised further consideration.

On June 20 a meeting of the Mysore Legislative Council was held. On the motion of Mr. K. S Chandrasekara Iyer, the First Councillor, the Bill further to amend the Mysore Legislative Council Regulation was passed. This bill related to granting of privileges to move resolutions in the Council. Mr. Iyer in introducing the measure spoke of the increase of privileges accorded to the Council since its constitution in 1907.

In reply to an interpellation suggesting to the Government the establishment of Asylums of rest houses for the benefit of decrepit and disabled persons who roam about in streets Mr. Mir Humza Hussain, Councillor, stated that that was a question for the local bodies to consider.

Dewan Bahadur Chakravarthi replying to an interpellation relating to the details about the gold coins and securities sent from the state treasury to the Mysore bank said :—It is not in public interest to give information of the kind required by the member.

Gold coins were only sent once to the Mysore Bank on condition that they would be returned intact whenever required on three months notice, and except interest paid by the bank there is no gain or loss involved in the transaction.

Suggestions were made by non-official members to curtail the expenditure on public works and to provide facilities for technical, industrial and professional education. One of the nonofficials desired the publication of the report of Mr. K. L. Datta about the finances of the State. Another member suggested the appointment of a mixed committee of officials and non-officials to enquire into all aspects of the State. A suggestion was also made for the establishment of a Board of public health and desire was expressed for large grants for rural areas.

The Legislative Council reassembled next day when the discussion of budget was continued. Official members replied to non-official references to their departments. Mr. Balasundaram Iyer, Chief Secretary, said that he was quite in sympathy with the request for greater provision for medical relief and sanitation in rural areas. The medical committee which was recently constituted had submitted its report to the Government and orders on it were likely to issue shortly and the proposals of the committee include the starting of more dispensaries for the next two years. As regards the improvement of indigenous system of medicine the Government have under consideration certain proposals. The suggestion for the establishment of board of health would also be favourably considered. Mr. Cadambi, Chief Engineer, pointed out that the establishment charges of P. W. D were not higher than those in British India and quoted the figures of Madras and Mysore for three years to show that the Mysore charges were lower than those of Madras.

Mr. K. Chandy, Excise Commissioner, said :—During the last two excise sales over 570 shops were closed and in the recent sale the Government were prepared to incur a loss of one and half lakhs by closing 20 shops around Bangalore. In spite of all that, income had increased and that is due to increase in consumption. He also stated that if in any definite area like a taluq the majority of people would come forward with a request to the Government not to have shops in that area the Government would be prepared to forego revenues.

The budget discussion concluded after the financial Secretary, members of the council and the President of the Council had made their observations. Mr. Chandrasekara Iyer, First Councillor, stated that proposals were before the Government for the establishment of an agricultural college at Mysore and the Registrar of the University had been asked to report the site and plans and details. He also

said that an elaborate scheme had been prepared for the improvement of indigenous system of medicine. The Dewan in his concluding remarks said that matters relating to education to which references had been made had been considered in a Government resolution on education which would be issued shortly. He also stated that the appointment of a committee of officials and non-officials to enquire into the finances of the state was now unnecessary, but the request might be repeated if non-officials remained unsatisfied after they had seen the Government review of finance and the forecasts of expenditure of the State which was promised at the last session of the representative assembly.

Bikaner State.

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

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

Pte. secy, to H. H.—Pyare Kishen Wattal, M.A. F.R.E.S. F.S.S

Mily. secy,—Lt.-col. Kanwar Baney Singh of Motasar (hony. a.-d.-c. to H. H.)

State Administration.

MOKHMA KHAS

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

Ordinary member State council.—Rai Bahdr. Raja Jeoraj Singh of Reri.

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

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

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

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

Hony. member, State council,—Rao Bahdr. Raja Hari Singh of Maharajan.

Persnl. asst. reve. & fince, member,—Maharaj Sri Pirthisinghji Sahib.

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

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

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

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

Members of the Legislative Assembly.

Col. Maharaj Sri Sir Bhairon Singhji Bahdr, K.C.S.I ;
Rao Bahdr. Raja Hari Singh of Mahajan ; Rawat Man Singh of Rawatsar ;
Maj. Maharaj Sri Narayan Singhji Sahib, Maharaj Sri Pirthi Singhji Sahib,
Rao Bahdr. Raja Jeoraj Singh of Reri ;
Rao Bahdr. Rao Jeoraj Singh of Pugal ; Thakur Bijey Singh of Sankhu ;
Thakur Sudul Sigh of Jasana ; Rao Bahdr. Thakur Kishen Singh of Rasjana ;
Bgdr.-Genl. Rao Bahdr. Thakur Hari Singh of Sattasar, O.B.E,

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

Proceedings of the Council

The Legislative Council of Bikaner State was opened at Bikaner on 18th October 1919 and continued several days, His Highness Maharaja Sir Ganga Singhji presiding. The Maharaja was dressed in military uniform, wore the Order of the Star of India, and on his head-gear a jewelled frame containing a photo of His Majesty the King Emperor.

The Council was inaugurated in 1912, and since then it has been enlarged and now possesses the same powers as the Viceroy's Council in regard to interpellations, the moving of resolutions and introducing bills. The elective principle has been introduced into the Council, and every Municipality having a population of 2,500 return one member. The members take an oath of allegiance to His Majesty as well as to His Highness. Among the members of the Council are some veterans who have won distinctions in various battlefields during the war.

Kumar's Maiden Speech

In order to have continuity of work in his absence the Maharaja has nominated his Heir-Apparent to the Council. He took the oath of allegiance on the first day, in the usual manner, both to H. M. the King-Emperor and to H. H. the Maharaja. Rai Bahadur Raja Hari Singhji of Mahajan and several other speakers expressed their joy at the Maharaja Kumar's participation in State affairs. They hoped that he would secure the undying love and willing devotion of the Maharaja's loyal subjects by keeping an ever-watchful eye over their interests.

The Maharaja Kumar in his maiden speech said: I thank the Raja of Mahajan, speaking on behalf of the official and the non-official members, for the encouraging words with which he has greeted me here, and I thank the Assembly for their spontaneous welcome. I beg to assure Your Highness and this Assembly that it will be my constant endeavour to devote myself to the furtherance of the prosperity of Bikaner and the well-being of its people, taking as my guide our traditions and the example of my honoured father. My cup of happiness will be filled when I feel I have earned Your Highness' approbation as a successful servant of the State.

Resolutions moved.

1. Rawat Man Singhji then moved: "That the members of this Assembly, representing all classes of Your Highness' subjects, most respectfully beg Your Highness to be graciously pleased to convey to His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor their humble and most respectful congratulations on the achievment of the great and the glorious victory won by the mighty British Empire in the cause of freedom and justice, a victory which has saved the world from the domination of militarism and savagery and has vindicated once more to the eternal glory of the British nation and her Allies the triumph of right over might and in which Bikaner, with the rest of India, is proud to have borne her share with the other members of the Empire." During the four and half years of war, said the speaker, we have suffered the loss of many brave and valuable lives, and we have not stinted our assistance in money and material, and it is because we feel we have borne our full share as far as we were able in the victory now won that we are proud to-day to request Your Highness to convey our loyal congratulations to His Imperial Majesty.

The reslontion was carried and His Highness promised to remit it through H. E. the Viceroy.

2. A resolution was proposed by the Heir-Apparent expressing gratitude to the Army. "That the members of this Assembly,on behalf of the whole people of Bikaner, do hereby express their heart-felt thanks to the officers and men of the Ganga Risala who by their courage and endurance during 4 years of active service in Egypt and Palestine have so gloriously assisted the forces of the British Empire in bringing the world-wide war to a victorious end and in warding off its ravages from the boundaries of India, and who have by their cheerfulness and gallant conduct, under strange and arduous circumstances, so worthily upheld the tradition of Bikaner, and further, that the members of this Assembly do tender their deep sympathy with the families and relations of those brave men of the regiment who have fallen and trust that the pride which all feel in

their gallantry may to some extent mitigate the sorrow caused by their death."

Maharajah's Great Speech.

In closing the session, His Highness the Maharaja delivered an important speech in which he dwelt at length on the attitude of the Indian Princes to the problems of constitutional reform both in British India and in their own States especially rebutting certain critics in England and in India.

His Highness in the course of his speech first paid a tribute of deep devotion to their Imperial Majesties, the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress. Said His Highness, "The firm hold of the monarchical form of government in Great Britain is due again to what I might with all reverence term the splendid example of devotion to duty and the love and care for his people which His Imperial Majesty has so graciously displayed and to the wonderful work in the cause of the country which both the King-Emperor and the Queen-Empress have done—work which has come into special prominence during the five trying years of the war. Even in so democratic a country as America, they have come to learn of the advantages of a Crowned Head, and the war has brought to them an agreeable surprise by revealing the fact—already known to his peoples—that our King-Emperor and Queen-Empress are the hardest worked people in the whole of Great Britain and the British Empire. Long may they be spared to us."

The Princes and Reform

The Maharaja next turned to constitutional reform in British India, speaking warmly of 'that staunch friend of India, Mr. Austen Chamberlain,' and of Mr. Montagu and condemning the opposition to the reform proposals by those whom, to avoid personalities, he called "the English Extremists." He referred to various criticisms specially of his famous Savoy Hotel Speech of March last (for this see the Register for 1919, Part II, p. 81), and said :—

"I have seen it expressly stated in one place that in common with some other Princes I had from time to time expressed or been persuaded into expressing myself as whole-heartedly in favour of Home Rule League and all its propaganda. I have seldom seen a greater perversion of truth. As I have publicly stated previously, I, in common with my brother Princes, belong to no political party whatsoever. I hope I am a moderate in my views. In common with many loyal Indians and Englishmen I desire to see India once again rise to full nation-hood under the aegis of British Crown and attain the fullest autonomy as an integral and contented part of the

Empire, which will be a sure source of strength and not of weakness to Great Britain, but I have never been associated with Home Rule Leagues in any way and have no connection with them whatsoever. What is more, I have not on a single occasion uttered a single word which might be taken to imply that I was even partially in favour of that league or its propaganda, with the extreme views and tactics of which body I am personally altogether unable to agree, and to the best of my knowledge the same applies to my brother Princes.

"The allegation that my action was an unprecedented and direct interference with the purely domestic affairs of British India is however one that must be dealt with more seriously, the more so as the same charge is made against the Princes as a body. Of course I today speak only for myself, but as I have the honour of knowing an exceptionally large number of my brother Princes and have, moreover, come in close contact with them in the past few years in my capacity of Honorary General Secretary to Their Highnesses for the Princes' Conference, I feel that in regard to this point in particular I should not be far wrong in giving expression to feelings which I believe will be generally shared by the Princes. We have made it abundantly clear on many previous occasions that the Princes of India have not the slightest desire to interfere in the purely domestic concerns of British India, just as we would emphatically resent any interference in regard to matters concerning our internal independence and autonomy. This is a policy from which I am not aware that we have ever deviated. But in all questions of Imperial or common concern the Princes have an indisputable right to, and must always claim, a voice not only in view of their political importance but also in view of their territories forming a third of the area and over a fifth of the population of India.

"The question of constitutional reform in British India is really one of Imperial and common concern and one, moreover, in which the Princes are more than indirectly concerned. The well-being and prosperity of India and the ever-increasing happiness and contentment of its people must necessarily be matters of very deep concern to every loyal Indian, whether he be a British subject or a resident within the territories of an Indian State. The vital considerations involved and the great issues at stake in regard to this question are not confined to British India. On a sympathetic, generous and bold handling of this question depend the happiness, the loyalty and the contentment of the people of India. A loyal, progressive and contented India will be an asset of immense value to the Empire which in itself would be of immense advantage to all concerned, including the Princes and the States. Not only have the

Princes a very large stake and vested interests of vital importance in the country, but there is a very great and real identity of interests between the British Government and themselves. And, as has been repeatedly stated by the highest officers of the Crown, they have also their duties and responsibilities as pillars of that Imperial edifice and as partners and colleagues of the Viceroy—in the words of Lord Curzon—to share with him the burden of rule.

The Duty of the Princes.

"As I said in my speech, the Princes out of their loyal and deep devotion to the King-Emperor and their attachment to the Empire are concerned to see such measures adopted as will further popularise, strengthen and preserve the King-Emperor's rule in India, as also the ties that bind England and India together and to see the elements that make for sobriety, moderation and restraint, strengthened and consolidated.

"It is plain to any sober-minded person that should the counsels of the opponents of genuine reform prevail, the feeling and the political effect which would thereby be created in India would be deplorable. Surely the duty of the Princes, as friends and Allies, and in view of the identity of interest, to advise the British Government on matters which, in certain eventualities, are likely to create a disturbing situation in British India, cannot be questioned, and past precedent is forthcoming, as in 1908, when Lord Minto asked for the co-operation of the Princes and their advice in dealing with the unrest in parts of Bengal and elsewhere. Whilst the Princes of India can always be counted upon to throw the whole weight of their influence and resources on the side of law and order and constituted authority, as they have invariably and unflinchingly done in the past, they are, apart from all these weighty considerations which appeal to them most, prompted not unnaturally by reasons of self-interest also, to see such a course followed as will ensure tranquillity on the other side of their borders and thus avert serious trouble from crossing into their territories. For conditions existing in British India and the attitude of the people there find their inevitable reflex in our own States. It is quite clear that any grievance and discontent in British India, still more anarchy and sedition, are bound sooner or later to spread to our States and to affect the Indian Rulers and their Governments. Many of us are surrounded by British territory. With the increased railway, telegraph and postal facilities, and the spread of education and Western thoughts and ideals, and with a large number of our State subjects carrying on business in British India, there are, much more than formerly, frequent and intimate interchange of ideas and opinions

and greater contact between our own subjects and those of British India."

His Highness finally proceeded to rebut the criticism that the Indian Princes who advocated reforms in British India did not apply them in their own States and showed what measures of reforms he had inaugurated in Bikaner Consultation with representative citizens was, he said, fundamental in Indian systems of government but it did not follow that modern Western institutions imported without modification were the best developments in every State in India.

The Nizam's Council

New Executive Council Opened.

On November 21 1919, His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad held a Durbar at the Kingkoti Palace to announce the institution of an Executive Council for his Dominions. The following are the new Executive Councillors :—

1.	Sir Syed Ali Imam kt.	President, and in Charge of Legislative Department.
2.	R. I. R. Glancy (on Leave) Nawab Ameen Jung Bahadur (Actg.)	Finance.
3.	Nawab Vilayat Jung Bahadur	Judicial.
4.	„ Latafat Jung „	Army.
5.	„ Balwant „	Revenue.
6.	„ Tilhwat Jung „	Public Works.
7.	„ Nizamat „ „	Political.
8.	„ Akhil „ „	Commerce and Industry.
9.	„ Faradoon Mulk „	Member Extraordinary.

The Nizam's Speech.

In declaring the Council open His Exalted Highness said :—"This durbar has been convened to mark an event of very great moment in the history of my dominions. As you are all probably aware, the original form of Government in this country was a pure autocracy assisted by a Prime Minister. It is a matter of history how with a few honourable exceptions the Prime Ministers of the past steadily pursued the policy of undermining the authority of the Nizam under whom they served and to whom they owed allegiance as subjects and servants. The State archives are replete with evidence of such transgressions resulting in friction and the destruction of administrative efficiency so largely detrimental to public weal. The

passion to grasp at power, however unlawful and unconstitutional, dried up the sources of initiative and reform. Successive ministries disclosed the imperfection of the system. My father long after the death of the First Salar Jung, having given his reorganisation of the administration a full and fair trial, was deeply impressed by the defects present in it and was impelled in 1892 to promulgate the *qanoonchu mubarick* defining thereby the powers and responsibilities of the Prime Minister and his assistants. A further attempt at efficiency was made by the issue of the rules of the *qanoonchu* soon after my accession. My own scrutiny and examination of the administrative problems of my dominions convinced me that the defects were ineradicable unless and until there was a structural change in the Government. After anxious and mature consideration, I decided to take up the heavy burden of direct administrative change without the help of a Prime Minister. For five long years I have toiled hard and ever kept in view the measures that promised to secure the happiness and prosperity of my beloved subjects in whose contentment and advancement my interest is paternal and abiding. Close and personal association with the administration has revealed to me the necessity of the departure from the existing method. Change of times, complexities of modern life, a new political perception in the East and internal and external interests of my dominions have put such a severe strain upon my personal and direct control as to call for some immediate measure of appreciable relief. Finding it impossible to revert to a system, whose repeated breakdown had proved its futility, I resolved, after much reflection to give my Government a new constitution which would secure greater efficiency and ensure progressive force. Experiment elsewhere has proved that the Council form of Government has many and varied advantages over Government vested in a single official, however eminent. It is my earnest desire therefore to secure these advantages for the well being of my people. With these end in view I have by a firman issued to-day constituted an Executive Council consisting of a President, seven ordinary members and an Extraordinary member without a portfolio. Under well considered rules the powers of the Council, of its President and Members have been defined and their collective and individual responsibilities fixed. Its personnel has been determined with the greatest possible care. It includes men of mature experience and approved merit. The President, Sir Ali Imam, needs no introduction. His career in British India is very well known. A Council so constituted will strengthen the administration in all its branches and offer sound advice on those matters affecting the larger interests of the State that have been specifically reserved for the exercise of my own powers. Its corporate action

will give administrative cohesion and yield results highly beneficial to my people. The spread of education, the development of economic resource, the encouragement of commercial and industrial enterprise, the adoption of advanced sanitary and hygienic measures, the improvement of roads and communications and many other measures await solution. In these and other directions of internal reforms the labours of the Council will be of value no less than in matters of general policy and the political relations of Government with the Government of India. These are as friendly and cordial as in the past. Ever since the dawn of British rule in India an unbroken record of alliance and friendship with my House has been maintained. In more than one crisis the sword of an Asifah has been drawn in the defence of the honour and integrity of the British Empire. My own contribution to win the world-wide war from which the British Empire has so triumphantly emerged are too well-known for me to dwell upon. The Council will therefore find itself in a happy position to approach the all important question of the restoration of the Berar. My claim to the possession of this integral part of my dominions is based on absolute justice and it is inconceivable that on an impartial examination it can be ruled out. I shall therefore await the advice of the Council on this momentous question with deep interest. To my nobles, officials, jagirdars and my beloved subjects generally, I commend this new constitution and earnestly call upon them to support it with unfaltering devotion and loyal ccoperation. No constitution can fulfil its functions without strict and jealous regard to its observance. With these words I wish Sir Ali Imam and his colleagues every success in the discharge of the great duties upon which they now enter."

Travancore State

Ruler—H. H. Sri Padmanabha Dasa Vanchi Sir Bala Rama Varma Kulasekhara Kiritapati Mani Sultan Maharaja Raja Ramma Raja Bahdr. Shamsher Jung, G C.S.I. G.C.I.E., F M.U , M.R.A.S., F.R G.S., Officer de l' Instruction Publique.

State Officers.

Dewan —Dewan Pahdr. M. Krishna Nair, P.A.B.L.

I te. secy to Dewan—K. Parameshwaran Pillai B.A., B.L.

Chf. Secy to govt.—R. Mahadeva Aiyar A B.

Under secs —M. Raja Raja Varma M.A., B.L. R. Krishna Pillai, B.A., B.L., and K. Narayanan Pandalay, B.A., B L.

Asst. secs.—K. Venkata Row, S. Parameswara Aiyer, M.A., BL. T. P. Ramasubha Aiyar, B.A., and R. Ramalingam Aiyar B.A.

Legislative Council

Presdt.—Diwan Bahdr. M. Krishna Nair, B.A , B.L.

Offl. members,—R. Mahadwa Iyer, B.A. chf. secy, to govt ; V. Subba Aiyar, B.A., B.L. addtl. head sirkar vakil ; N. Subrahmanya Aiyar, M.A., senr. Diwan peishkar ;

N. Rajaram Rai. B.A. ; I.C. Chacko, B.A , B.S.C. state geologst ; N, Raman Pillay, B.A , excise. comms ;

Rai Bahdr. K. V. Rangaswamy Iyengar, B.A. profsr. of history and economics ; and John Kurian, B A., B.C.E. ex engr.

Non. offl. members—R. Govinda Menon, B.A.; M. Subramania Pillai. K. A. Krishna Iyengar, B.A., B L ; R Gopal Pillai, B.A , B.L. ; K. Parameswara Pillai, B.A., B L ; Paul Daniel, M.A., L.T ; and J. A Richardson.

Secy—K.Narayanan Pandalai, B.A., B.L.

The Popular Assembly

February 1919

The 15th Session of the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly met at Trivandrum on the 17th Februruary 1919. The Dewan of Travancore in opening the Assembly made a speech in which he detailed the War efforts of the State, the enormous economic distress and the action taken by the Durbar to ameliorate it. He then presented the following *resume* of details of administration :—

Revenue and expenditure.—The revenue and receipts of the State rose from Rs. 1,63,43,576 in 1092 (M. E year) to Rs. 1,65,89,541 in 1093 and the ordinary expenditure from

Rs. 1,53,24,370 to Rs. 1,61,55,926 resulting in a surplus of Rs. 4,33,615. Including the capital expenditure on the extension of the railway from Quilon to Trivandrum, amounting to Rs. 8,70, 116, the total expenditure of the year was Rs. 1,70,26,042, giving a net deficit of Rs. 4,36,501. The revenue for the year was the highest on record showing an increase of Rs. 6,75,841 over the amount budgetted for. The receipts under "Forest," "Salt" and "Customs" reached higher figures than those in any previous year, the slight decrease under "Stamps" and "Registration" being attributable to the dislocation of business activities as a result of the economic strain to which reference has already been made. The expenditure for 1093 was also the highest on record, with the solitary exception of the abnormal year of 1090. The expenditure on "Education" has been particularly noteworthy during recent years, the amount rising from Rs. 9,55,951 in 1087 to Rs. 22,21,674 in 1093, the highest figure ever reached. The assets of the Government at the end of 1093 amounted to Rs. 1,34,36,438 and the liabilities to Rs. 94,89,578, leaving a closing balance of Rs. 39,46,160. As I explained in my address last year, there need be no apprehension on account of the reduction of the closing balance from Rs. 77,91,725 in 1088 to about a moiety of that amount in the course of the last quinquennium, in view of the fact that a sum of Rs. 49,86,819 has been spent during the interval on the extension of the railway from Quilon to Trivandrum, and that if this amount were added to the balance, the transactions would leave a closing balance, of Rs. 89,33,679, or Rs. 11,41,954 in excess of that for 1088. If the ordinary expenditure of the State alone is taken into account, the transactions of the past three years have resulted in surpluses, the comparatively small surplus of Rs. 4,33,615 in 1093 being due to the fact that extraordinary expenditure to the extent of about eight lakhs had to be incurred during that year. The budget of 1094 provides for a revenue of Rs. 1,63,65,200 and an expenditure of Rs. 1,59,57,300. The estimate of capital expenditure not charged to revenue is only Rs. 77,400, as very little further outlay remains to be incurred on the extension of the railway from Quilon to Trivandrum.

Forests.—The total area of reserved forests at the end of 1093 was 2,383 square miles and 117 acres, and of reserved lands 77 square miles and 50 acres. In view to the expeditious disposal of the large volume of forest settlement work still remaining to be done, Government have appointed a Special Forest Settlement Peishkar for one year with effect from the 10th Chingam 1094. Including a simple working scheme for one of the circles, regular working plans have till now been sanctioned for an area of 673 square miles and

210 acres. An additional area of 388 acres was newly planted with teak and the existing plantations covering an area of 4,103 acres were properly maintained. The policy of restricting the exploitation of royal timber from the reserved forests was persisted in. The balance stock at the sale depots was brought to a minimum. The tentative measure originally sanctioned and subsequently extended for the abolition of export duty on timber, firewood and charcoal, was further extended for another period of five years. The gross revenue rose from Rs. 14,75,347 in 1092 to Rs. 15,15,293 in 1093 and the net revenue from Rs. 6,25,609 to Rs. 8,64,955. The net revenue of the Department in 1087 was only Rs. 2,83,383 and it is a matter for congratulation that it has more than trebled itself during the last six years. Government take this opportunity of recording their appreciation of the good work done by Mr. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, Conservator of Forests.

Salt.—The area actually worked as salt pans rose from 301 to 355 acres. Prompt steps are being taken to bring the balance of the available area also under cultivation. The production of home salt fell, owing to untimely rains, from 4,83,843 maunds to 3,74,983 maunds. I note with pleasure that the consumption in 1093 increased by 44,928 maunds, the average consumption per head of population rising from 24·3 lbs. to 26·1 lbs.

Agriculture.—Copies of the report of the Director of Agriculture for 1093 will as usual, be placed in your hands from which you will obtain detailed information regarding the working of the Agricultural Department during the year. One of the most useful items of work in which the Department is engaged is the preparation and supply of manures to ryots at a cheap rate. With a view to meet the increasing demand on this account four branch manure depots were opened in South Travancore in 1093. The scheme has since been extended to other parts of South Travancore, and will, if successful, be further extended to the remaining parts of the State altogether. The question of cultivating better varieties of paddy has also been engaging the attention of the Department, and during 1093, four seed unions were formed for the distribution of improved paddy seeds. The possibility of making punja cultivation near Alleppey annual, instead of biennial as at present, is stated to have been successfully demonstrated. There are not less than 20,000 acres of punja lands which are now cultivated only in alternate years and it would be a great advantage if even a portion of this area could be made to yield an annual crop.

Industries.—The industrial problem is the problem of the hour. The war has provided the country with a great opportunity and it

would be to its advantage to seize this opportunity with alacrity. Government have deputed Dr. Barker in 1092 to conduct an industrial survey of the State, as a preliminary measure. Dr. Barker has now completed the survey and submitted the results of his investigations. Dr. Barker considers that the industries which may be immediately brought into existence in Travancore are shellac, tapioca, coir, palmyra, sugar, matches, soap, pencils, weaving and dyeing, brushes and mat and basket weaving, and suggests that three or four industries may be selected from among the above and attention concentrated on them for the time being. The whole question is engaging the attention of Government and orders will be passed in due course on the proposals of Dr. Barker. In the meantime, with a view to ensure continuance of work, Government have created a Department of Industries for Travancore and appointed Dr. Barker as Acting Director of Industries with effect from the 1st Makram 1094. The duties of the Director of Industries are to advise Government on all industrial and technical matters, to control the industries already started, to investigate the possibilities of new industries and organise them wherever practical, to start small industries for purposes of demonstration, to investigate the raw materials available in the forests of the State for industrial purposes, to receive suitable cottage industries, to enlighten the people in regard to industrial matters by lectures, bulletins, etc., and to generally help in the industrial progress of the State. The student deputed to undergo training in shellac manufacture returned and he was directed to conduct an investigation on the possibilites of this industry in Travancore. A scheme for the introduction of bee-culture as a cottage industry has been started at Nedumangad and a bee-expert appofnted to popularise the industry among the people. At the instance of Dr. Barker, free training was secured for a Travancorean in pencil manufacture, for another in button manufacture and for two others in bees-wax manufacture. The present economic distress has brought into strong relief the need for the development of ship-building in Travancore and substantial concessions have been afforded to the intending ship-builders in respect of timber and land.

Co-operative Societies,—The total number of Co-operative Societies at the end of 1093 was 45, of which 33 were agricultural and the rest non-agricultural. Though there was demand for the formation of new Societies, it was not considered desirable to increase their number without due regard to the condition of their resources. Excluding the members of the Central Bank, the number of members in these Societies rose from 2,005 to 2,796. With a view to avoid the danger of allowing Credit Societies to assume unmanageable size, action was taken to prescribe a limit for membership in

some of the Primary Societies till they were able to establish good business reputation. The paid up capital of the Societies rose from Bh. Rs. 24,710 to Bh. Rs. 30,574 and the promoters of the Societies are reported to have been willing to supply funds out of the resources at their disposal. Unfortunately, the work turned out by the Trivandrum Central Co-operative Bank alone was far from satisfactory. The first co-operative conference was held at Mavelikara in Medam 1093.

Railway.—Since the close of February 1918 two trains have been running between Quilon and Trivandrum every day. The financial prospects of the new line are encouraging. The working of the Travancore Branch of the South Indian Railway from Tinnevelly to Trivandrum for the first half of 1918-1919 ending with the 30th September 1918 has not only covered the entire interest charges on the original line up to Quilon, but has also left a balance of Bh. Rs. 96,726, to pay up the interest charges of the State on the extension to Trivandrum, which amount to Bh. Rs. 98, 636 at 84 per cent. on the Capital. An estimate was sanctioned for providing third class passenger accommodation at all the intermediate stations between Quilon and Trivandrum. The extension of the line to the pier at Valiatura is under the consideration of Government.

Municipal Government.—Since the close of 1093 the rate-payers of the towns of Colachel, Attungal, Mavelikara, Changanachery and Vaikam have been granted the privilege of electing four out of the seven non-official members of the respective Committees, so that at present all the 19 Town Improvement Committees in the State have a majority of their non-official members elected by the people. Non-official Presidents have been newly appointed for the Committees of Nagercoil and Mavelikara and a non-official Vice-President for the Committee of Kuzhittura. The system of compulsory vaccination has been extended to the towns of Kuzhitura. Vaikam, Parur and Tiruvalla. The new Municipal Bill, conferring considerably charged powers on Municipal Councils has been considered in detail by the Legislative Council and is now awaiting final reading. The question of the formation of Local Boards for the benefit of rural area is also under the consideration of Government.

Medical Department.—Steps have been taken for the opening of new dispensaries at Taikattuseri and Cape Comorin, and a weekly branch dispensary has been opened at Santanpara in the High range. The Fort Dispensary at Trivandrum has been raised to a hospital.

Department of Ayurveda.—The Department of Ayurveda has been thoroughly reorganised. The main features of the reorganisation are the revision of the curricula of studies in the Ayurveda Patasala on an up to date and scientific basis to suit modern requirements, the opening of a botanical garden for the cultivation of medicinal plants, and the establishment of an Ayurvedic Pharmacy and an Ayurvedic Hospital and Dispensary at Trivandrum. The Dispensary has been doing very useful work from the day of its opening on the 18th Karkadakam 1093, the number of out-patients treated during the first five months of 1094 reaching the high figure of 10,474. Till recently the Pharmacy merely supplied medicines for free distribution at the Dispensary, but arrangements have now been made for the sale of medicines to those who are willing to purchase them, during Vrischikam and Dhanu 1094, the first two months when it was in operation, medicines to the value of Rs. 448 were purchased from the Pharmacy.

General Statistics.—The number of recognised institutions in the State rose from 2,508 in 1092 to 2,828 in 1093 and their strength from 3,48,986 to 3,75,448, showing an increase of 320 schools and 26,462 scholars. On an average, there was one recognised school for every 2·5 square miles and 1,212 inhabitants, against 3·05 and 1,367 respectively in 1092. Private aided schools rose in number and strength from 1,264 and 1,19,280 to 1,394 and 1,35,697, and private unaided schools from 169 and 13,980 to 346 and 24,424 respectively. The non-departmental institutions thus increased in number by 21·4 per cent. and in strength by 20 per cent. As compared with these, the increase in the number of departmental schools from 1,075 to 1,082 was little more than nominal, while their strength showed a slight decline from 2,15,716 to 2,15,327. The increase in the number of private institutions and the steady accession to their strength tend to prove that the policy of the Government towards private agencies work in the field of education is bearing fruit and that popular confidence is growing in respect of those institutions. Of the total population of the State, 10·95 per cent. were attending recognised schools, while if the strength of unrecognised schools were also taken into account, the corresponding percentage would be 11·9. The percentage of pupils in recognised schools to the population of school-going age, calculated at the usual rate of 15 per cent. of the total population, rose from 67·9 to 72·8 and including the pupils of unrecognised institutions, from 78·3 to 82·4. There was no taluk, except Devicolam with a large floating population, which did not return a ratio of more than 50 per cent., and the figures undoubtedly reflect the highest credit on the Department.

Female Education.—The number of recognised institutions for girls increased from 343 to 352 and the number of girls under instruction from 1,01,288 to 1,13,997. The number of girls attending Colleges rose from 58 to 86 and those attending English schools from 3,019 to 3,348. There were 18 women students in the B.A. classes of the local Arts College, against 8 in 1092. An examination in needle work qualifying for the appointment of sewing mistresses was instituted, as also a Music Board for the guidance of the study of music in girls' schools.

Class Education.—Strenuous efforts were made for bringing under instruction more pupils belonging to the educationally backward communities and especially Malayala Brahmins, Ezhavas, Pulayas, Parayas, Mahomedans, and Kuravas. Ample facilities were afforded by Government for the spread of literacy among these classes.

As many as 2,048 schools had children of the depressed classes attending them, of which more than 1,000 schools admitted Pulaya and Paraya pupils for the first time in 1093, without any appreciable opposition from caste Hindus. The appointment of a Mahomedan inspecting officer was sanctioned. A Mahomedan Girls school was opened at Pulankudiyirippu and women teachers were appointed in the Mahomedan Girls' schools at Kottar and Tiruvitamkode. Malayala Brahmin girls were also attending schools in larger numbers. Half-fee concessions under the Code have been extended to Maravas and Kaniyars.

Expenditure.—The gross expenditure on education rose from Rs. 20,65,254 to Rs. 22,21,674 as already stated, showing an increase of 7·5 per cent. The receipts amounted to Rs. 5,65, 343 and the net expenditure to Rs. 16,56,331, giving an average of about annas seven half per head of population. The next expenditure on English school education was Rs. 60,996, while that on vernacular school education was Rs. 11,63,504. More than 70 per cent of the net expenditure was thus incurred on primary education.

Proceedings of the Assembly

The Assembly met every day from the 17th to the 25th February. After the Dewan's opening address on the first day, discussion of on various matters were taken up, revenue, forest, public-works, sanitation, agriculture, sanitation, etc all being discussed separately on different days allotted to them. Representations from the elected members suggesting improvements were sympathetically received by the Dewan. Some strong criticisms were also made on the work of the State Geologist, and on the corruption practised by some of the subordinate officers.

In the course of his reply the Dewan said that the trend of the policy of His Highness' Government was to take the people into the confidence of Government gradually as they would have seen from the series of measures adopted from time to time for the last two decades. The latest proof of such a policy was the proposed expansion of the Legislative Council. The suggestions made by the members will be duly considered when further action is taken in pursuance of the announcement made for expanding the Legislative Council already engaging the attention of the Government.

The Dewan then said he would not let go certain observations made by the last two speakers attacking what they described subordinate officers drawing Rs. One hundred or thereabouts. The impression a foreigner without an intimate knowledge of Travancore of its officers will carry, if he were to listen to those remarks, will be that corruption was rampant in the State service and that people were groaning under the weight of oppression from officials, that Government or Heads of Departments under whom such officers serve are indifferent or unaware of a serious canker eating the vitals of the public service to the great prejudice of the public morality and safety of the people. The people in Travancore know what value should be attached to such random remarks made openly at the assembly for the information of foreigners. Again, he would strongly repudiate those statements. He was not prepared to say that every one in the public service was above board or was of an ideal character. There may be some of doubtful character but the member's sweeping remarks were untrue and unjustifiable. Before he came to Travancore his impression from information received from local people was that the public service required improvement, but he had to revise that impression materially now. As a result of his experience and close contact with the officials here and elsewhere he was decidedly of opinion that in comparison, the Travancore service has nothing to be ashamed of and does not suffer in comparison in any way seeing what human nature is generally in the affairs of the world anywhere.

This defence of the subordinate officers' conduct was received with applause. The assembly then dissolved.

Travancore Assembly--Sept. Session.

An important meeting of the Legislative Council was held on 12th September, 1919, with Dewan Bahadur M. Krishnan Nair, the Dewan, in the Chair. All the members, excepting Mr. Mackey, the member for the European Planters, and Mr. N. Subramanya Iyer, M.A., the Senior Dewan Peishkar, were present.

Before the regular proceedings began, the Secretary of the Council announced that the Animal Diseases Bill and the Plant Pests Bill had received Royal Sanction on the 9th August last and that they have become Law (XI and XII of 1095 M. E.) Then the Secretary read two telegrams sent from Alleppy to the Government, praying for the entire rejection of the Public Canals and Public Ferries Regulation Amendment Bill.

The Law Member introduced the Public Canals and Public Ferries Regulation Amendment Bill. In introducing this he said that the objects and reasons of the Bill are as follows :

It has been found necessary to bring the regulation into conformity with the Madras Act. Under the regulation all vessels that ply for hire have to be registered irrespective of the size and capacity of the vessel, while vessels, however big, need, if they do not ply for hire, no registration. It is thought desirable that every vessel unless exempted by Government should be either licensed or registered irrespective of the fact whether it plies for hire or not. Section 4 of the Regulation has therefore been modified. The Government however will have the power to exempt any vessel or class of vessels from the operation of the Section. Chapter V deals with duties of carriers of goods and Chapter VI with the duties of the owner or master of a vessel when any passenger leaves inadvertently any property in the vessel. Steam and motor vessels form the chief means of conveyance in public canals. It has not been found possible to have an effective control over these vessels under the existing Regulation. Provisions specially applicable to steam and motor vessels have therefore been incorporated in the Bill on the lines of the Inland Steam Vessels Act I of 1917. Every steam vessels is required to possess a certificate of inspection as to its being in proper condition. Every master, serang or engine-driver is required to possess certificates of competency or service for his respective duties. Mr. C. Raman Thampi, non official Member, opposed

certain portions of the Bill. The Bill, as proposed by the Legal Member, was then referred to a Select Committee composed of Messrs C. Raman Thampi, Raja Rama Rao, Kuriyan, Subba Iyer and A. G. Menon.

With the passing of the Registration of Ships Bill, the proceedings came to a close. Before the Council dispersed, the Dewan addressed the Council and delivered a long and very instructive speech giving a short history of the Local Legislative Council.

The following are extracts from the Dewan's speech.

Constitutional Reforms in Travancore.

"This meeting is the last to be held under the existing Legislative Council Regulation. This regulation will cease to be in force on the 18th October 1919, and a new and important chapter will then open in the history of constitutional reforms in Travancore. The enlargement of the Legislative Council on a representative basis and the extension of its functions on a deliberative plan will mark a definite epoch in the political progress of the country. There has been no more momentous occasion in the annals of this Council, and I shall not be justified in passing it by without offering a few remarks on the scope and objects of the new Regulation which will guide its destinies in the future.

[After tracing the history of the Council the Dewan said :]

"Ever since the institution of the Shri Mulam Popular Assembly in 1904, representations have been almost continuously made for the enlargement of the scope and usefulness of the Council. As early as 1905, one of the members of the Assembly urged the need for conferring on the Assembly the right to elect a fair proportion of non-official members to the Council and for empowering the latter to interpellate the Government on matters of public interest. At the eleventh Session of the Assembly at which I had the privilege of presiding for the first time, the prayer for the expansion of the Council was repeated with greater insistence, and since then, I have had ample opportunities of gauging the volume and intensity of popular opinion in this respect. The representations made at successive sessions of the Assembly were duly submitted by me for the consideration of His Highness the Maharaja, and His Highness has now been graciously pleased to grant the prayer of his subjects by the promulgation of Regulation I of 1905.

As you will observe, this Regulation has been passed by His Highness the Maharaja direct, instead of through the Council. The supreme legislative authority in every country vests in the Sovereign,

and the Native States of India, governed by Ruling Chiefs and Princes, form no exception to this rule. The characteristic features of prominent Indian States like Travancore, as has been authoritatively pointed out in the recent Joint Report of His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India on Indian constitutional reforms, are "the personal rule of the Prince and his control over legislation and the administration of justice." So far as His Highness the Maharaja's powers of internal sovereignity, including the prerogative of legislation, are concerned, they are practically absolute and have never undergone any constitutional modification. To those in this Council who are students of constitutional law, I need not explain at any length the fundamental difference between sovereign or superior and non-sovereign or subordinate law-making bodies. The British Indian Legislatures are, for example, subordinate law-making bodies. The general characteristics of such bodies are, according to Professor Dicey, the existence of laws affecting their constitution which they must obey and cannot change, the formation of a marked distinction between the ordinary laws which they promulgate and the fundamenal or constitutional laws by which they are governed, and the presence of a person or body of persons, judicial or otherwise, having authority to pronounce upon the validity of the laws passed by them. The sovereign or superior law-making body in respect of British India is the Crown and the two Houses of Parliament put together. Similarly, in Travancore, His Highness' the Maharaja is the sovereign or superior law-making authority and this council is only a non-sovereign or subordinate legislative body. It is a well-known rule of law that no subordinate legislature has the power to alter its own constitution. His Highness the Maharaja, as the sovereign legislative authority, can alone do this in this State. The fact that a different course of action was adopted on a former occasion does in no way affect this undoubted prerogative.

I shall now take up the provisions of the new Regulation for consideration. The maximum strength of the Council fixed by the new Regulation is twenty-five. This is a substantial advance on the existing maximum of fifteen and does not appear to me inadequate for a comparatively small State like Travancore, at any rate for some years to come. For the time being it is proposed to constitute the new Council with twenty-four members, of whom thirteen will be officials and eleven non-officials. An official majority has thus been provided for; but it is only a bare and in no sense an overwhelming majority. Eight out of the eleven non-official seats are thrown open for election, four by the general electorate, one for each of the four Revenue Divisions of the State, Devicolam being tacked

on to Kottayam, one by the jenmies, one by the European planting community, one by the merchants, traders and factory owners, and one by the non-official members of Town Improvement Committees. This is the first time in the history of this Council when the people of Travancore will be allowed to have their voices heard here through their chosen and accredited representatives. This is also the first time, as far as I am aware, when Government in any part of India will, to quote the words of the late Marquis of Salisbury "give representation not to accidentally constituted bodies, not to small sections of the people here and there, but to the living strength and vital forces of the whole population." The system which required delegates to be elected, not by the people directly, but through intermediate bodies, is not free from defects, and it is His Highness the Maharaja's pleasure to confer upon his subjects the valuable privilege of direct representation in the Council. From the draft rules for the election of non-official members published in the Gazette you will see that the franchise fixed is sufficiently liberal to secure equitable representation of the different classes and interests. Under the qualifications now insisted on, it is the Government's hope that the Council will faithfully reflect the leading elements of the population. The Jenmies who form an important section of the land owning class have been given an independent member. This section, though numerically small, has considerable vested interest in the country and it is necessary to allot to it a share in the responsibilities of legislation. The European planting community has acquired considerable landed and other interests in the State and it is only fair to give that community an opportunity to safeguard those interest by the return of a duly constituted representative to the Council. One member has been allowed to represent industrial and commercial interests. The return of a representative on the recommendation of the majority of non-official members of Town Improvement Committees is a concession eminently deserved by those growing popular institutions. The category of elected members is thus exhausted. The remaining three non-official members have to be nominated by Government with due regard to the interests of unrepresented minorities. The two salient features of the Regulation are the rights of budget discussion and interpellation. Hitherto the people have only been associated with the work of occasional legislation; hereafter it will be their privilege to participate in the work of actual every day administration.

It gives me great pleasure to acknowledge that the deliberations and discussions of this Council have so far been characterised by admirable dignity and adequate sense of responsibility on the

part of its members. The powers of moving resolutions and asking supplementary questions have not now been granted to the Council. The number of questions which the members may put at each session of the Council has also been, for the time being, limited to three. If, however, the powers now vested in the members for the first time are exercised by them in the same spirit of forbearance, moderation and practical good sense as hitherto, there is no reason why they will not further advance on the path of rational improvement in the existing system of popular Government. In this connection I would recall the memorable words of one of the greatest of living democratic statesmen, I mean Lord Morley, who says: "Government is no chronometer with delicate apparatus of springs, wheels, balances and escapements. It is a rough, heavy bulk of machinery that we must get to work as best as we can. It cannot be adjusted in an instant, or it may be in a generation, to spin and weave new material into a well-finished cloth."

Above all, believe me when I say that in their Sovereign, His Highness the Maharaja, the people of Travancore have a guardian angel on whose abounding love, generous sympathy and lofty statesmanship they may ever continue to place implicit reliance. This Legislative Council is his spontaneous gift. Replying to one of the addresses presented to him in 1888, His Highness said, referring to this very institution which he had just then created: "The world moves forward and we must move on with it or it will leave us behind. In this latter part of the nineteenth century, neither princes nor people can afford to ignore this progressive tendency," I have not the least doubt that, if the deliberations of the non-official members of this Council are marked by a clear perception of their responsibility and a true appreciation of the duty which they owe to their Sovereign, the same large-hearted generosity which prompted His Highness to institute this Council and enlarge its usefulness from time to time, will also induce him in due course to confer upon them further privileges. So far as I am concerned, I feel thankful for having, in however humble and indirect a manner, been the instrument of His Highness the Maharaja in the inauguration of this reform. I anticipate only the most beneficent results from the concessions now accorded to the people. I am sanguine that the loyal subjects of His Gracious Highness will be able to appreciate the true value of these priceless gifts and so cherish them that they may redound to the lasting benefit and glory of Travancore."

The Nawanagar State.

In July 1919 His Highness the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar instituted a Council for the better administration of his State. H. H. the Maharaja of Alwar was requested to lay the foundation stone of the new Council Hall. In the Durbar that was held for the purpose H. H. the Jamsaheb Ranjit Singhji said in the course of his opening Speech that he had, according to the time-honoured culture of his Aryan ancestors instituted an advisory council composed of his subjects, whose advice and opinion he proposed to invite regularly on matters connected with social, industrial and economic progress of his subjects. In indicating the constitution of the advisory council His Highness said that their Highnesses did not belong to a school that idolized democracy for democracy's sake and left but a thin line between anarchy and all-men-rule (mobocracy). They were advocates of popular rule in the sense that weighty, stable and reasoned public opinion should be at the back of a strong, beneficient paternal Government. It was not difficult to work out a constitution that aims at securing the representation and advice of such interests as were stable, sound and trustworthy, intellectually and morally. His Highness then outlined the constitution of the council now inaugurated. It would consist of 57 members of whom 19 were to be officials, 19 pure agriculturists and 19 representing commercial and professional classes. Thus officials were in a minority of one to two. The council would meet twice a year generally and would deliberate on matters referred to it by the Durbar. The Jamsaheb then expressed his thankfulness to the Maharaja of Alwar and his brother princes for the success of the Princes' conference last year, at Delhi for which he acted as the Hony. General Secretary in the absence of the Maharaja of Bikaner.

H H. the Maharaja of Alwar.

After laying the foundation stone of the hall His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar said in the course of his speech :—"The world's mind is agitated both in the west as well as in the east and it is attempting to settle down to new conditions, but it cannot be satisfied until those conditions are far in advance of those that existed before the great world movement began. India in its turn is also involved in moulding its destiny and the air is surcharged with electric excite-

ment over reforms in British India, and reforms in Indian states. Some people maintain that we have no connection with British India ; nevertheless I cannot conceive how as Indians we can remain interested spectators of what is going to happen outside our very doors. As Indians we cannot but rejoice at the prospects that are before our countrymen of making a substantial advance, as we hope it will be, towards the ultimate goal of political salvation which has been laid before us by the great people in whose hands lies at present the destiny of our country. As Indians we cannot but hope and pray that that advance may be rapid and on sound and progressive lines. What the exact path is going to be may not be our direct concern. As to the exact method some of us may agree with it, others may not. There must be details on which some must always disagree for that is only human nature. I certainly can claim to be no great student of democracy and so cannot presume to preach the precepts of a doctrine with which I myself am not thoroughly familiar, but what I can claim, however, for the sake of our order, is to pray that whatever line may be chalked out for India's destiny my mother country will rise at no distant date to that position which will enable her to be placed on a position of equality with the other great dominions within the British Empire.

The Bhavnagar State

The annual administration report of the Bhavnagar State for 1918—1919 was issued in July 1919. It is highly instructive in as much as it shows how rapidly progress may be made in the complicated machinery of Government when it is in the hands of the Indians themselves.

The State has its own line of administration. The Maharajah H. H. Raol Shri Bhavsinhji still reserves to himself a good deal of personal rule, though he has a Dewan and though decentralization of authority on the part of the heads of departments has been completely established ; the supervision of them all being the responsibilty of the Dewan—the system appears to have worked successfully. There is a complete separation of Judicial and Executive functions in this State. A feature of the administration is the absence of Europeans in every department of the State service, except in the department of the Bhavnagar State railway. But the management of the State railway and its branches is kept entirely separate from the other departments of the State. It is

carried on by expert officers appointed by the Durbar and is under the control of a committee of officers called the Bhavnagar State Railway Board, the president of which is the Dewan with two European members and an Indian Secretary. The controlling staff of Europeans do not number more than 4 or 5. Bhavnagar apparently is not a Native State of the type referred to by Lord Curzon, in which a host of Europeans settle and obtain nourishment to the detriment of the people of the State. Western Education, Engineering, Agriculture, Police, Sanitation, Medical matters, Manufactures and Industries—such as they are in such a small state and Criminal and Civil Justice are features of the administration carried on, and carried on successfully, without European interference or supervision. Among other noticeable events during the year was the loyal support given by Bhavnagar to the British Empire, in the War loan, in contributing to war and relief funds, and in placing the State's Imperial Service Lancers at the disposal of the military authorities. A detailed account of the services of this body of troops is incorporated in the report. The seasonal conditions were unfavourable as was general all over India, and measures had to be taken to relieve the distress. The export trade of the State amounted to Rs. 3,66,26,371 or about Rs. 32 lakhs less than the previous record year. The year under review attained a record in import trade of Rs. 2 07,07,457. It is necessary to mention one important departure in the administration—viz., the constitution of a representative Assembly and its first meeting in October. The Dewan expressed the hope that the real usefulness of the Assembly will manifest itself in time. Some of the questions asked to the President of the Assembly at the October meeting were admitted to have led to reform in the working of various departments.

Political Movements

Political & Quasi –Political Movements in India
1919

The I. C. S. Revolt.

Scarcely had the reverberations of the National Congress subsided into distant echoes, political atmosphere in India resounded with news of the I. C. S. revolt against the proposed constitutional Reforms in India. The average Englishman, whether official or commercial, have been too long and too well known in India to be seriously mistaken for that rare type of people who while dominating India are capable of placing the interests of Indians before their own. The art of "breaking into the heart the promise uttered into the ear" has now become a traditional classic in Anglo-Indian life, and it is no wonder that with the march of times Indians are seeing more and more through the promises and protestations so lavishly made by the ruling class. The virulent opposition to the Reforms of non-official Anglo-Indians as a body was wellknown as it was conducted openly, frankly, in public, from the press and the platform. But the subterranean mine-laying of their confreres of the I. C. S. was not known to the Indian public so well, though a strong suspicion was always there. In the Montagu-Chelmsford Report we read: "we regard it as a libel on the Indian Civil Service as a body to say that they have resisted or will resist the policy announced last August. They have welcomed it, because no one knew better than they how badly a declaration of policy was needed; and they will carry it out with determination just as they have always carried out the policy laid down for them."—Another clever camouflage!

On the 20th December 1918 the *Searchlight* of Behar unearthed a secret circular issued by the secretary of the Behar Civil Service Association which purported to unite the I.C.S. men of the province into an organised body to deal with the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform proposals. As the Lieutenant-Governor of the province was a member of the Civil Service, it was presumed that the underground political agitation of these government servants was begun under high auspices, or at least without the opposition of the local authorities. The Behar Circular (more widely known as the Milne Circular) carried a hint that similar associations with similar objects were being organised all over India. It was not long before another such Circular was discovered and published by the *New India* of Madras. This was the famous Memorandum of the Madras I.C.S. Madras, it would be remembered, had not yet escaped from the oppressive aegis of the highly reactionary Government of

Lord Pentland, and its I. C. S. still smarting from the snubbing received from the Sec. of State in the Besant episode spurted out its bitterness in secret. It raised an equally bitter storm of political controversy. Soon after the existence of a similar association in Bengal came to be known, and had not the storm already raised made the "mutineers" of other provinces wary, the mental pabulum of the much-lauded "Heaven-born Service" would have been brought into a glittering perspective. As the Madras memorandum clearly shows, the whole subterranean agitation of the 'honourable and loyal' I.C.S. men was to make a concerted attempt to overawe the British Cabinet and the Secretary of State into an acquiescence to their view as opposed to the famous Declaration of August '17.

This famous epistle is a landmark in the history of I.C.S. rule in British India and is reproduced in full from the New India (Madras) of 11th January 1919.

It may be remarked in passing that this document was "confidential" and when it was made public and opened to public criticism by the Adyar Journal, the Anglo-Indian papers lashed themselves into a fury but one of them, the Madras Mail, soon after took revenge by publishing in its turn another "confidential" document to serve as a counterblast (see p. 220).

Extract from Minutes of a Meeting Held at the Madras Club on 29th November, 1918.

PRESENT :—The Hon. Mr. Buckley (presiding), Mr. Justice Phillips, the Hon. Messrs. Couchman, Knapp, and Graham, Messrs, Moir Molony, Mackay, Henderson, Watson, Nobes, Pate, Painter, Noyce, Gray, Stuart, Hilton Brown, Boag, E. Graham, P. L. Moore.

Propsed by Mr. Knapp that an I.C.S. Association be formed for the Presidency to promote the interests of the Service in the Presidency and that all members on the Madras list be invited to join it.

Seconded by Mr. Couchman. Carried unanimously.

The following Committee were elected, with power to add to their number : The Hon. Mr. Buckley (President). Mr. Justice Phillips, Mr. Moir, Mr. Hilton Brown, with Messrs. Pate and Boag as Joint Secretaries.

Rough Draft intended as the Basis of a Memorial

1. One of the most striking features of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report is the fundamental change which it contemplates in the prospects, functions and status of the Indian Civil Service. At no

stage in the evolution of the scheme was the Service consulted as to its readiness to accept conditions so entirely different from those which its members understood awaited them, when they signed their covenants ; and, as it is to the service that the authors of the report look for the successful realisation of their proposals, we trust we may reasonably claim that before the scheme is put into effect our feelings in the matter may be fully considered.

2. We do not intend now to criticise the proposals regarded merely as a scheme for administering British India ; but as a reference to the subject in the English Press suggest that the I.C.S., as a whole approves and even welcomes the scheme, we think it desirable to say that it is not so.

Prospects of Promotion

3. We would fist refer to the diminution of our prospects of promotion which the scheme entails—

(i) One of the two posts of Members of Council now held by Members of the I.C.S., is to be abolished at once, and the course of evolution foreshadowed in paragraph 260 of the report points to the removal of the second post from our reach in a few years ;

(ii) 33 per cent of the superior posts of the service are to be recruited for in India at once, and this proportion is to be increased by one half every year (paragraph 317). The public Service Commission had already recommended that 25 per cent. of the superior posts should be thrown open to Natives of India and that Commission specified the manner in which this number of posts should be filled. The joint report however is silent as to the manner in which the still further increased proportion of Indians is to be recruited, and we are necessarily somewhat in the dark in criticising the proposal.

So far as this recruitment of 33 per cent. is to be effected by the admission of men to the bottom of the list we can obviously make no complaint on personal grounds ; it is the prospect of the appointment of members of the Povincial Civil Service and of the Bar to superior posts now reserved for the I.C.S., that we view with concern. The orders now in force limit the posts to which persons not members of the I.C.S. can be appointed to one-sixth of the whole. It is true that the authorities have statutory power to appoint any Indian to any post reserved for the I.C.S. but the existence of section 98 of the Government of India Act 1915, and the safeguards against improper use of this power embodied in Section 99, have led to the belief that the risk of serious prejudice to our prospects by the use of this power was small. The present scheme however renders impossible for us now to disregard this risk. This is

particularly the case with judicial officers. The Public Services Commission had already recommended that the number of judicial posts, out of a total of 22, which should no longer be reserved for the Civil Service should be raised from 4 to 9, and we apprehend that the proposals of the present report will still further reduce the number of superior judicial posts to which the I.C.S. can aspire. We are not certain whether the Judges recruited from the Bar and the Provincial Civil Service, are to be regarded as members of the I.C.S., and will thus be qualified for appointments to those seats on the High Court Bench which are by statute reserved for Civilian Judge. If this is so, the prospects of the Judicial Branch of the service will be further and most seriously prejudiced.

Threatened Loss of Superior posts

4. The loss of so many superior posts will be aggravated by the well-known fact that Indians rarely retire before they attain the age of superannuation and practically never take the furlough to which they are entitled, except on medical certificate. A comparison of the proportion of the I.C.S. in Madras on furlough in May 1914—before War restrictions were imposed—with the proportion of the Deputy Collectors on furlough at the same date is significant. In the I. C. S. 32 officers were on long leave out of a total strength of 178, while only 9 members of the Provincial Executive Service were on such leave out of a total of 151. As a result of this difference of habits the introduction of more Indians into superior posts will reduce the chances of acting appointments and postpone the period at which an I.C.S. Officer may expect to attain posts of real responsibility. The Royal Commissioners held that any member of the I.C.S. should be entitled to expect to attain such a post by the age of 30. So far from this ideal being realsed in future, it seems likely, in the conditions stated, that many of us will have to retire with out having held posts of responsibility at all.

5. In paragraph 15 Annexure X to their Report the Public Service Commission referred to the necessity of protecting the 'vested interests' of the junior members of the I.C.S. and when as the result of the Public Services Commission of 1886 the system of "listing" Civil Service posts as open to Indians was inaugurated, much care was taken to see that the interests of officers then in the service were not prejudiced. The present report speaks of preserving for the members of the Service any rights or privileges implied in the conditions of their appointment but is silent as to what it considers these rights and privileges to be and as to the manner in which the necessary safeguards are to be provided. The matter we presume will form the subject of further enquiry. We

feel justified by the procedure of 1886 in urging that in equity none of the existing superior appointments which are now reserved for members of the I.C.S., should be given to persons recruited from outside until all the present members of the Service have in their turn either attained such an appointment or have retired.

Protecting "Vested Interests"

6. We have not over looked the proposal of the authors of the Report that "something substantial should be done in order to improve the conditions of service and to secure the Europeans recruitment which we regard as essential," or the possibility that an improvement in pay may counteract the financial loss in which the scheme otherwise threatens to involve us. But it is not clear to us whether any improvements that may be contemplated are not intended rather for the future than for the present members of the service. In any case the changes foreshadowed in the report represent no advance on those which four years ago were held by the Public Services Commission after elaborate enquiry to be necessary to meet the great rise in the cost of living and but for the War would probably have been introduced irrespective of any loss of prospects before the present enquiry was started. They cannot therefore be looked upon as a compensation for any loss of appointments and consequent diminished chances of promotion ; still less can they be regarded as a set-off against that further reduction of status, influence and dignity by which we are threatened and which we propose now to examine.

The I. C. S. as it is

7. The present position of the Civil Service is described in paragraph 126 in these words :

"The system has in the main depended for its effectiveness on the experience, wisdom and energy of the services themselves. It has for the most part been represented by the Indian Civil Service which though having little to do with the technical departments of Government, has for over one hundred years in practice had the administration entrusted to its hands, because with the exception of the offices of the Governor-General, Governors and some Members of the Executive Councils, it has held practically all the places involving superior control. It has been in effect much more of a Government Corporation than of a purely Civil Service in the English sense. It has been made a reproach to the Indian Civil Service that it regards itself as the Government; but a view which strikes the critic familar with the Parliamentary Government as arrogant is little more than a condensed truth. It has long been a

tradition of the service that men in it are entitled not merely to administer but to advise. From the outset of their career they have been habituated to the exercise of responsibility ; they have had to take important decisions of their own in emergencies · and they have aquired at first hand, not merely from precedent or prescription, stock of practical knowledge which they have often used and been encouraged to contribute to common purpose. Because they have looked forward to attaining positions where they could decide or help to decide policy, they have, within the restraints imposed by disipline and good order, been accustomed to express their ideas freely as to India's needs, and to criticise and advise a Government which has in essentials been one with themselves."

Irksome Indian Ideals

We accept this description as generally correct. That the changes will be considerable the authors of the report recognise, though, as they themselves admit (para. 317), they cannot foresee the reorganisation of the Civil Service that will have to take place. They recognise that the change will be "irksome" to some ; an understatement which proves that they have failed to realise how completely the position of the Civilian will be changed under the new regime. In the sphere of Provincial Government, with which we are most familiar and most concerned, Civilians will no longer "look forward to attaining positions where they could decide or help to decide policy" ; as already stated, one of the two seats in the Governor's Council to which they can now aspire is to be abolished and the disappearance of the other will follow. The Government will no longer "in essentials be one with themselves." The majority of the members of the composite structure which it is proposed to set up will be Indians—chiefly if not entirely Indian politicians—who, as the Report admits, will view the problems of administration from a different standpoint. Aiming, as they admittedly will, at ruling India in a manner consistent with Indian ideas (para. 147) they will be impatient of the criticisms or advice of the "foreign" bureaucrat whatever his experience or his claim to be heard. One important factor in the position and influence hitherto held by the Civilian will thus disappear and his role will be merely to execute a policy in the framing of which he and the service have no longer any effective voice. Even in that narrow field his position will be insecure. As the head of a department or as a District Officer he will find himself constrained to give effect to policies diametrically opposed to the British ideals in which he has been trained and the upholder of which, if we understand the Report aright, he is expected to be. He can hardly be expected to accept

responsibility to the public for the results of orders thus forced upon him. In the end he will become a mere machine for recording and carrying out a policy of which he will often disapprove, a process which will promote neither his own self-respect and interests nor the good of government. The difficulty of his position will be aggravated by the fact that the orders which he will be called upon to execute will not always be dictated by a genuine belief that they make for good government; they will as often be prompted by motives of a political or personal nature. A Minister's tenure of office will be dependent not on the support of a responsible governing chamber, but on the chances of his own re-election to that chamber. Electorates may be small and every vote will count, and an Indian Minister will not be in any way peculiar if he employs every possible means to secure the suffrages of individuals or of small classes of electors. To take some of the every day incidents of district administration: land is needed for the extension of a Hospital or a School but the owner is unwilling to see it acquired; the people of a village desire the disafforestation of a valuable forest; a public servant is dismissed for flagrant misconduct. In all these cases the pressure exercised on the Minister by persons who have votes to obtain a reversal of the local officer's decision will be severe, and the temptation to yield to it, rather than risk the loss of their votes, will be great.

The Inconvenient Minister.

8. It may be argued that ministers will be too much occupied with the larger questions of policy to be able or inclined to meddle in the details of District or Departmental administration and that the Civilian Officer, for the short time that he survives, will be left to carry on his work undisturbed. We hope it may be so but have no confidence that it will be so. The report itself (vide passage quoted with approval in para. 137 and also para. 146) lays stress on the power which the elector will have of compelling the attention of his representatives on pain of withdrawal of his vote, and contemplate this power being used for personal ends. Past experience shows that no subject has been too petty or too parochial to be ventilated in the Legislative Council, and when a new incentive is added, in the shape of a threatened loss of power or office, the tendency on the part of the Minister to meddle in the details of administration will, we fear, be aggravated rather than diminished.

Our "Less Worthy" Life.

9. In these circumstances we find it difficult to accept the view that our life will be not less worthy (para. 327). Our task, it is said, will be to train the men who are to relieve us of much of our burden.

There is to be 'more partnership' which means for the official extra work, explanations, consultations and attempts to carry with him those who one day will do the work themselves'. Who they are that we are thus to educate is not clear. The persons who are to succeed to our functions are on the one hand the Indian Ministers and on the other an increasing number of Indian Executive Officers. To educate the Ministers, who will be our masters, is clearly not practicable; the Executive Officers will be either independent of us or subordinate to us, and presumably it will be not expected that in dealing with subordinates we should persuade rather than command. If this role of educator means anything, it means the unlimited power of offering advice to a Government which will either ignore or resent it.

Power and Influence Gone!

10. What then will be the position of the Civilian Officer? His advice will no longer be regarded; his responsibility to the public will disappear; and even in the management of the daily affairs of his district his power and influence will have gone. The raiyat of the future is enjoined to take his troubles and make his request rather to his elected Councillor than to the official representative of the Government. The District Officer will never give a decision without feeling that it may be arbitrarily revoked from above. Add the fact, admitted in the report (para 177), that the policy of the Indian leaders with whom the power will rest will be naturally, and from their standpoint, justifiably, to weaken and discredit an alien Executive, and it is obvious that the position of the Civilian will soon become intolerable. The report promises him support and protection, but fails to indicate how these are to be provided. The process of harassment will be one of pin-pricks, and it may rarely be that a case will present features sufficiently striking to force the attention of an Indianised local Government, a Government of India fully occupied with large matters of policy, or a distant House of Commons.

The Solitary Englishman and his Woes.

11. To the diminution of such material advantages as we now possess, we have already referred; we would turn for a moment to the increased domestic disabilities which await us. It is the avowed policy of the Report (para, 314) to admit to each grade of the various services at least as many Indians as Europeans, the result of which will necessarily be that in many mufassal stations there will be found a solitary English official who for months together will never enjoy the society of a fellow-countryman. To the Englishman the conditions will be depressing; for his wife they will be almost unbearable. The suggestion that the ordinary educated Indian will

supply the void is so far contrary to the plain facts of experience as to need no refutation ; nor will the insinuation (para. 347 of the Report), that the fault lies with the European, help in any way to improve the social relations of the two races. Another change which will bear hardly on the Englishman is in the matter of medical attendance. Members of the I. C. S. come to India with the idea that they and their families would have the benefit of medical attendance at the hands of a service composed mainly, at least, of Europeans. Already, we believe, it is found exceedingly difficult to recruit Englishmen to the I.M.S. and with the formation of the Civil Medical Service which the Public Services Commission recommended and with the increasing unattractiveness for Englishmen of service of any kind in India, it may safely be assumed that very few Englishmen will hereafter seek a medical career in India. While allowing that the Indian practitioner often possesses skill we deny that he can take the place of the English doctor, and it is a well-known fact that Englishwomen as a rule intensely dislike being treated by Indians. (!!)

Domestic, Social and Public.

12. The conditions under which the Civilian will serve will thus differ fundamentally from those in force or in prospect when he entered the service. In his private life he will find himself deprived of such few domestic and social amenities as he had hitherto enjoyed ; in his public capacity he will be no longer the trusted servant and adviser of a British administration inspired by British principles, but will become the mere chattel of an Indian Government with aims and ideals not merely differing from but antagonistic to those which he has inherited and in which he has been trained. Instead of the British Government, the Indian people and their political representatives will be his immediate masters. His status and influence will have disappeared ; self-respect and *esprit de corps* also and with them the prospects which have been mainly instrumental hitherto in attracting men to a career which offers few material advantages and many physical, domestic and social disabilities.

Either no change or give "a chance of escape"

Equity therefore demands that the present Civilian should be given a chance of escape from an engagement the conditions of which, through no fault of his own, are to be so radically changed, and if the view is to be accepted that the exprience and guidance of trained civilians cannot at present be dispensed, expediency requires that firm and definite steps should be taken to make tolerable the positions of those who remain. What we would ask is ;—

(1)that we may be told in explicit terms what is meant by the substantial improvements in the conditions of service (para 318) and the special measures of protection (para 325) to which the authors of the Report allude, and whether the improvements (para 318) are to benefit us or only our successors ;

(2) that such of us as are not prepared to make themselves (! !) pawns in what is termed in the Report 'one of the greatest political experiments ever undertaken in the world's history' should be given the option of retiring on pensions calculated with reference to their service and loss of prospect, or should be offered posts similar to those they now hold either at Home or in other parts of the British Empire ; and

(3) that the pensions of all members of the Service should be guaranteed to them by the British Parliament.

The Counterblast

Thus the document dispelled the last vestige of doubt as to the deliberate attitude of the majority of the Civil Servants towards the Reforms. High officials were in the movement ; the "Committee" was packed with "Hon'ble" members of government, including a High Court Judge. And what was most interesting, one of the Hon'ble gentlemen who was soon to work as a co-opted member on one of the Reform Committees, was one of the prime mutineers ! So much for the service honesty and so for much ministerial protestations.

The publication of the memorandum by all the Indian News papers carried the blessed news of the revolt of the all too-loyal I. C. S. men to every Indian home. Indians had not till then heard of the prepostrous argument that public servants, as the I. C. S men are, had to be "consulted" as to their "readiness" to accept a policy laid down by King and Parliament ! ! And the picture of the solitary English wife of the I. C. S. rotting in a dreary Mofussil station without a white doctor to give unto her white patrons evoked the merriest pity and commiseration ! The whole controversy was gradually becoming a nuissance when a Madras Anglo-Indian paper published the following counterblast.

Mr. Galletti's Reply to the Madras Circular

DEAR PATE,—I am willing to join an Association to further the interests of the I C. S., but it must not mix our interests up with politics. I am for a joint representation about how far the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals will affect our interests and what steps should be taken to safeguard them ; but you will never get agreement on any representation that does not leave politics alone,

I do not agree that a representation should be sent on the lines of the rough draft you enclose. I think you are on the wrong track altogether. Your draft is just one long, dismal whine. It is full of political innuendo : it is peevish, not to say mutinous in tone.

You really must not send a memorial prophesying that the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme can't possibly work and would make our position intolerable. You don't know till it is tried and I for one do not believe it. The French Prefects have to deal with ministers and deputies, just as we should under the scheme. But their position is not worse than that of Madras Collectors. It is much better. They have no paltry Board of Revenue over them. They are not a bit afraid of the ministers and deputies. The boot is on the other leg. What I should propose, in the interests of the service, is that the collectors should be put in the position of the French Prefect. The first step is to abolish the Board, which will not be wanted when there are a lot of ministers. The next step is to increase the state in which Collectors live and to reduce their routine work (routine work is undignified and we must have time to educate the Indian politcian by our illuminating conversation.) Frence Prefects live free of course, in fully furnished palatial residences provided by Government ; they are given motor-cars at Government expense ; they are given a large entertaining allowance. The routine work is done by a Perfect's council of officials. I should want a council of this kind to consist of three Duputy Collectors at headquarters or two Deputy Collectors and an Assistant. I had one going at interval when I was at Tinnevelly in 1917 and it worked very well. Masterman ran the council and routine orders went out in the name of the Assistant Collector-in-charge when I was doing Jamabandi or otherwise fully occupied with important work.

The French Perfect's entertaining allowance is very handsome. It is usually, I believe, about cent for cent of his salary. The Prefect of the Seine gets, I believe, an allowance of several times his salary. He is the biggest man in Paris next to the President of the Republic. The Prefect of Rome gets an entertaining allowance of three times his salary. He also lives in a palace in far more state than the ministers of the Italian Kingdom at Rome.

I should say we might point out that, in order to hold our own with ministers and preserve the dignity of our position, we must, when the scheme comes into force, be surrounded by much more pomp and state than we are at present. I would ask for much better residences, free furniture and conveyances, and entertaining allowances more or less on the French scale. You might see at once if you could get hold of the exact figures from the French Consulate or from Pondicherry. I shall be in favour of an entertaining allowance

equal to full salary at Madras and Ootacamund. This the State must pay if we are in future to dispense oriental hospitality and frequently entertain the Indian public; which will be one of our new duties under the scheme.

I should say a memorial with concrete proposals of this sort and leaving out politics altogether is what is wanted. How can you expect me, for instance, to subscribe to a remark:—"Such of us as are not prepared to make themselves (sic) pawns" etc., when I don't believe we would be making ourselves (or themselves?) pawns, etc? I suppose the grammar is due to your being beside yourselves with indignation when you composed this exquisite phrase.

I shall print this as a counterblast to your manifesto. The Moderate men will all agree with me. *We mofussal moderates are not going to be rushed into a White Mutiny by a clique of head-quarter exremists.*

The memorial must not be drafted by an extremist, but by a moderate; and not by a junior member of the service, but by a man in whom we all have confidence. I suggest Aylying in whose moderation and judgment (and also grammar) I for one have confidence. He could be given two assessors, one pessimist and anti-Report, the other optimist and pro-Report. It is quite possible that an out-and-out supporter of the Report Scheme does not exist in the Madras Commission. If so, I may be ready to represent the pro-report view, though as an matter of fact I am not for that scheme, but for my own, which I thought out as long ago as 1902, when I started the Andhra movement, and have been working for it quietly ever since, notably in 1908 when the Madras Government did me the honour to entrust me with the drafting of their Reforms despatch and adopted a part of my scheme. But I am for a move forward and I am optimistic about the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme's effect on our position. Therefore, I should not mind serving as pro-Report assessor. Also, being the son of an Italian Deputy I can give firsthand information about the relations between prefects and deputies and ministers and their relative importance.

Lastly, as to the demand for one rupee, I am not going to subscribe until a committee and office-bearers have been elected by all members of the service. I do not admit for a moment that the present committee represent me or anyone else except the few persons who chose them. I can only admit that it is a provisional committee and you as a provisional secretary. Before I subscribe, I must have a hand in appointing the committee and office-bearers and what the subscription shall be.

Yours sincerely,
A. GALLETTI.

This letter seemed to have been circulated to all I. C. S. men, and its publication placated the moderate section of Indian opinion and gradually had a quietening effect on public agitation.

It showed at least that all I. C. S men were not like "Dear Mr. Pate", and that there really existed a body of I. C S. "head-quarter extremists" who were far different from the angels the I. C. S. are declared to be, and much too mindful of sordid pelf like all mortals.

A Canadian Parallel.

In this connection, the following note from the pen of Mr. Bernard Houghton, another I. C. S man (retired), contributed to INDIA, the Congress-organ in England, will be read with interest.

"Far away from India, and eighty years ago, two peoples in the same land stood face to face, with hatred in their hearts and on their lips the language of bitter vituperation. Differences of language, race, custom, and religion were empoisoned by social cleavage and a deep political feud. The one race politically supreme, held in its hands not only the Government but also the banks and greater trading concerns. The other, far more numerous, but debarred in their own country from all power and real political rights, nursed their grievances in sullenness and rancour, whilst thwarting, so far as in them lay, every activity of the dominant race. Here was indeed a house divided against itself. In place of enterpise there reigned stagnation ; class hatred usurped the place of patriotism ; trade, public works, education all languished.

"Such was the dolorous picture presented in 1835 by the English and French in Canada. It was Lord Durham who in his statesman-like Report of 1835 struck to the earth the evil system of privilege on the one hand and of tutelage on the other. It was Lord Elgin who so courageously carried the new policy into action. Owing to that Report the system of tutelage in the interests of the English ascendancy party was replaced by one of Self Government. For all there was equality of political rights. Responsible Government by the parliamentary majority became the keynote of a new and happier regime. The changed order was not acquiesced in with a good grace by the ascendancy party ; in these cases it never is. Because of his loyalty to its spirit, Lord Elgin became the butt of scurrilous attack crowned by personal outrage from his own countrymen whom self-interest or supposed self-interest blinded to the high statesmanship of his ideals. But his courage failed not, and he lived to see the triumph of his policy and the dawn of a brighter era.

"In India, too, there is an English ascendancy party grasping all power, handling to its own profit the greater portion of the trade; there is the same difference in race, religion, custom, and language; there, also, the Indians, a thousand to one in numbers, find themselves bolted and barred out from the government of their own fatherland. If many of them are uneducated, so also were the French Canadians; if they lack political experience, so also did the simple inhabitants of the backwoods. As in Canada, the arrogance of the ascendancy party is combined with mistrust of the people in whose land they live, or rather sojourn. Two differences there are but they are differences entirely in favour of Indian aspirations. Loyalty to England burns with a strong flame in most Indian hearts; in the hearts of the French Canadians of the thirties its very ashes were non-existent. Amongst leaders of Indian thought there is a hundredfold more enlightenment and real statesmanship than were to be found with the French of those days. We have all heard Lord Morley's metaphor of wearing a Canadian fur coat in India. But even Lord Morley has his limitations. As his policy on the Bengal partition and more than one of his speeches show, in Indian affairs he has suffered the nobility of his ideals to be warped by the instilled poison of Anglo-Indian sophisms. Love of country can work the same magic in the tropics as beneath a frozen sky; the Indian no less than the Canadian demands self-respect and all that self-respect implies. Freedom and high ideals know no national boundaries. Under all skins, white or brown, they can kindle alike the hearts of men.

"What the debasing system of tutelage denies to its victims has been very aptly expressed by Lord Elgin in one of his letters. "One thing is, however, indispensable," he wrote, "to the success of this or of any other system of Colonial Government. You must renounce the habit of telling the Colonies that the Colonial is a provisional existence. You must allow them to believe that, without severing the bonds which unite them to Great Britain, they may attain the degree of perfection and of social and political development to which organised communities of free men have a right to aspire." Change "Colonial" for "Indian" and you have the policy which India demands. It is the deprivation of this right which gives birth to the ferment in India, a ferment which will never quiet or slacken until India sees her way clear to the open ground of political freedom. This right to Self-Government is bound up in the minds of all thinking men with the spirit of nationality, as the living body with its beating heart. Events in Europe tell us that it is that spirit which to-day dominates the world and that it will surely break the fettering forces which oppose it."

I. C. S. Versus other Services.

As to the estimate of the I. C. S. men as made by their own countrymen belonging to other British Services in India, Sir Leonard Rogers in his Presidential Address at the Science Congress has the following not very complimentary things to say about the I.C.S. as a class. Sir Leonard observed :

Unfortunately the shortsightedness, to put it as mildly as possible, of the controlling service in India (meaning the I.C.S.), the senior members of which, admitted before the age of entry was raised to the present standard, were recruited from schools, often with the aid of cramming and almost invariably without any scientific knowledge, and whose education ceased before they became of age, has for long used its almost uncontrolled power in India to prevent the more highly educated members of the scientific services, including the medical, from receiving pay adequate to their training, much less the princely salaries which the Indian Civil Service obtain for themselves.

Sir Leonard does not believe in the wisdom of the authorities at Simla. He says : "The Simla authorities are quite unaware of the value of scientific training and experience." The I.C.S. rules in Simla, and as scientific training and experience do not form part of the equipment of an I.C.S., it is no wonder that Simla is still unaware of the utility of these essential factors in human development. The treatment accorded to such *saints* as Sir J. C. Bose, Sir P. C. Ray and other eminent Indian scientists by the Government has long demonstrated the degree of cerebral vacuity from which the administration suffers. But Indians were not aware that another set of European servants also held similar views about the "efficiency" of the I.C.S.

The Viceregal Stunt.

The threatening attitude of the I.C.S. against the Reforms had the desired effect. It cowed the authors of the Report—the Viceroy was overawed into an abject surrender. On February 6th in opening the Delhi sessions of the Imperial Legislative Council, His Excellency the Viceroy hastened to appease the disgruntled civil servants, disclaimed any intention to offend the "born administrators," and assured them special guarantees (see p. 107). The Viceregal surrender astonished the public. People recalled how in the days of "Fullerism" in Bengal, a similar bluff of resignation was made by Sir Bamfylde Fuller, the L.-G. of East Bengal, on a petty and puerile issue of "prestige," and Lord Minto with the concurrence of Lord Morley at once accepted his resignation. The latter told Sir Bamfylde :—

"My firm principle is that if any official resigns because he can not have his way, I will definitely accept his resignation. You talk of the injury to prestige caused by the acceptance of your resignation. You should have thought of that before you resigned. The responsibility is yours. I don't believe it is for the good of prestige to back up every official whatever he does, right or wrong."

Madras Protest Meeting

The Viceroy's speech greatly alarmed the Indian public and the suspicion of "whittling down" the Reforms now became a conviction. Protest meetings were held at many places. That held at Madras, the stronghold of the "mutineers", was naturally very keen. It was held on 14th February at the Gokhale Hall. Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao C. I. E. presided and a vast gathering including all public men attended.

Mr. S. Kasturiranga Iyenger in proposing Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao to the chair said that Mr. Madhava Rao was not a professional politician in any sense of that much abused term. Although born and bred up in British India, he had a long, varied and honourable career in Indian States. As an administrator of varied experience and high capacity and as having held the high office of Minister in three Indian States, Travancore, Mysore and Baroda, he had a unique distinction, a distinction second only to that of his great namesake, Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao. He was admirably fitted to preside over that meeting. Another ground on which he was exceptionally fitted to take the chair was that he had forestalled and anticipated the present agitation by means of a resolution which he moved at the Subjects Committee of the last session of the National Congress in Delhi. He showed rare political sagacity and foresight when he urged that resolution although it did not commend itself to the majority of that body.

The Chairman in the course of his speech said :—

"The notice convening this meeting says that its object is to protest against the I. C. S. Memorandum and the Viceroy's Speech on the subject in the Imperial Legislative Council.

"These raise most important issues bearing on the future Government of India so much so that our protest meeting may fitly be described as our last struggle to emancipate ourselves from the domination of the Bureaucracy. When I say this the Anglo-Indian will at once jump up and say, "Here is a revolutionary, a Bolshevist. who wants to cut India adrift from the British connection and set up an independent Republic." All I can say is this is a libel on the intellectuals of India. Their loyalty to the Crown is of a more profound and intimate character than westerners brought up in meterialistic philosophy and with their lower type of culture are capable of understanding. We do not want to sever our connection with England. We realise what England stands for, and have never

thought of separation from her. What we want is that India should be governed solely in the interests of India and Indians and not for the benefit of the British exploiter and monopolist.

"Where was the hurry for the Viceroy to give the services the assurances that he did when the question of their composition and functions and their place in the scheme of reforms was itself still under consideration and had to be settled by Parliament? Again was he in order in doing so? It has been said that His Excellency the Viceroy's speech against which we protest to-day is calculated to throw oil on troubled waters, these troubled waters being apparently the agitation started by the Indian Civil Service. I am prepared to take the assurance of the "Madras Mail" that His Excellency has succeeded in this task. But this very process cannot but have a different effect on the people of India who have already grave misgivings as to any good coming out of the labours of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State of giving Self-Government to India. When the Viceroy says that the Government of India "will always regard the fair treatment of the services as one of the cardinal tests by which our great experiment will be judged," he no doubt, succeeds in stilling the troubled waters, but he shatters our faith in the value of the "great experiment" and compels us to doubt if the "great experiment" is worth making at all. The Viceroy's action in not only not rebuking the Civil Service but surrendering to them will have a disastrous effect on the tone of the services generally, and his action in persistently proceeding with legislation in regard to the Rowlatt Bills has already alienated public opinion from Government. No Government can last long which has no moral force to sustain it or public opinion at its back. You may say, well, we have heard criticisms of this sort before, what are your suggestions in regard to the future of the services? My firm conviction is that the character of the services should be changed entirely if responsible Government is to be started with any chance of success. When Japan found that she would lose her individuality and her independence and disappear as a nation if she did not put her house in order and dispense with a system which militiated against national unity, the Samurai, her ruling classes, who had a privileged position and held the rest of the population in thraldom and subjection, surrendered their privileges and gave equality of opportunity to the other classes and extended to them the benefits of education and gave them a voice in the Government. In its relations to Indians of all classes, whether they be Rajas, Nawabs, Raises or Ryots, Mirasdars or agricultural labourers, Hindus, Mohammedans, Parsis or Indian Christians, the Civil Service stands in a position of racial superiority enjoying special privileges whether in the monopoly of positions of

trust and honor or special laws for their trial in criminal cases. If the civil service, occupying as it does the position of the Samurai, will not act in a similar spirit, no successful attempt at better Government will be possible, as it will perpetuate the retention of political power in their hands. I would say that if Europeans wish to enter the public service in India, they should do so as statutory Indians and a declaration should be made that from a certain date all the services would be recruited in India,—the special pay allowances and pensions, and leave and other privileges of the existing men being guaranteed to them by the Government. It is only by such a decisive step that the public mind in India will be reassured. Otherwise scope will be given for intrigues and for direct and indirect attempts to defeat the object of the announcement of the 20th August, pledging His Majesty's Government to giving Responsible Government to India."

Dewan Bahadur Govindaraghava Iyer then moved the following resolution :

"That the citizens of Madras in public meeting assembled condemn the movement set on foot by the members of the Indian Civil Service regarding the report on Constitutional Reforms by the Right Hon. the Secretary of State and His Excellency the Viceroy, and are emphatically of opinion that the views and action of those responsible for the movement are altogether subversive of discipline and detrimental to the best interests of the Empire, and that their efforts are calculated to most prejudicially affect the introduction of Responsible Government in India, and this meeting earnestly urges that steps should be promptly taken to ensure that the success of the measures to be introduced in consequence of the report is in no way jeopardised by the agitation and the obstructive attitude of the members of the Indian Civil Service which forms the most important and responsible class of public servants in British India"

Mr. B. P. Wadia then moved the following resolution :

"This meeting views with surprise and keen disappointment the speech of H. E. the Viceroy on the above subject, as the proposed reforms if they proceed on the lines of the speech will be deprived of much of their value even as a step towards Responsible Government."

In moving the resolution, he said in the course of his speech : "I am one of those few people who do not believe, who have never believed in the *bona-fides* of the Government of India. (Hear, hear). Their record of broken promises and broken pledges is a unique one. From the very inception of these reforms I have

believed that the Government of India has been in this matter not quite an honest Government (hear, hear).

"Gentlemen, we may rightly ask the Viceroy at this stage : what about your report in the light of your speech, and what has happened in the shape of the expression of the Civilians' views? Shall I use a strong word, Sir, and ask—" Was it a deliberate falsehood on the part of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State when they mentioned in the report that the Civilians were with them, that they welcomed the pronouncement of responsible Government, that they were going to co-operate with the new policy to be inaugurated in this country? Was it a falsehood or did the Viceroy and the Secretary of State make a statement which they had no reason to make, which was not authenticated? When this draft memorandum is published, the Viceroy thinks it necessary to make an explanation! Some believed that the Viceroy was strong enough to condemn the action of the Civil Servants and tell them that they were entirely in the wrong, and that he would take up the attitude that Lord Morley took up in a particular instance and would ask them to clear out of the country, bag and baggage.

"We are told of the efficiency of the Service and that it is honest. So was the efficiency of the Prussian Militarists spoken of. They have proved their efficiency, though they have been defeated in the war. While our efficient service showed of what it was capable in the Mesopotamian muddle. We want to see efficiency of a Service, not that of a soulless machine ; we want efficiency which is displayed by human beings with keen intelligence, sympathetic hearts, and honest conscience. We do not want that iron-efficiency of that soulless mechinery. We had enough of it. The result of that has been emasculation of millions of people, and impoverishment of millions of people. We do not want such efficiency, rather let us have a less efficient but more honest human Service. Do not be afraid to criticise a high functionary of the Crown. I know it is a tradition among Indian politicians not to speak of high officials lightly or derogatorily. Let us put aside all that kind of sham. This is not the time for it. Time has come to talk straight and employ the language of truth. The truth is, that in reading this ambiguous report, we were duped. We were shown a thing that is not true, and we now know the truth. Unless we are thoroughly satisfied I would appeal to you to immediately begin an agitation which will tell and bring you victory.

The Godavary District Association, Coconada, also addressed the following letter to the Government of India.

The Madras dailies have published a few days ago what purports to be the rough draft of a memorial which the recently formed I.C.S. Association at Madras proposes to submit criticising and protesting against the assertion of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State contained in para 327 of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms to the effect that

"we regard it as a libel on the Indian Civil Service as a body that they have resisted or will resist the policy announced last August. They have welcomed it because no one knew better than they, how badly a declaration of policy was needed, and they will carry it out with determination just as they have always carried out the policy laid down for them."

A categorical denial is decided to be given to this generous hope by the above association, of which the Senior member of the Board of Revenue is the President.

(2) The publication of the proposed memorial has created a profound sensation among all loyal Indians striving hard to co-operate with the Government to the possible extent to make the reforms a success in practical application. The language, tone and temper of the Memorial betray a disrespectful and disobedient attitude of the Indian Civil Service which is entrusted with the administration of this great Presidency. This new Association conveniently overlooks the fact that the Indian Civil Service element both in the Imperial Executive Council and in the Council of the Secretary of State gave its unqualified approval to the general policy which the Report embodied, and it seems opposed to the policy of the grant of responsible Government to the people of this country to any degree either now or hereinafter.

(3) In the opinion of the District Association the proposed memorial is calculated to do immense mischief in the future relations between official Europeans and non-official Indians. It transgresses all limits of discipline in service and sets at defiance the relations which should exist between the employer and the employee, the master and the servant. It belies the sincere declaration made on behalf of the service by Sir William Vincent from his place in the Imperial Legislative Council on 6th September 1918 about the attitude of the Indian Civil Service towards the Reform Scheme.

(4) Such a Memorial should not be allowed at all in the interest of good Government of this country. The District Association therefore begs to request that the Government of India may be pleased to issue such orders as may be deemed proper on the subject before the evil effects of such a frame of mind of the Madras section of the Indian Civil Service spread far and wide.

Government Communique

Heckled on all sides at last the Government of Madras was compelled to do something in the matter and early in March 1919 issued the following correspondence :—

Official memorandum of the Public Department to Mr. H. R. Pate, I C.S.—

The attention of the Government has been drawn by a question proposed to be asked in the Legislative Council to a publication in the NEW INDIA of 11th January 1919 of minutes of the meeting said to have been held at the Madras Club on 29th November 1918 at which it was proposed to form an Indian Civil Service Association and a committee with two Joint Secretaries elected for the purpose. Annexed to these proceedings was a rough draft said to be intended as the basis of a memorial. The Secretaries of the Indian Civil Service Association are requested to state

(1) whether the papers published in the NEW INDIA of 11th January 1919 are complete and accurate.

(2) Whether those papers were published or issued by the Indian Civil Service Association and if not how they came to appear in the public press, and

(3) Whether the draft intended as the basis of a memorial has been submitted by the Indian Civil Service Association as such or by any number of it to the Government of India or the Secretary of State or other authority.

Secretaries' Reply.

We are directed by the committee of the Indian Civil Service Association, Madras, to reply to the three questions put to us ;—Memorandum of Government No. 891—I., dated Ist. 1919,

(1) Papers published in the NEW INDIA of 11th January, 1919 are not complete in that they do not contain a letter from one of the Association's Secretaries with which the draft memorial was circulated. That the letter of which a copy is attached is of importance as showing that the document published by NEW INDIA was merely a rough draft intended to evoke criticism and suggestions from persons to whom it was addressed. The published copy of minutes of the meeting of the 29th November is correct. The copy of the draft memorial is also correct. In regard to eleven sub-headings which have been inserted in the newspaper copy they found no place in the original draft.

(2) The papers which appeared in the NEW INDIA were not published or issued by the Indian Civil Service Association. They were confidential and the letter with which they were circulated was so marked. The Association does not know how the papers came to be published.

(3) The draft has not been submitted by the Association as such or by any member of it to the Government of Madras or the Secretary of State or other authority.

Anglo-Indian Politics

The thirty-fifth annual meeting of the European Association was held at Calcutta, on 7th March 1919. Mr. P. L. Buckland, President of the Association, occupied the Chair.

In the course of his speech Mr. Buckland referred to the position of European in Indian politics. After alluding to the termination of the war, he said : Victory had established the British position in India more firmly than ever and they should to the best of their ability support their rulers in maintaining the forces of law and order. On the question of the coming Reforms, he said that the attitude of this Association should be one of co-operation and sympathy subject to the important proviso that the interests of the European community were protected by sufficient safeguards. "Let them pause to consider what political life in the future would be like. In England there was the leisured class, who went in for politics and took them up as hobby, while a certain number took up politics as a means of advancement. Out here politics could not advance anybody, while Europeans did not come to India for leisure. The result was that up to now politics here had been in the hands of only a few of them When the new era of things came in what would be the position ? The Councils were going to be enlarged and there would also be Indian Ministers. There would be prolonged sittings. It would be extremely difficult to find men who could give so much of their time to the enlarged Councils. The result would be that Indians would have a very much larger field to choose from, while the European field, if the European community continued in the old way, would be extremely limited unless they had representatives capable of meeting Indians on every point. The European representatives would have to be skilled in debate, able to thrust and parry, and capable of holding their own in all matters.

"What was to be done ? A certain number of representatives would have to be put forward whose sole work would be to represent their constituents. The European community had no leisured class and he saw no alternative but to have paid representatives, a certain number having the remaining seats to be filled as heretofore by those who could combine political life with the routine of their profession or business. This suggestion might came as a shock to some who viewed with abhorrence the paid politician but it was not uncommon at Home and had been adopted by Trades Unions whose representatives would not otherwise be in a position to devote their time to their political work."

Bengal Chamber of Commerce

Calcutta, 28th February, 1919.

At the annual general meeting of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce held at Calcutta on the 28th February, 1919 Mr. Ironside, the President of the Chamber, delivered a long address from which the following extract bearing on the most vital current problems of India is taken

European Trade Policy in India.

"The subject of the future trade policy of this country is a matter which has perforce had to be left somewhat alone during the past years. The thoughts and energy of Government and indeed of every one concerned have had to be and rightly, I think you will admit, devoted to meeting and overcoming day to day difficulties, a situation which became as time went on more intense, intricate and perplexing, until I am prepared to admit the pressure on the fatigued brain and sapped physical vigour due to the absence of rest and tranquility and change began to make itself apparent in all directions in various forms during the last year of war, and I would pay a tribute to the men at the head of affairs both in India and at Home in that they unfalteringly stuck to their posts to the finish. But the time has now come for us to take a survey of the future and take counsel on the problems of re-organization and reconstruction.

"I trust your new Committee will at an early date grapple with these problems. The brains, work and time of our very best men will be necessary and they will I hope be given freely and generously. We have closed a volume in the history of the commercial and trading community of India, and speaking for the community from a British standpoint I hold that we have in spite of all our faults, all our defects and idiosyncracies, deserved well of the country and its people.

"I refuse to accept the charges sometimes levelled at us that we are mere exploiters and profiteers. My reply to those who would traduce us is "Come, enquire, and see and afterwards judge the results." Our jute and other trades have been profitable but had they not been so what would have been the result? Would the millions of wealth from countries beyond the seas have come to India for distribution year by year in return for honest labour and profit, by far the least proportion of which falls to the lot of the British commercial community in proportionate return of services

rendered ? And this community is represented by our old Chamber which is unchanged in character in its handsome new setting but there is every reason now I think to make it yet stronger and greater.

"I know that our traducers are few and personally and collectively unimportant, but poison and untruth once sown obtain a start which can never be entirely eradicated. Gentlemen, the problems after the past war for the reconstruction of India are vast and complex, mainly because I feel that we have yet scarce begun to build, here and there foundations have grown to fancied maturity—some on rock, some I fear on sand. It must be our part therefore to see that in the reconstruction of the world, India shall take her share and place on principles founded on British character and institutions."

Referring to reconstruction Mr. Ironside said :—

"The problems, as I have already said, are vast and complex, the co-operation and goodwill of every thinking man will be necessary and it is hoped that early steps can be devised to formulate the headings and principles of the enquiry and call in the aid and co-operation of the members of all the sister Indian Chambers. The problems must of necessity be diverse and must therefore be treated as far as possible by men specially experienced and gifted with knowledge of each respective subject. These men will not be found in any special province or any special Chamber. I personally hope that our Indian commercial men will co-operate in this subject. I pray that this question will not be viewed as a fit and proper subject for the odd times available during the Calcutta X'mas holidays ; the issues and possibilities are too urgent and vast. Government cannot be expected to think of everything ; we must place our case before them, remembering always that we have to play our part and play the game, and God help those that help themselves.

Some of the problems.

"Whilst I am about it, I will refer shortly to but a few of the problems which it strikes me might reasonably form the first portion of the basis of discussion and settlement at such a conference, first :—I think may be placed :

The transport problem of India including Railways, broad, and narrow and feeder lines, Aerial Ropeways, posts, including Costal Posts, Rivers, inland Navigation and last but not least, Roads. Then comes the Financial problem to find the necessities to meet War liabilities as well as the problems of reorganization and reconstruction as have been outlined by the Public services and Industrial Commissions, the future cost of military service, not forgetting the new Reform Scheme.

The Fiscal Policy, Labour conditions, and many other subjects which need not be gone into in detail here by me but which affect India materially north, south, east and west, and it is our duty to face them together and try to come to collective reasoning and decisions.

"The system of Government in India was in its inception and in its methods based on the welfare of the people, particularly the poorest of them, and no more humane Government in my mind with all its faults ever existed and I am sure that independent future history will provide ample proof of this. The one idea has been to lighten the load and to interfere as little as possible with the ideas, religious and social, of the people, but the abstract idea and system has now been maintained far too long. Knowledge with the slow spread of education has brought about natural aspirations. In words the benefits of citizenship however limited in scope have been fostered but almost without any guidance or control. No opportunity has been given to learn, assimilate and appreciate the corresponding responsibilities, and now we are all, Indian and European alike, up against a problem which for its very complexity grows in volume the more closely and particularly the more unselfishly it is considered. But this need not necessitate my drawing back any continuance of present methods or undue fear for the future, provided everyone realizes the errors and strives honestly to alter them systematically and gradually.

The Problem in India.

"The problem of India to-day is, and in the future will, to my thinking, be in the main an economic one and few, if any, of those who have studied the subject until the last few years at any rate have seemingly, from the records I have seen, ever given sufficient thought to the eventual beach upon which the ship of State must eventually find itself stranded, and with a force behind, as at present, propelling it further up the shoal.

"The abstract idea of Government, undoubtedly honest and good in its intention, held good too long. Progressive ideas in politics or business mean generous expenditure of capital if any result is to be expected, but taxes have been reduced or effaced, the incidence of taxation has been reduced, indeed until less than enough is left for the bare provision of executive Government and the maintenance of moderate order. Everything else has been starved but we cannot forget that we the commercial community have never raised an effective protest, as far as I can find, against the past financial policy.

"The educated people of India from experience gained here and elsewhere now demand more and more of the benefits of citizenship and rightly I think within their vision blame the Government for failing to provide a sufficiency of these benefits to meet their aspirations. But unfortunately few have knowledge or appreciation of its accompanying responsibilities and cost. The people ask for more education, sanitation, medical relief, transport, hygiene, and progressive results, and a thousand, I fear often theoretical, advantages. The complaint against Government, as proved from opportunities I recently have had, all hinge upon this. Government is blamed broadly and often irresponsibly for its failure. Members of Government and of the various services under Government control and supervision strive and struggle to meet obviously just demands but the system of finance has choked and crippled the whole framework of the machinery of State, the views and wishes of zealous, broad-minded, able public servants are often ignored, good men gradually have become disgruntled and heartbroken. Year after year they have been asked to make bricks without straw and the people are ever clamouring for more bricks, and in proof of the failure private charity is called upon at every opportunity, and by means which often do no one credit.

"I am convinced that a different financial and economic policy together with a broader and saner educative policy during the past 20 years would have done something to lessen recent turmoil and provided a foundation on which to build responsible Government. The leaders of the Indian people have accepted the past financial system and indeed have insisted upon its continuance and extension and thereby have largely assisted to bring about the present situation—indeed, they have by their insistence governed the policy against the often better judgment of its framers.

"Since last year we have seen the issue of the Report on the suggested Reform scheme by His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, later followed by the visit of the Parliamentary Committees to take evidence. Before these Committees, during their visit to Calcutta, the opinion of the Chamber was efficiently and effectively voiced by the Hon. Mr. Crum and Mr. Langford James, and your thanks are due to them for their work. I know it was thoroughly well done. I see that the Report of the Committee has been completed and the final issue of the bill before Parliament in London has now to be awaited. Criticism of the measure from every possible standpoint have been recorded *ad nauseam* and it seems to me unnecessary further to discuss the matter.

"One thing however is certain, the business community must take a different view of politics and I should like to see it made

worth a man's while to make the representation of this Chamber the whole time work of a trained mercantile politician, possessing equal rights with Indian members to occupy the suggested ministerial seats dealing with transferred subjects.

Capital and Industry.

"The voluminous report of the Indian Industrial Commission has been before us for the past three or four months and I must confess that at first I was inclined to scoff and treat somewhat lightly the production, but I have recently had time to give it much closer study and although I do not agree with all the recommendations which have been made, there are many which must prove valuable to the industries of the country and I sincerely hope that some of the recommendations at least will be acted on by Government without delay so that full value may be taken of them before people lose interest in the subject, or worse still, time destroys their value altogether. I think, however, that the report itself and many of the comments made upon it give one the impression that the public, both Indian and European, have got a somewhat erroneous view of the whole subject of Industrial expansion and development. I would suggest a little care and a little thought before doing so in any light-hearted manner, as there are distinct signs that we are beginning to run before we have learned to walk.

"In my opinion the provision of capital for sound commercial propositions is the least exacting, but I think that any one who has studied this subject closely and over a fairly wide field will agree with me that the expansion of Industries on any large or successful scale is largely a matter of man-power efficiency. Often I have heard people, most of them with very little knowledge of the subject, refer to cheap Indian labour; rarely have I found this to be the case. The cost of supervision and the unreliability of supervision over a hopelessly, on the whole inefficient, and in the main bone-tired people, cripples the problem of industrial expansion. It is one possessing difficulties and pitfalls that have not yet become seriously apparent (we have not gone far enough), but I assure you they are coming and labour is one of them.

"It is a favourite line with Government, first to induce a firm to do the spade work, to be the pioneers and after success has been attained to use the information to induce others to follow in the same line. This to my mind is unsound industrial expansion. There have been several cases of this sort of thing already in the country and as all industries are so to speak in their infancy without adequate financial reserves, we shall soon find, if this policy continues and with but little practical experience to guide us, that Indian industrial

expansion taking a devious and dangerous course, indigenous industries, as in the case of the Cotton Ginning Industry and I think I can say of the coal trade, cutting each other's throats, leaving the consumer and the foreigner to pick up the bones.

"My mind refuses to absorb pretty academic discussions whilst practical affairs affecting the future welfare of the people and the whole fabric of Government are being left to all appearance to take care of themselves. Gentlemen, without being pessimistic I fear there is bound to be trouble before everything has been righted and the wits of every right minded man will be necessary.

Mercantile Trusts

"The report does not refer to one matter which has occupied the attention of your Committee of late. A few months ago a very well-known member of the Chamber suggested to me that we should try to create a large Trust fund for the benefit of our European British members and their employees. The idea was that the trust should follow more or less the lines of the funds of the great Livery Companies of the City London. That is to say, that it should consist of sums of money given by the wealthier members of the Chamber, and that these should be invested and held in trust, and that the income should be devoted to the relief of cases of distress among members, and their employees, and dependants. The Committee supported the proposal most heartily, and they have taken steps to have it carried into effect. The member who made the suggestion was our old and respected friend Mr. Shirley Tremearne, who, I think, I can with no disrespect refer to as the Father of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce. With characteristic generosity which will I am sure appeal most strongly to all of us present here to-day, he has made over to the Chamber a lakh of rupees with which to start the Trust (Applause). Our solicitors are now engaged on the Trust deed and we had hoped to have this completed by to-day. But the legal formalities in constituting a Trust seem to be many, and we have had to ask the new Committee to complete the matter. This duty they will, I am sure, undertake with very great satisfaction, and for myself I most sincerely hope that Mr. Tremearne's public spirited example will be widely followed, and that many more lakhs of rupees will be promptly added to the Trust which he has so worthily inaugurated, in order that it may be fully worthy of the Chamber, and may be of real and lasting benefit to those of our members who may hereafter fall upon evil days.

The European Association

Calcutta, 26th March 1919.

A special meeting of the Calcutta branch of the European Association was held on 26th March 1919 at the Dalhousie Institute, Calcutta, for the purpose of hearing an address from Mr. T. E. Welby, Secretary of the Association.

In opening the meeting Mr. Morgan, the President, said that he was glad to see so many ladies present. The reason for inviting the ladies particularly was that they had just made a rule whereby women were eligible for election as members exactly on the same terms as the men. He hoped that they had read the speeches of Mr. Montagu, Lord Sinha, the Maharaja of Bikaneer and the Aga Khan in the papers. It would be noticed that Mr. Montagu had sketched out a brilliant future for the British resident in India who was going to be a missionary to educate the Indians to take charge of their country, and when this was done he was to go away.. Mercantile firms would, he said sarcastically, have to insert a new clause to the agreements with their assistants to the effect that they would have to help the Indians to run the country both industrially and politically.

Mr. Welby then addressed the meeting. In the course of his long speech he said :—

"The change in the attitude of Anglo India on Indian Politics began with the conference of 1917 convened by Sir Archy Birkmyre who was then President and there had been further progress since the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme.

"The Indo-British Association of England, of which Lord Sydenham is the guiding star, had asked for the assistance of this Association in the matter of their propaganda work. At the same time they had received enquiries from their Indian friends as to what they were going to do to put their case before the public. What answer should they give to the Indo-British Association and what should they return to their friends, the loyal moderate Indians who wished to co-operate with the Europeans in propaganda at Home? Some of those present would be in a better position to judge what reply they should give after he had sketched the present political situation (which he proceeded briefly to do). It was very difficult at the present moment to say who were permanent extremists and who were permanent Moderates. They are changing sides frequently. The efforts of the Government of India to rally

the Moderates had not been without result. For instance Mr. Sarma had been induced to recall his resignation in the Imperial Council. The speaker did not know whether Mr. Gandhi had been pursuaded to give up his soul force movement. The main results of all this had been that whereas there was formerly only one party in opposition to the Government, there were now two. The political situation in England might be judged from the report of a recent banquet at which Mr. Montagu, Lord Sinha, the Maharaja Bikaneer, the Aga Khan and other Indians were assembled, not to pay Lord Sinha complements upon his recent elevation to the peerage, but for the purpose of permitting some of them to deliver violent political orations. He left it to those present to judge whether it was in the fitness of things that an Indian Ruling Prince should be allowed to intervene in Indian affairs by violating the well-established doctrine of non-interference in British-Indian affairs, or whether an Indian Prince would agree to do this at an entertainment where the Secretary of State was present, if he had not good reason for supposing that his envenomed words would be welcomed. Referring to the Maharaja of Bikaneer's remarks about the notorious Indo-British Association, he said that when they remembered that it was composed of men like Lord Sydenham, Sir John Hewett, Sir Harold Stewart and many other equally great men (!!) with such record as theirs, was it likely that they would have stooped to mere falsehood in a case which is strong enough when based on facts? The Indo-British Association had this further duty imposed upon it by the Government of India that it had to face a certain number of Indian agitators who were leaving this country with A 2 priority certificates. He asked all those present to aid him in arranging a suitable welcome for these agitators when they reached British soil. He then discussed what sort of action they should individually take and explained why ladies were now to be called up in this unequal fight between them and the agitator. The advent of the lady would be a great benefit. They went Home oftener, remained longer and were better qualified to work for the Association and approach the organisation of women voters at Home. They possessed vast personal influence and could use it if they chose. He did not believe that one tenth of the members of the Association ever made the slightest attempt to interest their friends at home in Indian affairs. It was necessary that they should make a serious effort to combat the misrepresentations which might be expected as the result of the agitators going Home from India. In conclusion he pointed out that they were after all the inheritors of a great and incompleted work and it was incumbent upon them as co-trustees for the welfare of India to see that this work was properly carried out.

Moslem Politics

The Memorial

A memorial regarding the future of Turkey was submitted on January 1st. 1919 by the Moslem subjects of His Majesty resident in Europe to the Foreign Secretary, and a copy was forwarded to the Prime Minister.

Mr. M. H. Ispahani, 21, Mincing-lane, E. C. received a letter of acknowledgment from the Prime Minister's Secretary stating that "the matter is receiving attention." The Foreign Office replied as follows :—

Sir—I am directed by Earl Curzon of Keddleston to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st instant, transmitting a memorial relative to the future status of regions whose population is predominantly Turkish, and to state that the questions therein raised can only be decided by the Peace Conference, where the rights and aspirations of all races will receive full consideration.—I am, Sir, your most obedient and humble servant

(Signed) J. A. C. TILLEY.

In forwarding the memorial for publication, Mr. Ispahani says: "The question of Turkey is one in which His Majesty's Moslem subjects are very interested, and they contemplate with great consternation the indirect efforts made by the various South-Eastern nationalities to prejudice the decision of the British public and of the Allies at the Peace Conference in favour of the disintegration of Turkey." The memorial is in the following terms :—

41, Sloane Street, London, Jan. 1.

To the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

1. Sir—We, the undersigned Muhammadan subjects of His Majesty the King Emperor, beg respectfully to represent to His Majesty's Government that we have read with great concern the suggestions recently put forward in the Press from various responsible quarters regarding the future of Constantinople to the effect that it should be taken from its present possessors, in spite of the Ottomans being the most populous single nationality in Constantinople, and be made over to some Christian people or State, or be placed under international control. We therefore, feel it our duty to point out at the earliest opportunity, that such a course, if adopted would be in direct conflict with the vital principle of nationality

placed in the forefront of the War-aims of the Allies, and would cause not only among the Moslems of India but also among Musalmans thoughout the world grave dissatisfaction.

2. In the course of four centuries Constantinople has undergone complete transformation and is now in all essentials a Moslem city. It is honeycombed with Moslem institutions, and is covered on all sides with memorials of their faith. Its population is predominantly Turkish by race and Moslem by faith as was recently admitted in the clearest terms in the House of Commons.

Premier's statement.

3. The solemn declaration of the Prime Minister made only a short time ago that the Turkish nation will retain their sovereignty unimpaired in their home-land, with Constantinople as the capital of their territories, had a reassuring effect on the Musalman population of India and elsewhere, and we feel certain that any departure from that memorable pronouncement would create the gravest disappointment. The Musalmans who have shed their blood or helped with their resources in the defence of the Empire are entitled to expect that the principle of national unity and freedom will be maintained in the case of Turkey as in the case of the European peoples. Any other course would give rise to a most painful impression that the high principles and lofty ideals which secured for the Allied cause the adhension and loyal co-operation of the larger part of the Moslem world were abandoned in the case of Turkey because she is a Moslem State. We feel confident, however, that no racial or religious prejudices will be allowed to impair the trust of the Moslem nations in the good faith of the Allies, and that the settlement of this momentous world-problem will be based on the principles of justice and equity, and of national unity and national rule, laid down by the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the President of the United States.

Self-Determination.

4. In Asia from the northern borders of Syria proper upto the Ægean and the Black Sea, along its southern littoral as far as the frontiers of Azerbaijan, the population, numbering roughly 19,000,000 to 20,000,000 is in some districts exclusively and in others preponderantly Turkish in race and Moslem in faith. In Thrace also the conditions are the same ; the population is predominantly Turkish. We respectfully submit that the whole of this territory with Constantinople as its capital should be left in the hands of the Turkish nation in accordance with the declaration of the Prime Minister. The right of nations, based on nationality, to remain under their own Governments and to possess the power of Self-Determination,

proclaimed and insisted upon by the Allies, applies equally to Christians and Moslems. We do not ask for a new status for the Turkish nation ; we urge that the Turkish nation should have the same rights as Christian nationalities to hold the territories which they inhabit exclusively, or where they form the preponderant portion of the population, as they have done heretofore.

5. With regard to the other provinces of Turkey we desire at present to express no opinion. But we beg respectfully to urge that whatever may be the ultimate settlement of the Armenian question, the rights and interests of the large Musalman population inhabiting that province should be safeguarded, and that they should be protected from persecution. In racial conflicts among the less advanced communities, as is proved by what is happening at the present moment in Eastern Europe, barbarities are committed on both sides, of which advantage is taken by the more vociferous to allege that they are the innocent victims of unprovoked persecution. We trust that in dealing with the question of Armenia the large Musalman population will at least be placed on an equal footing with the non-Moslem population.—We have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient and humble servants,

Aga Khan.	A. S. M. Anik.
Abbas Ali Baig.	M. H. Ispahani.
Ameer Ali.	Abdul Aziz.
A. Y. Yusuf Ali.	Khwaja Kamal-ud-din.
Shaik Mushir Hosain Kidwai of Gadia.	
Dudley Wright.	(25 other signatures.)

Madras Moslem Meeting

17th January 1919

A mass meeting of the Musalman public of Madras was held on January 17th, 1919 at the Victoria Public Hall to discuss the present situation of Turkey and to appeal to His Imperial Majesty on this behalf. The Hon. Mr. Yakub Hussan Sahab was in the chair and delivered his address in Urdu, after which resolutions were passed.

The following are extracts from an English translation of his speech :

"The War ought to have been confined to Europe. There was no need to bring it into Asia. Great Britain, however, thought that Germany might march through Turkey and Persia to the

Indian borders. To 'meet Germany halfway' Great Britain invaded Mesopotamia with Indian troops. That was a precautionary measure taken with a view to protect India. No love is lost between Turks and Arabs and people are more often actuated by selfish ends than by lofty motives of patriotism. Shareef Hussain raised the banner of revolt. Lastly Palestine and Syria were occupied by the British with the help of Arabs and Indians.

Why Dissolve Turkey?

"Now the War is over, the Central European powers are laid by the heel, militarism is crushed and plans are seriously discussed for the abolition of the War for ever. The League of Nations is to stand sentinal to prevent international jealousies getting the better of the political discretion. British Colonies in Africa are no longer to be on the tentor-hooks of fear of attack from German Colonies. There is no fear of Germany getting at India through Turkey. Unless Russia regains her vitality with the help of the British, India need have no fear even from her next-door neighbours. Why then should Great Britain desire the desolation of Turkey? Has Great Britain thwarted the world-dominating designs of Germany only to extend her own dominance over a la ger sphere of the world? As it is, the sun never sets on His Imperial Majesty's dominions. Should she not rest content with this, but like Germany should she desire to have a place in the sun itself? If Great Britain ever had any fear of Pan-Islamism, surely that bogey has been laid to rest by this war. Islam as a power has reached its lowest ebb. Morocceo, Tunis and Algeria have become potter's clay in the hands of France. Tripoli is no longer an Islamic country. Egypt is mortgaged body and soul to Great Britain. Turkey in Europe has shrunk into a mere Province. Persia has decayed passed recovery. Bokhara, Khiva and Turkistan are held by Russian bayonets. Mogul Empire in India has been replaced by British. If the Turkish Empire in Asia, the relic of once the mighty Empire of Islam over the then known world, is suffered to remain intact, what harm can it possibly do to the British Empire? On the other hand as a powerful Ally, Turkey can be a tower of strength to the British.

Examples of Egypt and India.

I will perhaps be told that Great Britain does not propose to occupy any of the Turkish territories herself. All that she wants is that each community should become independent under a king of its own and that Great Britain will be the friend and protector of all. The sacred places of Islam will remain in the hands of Muslim Rulers only. The administration under her guidance will be methodical. Education, trade, art and industry will flourish. The material

and moral condition of the people will improve and all the modern comforts and conveniences and blessings of European civilisation will be available to rich and poor alike. Egypt and not India is cited an apt example of the product of beneficient British rule. Let us for a moment analyse the state of both these countries. Egypt was administered nominally by Egyptians but virtually by the British. The head of each depatment was a Pasha, who was only a figure-head kept in nominal power as long as he did not incur the displeasure of his subordinate British officials who carried on the administration in the name of and over the signature of the Pasha. These virtual rulers and nominally subordinates kept up outwardly the form and appearance of the Turkish Rule. They wore Turkish Fez as a Turkish subject and kept their place in Durbars as became subordinate officials. The Europeans were only advisors to the Khedive—not his ministers. The Khedive used to feel his position very irksome and was often conspicuous by his absence at his rightful master's place. As soon as Turkey joined Germany, Egypt was declared independent and a Sultan was installed in the place of the Khedive. A great bonfire was made of the Turkish caps that the Europeans used to wear in office and on public occasions, and the shining top hats were brought out of the cupboard to adorn the wise heads. It is a travesty of truth and mockery to call Egypt and its Ruler independent when the British forces and British guns overlook the capital and palace from the brow of Makatam Hill. You can picture to yourself how independent and self-relying His Highness the Aga Khan would be if made the Ruler of Mesopotamia.

As for the material prosperity, is it not notorious that India starves in the midst of plenty ; the tillers of soil and producers of gram do not get one full meal a day. The average annual income of Indian people is Rs. 30 and the peasantry is heavily in debt. India is rich in minerals and precious metal : let us go to Kolar Gold Field and see there that every month a heavy load of gold bricks is carried away to London. The only residue left in the country is the wages paid to the coolies and the royalty to the Mysore State. There will be as much prosperty in Mesopotamia as there is in India when its resources that are now partially developed are fully exploited by foreigners under the greatful patronage of rulers put and kept on the throne by foreign Powers.

The Turkish countries are now to attain under British auspices happiness and prosperity of the kind we enjoy in India. Was the world made safe at such enormous cost for democracy or superimposed autocracy? Why should not the Turkish countries be helped to establish a popular form of Government free and autonomous in their own internal affairs and united in their federation

for their mutual safety and protection? Instead of establishing her protectorate piecemeal over each country why should not England become the friend and protector of the whole Turkish Empire. She will gain better terms for her tradesmen and exploiters than will be the case otherwise. The railway concessions instead of ending with the western borders of Mesopotamia will extend right into the Turkish dominions up to Constantinople and link India with England through the shortest route. England can then play her new role of the friend of humanity with advantage to herself as well as to others. Turkey has extended her hand of friendship. Let Great Britain grasp it with equal alacrity. In doing so England will please the millions of Muslim subjects. We want all the holy places in Arabia, Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia to remain under one Muslim Sovereign and that Sovereign will be our Khalifa.

A Serious Objection.

Next to Mecca, Jeruselam, Baitul Mukhadus is sacred to Islam. It was towards Jeruselam that the Prophet of Islam and his followers turned their faces for 14 years before Mecca became the Khibla of Musalmans. The Aksa mosque of Jeruselem ranks next to the Kaaba of Mecca. In Najafashrif and Karbala-i-Kuallah are buried the sacred remains of Ali and his beloved son, the Great Martyr Hossain and Baghdad contains the mausoleum of Shaik Abdul Khader Jeelani whose votaries number millions of Musalmans all over the world. These three are the places of pilgrimage, just as Mecca and Medina are in Arabia and Jeruselam in Palestine. All these sacred places were under the suzerainty of one Amir-ul Momoneen Khalifat-ul Muslameen Sultanul Islam—Prince of Muhammadans, Khalifa of Musalmans and Sultan of Islam. No religious significance was attached to the office of the Shareef of Mecca, nor any temporal position was enjoyed by the custodian of the Bagdad Mausoleum. If there are to be Rulers in Mecca, Jeruselam and Bagdad independent of the Sultan of Turkey, every one of them will usurp the spiritual headship of Islam in their own kingdom and outside Musalmans will be asked to pay their homage to three spiritual temporal heads instead of one.

The Aga Khan and Mesopotamia.

Apart from the serious objection to the creation of three independent kingdoms, difficulty will arise in the choosing of the Rulers. Great Britain, in spite of her intimate connection with millions of Musalmans in all climes, understands Muslim sentiments and ourselves the least. Her ignorance of Muslim religion, traditions, and history is simply collosal. We have been having a very good illustration of this in the news that it is contemplated to make His

Highness the Aga Khan the Ruler of Mesopotamia. I have told you that the Rulers of Mecca and Bagdad cannot remain mere temporal sovereigns. They are bound to assume the religious headship of Islam as well. Our Government is labouring under the impression that as a lineal descendant of a remote priest and of a pretender to the throne of Persia, in Aga Khan can be combined the spiritual and temporal leadership with advantage. They are either not aware of or they are shutting their eyes deliberately to the fact that Aga Khan is the religious head of a people who were for generations taught to believe that their salvation did not lie in praying to God five times a day, fasting in the month of Ramzan or performing pilgrimage to Mecca, but they can buy salvation and redemption from all sins by paying a religious tax to His Highness the Aga Khan. Both the Sunnies whose sentiments are of prime importance in this connection and Shias detest the creed enforced by the ancestors of the Aga Khan and meekly acquired in by him. Government has probably forgotten that when a section of the Khoja community wanted to build a mosque to follow the true behests of Islam three of the leading Khojas involved in this movement were murdered one day by the Fidaees of Aga Khan. Since then a number of Khojas have become Sunnies or Asna Asharies and have seceded from the Aga Khan. There will be a strong protest throughout the length and breadth of India if the Aga Khan was appointed the Ruler of Mesopotamia.

It is an admitted fact that the immense contributions of India in men, materials and money were utilised almost wholly for the subjugation of Mesopotamia, Palestine and Syria, and those countries were invaded not for the expansion of the teritories or sphere of influence of the British Empire but only to protect India from the attack of Germany. India therefore has right to be heard in the matter of the disposal of the countries temporarily subjugated by means of the forces and resources of India. We, Musalmans of India, have therefore the double right of offering our counsel to Great Britain concerning the fates of Ismalic countries. Firstly on account of our religious interests in those countries and secondly on account of the utilisation of Indian forces—materials and money—in the subjugation of those territories.

The following resolutions were then carried unanimously :—

"That in the event of it being decided to grant an autonomous Government to Mesopotomia in accordance with a common principle affecting belligerent territories, this meeting appeals that the autonomous Government so formed should be under the immediate suzereinty of the Turkish Empire.

"That this meeting has seen with horror the rumour given currency to by some of the local papers that it is contemplated to place Mesopotamia under the guardianship of H. H. the Aga Khan and respectfully hopes that there is absolutely no truth in this rumour as the appointment will be viewed with the utmost disfavour by the Muslim world at large. That this meeting sincerely trusts that the Peace Conference will be guided by the righteous spirit of meeting out equal justice to all belligerent nations, regardless of their nationality, race or religion, and that its decisions would not be such as to lead impression to the world that Turkey has suffered on account of its not being a Chrstian Power.

Lucknow Anjuman Meeting

Under the auspices of the *Anjuman Moidub Islam*, Firangi Mahal, Lucknow, a meeting was held under the presidency of Maulana Abdul Bari on the 26th January 1919 to consider the question of *Khaiphate* and the safety and integrity of the holy places of Islam under the occupation of the British and Allied troops. The President discussed the various aspects of the question of *Khaliphate* and impressed upon his audience the necessity of frank and bold exposition of the views of the Muslim community. The first resolution was moved by Maulvi Inayatulla Sahab :—

"That this meeting of the Ulamas of Firangi Mahal while expressing its firm and sincere devotion to Sultan Mohammad VI, emphatically declares that according to the true doctrines of Islam, none but the present Sultan of Turkey is the rightful Caliphs and that Islam never allows the interference of non-Muslims in deciding the question of Caliphate. This meeting of the Ulamas fully supports the views expressed by other Muslim meetings on this question."

The second resolution was moved by Maulana Qutub-ud-din :—

"That this meeting of the ULAMAS, while declaring that the religious tolerance and liberty are the basis of their loyalty and devotion to the King-Emperor and re-affirming their faith in the justice of Goverment, desires to impress upon the attention of the Imperial Governmant the commandments of the SHARIAL ISLAM which emphatically declares that the holy places including Constantinople should remain under the rule of the CALIPHA. This meeting, therefore, urges upon the British Government to use its influence with the Peace Conference in order that the occupied territory of the Sultan of Turkey should be restored to him. A peace without that can never satisfy the Musalmans."

The third resolusion was moved from the chair :—

"This meeting supports the proposal that a FATWA about the CALIPHATE and along with it a sketch of the boundary lines of Arabia and other occupied Islamic territories should be prepared and signed by all the ULAMAS in India, and after consulting legal authorities, copies of the same be sent to the Secretary of State for India and His Excellency the Viceroy, so that the British Government should have no misunderstanding on this important question.

The fourth resolution was moved by Maulvi Nasir-ud-din Sahab and supported by Maulvi Sakhawat-ul-lah,

That this meeting while sincerely desiring to see Arabia thrive and prosper under purely Muslim rule and re-affirming the views expressed by the Muslims about past conduct of Sharif Husain Pasha, highly appreciates the wise action of the Sharif in disavowing his title and claim to the CALIPHATE to which he has no right under the commandment of Islam.

On the proposal of Maulana Mohamed Idris and Maulvi Iradut-ul-lah copies of the resolutions were wired to the Premier and His Excellency the Viceroy.

A very largely attended meeting of the Mahomedans of Bombay was held at Bombay on September 18, 1919, to consider the question of khaliphate, and preservation of the holy places of Islam. Mr. M. K. Gandhi was present. Mr. Miya Mahomed Faji Jammad Chhotani presided. The proceedings were conducted in the vernacular.

The President in the course of his speech said that it was a pity that they were still denied the opportunity of realising their expectations. Indian Mahomedans had from the begining proclaimed far and wide their sentiments regarding the holy places of Islam. They appealed by various means to the Peace Conference not to commit any such blunder in the settlement regarding the Turkish Empire as might lead to wounding the religious susceptibilities of British Mussalmans.

Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy then moved the following resolution :—

"That this public meeting has heard with indignation and dismay of the contemplated dismemberment of the Turkish Empire by internationalization of Constantinople and cessation of Thrace to Greece and the giving of mandates of Hijas, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia etc, to different European powers, and enters its most emphatic protest against this intended act of spoliation."

Moulvi Rafiudin Ahmed seconded the resolution. He hoped that the Peace Conference and the British Government would give their best consideration to this question.

In response to the feelings of the assembly Mr. Gandhi addressed the meeting and whole heartedly joined in the sentiments expressed.

Other resolutions stated (1) that no differential treatment should be accorded to Christian and Muslim peoples and the principle of self-determination should be made applicable to Moslem peoples also under the suzerainty of the Khaliphate, (2) that Turkey proper with Constantinople as its capital and the lands of Asia Minor and Thrace should be left intact and uninterfered with under the suzerainty of the Sultan whose temporal power over Turkish state should not in any manner be reduced or diminished by any sort of mandate, (3) that this public meeting respectfully approach the re-

sponsible Ministers of the Crown with the request that having regard to the intense anxiety felt by the entire Mussalman population of India with regard to the Turkish Empire—an Empire with the stability and permanence of which the future of the Kaliphate is intertwined —to satisfactorily settle at an early date the Turkish question and publish the conditions of peace which are intended to be imposed upon Turkey. Another resolution passed drew the attention of the Government to the reports published in the press of the outrages in Asia Minor and urged the institution of an enquiry, punishment of the guilty, and the taking of necessary steps to prevent their recurrence.

All-India Moslem Conference.

Lucknow, September 22nd. 1919.

About five thousand Moslems from all parts of India attended the All-India Moslem Conference at Rifahi-Am, Lucknow, on September 22nd. 1919. Nearly 400 came from outside the province and about 600 from outstations in the province. The meeting was presided over in its two sittings respectively by Maulana Abdul Bari of Ferangi Mahal and the Hon'ble Seth Ibrahim Haroon Jafar of Poona. Eight resolutions were passed. The first resolution referred to the Khalifate stating that the temporal power of the Khalif is indispensable for maintaining his spiritual dignity. The second resolution asked for the integrity of the holy places which must remain free from non-Moslem influence. The third resolution demanded that in accordance with the promise made in the Prime Minister's speech of the 5th Jaunary, 1918, the rich and renowned lands of Thrace and Asia Minor with Constantinople as their capital, having a predominant Moslem population, must remain under the Turkish sovereignty. The fourth resolution demanded the evacuation of Smyrna and Hinterland by Greeks and expressed indignation at the atrocious deeds which are reported to have been committed by Greeks on the Moslem inhabitants. The fifth resolution proposed that copies of the above resolutions be sent to the Viceroy with a request that he should submit them to His Majesty's Government with his recommendations and representation of Moslem sentiments on the Turkish question. The sixth resolution fixed 17th October as an universal day of prayer in Islamic India for the preservation of the Khalif's full dignity and for holding a meeting of protest. The seventh resolution adopted the Khaliphate committee of Bombay as a permanent institution and resolved to establish branches thereof in all provinces. The eighth resolution was to the effect that the proceedings should be published in the press.

A letter from Moslem members of the Viceroy's Council was read out by the president expressing full sympathy of the signatories with the objects of the conference. They say that there is hardly a single Mahomedan in India, to whatever sect he may belong, whose heart is not filled with deepest anxiety on account of the threatened dismemberment of the Turkish Empire.

On November 3 the following cable was sent by the All India Moslem League, Lucknow, to the Premier, Secretary of State for India and the Islamia Bureau, London :—"The Council of the All-India Moslem League views with alarm and indignation the attitude of the Premier towards the Turkish question as disclosed by his Sheffield speech which foreshadows anti-Turkish and anti-Moslem nature of settlement he seems inclined to favour at the Peace Conference ignorant of universal Moslem protests made in this behalf and even violating the pledge given by himself on behalf of the British Government, Empire and nation to the Moslem world during the war. The Council deplores that the Prime Minister of England which has the largest number of Mussalmans amongst its subjects should show such deliberate disregard of universal Moslem opinion regarding what is to Mussalmans a religious question. Such an attitude if persisted in would drive the Moslem subjects of His Majesty to a resolve to abstain from participating in the peace-celebrations of the empire. The Council further deems it its duty to His Imperial Majesty to warn British Cabinet that the action such as appear to be contemplated would result in the absolute loss of all Moslem faith in British fairness and justice and consequent inauguration of a widespread agitation which cannot fail to disturb and retard peaceful development and progress of our empire.

The Khilafat Conference

The All-India Khilafat Conference met at Delhi on November 23rd 1919. There was a very influential gathering which met to come to a final decision as to the attitude to be taken towards the British in view of its breach of faith regarding Turkey.

The following resolutions were passed :—

(1) That this meeting of the representatives of all the Mussalmans of India places on record its profound gratitude to Mr. Gandhi and other Hindu compatriots who have evinced deep interest in the Khilafat question.

(2) That in view of the heart-rending events relative to Turkey Khilafat the sacred places and Persia which have been occasioned by the conclusion of peace, this meeting solemnly

enjoin upon Indian Muslims scrupulously to refrain from participating in the forthcoming victory-celebration and further request all the Khilafat committees and Indian Muslims to render all possible help to the all India Anti-Peace Celebration Committee of Delhi with Dr. Ansari as its president whose aims and objects are to widely disseminate the reasons for abstention from the victory carnival.

(3) That (a) in the event of a satisfactory settlement of the Turkish question not taking place, the Musulmans of India shall progressively withhold all co-operation from the British Government; (b) this Conference appoints the following committee to make considered suggestion with a view to give practical effect to the above resolution in the event contemplated and lay the same for final decision before the next session of this Conference. Committee :—The Hon'ble Fazlul Huq, Hazi-gul-Mulk Ajmal Khan, Maulana Abdul Majid Sharar, Hon'ble Mr. Raza Ali, Seth Abdulla Hazrat, Maulana Fazul Hasan, Mr. Kamaluddin Jafri and Mr. Mumtaz Hussain.

(4) That in the event of a satisfactory settlement of the Turkish question not taking place the Musalmans of India are definitely of opinion that to give practical expression to their sense of dissatisfaction a progressive boycott of British goods should be instituted, and in order to give effect to this decision on the event contemplated this Conference, appoints the following committee to make necessary suggestions which shall be placed before the next session of this Conference, Committee :—Syed Zahur Ahmad, Seth Abdullah Harmi, Haji Ahmad Khattri, Maulana Sanaullah, Maulana Hasrat Agham Safdar, Mafarul Mulk. Maulana Arif Hasvi, Moulvi Akramkhan Munirazzaman Tajuddin, Moulvi Sayid Bihari.

(5) That as early as possible a deputation on behalf of the Mussalmans of India be sent to England with the consent of H. E. the Viceroy with the object of laying before responsible British Ministers and others the true sentiments of the Mussalmans with regard to the Turkish and Khalifat questions and further that the deputation if necessary should proceed to the United States of America to further the objects of the deputation.

(6) This Conference appoints the following gentlemen to form the deputation :—Raja of Mahmudabad, Sir Abbas Ali Beig, Hon'ble Fazlul Huq, Dr. Ansari, Hon'ble Raza Ali, Syed Hussain, Hon'ble Fazli Hussain, Seth Mian Mahomed Chhotani, Abbas Yesji, Hassan Imam, Sir Fazulbhoy Carimbhoy, Haji Abdullah Karim, Hon'ble Abdul Qasim, Mirza Ali Mahomed Khan, Moulvi Abdul Majid Sharar, Moulvi Ibrahim Sialkoti Muniruzzaman, Moulana Abdul Bari, Hon'ble Sharif Bevji, with power to co-operate with other members from among leading Moslems now in England.

Labour Movement

Madras Labour Union

2nd Annual Session

The members of the Labour Union, Madras, held the inaugural meeting of the second year of their existance at the Union premises on April 26th, 1919, with Mr. B. P. Wadia in the chair.

Mr. B. P. Wadia's Presidential Address.

My Brothers.—We are beginning our weekly meetings from to-day I propose to put before you next Saturday some very important points for consideration. We shall then be able to tell you definitely what work we propose to do in the future for the labour movement in India and also in England. Several of our Indian friends are going to England and I wish the Madras Labour Union to send a message through those friends to the Labour Unions in England. During the week I want you to think very carefully over this particular proposition. If you are going to send a message to Labour Unions in Great Britain, what is the message that you are going to send to them? It is a very important point. We have a few days before us. Some of our friends are going on the 10th and 17th May and I would like our Labour Union to send a definite message to English Labour Unions through them. I would like you to consider this and speak about it to those who are members of your managing committee which meets every Tuesday so that we will draw up certain definite resolutions and programme which we can hand over to the representatives of India who go to Great Britain.

Mr. John Scurr, a great labour leader from England, is coming out to Madras in the course of a few days. He will be staying with us at Adyar and I hope to bring him out here next Saturday for the meeting. He will be of great use and value to us and he will surely fight on behalf of the Labour Union of Madras and the labourers of India when he returns to England. One of his principal objects of visiting Madras is to come to our Labour Union and to see what kind of work we have been doing. You must see that next Saturday's meeting will be a very representative one. We will be able to prepare our programme for our Indian representatives and giving a copy of that programme to our friend Mr. John Scurr. He wil help our Indian friends when they arrive in England. You may also consider if there is any one particular individual whom you

would like to go to England on your behalf and fight out your battles. We will have to get the Factory Act properly changed so that the hours of work are reduced. These are the important points that I want you to consider during the week and help me with your suggestions so that we will be able to do something for the poor labourers of India with the help of our Madras Labour Union".

The speech was translated sentence by sentence into vernacular by Mr. Kalyanasundara Mudaliar one of the premier organisers of the Labour Union Movement in India.

Mr. T. Adinarayana Chettiar.

next addressed the meeting in Tamil at some length. He said that when he was thinking over that morning what he ought to say to the members of the Labour Union, he was reminded of a poster issued by the Workers' Union of England in which there were printed four questions in large characters, *viz.*, (1) who holds you back? (2) who keeps you down? (3) why are you poor? and (4) who is to blame? Those were questions which every one of them would do well to ponder over and try to answer. In the answer to those four questions would be comprised the solution of all the troubles which labour had to tackle with. He would not attempt that evening to deal with those mighty issues. He would content himself merely with saying a few words as to the relations that should be betwen employer and employed and also about the attitude of the general public towards both. He proposed also to deal briefly with the question of wages and to conclude with a short history of the Labour Union organization in England. Taking the last topic first, *viz*,

The History of Trade Unions

in England, the lecturer said that in 1914, the last normal year before the War, there were in the United Kingdom 1135 Unions with a membership of forty lakhs. The income of some of those Unions would stagger their imagination. The Unions were of various kinds, such as for texile workers, Engineers, Carpenters, etc. The income by subscriptions of the Engineers' Union alone in 1914 was £535 lakhs. The official year-book attributed that enormous increase in membership to the industrial revival from 1910 onwards of which the marked features were the prevalence of disputes, the occurrence of great National strikes and the steady growth of the amalgamation movement. It was due also to the growing feeling among the workers that only by industrial organisation could organised capital be combated. That feeling had expressed itself in increased propagandist activity and also in the refusal of trade Unionists to work alongside of non-Unionists. When they were told of the

success of the Labour Organisation in Europe they were not to run away with the idea that from the first labour had an easy victory. The history of the movement could be traced back to the 14th century, when various regulations were passed by the then powerful Capitalist Governments to compel labour to serve them at fixed terms which were not over liberal from the workmen's point of view. Then combinations of workmen were made illegal. That law was repealed only so late as 1824. Even the amendment of 1856 left such combinations as criminal, as being in restraint of trade. It was only in 1859 that those combinations were declared by the Courts to be not in restraint of trade, and persuasion not to be criminal. In 1875 the Criminal Law of England received certain modifications and especially as regards what was known as "criminal conspiracy," and an act which was not criminal if done by one man was not to be regarded as criminal simply because it was done by more than one. But intimidation was still penalised. It was only after the enactment of the Trade Disputes Act of 1909 that peaceful picketing was allowed. If such was the hard fight that labour had to put up in Europe, was it any wonder that

The Indian Bureaucracy

with its open interest in the British trading classes in India looked on with disfavour the combinations of workmen in this country? However, the days when one could prevent the formation of such unions was now long past, and now whether they liked it or not they were obliged to recognise their Unions and deal with them. Still there was much to be done before their organisations could be considered efficient or before they could say they had derived ever a tithe of the benefit that should accrue to them from concerted action. Their funds were very insignificant. There were many industries which had not their labourers organised. Even those who had been members for some time had not, he was afraid, fully realised their privileges and responsibilities. There was as yet no organisation which could link together the various labour organisation of the country. Above all, there was no organ to voice forth the opinion of labour in India. The Labour Congress of England was a world known organisation counting its delgates by the thousand and tens of thousands with an efficient organisation to carry on the work from year's end to year's end. There were societies for the study of economics of labour, such as questions of rise in rents, in prices of foodstuffs, clothing, etc. The *Daily Herald*, the labour organ of England, was a power in the land and it was fortunate that the labour people of England had interested themselves in the affairs of India. There were unfortunately many who were under

the impression that the chief benefit to be derived from the formation of a Labour Union was either to facilitate going on strike or to get an increase of wages. There could not be greater folly than that. Their success would and must depend upon the measure of public sympathy that they were able to enlist, and that would be possible only in case their cause was just. Trade unionism, it should be remembered, was not only to raise wages but to put down tyranny in the factory, for if democracy was good in the State, it was good in industry as well. During the last few years the National Guild Idea had caught on in England and Mr. Orage, the Editor of *New Age*, the chief organ of that party, was a great friend of India. Guildsmen, in the words of an exponent—Mr. G. D. H. Cole—advocated state ownership and guild management of industry, abolition of the wage system and the establishment of self-government in industry through a system of National Guilds working in conjunction with the State. The future of labour must depend upon organisation and its perfection and not upon strikes. An English writer speaking about the recent increase of wages characterised the same as obtained at the point of the bayonet. It was calculated that as a result of strikes 44 lakhs of workmen obtained increase of wages amounting to £763 lacks weekly. So strikes might be the western way but they were certainly not the Indian or the Satyagrahic way, which was based upon Ahimsa and convincing the public by sweet reasonableness. The constant endeavour of the Labour Unions in this country should be not only to educate themselves into the necessary self-discipline but also to educate the public as regards their attitude to labourers and labour movement. The Indian leaders had so far neglected the interests of labouers and what the labourers wanted was not charity but justice. They were often told that if labour were given increased wages they would drink away the increase. It was a fallacious theory put forward only in the case of poor workmen. It was complained that the workmen were ignorant and illiterate, but the question was who made them so. Even elementary education was persistently denied to them. A merciless and senseless system of castes had stood in the way of ambitious young men rising to the heights to which their abilities and ambitions entitled them. It was the duty of the members of the Union to convince their employers that an accumulation of wealth was of little use to the owner unless togther with it he had commercial power over labour, and further that power he could not have unless he sought to purchase their willing obedience which would be possible only by the offer of adequate wages and proper treatment. The real value of wealth depended on the moral attached to it. Some treasures were heavy with human tears.

Mr. T. V. Kalyanasundara Mudaliar then moved the following resolution :

"That the Madras Labour Union request their President Mr. B. P. Wadia to plead the cause of labourers in India before the British labour party in England and the British democracy."

He said that the salvation of India lies with decisions of the Parliament of Great Britain, and British Parliament consisted of representatives of the British public including the influential section of labourers. The Indian National Congress, the Home Rule League and other political parties were sending deputations to England but it would not be appropriate to delegate the cause of labour in India to any of those deputations. Indian leaders had so far neglected the interests of Labourers. It was the undaunted, fearless and firm attitude of their Union President, Mr. Wadia, that stood the members in good stead through all their troubles arising out of strikes and lock-outs in the very first year of their existence. It was now a matter of history how Lord Pentland once persuaded Mr. Wadia to disband the Labour Union and how despite fear of serious consequences Mr. Widia stood firm by the cause of the labour movement. If their President had been some one other than Mr. Wadia, Lord Pentland might have succeeded in his efforts. Mr. Wadia was their trusted leader and he was the fittest person who could represent the cause of Indian labourers in England.

Mr. A. P. Parthasarathy Naicker, Head Jobber in the Carnatic Mill, seconded the resolution and pointed out some of the inconveniences felt by the workmen owing to long hours of work in the Mills.

Mr. M. Varadarajulu Naicker, Head Jobber, Buckingham Mill and Mr. S. Nagaiah Naidu, Time-Keeper in Carnatic Mill, supported the resloution.

The resloution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously admist great acclamation.

On May 3rd 1919 the Madras Labour Union presented an address to its President and some 6 to 7 thousand persons attended. Mrs. Besant. Mr. John Scurr, and other prominent Labour leaders were present. After Mrs. Besant and Mr. Scurr had addressed the meeting Mr. T. V. Kalayanasundaram Mudaliar presented the following address to Mr. Wadia :—

Address to Mr. Wadia.

"BELOVED SIR,—We, the members of the Madras Labour Union, beg to express our gratitude to you for having consented to proceed to England to place our grievances before the British Nation. We request you to represent us before the labour Party Conference, the Trade Union Congress, the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress and the Secretary to the Labour Party ; and enlist their sympathies to our cause. You are thoroughly acquainted with

our various grievances and we have also given to you a memorandum explaining them, which we request you to publish widely for the information of the British people. We pray God that He may afford you a safe and happy journey to England, a successful stay there, and an early return to our midst."

Similar addresses were presented to Mr. Wadia on May 7th by the Madras Tramway men's Union, Printers Union and other smaller bodies which Mr. Wadia had helped to build up.

A Labour Protest

Under the joint auspices of all the Labour Unions of India a mass meeting was held in Madras on 29th September 1919 to protest against the nomination of Mr. Joshi by the Government of India to the International Labour Conference, Washington, United States of America. As Dr. Subramaniam could not come owing to bad health Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar took the chair in his place. The objection to Mr. Joshi was that he was in no sense an elected representative of Labour and did not really know anything about the life and working of Labour in India. He himself had said that the Government of India had appointed him for reasons best known to themselves and did not claim to represent Indian Labour in the proper sense of the term. The action of the Government in this respect was at par with their whole policy, wherever Indians were concerned, of flouting public opinion.

Thousands upon thousands of Labourers in Madras, Bombay, and elsewhere had elected Mr. Wadia as their representative and he had gone to America at enormous personal sacrifice to plead the cause of Indian Labour but still Government did not heed them.

The following resolution was put from the chair and carried :

"That this general meeting of the members of all the labour unions in Madras strongly condemns the action of the Government of India in ignoring the representation of the Indian work-people. That this meeting respectfully requests the Imperial Cabinet to direct the Government of India to comply with the provisions of article 3 of the Draft Labour Convention by consulting such labour organisations in the country as are in existence."

Subsequently the Government of India appointed Mr. Wadia as an adviser to the so called "Labour Representatives", *viz.* Mr. A. C. Chatterji, I.C.S. and Mr. N. Joshi, to the International Labour Conference (See Part II p. 240).

Bengal Provincial Conference

Mymensingh 19th April, '20

(Presidential address)

"Two problems which overshadow all others are before the country at the present moment, viz, (1) Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme, and (2) the Act based on the recommendations of the Rowlatt Sedition Committee which has been lately placed on the Statute-book.

"The Congress, in two consecutive sessions (i.e. at the special session in Bombay and at the annual session in Delhi last year), has expressed the countries considered views with regard to the Scheme and some of you may think that it would be waste of time to plunge once more into a detailed discussion of its provisions. While fully agreeing with this view I cannot let this occasion pass without refering to certain matters.

"Some of us are of opinion that the Scheme does not provide for any real expansion of responsible Government, while others think that the Scheme is sufficient as a first step towards it and are afraid that unless it is accepted as such there is every possibility of the British Parliament rejecting the Scheme altogether, on the ground that since the Scheme does not satisfy anybody it should not be given effect to at all. I am afraid I can not accept this latter view. On the face of the strong desire of the educated people of all classes and creeds of India expressed in clear terms for a Reform of the Indian Constitution in the direction of responsible Government, and in view of the pronouncement of the 29th of August 1917 made by the Secretary of State for India and accepted by the Prime Minister and by the other members of the British Cabinet, any apprehension that the question of the Indian Constitutional Reforms may be shelved by the British Parliament is to say the least, groundless. The British Government knows very well or ought to know that any whittling down of the Reform embodied in the Scheme, leave alone the total rejection of the Scheme itself, would not be tolerated by the people of India. That this is not the view of mere agitators is evidenced by what His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaneer recently said at a banquet given to Lord Sinha. He said that speaking under a strong sense of duty to the King-Emperor and the Empire he wished to sound a solemn warning that if the counsels of opponents of the Reforms were

followed feelings of bitter disappointment and grievous wrong would be dominant throughout India. Nobody could gauge the full force of that disaffection but obviously in comparison with it the recent unrest would seem small. But if the British Government would only seize the occasion to shape the Reforms on bold and generous lines at the earliest possible opportunity they would confirm the solidarity of the Empire by strengthening the most enduring ties between England and India—those of mutual trust and helpfulness.

"I cannot leave this subject without refering to certain recent development in connection therewith. You have all heard of the formation of the Civil Service Association in different parts of the country. The position taken up by the Assocation briefly stated is that the rights and privileges of the members of the Indian Civil Service should not be interfered with or even jeopardised by any scheme of reforms which may be proposed for the better administration of this country. We, who know the Civil Service bureaucracy, the spirit which animates its members, and its methods and traditions are not surprised at it. The bureaucracy, whatever its pretensions may be as we all know, rules the country not primarily for the good of the country but primarily for its own self-preservation and self-advancement. That is the principle of bureaucratic rule all over the world and the Indian Civil Service is no exception to it.

"From a draft memorial of the Indian Civil Service Association of Madras published in the press we have an inkling into the inner working of the Civilian mind :—

(1) They object to 33 per cent of the superior posts being recruited from India at once.

(2) They object to the superior posts going to the members of the Bar or the Provincial Civil Service.

(3) They complain that members of the Indian Civil Service will no longer look forward to attaining positions where they could decide or help to decide policy.

(4) They complain that a Civilian District Officer may have to give effect to policies diametrically opposed to his British ideas.

(5) They complain that a Civilian will be a mere machine, his advice will no longer be regarded, his responsibility to the public will disappear, his power and influence will have gone.

(6) They complain that an English Civilian will not have sufficient number of his countrymen to keep him company.

(7) Finally they complain that their wives hate to be treated by Indian doctors.

"The above summary clearly indicates that what the Civilians want is to maintain their so-called prestige, and to make their domination over the Indians a permanent affair. When has a bureaucracy willingly divested itself of power? When has an autocracy welcome the coming of popular liberty? History records no such event. We must therefore continue to agitate till our object is attained. It is true that agitation, which is not based "on a good statement is a folly;" but it is equally if not more true that "a good statement" as we have in the present instance, "not supported by agitation is futile."

"Threatened Civilian Strike."

"Then again the Civilians urge:—"The present Civilian should be given a chance of escape from an engagement the conditions of which, through no fault of his own, are to be so radically changed, and if the view is to be accepted that the experience and guidance of trained Civilians cannot at present be dispensed with, expediency requires that firm and definite steps should be taken to make tolerable the position of those who remain. What we would ask is:—

(1) That we may be told in explicit terms what is meant by the substantial improvements in the conditions of service (para. 318) and the special measures of protection (para. 325) to which the authors of the Report allude and whether the improvements (para. 318) are to benefit us or only our successors:

(2) That such of us as are not prepared to make themselves pawns in what is termed in the Report one of the greatest political experiments ever undertaken in the world's history should be given the option of retiring on pensions calculated with reference to their service and loss of prospects, or should be offered posts similar to those they now hold either at Home or in other parts of the British Empire; and,

(3) That the pensions of all members of the Service should be guaranteed to them by the British Parliament."

Gentlemen, recent events in England and in other parts of Europe have made us familiar with strikes and lockouts, threatened or actual. But to speak the truth this vision of a threatend strike, engineered by Government servants, and connived at, if not encouraged, by their superiors, is an unprecedented phenomenon in the whole history of strikes. This attitude of the Indian Civil Service would have been a matter of no concern to us, had it not been for the fact that His Excellency the Viceroy in a recent speech has openly supported it. In opening the last

sessions of the Imperial Legislative Council at Delhi, on the 6th of February last, His Excellency observed as follows:—

"Now with the introduction of responsible Government in India, however limited at first, a change must begin. If we set up ministers, ministers must administer; and the permanent services must execute. That is so well accepted a maxim of our British policy that no one will dispute it. This then is my first proposition."

"But to suppose as has been alleged that we propose to place the services as a whole in helpless subordination to inexperienced and possibly hostile ministers; that we intend not merely to deprive them of power but to require them blindly to execute policies which they cannot reconcile with their self-respect is very seriously to misconceive our purpose. Let me explain at once why that is impossible."

"It is recognised at the present moment that the time is not ripe for Indians to take over the entire management of the country. Every moderate and thoughtful Indian admits that truth himself. And Government, believe me, is not the simple thing it may sometimes seem. The help of the service, trained, efficient, impartial with their high standards of duty, of character, of the pulic interest is, absolutely essential if this vast experiment is to suceed. We cannot afford and we do not mean to lose them until India acquires, what she has not got at present, something approximately as good to put in their place. That is my second proposition.

"Secondly, we do not intend to leave the handing of the services wholly to the minister. We propose to instruct the Governor, in a published instrument, that we lay on him a personal responsibility for securing the welfare of the services. He will disallow proposals that aim or tend towards their disintegration. The head of every department under ministers will have access to the Governor. He will be in a position to represent difficulties to him before they become acute; and it will be for the Governor. to deal with them by influence and persuasion, and finally by tactful exercise of authority. Lastly we propose to secure all existing rights of appeal to the Government of India and the Secretary of State whenever an officer is prejudicially affected as regards emoluments or pension by a minister's order."

"Time would not premit me to place before you the many objections and criticisms which may be made against the police which has been outlined in the portion of the speech I have just quoted. I say, to begin with, that it is humiliating to feel that such

is the present ascendancy of the Civil Service that Lord Chelmsford, the head of the Government and the representative of His Majesty the King Emperor should be under the necessity of giving an undertaking to it however great many be its worth or however indispensable it may be to this country.

"After all is said and done, these gentlemen come out here not out of any love for this country, but to earn a living. In saying this I do not mean any disrespect to them, as we are all entitled to and ought to earn our own living. But what I do mean is to say that these gentlemen should realise what their position is in this country. We are grateful to them for the work which they have done for us, but our gratefulness will not prevent us from seeing that they are well paid for and that their interests are not to be placed above all other interests. I regret that His Excellency the Viceroy did not take the opportunity of making this quite clear to the members of the Civil Service. On the contrary he went out of his way to appease their supposed injured feeling by holding out hopes and inducements which, if materialised, would be prejudicial to the welfare of the country and to the efficient working of the system of Government proposed to be set up by the Scheme. We have not the remotest intention of depriving the present members of the services of any pay or pension to which they are entitled under the existing rules. No assurance from the Viceroy was needed on this point. But as regard their future position under the ministers which His Excellency the Viceroy has indicated, we say that such a position, if secured to them, would be not only inconsistent with the self-respect of the ministers under whom they will serve, but will render the working of the Scheme almost impossible.

"It is obvious from the observations which I have placed before you that in order to maintain the self-respect of the Services as well as their present power and position, the Governor will appoint only such men as ministers as will have the wisdom and tact to put up with them. In other words, not the best men of the country will be secured for serving the country but the men who will be considered the best from the point of view of the welfare and the self-respect of the Service. Again, His Excelleney the Viceroy has told us that the head of every department will have access to the Governor. I ask you, is there any man who will accept the position of a minister when he knows that his subordinate can directly approach the Governor and represent his supposed grievances behind his back? And suppose such a minister could be found, would you call him responsible to the

Council or to the people? Rather would he not be responsible to the Civil Service?"

"Before I leave His Excellency the Viceroy's speech let me refer to another matter viz, the assurance given by His Excellency to those who have set themselves up as representatives of British trade in this country. Well, gentemen, these are his words:

"The Secretary of State and I have pledged ourselves in paragraph 344 to reserve to Government power to protect any industry from prejudice, attack or privileged competition. To speak for myself, I believe this can be secured by embodying this undertaking in the instrument of instructions given to the Governor on appointment wherein he will be informed that His Majesty's Government lay on him a responsiblity for seeing that the pledge is made good. With such a public document in his hands the Government with the Govenor of India and Secretary of State behind him, would be in a very strong position to resist all proposals of his ministers which appeared to him to be acts of hostility of British commerce There will moreover be representatives of that interest sitting in the provincial chamber; and I cannot do them the injustice of supposing that they will fail to bring any just grievance effectively to the Governor's notice or if need be to remind him of his responsibility.

"We have been given all along to understand that the object of the Scheme is to place India on the road to responsible Government. But it is difficult to imagine how India would ever attain responsible Government, if the Governor will be in a position to override any measure which a minister may be advised to adopt in the interest of Indian commerce and industry. To make matters quite clear, His Excellency's words leave no doubt in our minds that the representatives of British interests will be in position to kill all Indian industrial activities on the merest pretence that they are acts of hostilities to the British commerce. More of this when I come to deal with the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission.

"Gentlemen, this is the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme revised and brought up to date. Its first appearance in July 1918 did not evoke much enthusiasm. But as it appears to-day modified as aforesaid by His Excellency the Viceroy, I am afraid it will kill the little enthusiasm which some of us felt for it. The situation is not so bright and hopeful. We must be on our guard. We must clearly define what we want. And here I believe I voice the opinion of any countrymen when I say that nothing short of complete provincial autonomy will satisfy us.

THE ROWLATT ACT

"I now pass on to what is known as the Rowlatt Act officially styled the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act.

Two questions have got to be considered:

(1) Was this piece of legislation necessary?

(2) What are the changes it has introduced into our criminal law and with what likely effect?

Sir William Vincent in introducing this Bill remarked as follows:—

"We had been unable effectively to cope with this movement under the normal Law. We had been foiled in all our efforts. We then took restrictive measures, and we have been or really the Local Government has been, singularly successful in dealing with it. I think if you read the Report the vital propositions are that under pre-war conditions the machinery of law and order was unfitted to cope with lawlessness of a particular type; that the coming of the war with its emergency legislation really saved the peace of India by providing machinery which could deal with this lawlessness; and that it is unsafe for us now to revert to the previous condition of affairs, in which these anarchical forces were allowed unrestricted license to prosecute their designs. Itis on the basis of this Report that we have undertaken this legislation.

From these words it is clear that the Government of India undertook this legislation in the belief that nothing short of measures calculated to seriously jeopardise and interfere with the personal safety and liberty of His Majesty's subjects would enable them to preserve law and order in this country. If this belief is seriously entertained by the Government then all we can say is that it furnishes a sad commentary on British Rule in this country. How is it one naturally asked that India whose people are proverbially noted for their sense of abhorrence of all violent acts, particularly violent acts directed against the established Government, how is it, one is tempted to ask, a people with such a temperament should have produced anarchists and revolutionaries? The authors of the report of the Sedition Committee from which the Government have drawn their inspiration have entered into a historical survey of the revolutionary conspiracy in this country beginning with the public Ganapati Festival held in 1894 in Poona and ending with the dastardly murder of Basanto Kumar Chatterjee in one of the public thoroughfares of Calcutta.

"In tracing this history they have furnished us with the activities and enterprises of the Chapeker brothers and Sabarker of

Poona, the doings of Barindra and his gang in the suburbs of Calcutta and the speeches and writings of Tilak and Samaj and various other persons. It is curious to observe that in their lengthy survey, they have not ventured to examine critically the acts and measures of the Government during the period in question with a view to discover to what extent if at all the latter contributed to the growth and development of anarchical and revolutionary spirit in this country. One would have expected that a Commission presided over by one of the judges of the King's Bench Division of the High Court of England would try to penetrate beyond the police reports submitted to them and carefully and fearlessly diagnose the causes and agencies which we believe are responsible for this revolutionary disease. If they had done so, we venture to assert that their recommendations would have been directed not only to the restriction of individal liberty and safety but also, if not more so, towards the restriction of Government high handedness and repression. The authors of the Report have gone so far back as 1894 in their history of revolutionary conspiracy, but so far as Bengal is concerned it can be said without fear of contradiction that there was no revolutionary crime and anarchy in this country till after the partition of Bengal. Who is morally responsible for this? In answering this question I cannot do better than quote the following lines from the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohon Malaviya's speech in the imperial Council on the 6th of February last

"And this prepares us for answering the first question. Was this piece of legislation necessary? The officials tell us that it is necessary in the interest of peace and order but we are convinced it is not necessary. Having regard to the fact that our rulers themselves give us the assurance most of the causes to which we have alluded as responsible for the growth of anarchism in this country will before long disappear. Mr. Montagu and His Excellency the Viceroy have promised us substantial reforms in the direction of responsible Government. The Public Services Commission have given us hopes of more extensive and lucrative careers for our young men in the public services. And lastly the recommendation, of the Indian Industrial Commission have opend out for us a vista of commercial prosperity and indestrial revival. If these things are going to happen in the near futute and there is no reason to believe that it is not likely, revolution and anarchy would die natural death What then is the necessity at this moment to pass this coercive law which, beside being subversive of all the principles which we associate with the name of Britain, is unworthy of a civilized government?

But then it will be said, whatever may be the future of anarchism in this country, how are the Government to deal with anarchism and its protagonists at the present moment? The answer to that is, to quote the words of The Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee,"

"The Defence of India Act will be operative six months after the conclusion of peace. That will take us down to the end of the year. Therefore, at least up to the 31st of December 1919, no such law as the one that you are now proposing to enact is needed. Then my Lord, there is the power of Ordinances which you have used so freely and so frequently and to such good purpose. You can revive the Defence of India Act by an Ordinance which will continue till June, 1920. Therefore my Lord, having regard to the powers which the Government of India at present possess, and which can be easily continued, it seems to me that no case has been made out for enacting a law of this kind, at any rate at this stage."

"Nor is this all. You have got in your armoury Regulation III of 1818. It is a part of the permanent law of the land, and you can set it in motion at any time you like. As a matter of fact, I think my Hon'ble Member will bear me out when I say that the most dangerous characters have all been interned under Regulation III of 1818."

"Having these extensive powers in hand, one is curious to enquire what are the motives which have actuated the Government in passing this Act, in the teeth of unanimous opposition, on the strength of their official block? I may tell the Government that we are not satisfied with the explanations which have been given for the course that they have pursued. Armed with the powers they have got under the Act, they can restrain the overt acts of the people but they can not stop their thinking and guessing.

"We pass now to the second question:—What are the changes it has introduced into our criminal law and with what likely effect?

"The Act, speaking broadly, has introduced two revolutionary changes into the law of crimes in this country. The first is it has created a new Tribunal for the trial of certain offences mentioned in the schedule, of the Act. On turning to the schedule, one finds that it includes offences which are offences against the state as well as other offences e. g., mischief, trespass, grievous hurt, extortion, rioting, dacoity, culpable homicide, murder and so on. There may be some justi

fication for a tribunal to try offences directed against the state such as waging war against the King, sedition and so on. But there is not even a shadow of justification for removing the trial of offences like mischief and house trespass from the jurisdiction of the ordinary Courts of the land to a tribunal specially established for that purpose. I know, it will be said that these offences will come within the jurisdiction of the new tribunal only when any of these offences are connected with any movement endangering the safety of the state. But the question is, who is to decide in a particular case whether the offence in question is so connected? Section 2 of the schedule makes it quite clear that the executive is the sole and the final judge in this matter, and who is this executive? In ultimate analysis it is found to be no other person than an officer of the Criminal Investigation Department.

"The Hon'ble Mr M. A. Jinnah has pointed out in another connection—

"Well now, who will give the information to the local Government that a person is concerned with a movement of the kind defined? Who will furnish the local Government with materials upon which the local Government will make its order? I venture to say, my Lord, it will be some Police officer. Who else can it be, except somebody in the Criminal Investigation Department or the Police? It is the Police who will furnish the local Government with information, ex-parte information and upon that information furnished by the police, the local Government will say, 'well, here we have got this information, we will make the order and the order is made and it is final."

"In this connection, I must bring to your notice the very important fact that an amendment was moved in the Select Committee to the effect "that provided when the Committee convicts a person whether of the offence with which he was charged or of another, it shall record a finding that such offence is connected with an anarchical or revolutionary movement. Needless to say this amendment was not allowed. To us of course it causes no surprise; for notwithstanding the fact that a judiciary has been set up to try certain offences, the object of the Act is to make the judiciary a servant of the executive.

"The executive can set the judiciary in motion by a mere declaration by the Local Government that in its opinion the trial of any person accused of a schedule offence should be held in accordance with the provisions of this part, i.e., part I of the Act. What guarantee is there that you and I may not be sent up for trial under the provision of part I of this Act, if the executive on

materials placed before it and considered exparte should be pleased to express the opinion that the trial should be so held? But then you may say what harm? You will be tried by a tribunal consisting of three High Court Judges nominated by the Chief-justice. The procedure will be the procedure for the trial of warrant cases by Magistrates. You will be entitled to ask for an adjournment of 14 days and the Court shall comply with your request. A complete record of the evidence of each witness will be kept in the manner directed by the Court. And lastly if you are innocent you have simply to step into the witness box and demonstrate the falsity of the charge against you. But, gentlemen, inspite of its many attractions I am not in love with the new tribunal and its provisions.

The President then fully analysed the provisions of the Act and pointed out step by step the great danger to personal liberty which it threatens. He then touched upon the satyagraha and swadeshi, cooperative movement, Primary Education, Sanitation and other imperative needs of the country and then concluded.

Conclusion.

"I desire to impress upon you two things before I resume my seat.

"First you must learn to depend upon yourselves in matters of mass education, sanitation, trade and industry We can not look to the Government to render the people any substantial help or encouragement in these direction. Up till now they had pleaded financial reasons for their inability to do much and whatever money was found was spent in the employment of highly paid European officers without any real and substantial improvement being introduced.

"I do not know whether the Government's plea of want of funds is a sound one, but I am almost sure even if the Government had the necessary funds, the vested interests in this country as well as in England will stand in their way of adopting any measure calculated to advance the health and the material prosperity of the people of this country.

"Secondly I say that one object we should have steadily in view would be to make the Government of the country national. Make the Government your own and you will have the things you want. Money will be found, vested interests will be swept away, and the people will come into their own.

"I know there are some, both Englishmen and Indians, who urge upon us to refrain from all political agitation and to concentrate for the present our efforts on such problems as social

reconstruction, mass educaion, sanitation and industrial revival. Though I yield to none in my appreciation of the importance of these problems, I take this opportunity of frankly expressing my opinion that none of these problems will ever be solved to our satisfaction till we acquire complete control over the Government of our country. This is no doubt a bold assertion, but history has made it abundantly clear that a good Government is no substitute for Government by the people, and that a Government not based upon the will of the people, however noble its intentions may be can never enter into that spiritual sympathy with the needs and aspirations of the people which is the sine-qua-non of all successful administration. Bande Mataram.

Bengal Provincial Conference.

Mymensingh—19th April 1919.

The Conference opened its session on the 19th April 1919 and sat for 3 days. On the first day it was announced to meet at 1 P. M. but long before the appointed time the huge pandal specially erected for the purpose was packed to its utmost capacity There were about 700 delegates from all over Bengal and the total attendance was some 5000 visitors. Quite a large number of ladies attended and took greater interest in the proceedings heretofore. At the appointed time the president Babu Jatra Mohon Sen, headed by the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Rai Bahadur Shama Charan Roy, and ex-presidents Messrs. C. R. Das, Akhil Ch. Dutt, B. Chackerverty, and Rai Jatindranath Choudhury, entered the pandal in procession and was accorded a warm reception. Shouts of "Bande Mataram" and "Alla-ho-Akbar" rang throughout the vast gathering.

Mr. B. Chackervarti proposed and the Hon'ble Mr. Fazlal Huq seconded that Babu Jatra Mohon Sen do take the chair. The proposal was received with loud applause. The President then read his address. The following resolutions were passed :—

Babu B. C. Pal moved :—

2. "That in view of the unfulfilled pledges given of the rights and liberties of the Indian citizens in the Charter Act of 1833, the Queen's Proclamation of 1857, the King's Proclamation of 1910 and 1911 and the Government of India Act of 1915, this Conference demands a clear Declaration of Rights of the people of India by a Statute of Parliament enacting—

(a) That all Indian subjects of His Majesty and all the subjects naturalised or resident in India are equal before the Law, and there shall be no penal nor administrative law in force in this country, whether substantive or procedural, of a discriminative nature ;

(b) That no Indian subject of His Majesty shall be liable to suffer in liberty, life, property, or in respect of free speech or writing, or of the right of association, except under sentence by an ordinary Court of Justice, and as a result of lawful and open trial ;

(c) that every Indian subject shall be entitled to bear arms, subject to the purchase of a licence, as in Great Britain, and that right shall not be taken away save by a sentence of an ordinary Court of Justice ;

(d) That the Press shall be free, and that no licence nor security shall be demanded on the registration of a Press or a newspaper ;

(e) That corporal punishment shall not be inflicted on any Indian subject of His Majesty save under conditions applying equally to all other British subjects.

Mr. C. R. Das moved :—

3. "That this Conference affirms the resolutions on the Indian constitutional reforms passed by the Indian National Congress at Delhi in December 1918 and urges His Majesty's Government in England to apply the principle of self-determination to India in the solution of the Indian constitutional problem."

He said that this resolution on constitutional reform was passed in the Bombay Congress and reaffirmed in Delhi. If the Congress which had been urging for the last thirty-three years for self-government, after mature consideration adopted this resolution, they must not say that the Congress was wrong. Absolute provicial autonomy was of urgent necessity. He would say that unless provincial autonomy was given any reform would be of no avail. They might get control of education or sanitation, but if the life of the nation was crushed what was the good of education and sanitation ? Unless they had power to protect themselves from the police there was no necessity of reforms.

4. "That this Conference appreciates the opportunities afforded to the Bengalee people to enlist in the Bengalee Battalion, the Indian Defence Force and the Bengal Light Horse, and demands that the Government should be pleased to recognise and give effect to the rights of qualified Bengalees to enlist in all branches of His Majesty's Army and of the Navy and Air service and urges that in respect of pay, promotion and status, they be placed on a footing of equality with His Majesty's European subjects.

That this Conference further urges that at least one Battalion or the Bengalee people be permanently established and maintained as a branch of His. Majesty's army and that qualified Bengalees be admitted to His Majesty's commission in the army and for their training a well-equipped College be established in Bengal on the lines of institutions for the purpose in England.

Mr. B Chakravarty moved the next resolution :—

5. "(a) That this Conference solemnly declares that the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act. 1919 is a gross violation of the fundamental rights of a citizen to a regular and open trial, safeguarded by a wholesome body of rules of evidence, and with free access to all partacularly of facts to be taken into consideration against him before he can be deprived of his personal liberty as a criminal offender, and that the passing of the Act against the united opposition of the whole country through Indian political organisations, numeous public meetings, unprecedented in their vastness, and non-official Indian members of the Imperial Legislative Council without a single exception, was subversive of the principles of liberty and justice, and destructive of the elementary rights of citizenship guaranteed by Royal Proclamations and this Conference therefore most humbly beseeches His Most Gracious Majesty and King Emperor to be pleased to signify through His Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Council His disallowance of the said Act.

(b) That this Conference urges on the Government to remove from the Statute Book the Defence of India Act, Bengal Regulation III of 1818, the Press Act, the Seditious Meetings Act, the Criminal Law Act of 1913 and other similar repressive measures curtailing the liberty of the subject, and to enter on a policy of trust in the administration of the country.

(c) This Conference further urges upon the Government that all persons interned or externed under the Defence of India Act or all persons dealt with under the above mentioned regulations, and all political prisoners should at once be set at liberty with a view to ensure the success of conditional reforms.

Madras Liberal League

At an urgent general meeting of the Madras Liberal League held on September 2nd with Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar in the chair, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted :

I. The Madras Liberal League has learnt with feelings of surprise and of regret that the Government of India intend to introduce during next session of the Viceregal Legislative Council an Indemnity Bill for legalising the actions of the officers concerned in the introduction and administration of Martial Law in the Punjab. In view of the fact that Commission of Enquiry promised by the Secretary of State has not yet been appointed, and that the findings of the Commission will have a most important bearing on the question of the necessity for the introduction of Martial Law and the promulgation of the various orders passed thereunder and the reasonableness or otherwise of the conduct of those concerned in their administration, the League is of opinion that the introduction of an indemnity Bill at this stage is highly premature and impolitic, is bound to impede the work of the Commission and discount its conclusions beforehand in the eyes of the public, and will tend to undermine the faith of the people in the impartiality and justice of the British Government and affect its prestige.

II. The Madras Liberal League is of opinion that the Committee which has been appointed to enquire into the administration and organisation of the Army in India is unsatisctory in composition in that it includes Sir Michael O'Dwyer whose methods of administration and pronounced hostility to Indian aspirations have caused wide dissatisfaction and no provision is made for the due representation of Indian interests. The League urges that the Committee should be enlarged by the addition of representative Indians and ruling chiefs and that it should be instructed to enquire into and report upon the extent to which the higher ranks of the Army in all branches should be thrown open to Indians.

III. The Madras Liberal League prays that the Secretary of State will be pleased to insist that in the Commission to be appointed to enquire into the grievances of Indians in South Africa, the Indian representatives should be equal in number to the representatives of South African Union and that the operation of the Asiatic Trading and Land-owning Act passed by the Union Parliament should be suspended pending the Report of the Commission.

IV. The Madras Liberal League prays that before handing German South-West Africa to the South African Union, His Majesty's Government will be pleased to insist on the recognition of the civil and political equality of the Indian subjects of His Majesty and their right to settle in the country.

V. The Madras Liberal League considers it necessary that the terms of mandates of types *B* and *C* to be issued in respect of the German Colonies, should be modified so as to clearly and expressly provide for the recognition of the rights of His Majesty's Indian subjects to free immigration and complete equality of civil and political status with British born subjects.

VI. The Madras Liberal League prays that German East Africa may be reserved for Indian colonisation and handed over to the Government of India under the appropriate mandate.

VII The Madras Liberal League urges the Government of India and the Secretary of State to take prompt measures for the expeditious release of the Indian Labourers in Fiji from their indentures.

VIII. The Madras Liberal League appeals to His Majesty's Government to use all their influence to prevent the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire and the transfer of the homelands of the Turkish nation to other nationalities.

IX. That in response to the appeal of Swami Sradhananda, for relief to the sufferers in the Punjab, the Madras Liberal League do open a subscription list, and the amounts collected be remitted to Mr. Tiwari of the servants of India Society who is in charge of the distribution of the funds.

Madras Provincial Conference

Trichinopoly—August 22nd, 1919

The 25th. Madras Provincial Conference met at Trichinopoly on August 22nd and continued for the next two days. The Hon. Mr. K. V. Rangaswamy Aiyangar, chairman of the reception committee welcomed the delegates in a short address. The Hon. Dewan Bahadur Desikachariar proposed the Hon. Raja of Ramnad to the chair. The proposal was seconded by Mr. S. Kasturiranga Aiyangar and other speakers. The Hon. the Raja of Ramnad then took the chair and read his long Presidential Address, dealing very thoroughly with the burning topics of the day, specially those regarding the affairs of the Punjab.

On the second day the proceedings began at noon. The president moved the loyalty resolution and also one expressing sorrow at the death of Nawab Syed Mahammad and Dr. Nair.

Fundamental Rights

Dr. Subbarayan, Zemindar of Kumaramangalam, next moved the following resolution :

"This Conference reiterates the resolutions of the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League and expresses its emphatic opinion that no statute amending the Government of India Act will be satisfactory unless there is in it a guarantee of the following fundamental rights :

(a) that all Indian subjects of His Majesty and all the subjects naturalised or resident in India are equal before the law, and there shall be no penal nor administrative law in force in this country whether substantive or procedural of a discriminative nature :

(b) that no Indian subject of His Majesty shall be liable to suffer in liberty, life, property or in respect of free speech or writing or of association, except under sentence by an ordinary Court of Justice and as a result of lawful and open trial.

(c) that every Indian subject shall be entitled to bear arms, subject to the purchase of a license as in Great Britain and that right shall not be taken away except by a sentence of an ordinary Court of Justice.

(d) that the Press shall be free and that no licence or security shall be demanded on the registration of a press or a newspaper ;

(e) that corporal punishment shall not be inflicted on any Indian subject of His Majesty, save under conditions applying equally to all other British Subjects.

Punjab Affairs

Mr. S. Kasturiranga Iyengar moved :

"This Conference expresses its deep sympathy with our country-men in the Punjab in their unhappy and distressed condition consequent on the Proclamation of Martial Law, at once uncalled for and unconstitutional, and the manifold sufferings caused by its administration.

"That this Conference deplores the delay in announcing the formation of the promised Commission of enquiry by the Secretary of State for India and in view of the substitution of the ordinary Courts of Justice by Martial Law Commissions and of the convictions made and sentences passed by the said tribunals which have shocked the public mind and aroused widespread

indignation throughout the country, urges that such a Commission should be appointed without any further delay by His Majesty's Government and should consist of persons wholly unconnected with the Indian Administration and commanding public confidence, of whom not less than one-half should be Indians, that it should hold an open public inquiry, and that it should have power to annul and revise sentences passed by the Martial Law Commissions and other officers specially empowered in this behalf.

"This Conference places on record its appreciation of Sir Sankaran Nair's services to the country and in particular, his resignation of the office of Membership of the Viceroy's Executive Council as a protest against the policy pursued by the Government of the Punjab in promulgating and maintaining Martial Law, and its reverential admiration of the action taken by our great national Poet, Dr Rabindranath Tagore, in resigning his Knighthood as a protest against the policy of the Government in this behalf.

A Sensation

When the President stood up and was about to put the resolution to vote, Mr. T. C. Vydhinatha Aiyar asked the President if he could move an amendment.

The President said that he did not receive any amendment. Thereupon the mover said that he had given the amendment to the Secretary.

Dr. Rajan, Secretary, who was sitting near the President's table said that he had lost it.

The mover of the amendment expressed his surprise that such an important paper should be so lightly let off.

Dr. Rajan apologised and said that he had lost it somewhere and it was not intentional on his part.

Thereupon the President asked what the amendment was.

Mr. T. C. Vydhinatha Aiyar said that he had a copy and got upon the dais. He was about to read it when the President wanted to see the copy. The President read it and consulted some of his friends on the dais. After some consultation the President asked the mover if he could not move it as a separate proposition.

Mr. Vydhinatha Aiyar replied that a resolution could not be brought before the Conference without being first considered in the Subjects Committee. He said that he was not a member of the Subjects Committee. He said that the amendment was in order and he had every right to move it. He saw near his seat a placard hanging wherein the words "We demand justice" was found.

If that placard had not been placed by the Reception Committee on the platform he would not have seen it and would not have moved the resolution. That was an amendment which should be moved by leaders. But as nobody was forthcoming he ventured to move the amendment.

The Amendment

Mr. T. C. Vydhinatha Aiyar then moved the following amendment :—

After the last sentence in the resolution clause (a) add the following : This Conference is of opinion that His Excellency Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy of India, should immediately be recalled for having lost the confidence of the Indian public by his indifference and incompetency to control the illegal action of the late Lieut. Governor of the Punjab, thereby endangering the safety of the British Empire and causing irremediable suffering and anxieties to the people of the Punjab.

In doing so he made a spirited speech in Tamil in the course of which he said that the action of the Viceroy had been strongly condemned by the President in his important address, as well as by Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu. If the people thought that what the Viceroy did were all right let them move a resolution congratulating him. If they did not, he was not particular about that. But if the people thought that what the Viceroy did was wrong let them unmistakably express it.

The speech was punctuated by enthusiastic cheers.

A gentleman from the platform seconded the resolution and another delegate supported the resolution. Meanwhile the audience was continuously cheering, for no question of public importance so much agitated public mind as the heartless in action of the Viceroy during the late Reign of Terror in the Punjab.

The President then rose and said that as there was some doubt as to the necessity of that amendment in that resolution he would consider it with his friends. He then adjourned the Conference for half an hour for consultation.

When the Conference reassembled the President said that opinion was divided as to whether it would be advantageous to have the amendment to that resolution. If the mover would very kindly agree to submit his motion to the consideration of the Subject Committee he promised that every consideration would be given to the subject matter of the proposition and if necessary it would be brought before them in the shape of a separate proposition the next day. He would himself place the matter before the Subject Committee.

Mr. Arunachala Sastri said that the gathering was prepared to leave the matter to the Subjects Committee in case it was left to them to decide the wording of the amendment. They wanted the recall of the Viceroy. If that was the question left to the determination of the Subject Committee they would all in a body oppose it.

The President said that he gathered that the popular opinion was for bringing the matter as a separate resolution. A delegate stood up and said that they were not particular about the opinion of any but the President. They wanted a definite ruling from the chair. The President in exercise of the power conferred on him, moved each clause as independent resolution and took votes.

When the first clause was passed as a separate resolution, Mr. Vydhianatha Aiyar said that it was there that he had to move his amendment.

The President ruled it out of order.

Mr. N. S. Ramaswami Iyengar asked what they were to do if the Subjects Committee refused to move it as a separate resolution.

The President asked them to very kindly give him indulgence and to wait till the next morning. If the Subjects Committee was opposed to it it was for them to consider whether they should press it. Therefore, he requested them to very kindly postpone the consideration of the matter till the next day.

The other clauses were than passed.

Rowlatt Laws

The Hon. Mr. B. V. Narasimha Aiyar moved :

" This Conference places on record :—

(a) Its emphatic protest and strong condemnation of the Criminal Emergency Powers Act 1 of 1919 and the Bill to provide for amendment of the Indian Penal Code and Code of Criminal Procedure, the former of which has been rushed through the the Supreme Legislative Council and passed into law in defiance of unanimous Indian opinion.

(b) its strong feeling that these measures of legislation are unparalleled in the legislative history of any civilised country, cast an undeserved slur on the loyalty of three-hundred millions of people, amount to an indictment against the whole nation, substitute in effect the rule of the executive for that of the law, destroying thereby the very foundations of personal freedom and civil liberty, are subversive of the order of things recognised and acted upon in all free and civilised countries, and will retard all ordered political progress ;

(c) its firm resolve that a persistent agitation should be carried on throughout the country for the repeal of Act 1 of 1919 and for the abandonment of the other Rowlatt Bill ;

(d) its complete and unbounded confidence in Mahatma Gandhi and its full and hearty support of the action taken by him to make the Government give effect to public opinion in regard to these laws.

Mr. S. S. Bharathi seconded, and Messrs. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, T. V. Gopalaswamy Mudaliar, Lakhmivarah Iyengar and Mr. K. M. Acharya spoke on the resolution strongly supporting it.

(Then follow a long list of Nationalist demand of Reforms in the India Council, Government of India, Provincial Governments etc, on lines of the Congress-League proposals).

Reforms

Mr. K. R. Guruswami Aiyar moved the following resolution.

" This Conference is of opinion that the Reform Bill introduced in the Parliament is unsatisfactory and disappointing and that the same should be modified so as to embody the demands of the Indian National Congress and the All India Moslem League held at Delhi in December last and urged in the memorandum submitted by the Congress Deputation.

The President before proceeding with the work said that before he resumed thedebate on Reforms he wished to make a statement. According to the promise given to them the previous day the resolution brought forward by Mr. Vydhinatha Aiyer was duly considered in the Subjects Committee and Mr. Vydhinatha Aiyer himself was heard. The views of some of the experienced and senior members were heard and for very good reasons Mr. Vydhinatha Iyer himself had very kindly withdrawn the motion. That was all what he had to say on the matter. He had received after coming to the Conference a communication signed by a very large number of people with the request that the Conference should go into the Subjects Committee. He did not know what was meant by Subjects Committee. He had heard of a Conference going into a Committee.

Mr. N. S. Ramaswami Iyengar said that if the President permitted those who had signed the communication they would explain it

The President said it would be absolutely *ultra vires* to consider any proposal of that kind at that stage.

Mr. N. S. Ramaswami Iyengar submitted that it was only a matter of right on behalf of the delegates. It would be explained that it was not *ultra vires*.

Mr. Ramaswami Iyengar then went up the dais and said that it was a matter of procedure based upon the constitutional rules which were all printed in English. It said that no resolution could be brought before the Conference without its being placed before the Subjects Committee. The President objected to his making a speech and asked Mr. Ramaswami Iyengar to explain the matter to him first. Then they privately discussed the matter.

The President after hearing the explanation said that it might be right to propose that the whole Conference should go into a committee. But when the subject was one which was not found in the agenda he did not think they could go into a Committee. As Mr. Vydhinatha Iyer had withdrawn it, it would look more expedient that such a motion should not be brought forward. He would only appeal to them to take his advice kindly in the spirit in which it was offered. He had very good reasons to believe after hearing Messrs. Kasturiranga Iyengar and C. Vijaraghavachariar that it was unnecessary, imprudent and immature at that moment. Under those circumstances it would be absolutely *ultra vires* to ask the Conference to go into a Committee. If Mr. Ramaswami Iyengar pressed it he was obliged to rule it out of order.

Mr. Ramaswami Iyengar:—You can rule it out of order.

President:—I do not think the house could go into the Subjects Committee in as much as the resoution was not in the agenda.

Cable to England

Mr. C. Vijayaraghava Chariar moved:—

"This conference authorises the President to send a cable to Lord Selbourne, President of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, the Right Hon. the Prime Minister, Right Hon. the Secretary of State for India, Hon. Mr. Patel, Secretary, Congress Deputation in England, Hon. Yakub Hasan and the Editor of *India*."

This message was a summary of the important resolutions passed in the Conference. It was proposed by Mr. Vijayaraghava chariar, seconded by Mr. Joseph, supported by Mr. Mirtuza Sahab and passed.

The following resolutions were put from the Chair:—

"This Conference requests the Government to devise measures for giving immediate effect to the much-needed reform for the separation of the Executive and Judicial functions.

"This Conference reiterates that the amendments in the Religious Endowments Act long contemplated, cannot any longer be delayed and urges on the Government the necessity for taking

early steps in the matter as necessary permission has since been obtained from the Secretary of State.

"This Conference requests the Government to take immediate steps to avoid overcrowding of third class compartments in view of the comfort and convenience of third class passengers, to run sufficient number of trains to provent this overcrowding and to discontinue the system of reserving third class accommodation for Eurasians and East Indians so long as there is no difference of fares between an ordinary third class passenger and an Eurasian third class passenger fare to justify this special privilege.

(*a*) This Conference is emphatically of opinion that the orders under the Defence of India Act passed against Mr. Gandhi are absolutely unwarranted and undesirable and should be immediately rescinded.

(*b*) that there should be a general amnesty and full pardon for all political prisoners and release of all internees.

(*c*) that Messrs. Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali should be released immediately, the circumstances alleged by the Government for their internment having ceased to exist.

and (*d*) that the orders of externment and internment against Messrs. Horniman, Lajpat Rai, Chenchiah, Seth Sen, and others should be revoked and cancelled.

"That this Conference enters its emphatic protest against the enactment of the Asiatic (Land and Trading) Amendment Act by the Union Parliament of South Africa which is a flagrant violation of the fundamental rights of British Indians in South Africa and would certainly result in a few years in reducing the South African Indians to a state of helotry without status, rights of property or profession, not to speak of the rights and privileges of British citizens, and drive them away from the country of their birth and domicile to seek in India new homes and suffer great hardships.

(b) This Conference is further of opinion that the Act is based upon a gross misreading of the agreement arrived at by the Settlement of 1914.

(c) This Conference urges on the Imperial Government to interfere and veto this law which was rushed through when this country was pre-occupied with grave domestic question of supreme importance, and which is sure to produce the greatest indignation throughout the land.

"This Conference enters its protest against the action of the Ceylon and Madras Governments in conducting secret negotiations with each other with a view to the enactment of a labour law for

Ceylon with the object of facilitating the supply of regulated Indian labour to Ceylon and urges the Madras Government to convene a Conference of the representatives of the people and of the Government to examine the terms of the proposed ordinance and report as to the extent to which they are calculated to ameliorate the admittedly deplorable and humiliating conditions, economic and civil, to which they are now subjected in the planting area in Ceylon.

"This Conference urges that unless and until the conditions of decent existence, adequate wages and normal civic freedom are established by the Ceylon Government, the Government of Madras should take power by necessary legislation to continue the prohibition of emigration of Indian labour to Ceylon and to lay down the conditions under which labour recruitment to Ceylon from this Province should be permitted.

"This Conference further insists that the services of Mr. C. F Andrews should be availed of and that a report from him regarding the conditions of Indian labour in Ceylon should be made the basis of the settlement of this vexed question.

"This Conference views with considerable regret and apprehension the intimation received that the Fiji Government has postponed the cancellation of the Indian indentures and records its most emphatic protest against any weakness on the part of the authorities in dealing with this question of self-respect to the Indian nation.

"That this Conference strongly condemns the procedure adopted in the Katarpur Riots Case of applying the provisions of the Defence of India Act for trying the accused by a special tribunal and appeals to the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces and the Viceroy to revise the convictions and sentences.

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Bengal Presidency Moslem League

The annual session of the Bengal Presidency Moslem League was held at Mymensingh on 22 April, 1919.

Maulvy Abdul Khaleque, the chairman of the Reception Committee, in a short speach welcomed the delegates. The President, Mr. Mir Mahommed Massih, Bar-at-law, a brother of the Hon'ble Nawab Shamshul Huda, delivered a vigorous speech, demanding the rights of the Mahomedans emphatically, taking the members of his community to task for their present attitude of apathy, which was in a way responsible for retarding the normal rate of progress of the country ; he condemned in severe terms the Press Act and the Rowlat Act. He warned his co religionists that if they behaved as they were doing the time would come when future generations of Mahomedans will hang down their head in shame and will set apart a black chapter to their perpetual and iternal discredit.

Most of the resolutions passed by the League and the Provincial Conference were practically on the same lines. But the resolution round which centred the most intense interest was the one protesting against the contemplated dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. The honour of the Khalifa is dearest to the heart of Mahomedans and naturally they regard the attempt to take away some of his possessions from him as tending to lower him in honour and prestige. The resolution was moved by Maulavi Najmuddin Ahmed, who in a Urdu speech explained the subject to his audience. He was seconded by Maulavi Mahommed Akram Khan, editor of the "Muhammadi" who delivered a powerful speech in Bengali, which was listened to with rapt attention not only by the Mussalmans but by the Hindus also and at times his speech drew tears from people belonging to both creeds.

The following are some of the most important resolutions passed :

1. That the report of the Secretary be adopted.

2. That the Bengal Presidency Muslim League, being srtongly of opinion that the continuance of the Sovereignty of the Sultan of Turkey, the Khalifa of Islam, over the Jaziratul Arab as defined by Muslim authorities and divines is essential to the maintenance of the Khalifat, hereby places on record

its emphatic protest against any attempt to weaken the authority of the Sultan over the said territories inasmuch as any such attempt would affect the religious beliefs of the Mussalman in the teachings of the Shariat and thereby produce an adverse effect on the devotion of the community to the British Throne.

3. That the Bengal Presidency Muslim League records its most emphatic protest against the passing of the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act commonly called the Rowlatt Act and the introduction of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council in utter disregard of public opinion as being subversive of all the principle of liberty and justice and as constituting an unjust interference with the rights and privileges of the Indian subjects of his Majesty and urges upon the Government the repeal of the Act and the abandonment of the Bill.

4. That in view of the most bitter feelings in the country against the Rowlatt Act and the Bill, the Bengal Presidency Muslim League strongly condemns the conduct of the Mohemadan representatives of Bengal in the Imperial Legislative Council in not opposing the said measures, inasmuch as their failure to offer such opposition as was due amounts to a culpable neglect of their duties as members of the said council.

5. That the Bengal Presidency Muslim League affirms and endorses the resolutions on the Scheme of Reforms adopted by the All-India Muslim League at its annual session held at Delhi in December 1918 and records its deliberate opinion once more that nothing short of full autonomy in the Provinces would satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Indian people.

6. That the Bengal Presidency Muslim League expresses its deep disappointment at the persistent refusal of the Government of Bengal to hold a public enquiry into the Calcutta disturbances of September last in spite of the repeated prayers of the Mussalman community for such enquiry.

The League further places on record its grateful thanks to Messrs. L. P. E. Pugh and H. D. Bose of the Calcutta Bar, Mr. Abbas Taiyebji of Baroda, Mr. Vijiaraghobachariar of Madras and Mr. Pandit Ajit Prasad of Lucknow who at great personal sacrifice held an enquiry into the said disturbances and urges upon the Government to take action in accordance with the recommendation of the said commission.

7. That the Bengal Presidency Muslim League emphatically protests against the attitude of the Government regarding the

continued internment of Moslem leaders in spite of universal protest from the country, and in the name of justice, humanity and liberty urges upon the Government their immediate release.

13. That the Bengal Presidency Muslim League expresses its deep disappointment at the continued neglect of the Government to take steps to develop the natural resources of the country and hopes that immediate action will be taken on the recommendations of the Industrial Commission in the light of the criticisms made by representative public bodies and the leaders of the Indian people.

14. That the Bengal Presidency Muslim League records its emphatic protest against the manner in which the various circulars regarding the appointments of Mussalmans to posts in the public services are being constantly disregarded and urges upon the Government the necessity of giving the fullest effect to all such circulars.

15. That in view of the extremely cordial relation that exists between the Hindus and the Mohamedans of Bengal, the Bengal Presidency Muslim League appoints a Hindu-Mossalman Board consisting of Mr. B. Chakrabarty as President and 4 representatives elected by the Council of the Bengal Moslem League and 4 representatives by the Council of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee to act in all matter of possible difference between the Hindus and the Musalmans arising from time to time and to promote concerted action by the two communities in all matter of public importance until the next session of the League.

Behar Provincial Conference

Laheriasarai—15 August, 1919.

The Behar Provincial Conference met at Laheriasarai on 15th August, 1919 under the presidency of the Hon Rai Bahadur Dwarka Nath. About 70 delegates from different places, besides 60 delegates representing peasants of Motihari and Darbhanga, were present. The hall was packed to the utmost capacity with spectators.

Babu Prionath Mittra, Secretary, Reception Committee having declared the meeting open, Pundit Bhubaneswar Misra, pleader, President, Reception Committee delivered his address in Hindi dealing mainly with the present deplorable condition of the country and criticising the Rowlatt Act. He also criticised vigorously the measures adopted by Sir Michael O'Dwyer to put down the Punjab unrest. He exhorted his brother delegates not to lose their head whenever they get a bit of self-government but to do real good to the motherland. He then referred to the Compulsory Primary Education Bill that had been recently passed by the Behar and Orissa Council.

Babu Brajakishore Prosad proposed the Hon Rai Bahadur Dwarka Nath to the presidential chair and the proposal was duly seconded and supported. The President then stood up amidst cheers and delivered his address in English. At the outset he expressed sorrow and anguish at the death of Babu Nand Kishore Lal of Gaya and Mr. Parmeshwari Lal of Patna. He next spoke of the war and the part played by India. Concerning the reform proposals the President said :— "We are all agreed that we cannot and should not reject them ; that unqualified rejection of the proposals will be suicidal." He then referred to the Moderates Conference and the special session of the Congress at Bombay and the points of disagreement.

Concerning the recent disturbances in the Punjab the president said : "We won't hesitate to express our disapproval of the promulgation of martial law in the Punjab, the bombing of people by aeroplanes and the use of machine guns. We believe that a tactful, sympathetic and statesmen-like handling of the situation by the authorities on the spot would have nipped the evil in the bud."

He next dealt with primary, secondary and higher education in the province. He said the people failed to see any

reason why colleges should not be established in places like Chapra, Gaya, Arrah and Darbhanga. They must combine all their strength and put forth all their energy to have a college on the lines of the Fergusson College at Poona. According to him the establishment of engineering and medical colleges and mining school would provide their young men with new careers.

He also desired that the system of trial by jury should be extended to other important districts and that Beharis should be given proportionate shares in appointments.

Concerning the Champaran affair the President said that he strongly believed that the best solution of the agrarian troubles lay in peaceful arbitration rather than in litigation and legislative enactment. He urged the formation of an association to send some of their brilliant youngmen to England to be trained as journalist. In conclusion he said: "We want brave hearts, men of undaunted courage and lofty patriotism to join our ranks, and to from themselves into a band of self-sacrificing men who will live for God, Crown and country, single-handed, unaided, with heart within and God overhead."

Resolutions on Punjab Affairs.

The following resolutions re the Punjab matters were passed:—

'That this conference respectfully but indigantly protests against the action of the authorities in having ordered the shooting of unarmed mobs and bombing from aeroplanes and thus causing destruction of many innocent lives and damages to property in the Punjab, and while holding that Law and order should be maintained at all cost this conference is of opinion that the methods adopted for it by the bureaucracy were inhuman and entirely uncalled for.

"That this conference emphatically protests against the actions of the authorities in having introduced Martial Law in different areas in the Punjab and in not allowing the accused in the Martial Law Tribunals to engage counsel of their own choice to defend themselves and in prohibiting eminent public men from the other provinces from entering the Punjab.

"That this conference is of opinion that the conduct of the bureaucracy in enacting the Punjab tragedy has given a rude shock to the Indian people and has materially shaken their confidence in British Justice.

"That in the opinion of the conference it is urgently necessary that the commission of enquiry promised by the Secretary of

State should be constituted at once and asked to make a searching and public enquiry into the situation in the Punjab.

"That this conference is further of opinion that the said commission should be so contituted as to exclude all persons in any way connected with the Government of India, particularly the Punjab administration, and that the said commission should be further authorized to revise findings and sentences passed by the Martial Law Commission.

"That this conference is of opinion that any proposal on the part of Government to introduce and pass an indemnity Bill for the protection of officers and authorities concerned with the happenings in the Punjab will evoke the greatest opposition from the people as being a serious and uncalled for encroachment upon rights of the subject and as an unworthy attempt of their acts which may not be justifiable on their merits.

"That this conference places on record its deliberate conviction that His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford has lost the confidence of the people of India on account of his policy with regard to the events in the Punjab and beseeches His Majesty the King Emperor to recall him.

"That this conference places on record its sense of deepest sympathy with the people of the Punjab in the treatment meted out to them and their leaders and spokesman by the bureaucracy.

"That this conference places on record its sincere and grateful appreciation of the wise and bold action taken by Sir Sankaran Nair in resigning his office as a member of the Executive Council of the Governor General of India as a protest against the action of the Government of India in dealing with the situation in the Punjab.

Madras Informal Conference

An Informal Conference of leading men of Madras was held on Sunday, September 7th 1919 at the residence of Dr. Subramaniam. Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., was in the chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously passed, it being understood that in the case of some of the members of the Conference they represent but a minimum of demand beyond which they may individually consider it desirable to go.

I. That this Informal Conference is of opinion that the rights of British Indian subjects of His Majesty to the status of citizens of the British Empire should be recognised in the following among other ways.

(a) In the sphere of internal legislation by the removal of racial distinctions and restrict'o s.

(b) In the sphere of fiscal policy by the Government of India being allowed liberty to regulate such policy in the same manner and to the same extent as the Governments of the Self-Governing Dominions.

(c) In the case of Indians already settled and resident in the Self-Governing Dominions by the acknowledgment of complete equality of civil and political status with the British born subjects of his Majesty settled in such Dominions.

(d) In the case of Indians wishing to emigrate to the Dominions in future by being accorded the same rights as British born subjects of the Empire.

(e) In regard to the Indians desirous of visiting the Dominions for purposes of travel, education, business, or pleasure, and not with the object of settlement, by the removal of all restrictions.

(f) In regard to the recruitment of Indian labour for the Dominions and Crown Colonies, by the abolition of the system of Indentures, of imprisonment for labour offences and by the treatment of Indian labour on a basis of equality with all other labour.

(g) By the recognition of the rights of the Government of India to adopt retaliatory measures against such of the Dominions as impose any restriction upon Indians.

(II) That this Informal Conference strongly protests against the introduction during the present session of the Imperial Legislative Council of an Indemnity Bill to cover the actions of those concerned in dealing with the recent occurrences in the Punjab. This Informal Conference considers that the introduction of such a Bill at this stage is premature and nullifies the value of the Commission of Enquiry and must inevitably discredit the Government of India in the eyes of the Indian people as well as destroy their faith in British justice and impartiality.

(III) That this Informal Conference is of opinion that a Royal Commission is the proper machinery for conducting the promised enquiry into the occurrences in the Punjab which must necessarily involve an examination into the acts of the Government of India and that the appointment of committee by the Government of India to report unto themselves is therefore not calculated by the very necessities of the case to inspire public confidence or to achieve the ends of justice.

IV. That this Informal Conference strongly disapproves the composition of the Committee appointed to enquire into the administration and organisation of the Army in India, inasmuch as it includes the name of Sir Michael O'Dwyer in whom the people of India have no confidence, and does not provide for the proper representation of Indian interests.

V. That the terms of reference to the Esher Committee should be widened so as to require them to consider and make their recommendations upon the limitations which now exist with regard to the employment of Indians in all instances of His Majesty's Army and especially with reference to the commissioned ranks.

VI. That this Informal Conference desires to urge upon His Majesty's Government the importance of throwing open the Naval and the Air Services to Indians and of detailing a certain number of ships of war and airships, aeroplanes and seaplanes to India for the purpose of giving the necessary training.

The above resolutions were approved by the following members of the Conference.

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer, Dr. Subramaniam, Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer, T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, the Hon. the Raja of Ramnad, Rao Bahadur T. Rangachari, Khan Bahadur M. A. Kuddus Badsha Sahab, Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai, Mr. S. Kasturiranga Iyengar, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Mr. G. A. Natesan, Mr. V. Venkatasubbaiya, Mr. V. C. Seshachari, Mr. T. V. Venkatarama Iyer, Mr. K. A. Viraraghavachariar and Mr. G. S. Arundale.

Bombay Provincial Conference

Ahmednagar—24 April, 1919

The 19th Bombay Provincial Conference was held at Ahmednagar on the 24th April 1919. Mr. Joseph Baptista, Bar-at-Law, the ardent Home Ruler who had for the last one year carried on a vigorous campaign in Englaud fo. Home Rule for India, was the President. In the course of his Presidential address he eulogised the services of the late Lokmanya Tilak. "that peerless Tribune of the People who crossed the Kala Pani in safety and appeared in London in the garb of an England-returned youngman. The first day he woke up at 5 A.M., and went for a constitutional walk in the middle of the road as they do in Bhudwar Peth. The next day he fell from his bed as a sign of his infancy in England. But he soon made himself at home. All who came in contact with him were charmed with him—especially the ladies. They all fell in love with his puggree. It was a nice new puggree with lots of pins in it. The politicians, however, were rather disappointed with him. They expected to cross swords with a gigantic pugnacious demagogue, stilletto in hand. They found him a fragile philosopher appealing to reason and history. Forthwith the walls of prejudice erected by Anglo-Indian masons crumbled to pieces. Reflecting men realised that the great movement of Home Rule for India was not founded upon hate of British Rule, but love of British self-rule. His pleasent experiences were, however, marred by the rude shock he received from the Bar and the Bench of England resulting in a serious miscarriage of justice (the Tilak-Chirol Case, decided against Lokmanya). But the shock saddened him for a day only. The next morning he was full of life and vivacity and declared in grave tone:—"British Justice is cheap. The verdict of the jury costs three lakhs only. But British politics is dear. The verdict of the country costs there crores at least." In his labour for India he was energetic like Radium. He found the British Committee of the Congress in a comatose condition. He infused some of the elixir of life in it. He found that the Press of England declined to insert even in the advertisement columns some hard facts from Blue Books. So he inundated the country with leaflets. Never before was India so much in evidence in the Party programmes and orations at a General Election. The country was roused with the valuable help of Mr. Lansbury and others of the Home Rule League at London. After mature reflection Mr. Tilak

bids me convey this message to you. "Home Rule is within reach. Ask and it shall be given. Only ask with a united and a resolute voice."

Self-determination

"Remember that England is herself on the trial at the Peace Conference. The world is in no mood for lip-service to the eternal principles of liberty and democracy. It abhors slaves, be they men or nations. This is manifest from Mr. Montagu's own pronouncement. "The whole spirit of our deliberations across the Channel," said he, "is that Empire can only be justified by the freedom and liberty of guarantees, and the motive of the world's statesmanship at this moment is a hatred and detestation of ascendancy and domination." This was a post-prandial oration, but Bikanir presided, not Bacchus. Indeed this wicked war would have been waged in vain if it did not end in detestation of domination. And shall we be denounced as disloyalists and potential rebels for sharing this detestation with the world's statesmen? It is no more pious opinion. It is embodied in the Draft Convenant of the League of Nations. Act 19 recognises the provisional independence even of those nations in the enemy territory and the Turkish Empire who are not sufficiently capable of self-government. They will be placed under a mandatory of their own choice, but the functions of the mandatory will be only advisory. Why should not the Bureaucracy in India similarly cease to govern and be confined to assist and advise us in the art of self-government? Is Jugo-Slavia and Servia fit for such-government and not India? The idea is absurd. Is the League going to be more generous to enemies than to faithful friends? Certainly not. Of course the League will not intervene in the internal affairs of the Allies with mandates as they do in the affairs of the fallen foes. But behind the purdah several are dropping gentle hint to those who live in glass houses. And here I am tempted to announce, though without permission, that Mr. Tilak has received assurance in writing from one of the most powerful personalities at the Peace Conference that the Parliament of England will in due time apply the principle of self-determination to India. Therefore India will obtain what she desires, decides and demands even from the present Parliament. Therefore if the Congress scheme is wrecked or reduced, it will be wrecked by the seceders. The Press of England are utilising their attitude to deceive and delude the world by pretending that the whole of India, bar a few irreconciliables, assents and accepts the projected reforms. This is not true. I think our Moderate friends owe a duty to the country to expose this deception. Personally I can see no difference in principles or fundamentals between the Seceders and the Faithful, having

regard to the amendments suggested by both. Under the circumstances I would take the liberty of exhorting them as good patriots and true sons of India to present a united front at this, the most momentous crisis in the tragic history of India.

The infamous Rowlett Act

Coming from England to India I fondly hoped to pass from the theatre of unrest to the home of inertia, but I found the country in commotion over Rowlattism. This Act is justified by the Rowlatt report, but that report is a mere summary of secret police reports. Such a document is a rotten foundation for a law which libels a whole nation whose fidelity during war has not been surpassed in any part of the British Empire. But this Act is no law. It is license. It bears on it the impress of Ivan the Terrible, not the Majesty of Law. Sir Basil Scott (C.J.) has damned it, so has his ex-brother, the faithful Sir Narayan Chandravarkar. No wonder the Act is known as Kala Kaida. But the best place for Kala Kaida is Kala Pani, and we must not rest content till we send Kala Kaida to Kala Pani.

I am sure the Act was not intended to interfere with religious and social matters, but I am not sure it was not intended to restrict political activity. There are passages in the Reforms Report which foreshadowed this piece of legislation and its probable use for restraining political propaganda. But the question now is what is Government going to do in the face of the volcano it has provoked? It is not right for Government to trifle with the anger of the people—what the people will endure depends upon their temper at a given time, as Burke declared on the eve of the American revolution. True statesmanship consists in pacifying the people, not terifying them with the engines of repression. Government should rise above the nauseating solicitude for prestige. Prestige is never tarnished by the splendour of a just and courageous act. What is wanted is some genuine high-minded act of statesmanship; and not an exasperating exhibition of unbridled absolutism as if the bureaucracy were impregnated beyond redemption with the microbe of Prussianism. It is the height of injustice and tyranny for one community to impose its will upon another in the sacred name of law and order. Lord Chelmsford might well recognise the wisdom and value of paying some deference to the "solid rock of opposition" that obstructed the passage of the Black Bill. The least he can do is to announce at once that he will not enforce the Act without the concurrence of the elective element in the Council. There is no reason to distrust those whom the people trust. But should statesmanship fail, what is going to be the message of this Conference

to the people of this Province? I think we must realise that we are entering upon an era of a resolute struggle between the rulers and the ruled. So must it be. But let us make it a noble struggle between Right and Might worthy of our people and our venerable civilisation—Liberty's battle once begun, never ends till it is won. We are of course pledged to constitutional methods. Let no one foreswear those pledges as scraps of paper. But within the constitution we are justified in resorting to Satyagraha, Swadeshi and Boycott.

Satyagraha, Swadeshi and Boycott

I will not conceal from you my natural reluctance to special measures, but the alternative is abject acquiescence repugnant to one's manhood.

Satyagraha has sanctified the Christian by the crucifixion of Christ on Calvary. But Christ said:—"Render unto Caesar what belongs to Caesar and unto God what belongs to God." I believe this sanctions passive resistance but no more. But let us not confuse and confound passive resistance with active resistance. To do an act which the law forbids is active resistance, e. g., to sell proscribed books or to commit suicide. Not to do an act which the law enjoins is passive resistance, e. g., not to pay taxes, or not to bear arms in conscript countries. There is no scope for passive resistance in the Black Act, but there is in other laws. These should be enumerated and not left to the conscience of any Committee before inviting any one to take the vow of Satyagraha. These laws may be excellent but non-compliance is advocated for repealing the Black Act. Non-payment of taxes is the most efficient form of passive resistance if well-organised and backed by public opinion.

Acts which the law neither forbids nor commands have nothing to do with passive resistance, e. g. Hartal, Processions, Demonstrations and Strikes. There was a time when organised strikes were prohibited, and even to-day in some services sudden strikes are punishable. The function of a strike is to redress grievances by the passive pressure of public opinion and not by violence. The most interesting of recent strikes in London was the strike of domestic servants in hotels. I am inclined to believe it has great potentialities in India.

I should have thought Satyagraha could embrace Swadeshi and Boycott. Both involve some self-sacrifice for self discipline. But Swadeshi is laudable for promoting home industries. In free trade Swadeshi alone could do so. I do not believe it is a sin to buy foreign goods. Every man is our brother. It can be no sin to buy from a British brother. But Swadeshi is not boycott.

Boycott may not promote home industries. It is a political weapon forged for use against a particular people only for special reasons and specific objects. Having been adopted in the past in period of passion it is associated with violence and ill-will, but these are not necessary ingredients. It has been adopted by the League of Nations as an Instrument of Peace. But to eliminate any idea of racial hostility and to demonstrate to the British people that we have been driven to it by the stubbornness of the bureaucracy it is desirable to limit boycott to a few important articles carefully specified. We shall be told these are threats. They are not. They are business propositions. I was told in England to try to touch not only her heart but also her pocket by filling or emptying it. This Boycott will touch her pocket. I think Indians go first to British markets and this they do on account of the political connexion. We are even ready to give preference to British goods upon principle of India for the Empire and the Empire for India. But if the political tie means Rowlattism we are entitled to ask the British merchants to help us in getting rid of Rowlattism or lose our orders for their goods. The British understand this very well. From the days of Simon de Montfort they are past masters in the art of exchanging pieces of silver for pieces of parchment like the Magna Charta, and the Declaration of Rights. But the question is: is it right to do so at present? I think it is right. It is never wrong to do right. But right or wrong, in the hope that Government will respond and respect our generous forbearance, I would advice suspension for three months of all agitation among the uneducated masses, and confine ourselves to such agitation only among our educated countrymen as does not directly or indirectly or remotely lead to violence, or breach of laws.

Bolshevism.

But let me examine the allegation that Bolshevism is abroad. When in England about 4 months ago some correspondent of the "Times" cabled that there was Bolshevism in India. If this diagnosis were correct we would be face to face with a terrible monster—we cannot afford to play with it in India. The conditions in India afford a fine field for Bolshevists. The daily bread of millions is only half a loaf. Peace to them means poverty, impaired productivity, enfeebled physique, and premature death. Therefore we should suspend agitation at once and assist Government in arresting the march of the Bolshevist Brigade, if it be marching. But is it marching? We cannot accept pontificial pronouncements without some evidence. The only peice of good evidence available at present is the General's order at Amritsar that all goods in the shops not opened within 48 hours will be sold by auction. In the gospel of Bhils

this is known as the new law of loot which obliterates all distinction between law makers and law breakers. But the people's acts do not denote Bolshevi-m. They denote deep disappointment and intemperate antagonism to Government, stubbornness breaking into lawlessness. The course of events proves this. The Rowlatt Act incensed the people. Then Mr. Gandhi inauguratad the Satyagraha movement. Fasting, demonstrations, hartals followed. There was no force and no breach of peace. For this we must be grateful to our Governor for his independence from bureaucratic domination. Otherwise the Police would have prohibited demonstrations by force resulting in bloodshed. The next episode was the arrest of Mr. Gandhi. Disorders followed in quick succession in distant parts. The release of Mr. Gandhi resulted in the pacification of the people. This magical effect again negatives Bolshevism; it establishes that the arrest was the cause of the disorders. The Chief Commissioner of Delhi actually accepts the view "that the strike was due to the arrest of Mr. Gandhi." In the Punjab disorders came close upon the heels of deputation of the leaders. It is absurd to attribute these excesses to Satyagraha whose fundamental doctrine is "No Violence." These demonstrate that people will not suffer the arrest of their trusted leaders. This is not Bolshevism. It is antagonism against Government measures and the fact that Government institutions were the target of their assault confirms it. Hasty conclusions of conspiracy by clever men deduced from the seizure of sratagic points and telegraphs will only obscure the truth. Coolies who lay the rails can uproot them easily. The supreme necessity of the moment is a thorough investigation with a co-operation of trusted leaders to inspire confidence. When the truth is known we can decide whether the proper remedy is coercion or real reform.

"Having discussed the issues I think it is necessary to say that I deplore and detest these riots, murders and arson and so do you. Rumour once reached me that the Collector's hands were chopped off. It sent a thrill of horror through me. Fortunately it was false. We ought particularly to denounce attacks on the persons of Europeans. They are strangers in our country. Nothing should be tolerated which undermines their sense of security amongst us. Hooligans ought to be punished. But the existence of hooligans ought not to be the pretext for depriving the citizens of their rights any more than the Gordon rioters and hoolgans did. At the same time we must deplore the excess of Government officials. I cannot read without indignation of the slaughter of the innocent at Amritsar for attempting to hold a proscribed meeting peacefully. But even more inhuman and barbarous than this is the bombing and machine-gunning from an

aeroplane. God grant that this may be the last scene of this infernal tragedy. I fear our enemies will exploit these misdeeds to mutilate reforms. But let me remind them that excesses are sometimes symptoms of intense feeling, for national liberty and self-government are also indices of capacity for self-government. Prof. Lowell says "if the people of India were capable of national self-government, the English would live on a volcano." Volcanoes may, therefore, be signs of fitness, rather than unfitness. Moreover it is now generally conceded that Bolshevism in Russia, Austria and Germany is due to the prolonged reign of autocracy. There would have been no trouble in Russia if the people were accustomed to govern themselves. Lord Bryce says that the troubles of China are due to the fact that they did not get self-government earlier. There is no trouble among self-governing peoples. The lesson is plain. It is dangerous to delay reforms in India. No doubt reform will come. But Rowlatism looks like an olive branch in a mailed fist. The prospect is dark but not gloomy. The problem is to surmount Anglo-Indian opposition.

Vested Interests.

"We have in our midst a handful of supermen with vested interests. They are omnipotent and omniscient. We cannot touch their interests nor teach others their duty to us. They constitute the new caste of untouchables and unteachables. Originally they came for our good, but they stayed for our good. So they say. They believe they built this Empire—chiefly on the sad tears of women and bad livers of men to exile. But then the nobodies of England become somebodies in India. Coming from the frigid to the torrid zone we may infer they believe it is better to reign in Hell than to serve in Heaven. However, they are prepared to give us some share in the business now and promise more in the sweet by-and-by. Do you believe in these promises? Lord Chelmsford was once asked if he believed in ghosts. He replied "No, I have seen so many." We too have seen so many promises and pie-crusts. But they say we are unfit for more at present. And upon this theory of unfitness they have recommended certain reforms. And the general impression in England is that a Reform Bill embodying the Diarchy will be introduced in Parliament, and then referred to a joint Committee of the Lords and Commons. The Committee will invite expert evidence on the Scheme or alternative schemes. Rumours relate that Diarchy is doomed and that there will be a coatent between complete Provincial Autonomy and Mr. Curtis' glorified Municipalities. We should be prepared with an alternative to Mr. Montagu's Diarchy.

Alternative.

"Every Province should be a full fledged State, with powers more or less equivalent to those possessed by the constituent States of the

American Union. The Executive Government should be vested in a Governor acting under the advice of Four Ministers nominated by him. Two should have seats in the Legislature within 3 months; the third after 5 years and the fourth after the next 5 years. In 10 years, all Ministers shall be men having seats in the House. The Ministers shall be responsible to the Legislature and removeable by a vote of censure individually. After 10 years the Governor should be elected by the Province or the Legislature. His tenure should be five years. The Legislature should be wholly elected. The number should be proportioned to the population at the rate of 3 per million with a minimum of 50. Twety five or more of these should be elected by a College of Electors composed of delegates from each village. Each village shall elect delegates proportioned to their population at the rate of 2 per thousand adults. The remainder may be elected by communal representation as far as necessary. The College shall be divided by districts so that seats may be allotted to Districts according to population. Laws and resolutions, etc., shall be passed by majority of votes, but the Government may be empowered to demand a special vote in exceptional cases. The special vote means that if 30 per cent vote against a private measure, it shall be lost. If Government are unable to get the support of 30 per cent. Government are not morally justified in forcing it upon the people. In the Bundesrath 14 adverse votes can defeat any measure. It gives Prussia the control over the whole German Empire's legislation. This will secure all that is aimed at by Mr. Montagu, viz :—"Retention of genuine power of guidance, supervision, and if need be, of intervention." (p. 87). "Responsible Government is simply a means of securing that the Executive can be controlled by the legislature, the necessary condition of all Government." (Curtis' Letters p. 36). This special vote should be confined only to those subjects which the Subjects Commission propose to place on the list of reserved subjects. After 5 years, the special vote should be 40 per cent., and after 10 years the rule of the majority should come into full force. It will thus take 10 years for the Provincial Autonomy to come into full operation. The scheme dispenses with the paraphernalia of Grand Committees, and has none of the defects attributed to Diarchies. It shoulders the representative with responsibility. In the case of special vote, the conduct of the minority will be impeached in the constituency. They may be right or wrong, but the agitation for and against them will be an excellent education in the exercise of the franchise in self-government.

I hope you will not misunderstand me. I am only propounding an alternative to Mr. Montagu's Diarchy. I am not abandoning the demand for full Provincial Autonomy formulated by the Congress,

But the method of controlling the majority of the elected may be well applied in the Government of India, for the Congress has not demanded full self-Government in the Central Government. I should, however, like to say that in fashioning political structures, we must not lose sight of the principle of nationality, and the principal of federation.

What we require is our own organization in England to be in touch with the movement in Europe and America so that immediate action may be taken to dispel falsehood and disseminate truth. We also require an agency in India to send correct information by cables and weekly letters to sympathetic papers in England. The "Herald" is a great Labour organ whose influence is constantly increasing. I feel this work is indispensable for our success. Lastly I would strongly exhort those who have the ability and the sinews of war to enter Parliament, for much useful work can be done on the floor of the House of Commons.

Five years ago there was a great galaxy of crowns and coronets in Europe; to-day they have all been flung into the melting pot. Five years ago the masses in this country did not talk of rights, but to-day the man in the street asserts his right with manliness and even restiveness and is ready to go through the furnace of fire and brimstone for the sake of liberty. Five years ago he thought the Sirkar was his Ma-Bap; to-day he knows the Sirkar is his servant. When I searched the pages of History for a parallel to the present position I found it in the case of Canada. Time has wrought stupendous changes in India; so stupendous as to render it impossible for Englishmen to govern India without an overpowering passion for the principles of liberty and deep devotion to the political and industrial aspirations of the people. But I see no such passion for devotion. I see only some fine birds of passage on the Pagoda Tree of India. And I hear only vain regrets for our unfitness, of our countless castes creeds and colour. The future of India can no longer be entrusted to such trustees. Time waits for no nation. The hour of destiny is striking. It is an anxious hour for India; but it is a superb moment for England. Superb that God has given England the power to place this great country once more on the highway to greatness. It is a moment for one of those creative acts in the march of mankind that exalts the creator and edifies the world. Let us hope with all our hearts that England will grasp the occasion with a firm hand and place British connexion on the firm foundation of the people's affection: and thus justify our creed that 'Liberty's battle once begun never ends till it is won.'

Andhra Provincial Conference

Anantapur—23 Aug. 1919.

The 25th Andhra Provincial Conference met at Anantapur Town Hall on the 23rd. Aug. 1919, under the presidency of Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao of Nellore. The hall was spacious and well decorated with flags and thoranams and photos of eminent Andhra patriots and with mottoes such as "Vande-Mataram," "Andhramataku Jai" and "Home Rule is the only rule" etc.

Mr. H. Shiva Rao, on behalf of the Chairman of the Reception Committee Rao Sahab Humpayya Setti who was unavoidably absent, welcomed the President and the delegates in a felicitous speech in Telugu.

The President's Address.

The President, in the course of of his address, referred to the economic condition of poverty-stricken India and said that a man's income in India did not exceed an anna and a half per day. Even in normal times many millions of people had to go to bed without even one meal a day. India which attracted nations of the earth by its great wealth and plenty had become absolutely hopeless, with famine all over the country and people feeling its pinch hardest. Even this would prove the necessity of speedily introducing the largest measure of popular control over the administration of the land. Referring to the Press Act, he said that the Editors were under Damocles' sword. From the beginning of the operations of the Press Act many presses and papers had suffered heavily. From 1917 the operations of this Act had been more unbearable than before. Some provincial satraps had indicted papers like the *New India* and the *Hindu* when the Press Act had reached its climax. In these circumstances it was very difficult for a self-respecting man to carry on the business of printing. Was it still possible to bear the insults of this Act? If this act stood by itself it were something. There was another Act more terrible and horrible than the Press Act. It was the Rowlatt Act which was enacted in the teeth of all the Indian Non-official opinion, which had so well gone into the blood and marrow of all of them that it did not require much explanation. He next referred to the efforts of Mahatma Gandhi and the great weapon of **Satyagraha** used by him to get the act repealed and the disturbances in Punjab which ultimately ended in the proclamation of Martial Law and the rigorous and tragic sentences of death, transportation for life, confiscation of property and rigorous imprison-

ments passed on such great and patriotic leaders like Babu Kalinath Roy, Lala Hurkishanlal, Rambhuj Dutt, Dr. Kitchlew, Satyapal, Dunichand and Muhammad Bhasi. The Rowlatt Act which infringed the primary rights of man was still maintained by the Viceroy and Secretary of State. Mahatma Gandhi had thrown the burden of repealing the Act on the Government and said that if it was not anulled the resumption of *Satyagraha* might once more become necessary.

No reforms could be of any value unless we get statutory protection of our life and limb by Parliament giving a Declaration of Rights. The U. S. A. Government had very recently given full autonomy to the Phillipines and have included a Bill of Rights in the Statute.

The President then criticised the Reform Bill in great detail and said that the superficial agitation that we are now carrying out will never give us what we actually want. Satyagraha is the only last weapon in our hands.

Resolutions Passed.

This Conference is emphatically of opinion that the orders passed against Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Horniman are absolutely unjustifiable and urges that the same be immediately withdrawn.

This Conference also prays that a general amnesty be granted to all political prisoners and internees and in particular urges for the immediate release of Mr. Darsi Chenchaiah and Messrs Muhammad Ali and Shaukut Ali.

Reforms Resolution.

Mr. T. Prakasam moved the following resolution :—

That in the opinion of this Conference the Government of India Bill now before Parliament is unsatisfactory and disappointing. And in order to be an effective step towards the progressive realisation of Responsible Government, the Bill should be brought into line with the demands of the Delhi Congress by incorporating the amendment suggested in the memorandum presented by the Congress to the Joint Committee.

The Press Act.

Mr. P. Nagabhushanam moved the following resolution :—

This Conference strongly protests against the action taken under the Press Act by the Government of India and in particular against the action of the Government of Madras in regard to some of the papers in the Presidency including *Hindu, Swadeshmitram, Nationalist, Desabhaktan*, and urges the immediate repeal of the Press Act of 1910.

The Hon. Mr. C. V. S. Narasimharaju next moved a resolution as follows :—

This Conference expresses its deep sympathy with those who have been affected by the administration of Martial Law and appeals to the public for donations to aid them in their distress.

This Conference expresses its grateful appreciation of the distinguished services rendered by Sir Sankaran Nair as Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

This Conference is of opinion that the principle of provincial contribution to the Imperial revenues, suggested in the Report on the Constitutional Reforms, is highly detrimental to the development and progress of the provinces and particularly in the Madras Presidency and urges that the contributions should be fixed in proportion to the gross provincial revenues but not in proportion to the gross provincial surpluses.

Women Franchise

This Conference prays that in the scheme of Reforms proposed by the Government of India Bill women also should be given the right to vote.

Andhra Province

As the division of provinces on linguistic basis is essential for the realisation by the people of the advantages of responsible Government proposed shortly to be introduced into this country and for securing efficiency of administration, and the same principle has been recognised in the Montford Report and in the Bill for the Government of India now before Parliament, this Conference prays that the 11 northern districts in the Madras Presidency and Madras be constituted into an Andhra province.

Transvaal Question

Mr. P. Nagabhushanam moved :—

That this Conference enters its emphatic protest against the recent amendments of the Transvaal Gold Law (35 of 1908) and of Law No. 3 of 1885 recently adopted by the South African Union, as those amended laws grossly violate the fundamental right of British Indians in South Africa and cannot but reduce them in a short time to a state of helotry (b) that those amendments are not justified by the terms of the so-called agreement of 1914 between Mr. Smutts and Mr. Gandhi (c) and that the Conference urges on His Majesty's Government the immediate necessity of having the said amendments cancelled by such means as may be open to it in order that His Majesty's Indian subjects may not be stultified in the eyes of the civilised world and be able to enjoy full rights of British citizenship throughout the Empire.

U. P. Povincial Conference.

Shaharanpur—21 Oct. 1919.

An important political conference was held at Saharanpur on the 21st Oct. 1919, followed by Industrial, Economic and Social conferences. Much enthusiasm prevailed in the Political conference as public mind was intensely agitated over the Punjab affairs. The President, the late Dr. M. N. Ohdedar, said that the first and foremost sufferer in the new era of peace to which H. E. the Viceroy referred in his opening speech at the Simla Session of the Imperial Council was the Province which had contributed its best blood and the flower of its youth for the defeat of the powerful enemies of the Empire. The Delhi tragedy, the deportation of Mr. Horniman, the repressive campaign against the Indian Press, the Ahmedabad episode and numerous other events showed that bureaucracy, whatever else its weakness might be, did not lack courage to turn to account its tremendous power in the name of peace and safety. Tracing the causes of discontent, the speaker referred to the allegations made by the people of the Punjab in the matter of raising of recruits and collecting money. Recruiting officers were occasionally attacked and in one instance at least a Tahsildar was killed. It could easily be imagined what provocation there must have been to induce the peaceful Punjabees to break out into murder and assault. He then went on :—"Sir Michael O'Dowyer's attitude was one of unveiled antagonism to Indian aspirations; it was notorious that the strongest Lieutenant-Governor had the fiercest hatred for the Indian politician. In proof thereof besides his outburst in the Council, preliminary to the deportation of political leaders, may be mentioned his fulminations in his memorandum on the Reform proposals. I shall refer to one of his characteristic exclamations protesting against the Government of India's policy of conciliation during the days of Mrs. Besant's release and the Montagu Reform Commission : "We now seem to be drifting into what is known as "Birrelism" in Ireland, truckling to the extremist, encouraging the idea that we are going to hand ever the administration to them." Dr. Ohdedar said that in the opinion of the people there was no necessity for the Rowlatt Act which had no parallel in the history of civilised nations and might have been modelled on some ukase of Russia before the revolution. He went on to deal with the events in the Punjab and referring to the crawling order said that apparently according to Generla

Hudson Indians were born in the world to strike the white man's imagination. He said there was never any open rebellion or justification for Martial law in the Punjab and held Sir Michael O'Dowyer responsible for all that occurred. He condemned the Enquiry Committee as a bureaucratic committee and suggested that an all-India Congress Sub-committee be allowed to conduct the people's case before the Committee. No reforms, he said, would be acceptable which would make possible the repetition of the Punjab perils. He dealt with the Katarpur trial, the Hindu-Moslem entente, the Ali Brothers and the Khalifat question. Incidentally he paid a high tribute to Sir Harcourt Butler for his sympathetic statesmanship which was a shining contrast to O'Dowyerian extremism.

The President then narrated step by step the horrible events of the Punjab of April last, the ghastly tragedy enacted at Jhallianwalla, the infamy and barbarities inflicted on the people, and the ghoulish reign of terror which beats even the German "frightfulness" in Belgium, during the Martial Law period, He continued :—

The Case for the People.

"The case for the people of the Punjab is that there never was any open rebellion, there never was any justification for the declaration of Martial Law in any of the districts of the Punjab, Sir Michael O'Dwyer grossly abused his powers as a Governor and for reasons of his own perpetrated this outrage on the peaceful Punjabees. According to Mr. Alfred Nundy :—

"He wanted Martial Law not because of 'any open rebellion' but he was very keen about paying off old scores to a set of criminals who had been a thorn in his side. Who were the criminals? Political agitators. What was their offence ? Political agitation."

"Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar, quoting Mr. Alfred Nuddy, stated this in the Imperial Council, whereupon the Home Member was pleased to call him a coward for attacking an absent person. This is an amazing proposition. A Governor may do anything he pleases, may misgovern, may be guilty of the greatest excesses, but he is sacrosanct if he leaves the shores of India ! He cannot be criticised because he is, forsooth, not present to face the music. With a full sense of responsibility and at the risk of being called a coward, I repeat the charge and say that on Sir Michael O'Dowyer rests the responsibility of the horrors in the Punjab. Let Sir Michael O'Dowyer come back to India and I am confident that the patriots of the Punjab and the people of India will repeat this to his face. Meanwhile he has a sufficiency of defenders in the present Government of Iindia and his old protege of the Punjab Government.

"It is our case that the original declaration of Martial Law was utterly unjustified and that such disturbances or riots as took place were due to the provoking attitude of the authorities. It is our case that at the time of the declaration of Martial Law, order had been restored even in places where it had been temporarily ruffled owing to the ineptitude of the authorities. It is our case that there was absolutely no necessity for the continuation of Martial Law for such a long period, and above all nothing can justify the horrors of the 'soldiers' ukase."

Lord Chelmsford's Responsibility.

Not only is Sir Michael O'Dowyer's Government responsible for this. Lord Chelmsford and his Government are equally responsible and must be held to account.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the office of the Indian Viceroy is the most difficult of the high offices under the Crown. As John Bright has truly said : the Governor-General "has a power omnipotent to crush anything that is good, while he is really almost powerless to effect anything that those countries require. Further he knows nothing of the country or the people and they are really unknown to the Government of India. He is surrounded by an official circle, he breathes an official air and everything is dim or dark beyond it." Such was the observation made many years ago by one of England's greatest statesmen ; the facts continue to be the same to-day. Indeed the duty of the Viceroy especially in view of "so great an upheaval of normal conditions," as His Excellency put it, lay not in isolating himself in the cool heights of Simla, but in trying to understand the people ; to redress their legitimate grievances, and in admonishing the provincial satraps against aggravating the situation by any unwary step, wrong move, or hasty action. However, Olympus appears to have understood its duty to be to give a loose reign to Sir Michael O'Dowyer to follow his own bent and inclination. In the speech that His Excellency delivered while opening the Simla session of September 3rd, His Excellency attempted to fasten the responsibility for "the deplorable events" on the non-official "warnings of an almost minatory character" and their decision to make good their 'threat of agitation." This grave charge which His Excellency thougt fit to level against the non-official members of the Indian Legislative Council, has no foundation in fact. Honourable members were performing their duty to the Government by warning them against the dangerous folly of exasperating public opinions. Pray, why did the Government of India ignore the serious character of the warnings ? Was Lord Chelmsford trying to take the first step towards "a progressive realisation of responsible Government" by setting his face against the united expression of unanimous Indian

opinion ? Under these circumstances I am not surprised that the cry has gone forth from the country that "Lord Chelmsford must go.

Resolutions Passed.

Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru moved :—"This conference protests against the appointment by H. E. the Viceroy of the Hunter Committee to enquire into the disturbances in the Punjab and elsewhere and urges on His Majesty's Government the appointment of an independent commission to enquire into the causes of recent disturbances and the propriety of measures adopted in dealing with them. In the opinion of this Conference the Hunter Committee, as constituted, is one-sided in so much as the Government of India is directly represented on it while the people are neither properly nor sufficiently represented. This Conference is emphatically of opinion that in any event the Hunter Committee can only be acceptable if full and sufficient opportunities are afforded to the people to present their own case and to meet the case of the Government whose policy and actions are the subject of enquiry. The conference is of opinion that it is essential that at least one member of the Punjab Enquiry Sub-Committee be added to the Hunter Committee and that the enquiry should be of judicial nature with counsel appearing on both sides." Mr. Paranjipye of Cawnpore seconded the resolution which was passed unanimously.

2. "This conference records its strong protest against the passing of the Indemnity Bill in defiance of Indian opinion to legalise the action of officers of Government and, others connected with the administration of martial law before justification for the promulgation and maintenance of martial law has been established."

3. "This conference places on record its appreciation of Sir Sankaran Nair's services to the country and in particular his resignation of the membership of the Viceroy's Executive Council as a protest against the policy pursued in the promulgation and maintenance of martial law, and its appreciation of the action taken by Rabindranath Tagore in resigning his knight-hood as a protest against the policy of Government."

4. "This conference is strongly of opinion that Lord Chelmsford has wholly forfeited the confidence of the people of India by the whole tenor of his support of the Punjab policy and should be immediately recalled."

The Conference ended on the 20th October after passing a few more Resolutions condemning appointment of Sir Michael O'Dowyer to the Army Commission and against the provisions of the Press Act and on various provincial matters. The next conference was invited to Moradabad.

The Nationalist Conference.

Madras—8 November, 1919.

The Conference of Nationalist of the Madras Presidency opened its first session at Madras on the 8 November 1919. A large number of delegates attended from the different districts of the Province. Mr. Salla Guruswami Chetti was the chairman of the Reception Committee and Mr. S. Kasturiranga Iyengar was the President. The Conference sat for two days and discussed measures to meet the present situation in the country caused by bureaucratic repression of National feeling. The need and justification of a national organisation was forced upon those who found that a minority was directly or indirectly helping the bureaucracy in all its measures on the shaky platform of the so-called Reforms. The neo-Nationalist's ideals are set forth in the President's concluding address

The Chairman of the Reception Committee in the course of his long speech mainly directed on the Reforms said :—

"The object of summoning the conference is not to create or form any new political party or organisation. It is to be regretted that we have too many of them—but to strengthen the party of Nationalists who are in entire agreement with the resolutions passed by the Indian National Congress at its Session at Delhi in 1918. This conference therefore is intended solely for the purpose of bringing together all persons who are already agreed in the most important political questions of the day in order to deliberate on the plan of effective political action with a view to rouse themselves in such a way as to give their opinion continous influence in the Congress, Conferences and Legislative Councils.

"The Congress has been striving for the last three and forty years to obtain Responsible Self-Government as an integral part of the British Empire claiming that the Indians should be allowed the same privileges as in the Colonies.

"India wants Self-Government because British rule has destroyed her village and council Government and has put in its place a hybrid system of Boards and Councils which are impotent for good, because well-informed Indian opinion is overruled by officials who come knowing nothing of India and seek to impose English methods on our ancient land which has its own traditions. They then begin to complain that their hybrid system is sterile.

India wants to rebuild and improve her own system beginning with the Panchayats and working by ways untrammelled by foreign experts.

Educational needs.

British rule after eighty and odd years of its education is now imparting it to only 2·6 percent of its population and bases her denial of liberty on the microscopic minority of the educated, which is due to her own policy. On the other hand, Japan under Eastern Rule has educated the whole population in forty years. Further the system of education which is now in vogue is ill-directed. It was arranged with a view to supply clerks and some professional men in order to enable British Government to be carried on. What India wants is a system which will develop the resources by special scientific experts in every branch wherein applied science is needed, by supplying practical experts in all industries and crafts a system which will educate her own population for useful ends.

Arts and Industries.

"British rule has destroyed her finest arts and industries in order to pave the way for the importation of cheap foreign goods and, even in machine industries such as cotton, taxes the home produce in order to balance the customs levied on the imported goods. It has been encouraging the export of raw material wholly to be sent back as manufactured articles, thus paralysing the Indian industrial efforts for the benefit of foreigners. India should train her own sons to utilise her vast sources of raw materials for her own profit and should send abroad only her surplusage.

Irrigation and Forestry.

"British rule has neglected irrigation, and has only lately given attention to it because of the awful famines, and even now starved for want of funds ; and while recklessly cutting forests down, has also until lately neglected replanting. India would place irrigation and forestry among the first duties of Government.

Sanitation and Medicine.

"British rule has neglected sanitation while the tendency to congregate in towns, and neglecting villages, has necessitated changes from the old methods. In point of medicine the trouble has increased by the organised contempt for the indigenous system and ousting of them by Government, while it is impossible to replace them adequately everywhere with the results of modern appliances.

Exploitation.

"British rule is extremely costly. It employs Europeans in the highest posts on the highest salaries and introduces them everywhere as experts. It keeps special reserves wholly for Europeans. The other avocations into which Indians may enter can only be at the heavy cost of going to English Degrees. It encourages exploitation of the country by English companies and English capital which results in another source of drain. India should have her own army and navy for their protection and Imperial needs.

Coercive measures.

"Lastly British rule has substituted coercion for improvements in governmen', like any other autocracy. India should sweep away all these coercive legislation She should not be afraid of her people possessing arms nor of criticism, a free speech and a free press. India should emulate British rule in Britain, not British rule in India. In a word, India which is now enthralled should be determined to become free.

India's share in the War.

"India has taken a share in the burden of the Empire furnishing one million men and a gift of £1,50,000,000 to Britain. The war has proved that Indians were neither dwarfs, pigmies nor skeletons but that they could fight as well as any man. The achievements of the Indian army in Flanders and Mesopotamia are well-known. The Empire cannot any more afford to maintain one part in freedom and another in bondage. India has played her part in the war undertaken in defence of small nationalities, but India could not unfortunately claim to be a small nation. She has been patted and her men and money had been used during the struggle and yet further fetters are now being placed upon her by her Government. It is but right that she should claim as the freedom loving people of a free empire equal treatment in the matter of self-Government. No nation under the dominion of another could be happy or contented ; for liberty is the birth right of all people ; as each man must learn by his mistakes, so must each country. Each nation must work out its own freedom and India is ready to take up the reins and would once more be found among the leaders and teachers of mankind. The pride of race culture, the knowledge that she had been a vehicle of the ancient wisdom of the world, a certainty that she could manage her own affairs justify her demand for self-government amply."

He then detailed the work of the Congress Deputation in England and compared it with that of the Moderate deputation. He concluded by hinting at the "Work before us" as follows.

"Before the next Congress meets at Amritsar the Reform Bill will have been passed in Parliament and thereafter the several political organisations and parties which came into existence in connection with the Indian constitutional reforms may not continue to work or may cease to exist. The Indian National Congress alone will continue to work for the attainment of self-Government within the British Empire; but the annual sessions of the Congress cannot do any practical work though it may declare the policy and resolve upon the kind of further work to be done from time to time. It is therefore necessary that in each province, there should be a central organisation with a net work of branch organisations in the district towns and villages to work continuously, steadily and vigorously for the attainment of nationalist ideals, and it is only to deliberate and resolve upon the course of action to be adopted for the above propose that we are met in this conference. I dare say that the organisers of of the Conference are not for creating any new body or organisation but are anxious only to utilise the existing political bodies after resuscitating them and infusing into them fresh vigour and energy, as the machinery for carrying on the work of the Nationalists until the goal is reached. It may however be necessary to have a central controlling body at the top to direct the organisations in the mofussils to work on the lines chalked out by this Conference.

The Presidential Address.

The following is the substantial portion of the President's speech:—

"In the tumultuous intellectual agitation which has come into existence in this country in recent years, and the consequent upheaval of opinions, it is idle to expect that there would be a uniformity of thought, of aspiration and of course of action even among all men having the same national goal or ideal in view.

MODERATES DEFECTION FROM THE CONGRESS.

"The Indian National Congress has always been regarded as the source of inspiration for political action to every intelligent Indian citizen. It has focussed Indian political intelligence in a supreme measure, and its resolutions have gained increasing weight and the confidence of the public at large as time has advanced. The last Session of the Congress held at Delhi was of exceptional interest and importance. It was attended by about 5,400 delegates among whom were a large number of cultivators. Resolutions were passed at this session on the subject of Indian Reform and it does not seem to me, as is contended by some, that as they are in some respects in advance of those passed at the Special Congress held at Bombay, it detracts from their value. Those resolutions were identical with the resolutions on the reform scheme passed by the All-India Moslem League at its session held at Delhi at the same time. Excepting a very few members, the Moderate party kept aloof from this Congress as well as from the special session held at Bombay to discuss the Indian Reform proposals. From the time indeed when the proposal to hold a special session at Bombay was made, the Moderates determined to abstain from taking part in the Congress proceedings. They held a Congress of their own at Bombay, and have formed separate political organisations in Calcutta, Bombay, Allahabad and Madras. Since then the Reform Bill has been introduced in the British Parliament and the difference between the Moderates and the Congress party have become more acute. The Moderate party sent up a deputation consisting of representatives from all parts of India to give evidence before the Parliamentary Joint Committee. The Congress deputation met with great difficulty in making its arrangements. A proposition was brought forward in the Madras Provincial Congress Committee that a sub-committee be appointed to collect funds for the Congress deputation as resolved at the Congress Session. Several of the Moderates were proposed as mem-

bers to serve on the Committee but every one of them declined to serve on it. It was some time after this that the dramatic announcement was made of the simultaneous resignations of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents, two Secretaries and some of the members of the Executive Committee of the Provincial Congress Committee. One of the grounds for resignation was declared to be that among the other members of the Committee were persons who resisted attempts at co-operation, and who failed to observe the amenities of public life and disregarded the decencies of controversy not only in public meetings but in the meetings of the Committee as well. The political associations which have been formed by the Moderates in the various Provinces carry on their activities not only in regard to matters connected with the Indian Reform Bill but also in all matters of public interest, independently of the Congress party. The proceedings of the All-India Committee and of the Provincial and District Conferences are carried on without the co-operation of the Moderate Leaders. The work of the respective Indian Deputations in Great Britain also shows that the fissure between the Congress Leaders and the Moderate Party is wide and deep. The Moderate Leaders used their best endeavours to make the British Congress Committee disavow and act independently of the Resolutions of the National Congress. When their efforts in this behalf proved unsuccessful, when the British Congress Committee was reconstituted so as to form an adjunct of the National Congress, and the "India" newspaper was constituted to ventilate the views of the Congress party in Great Britain another newspaper has been started to propagate the views of the Moderate party. The intention of Mr. Surendranath Banerjee in returning in advance of his party was stated to be to organise the electorates in Bengal in order to secure the predominance of the Moderate Party in the councils to be elected next year and to prepare their plans with this object. On his arrival in India he stated :—

"Before I left England, we were trying to from a Moderate organisation in London. We have none at present. I placed myself in communication with many of our English friends and received encouraging replies. I hope that before long a Moderate organisation to represent our views and to place us in touch with English opinion will have been formed in England."

FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES.

"All fairminded persons must agree tha it is the members of the Moderate Party that have cut themselves off from the Indian National Congress and have refused co-operation with those belonging to the Congress party both in India and in England. It

is an idle reproach levelled against the Nationalists that they have captured the Indian National Congress. In seeking to belittle the importance and value of that great National organization the Moderates are playing into the hands of the enemies of our motherland. It is a matter of common knowledge that in upholding the principles of national freedom and in resisting the encroachment of individual and personal liberties by the agents of despotic power there is a marked difference between the Moderates and the Nationalists. There is abundant proof of the apathy and want of apprehension on the part of the Moderate leaders of the value of constitutional rights of the first importance. The Resolutions of the Delhi Congress rightly lay stress on the great importance of placing beyond the pale of executive interference, and of local legislation, the fundamental rights of citizenship. The Special Provincial Conference held at Madras, the Special Congress at Bombay and the Delhi Congress have all affirmed this position. Even the Moderate Conference held at Bombay last year acknowledged the importance of this principle in one Resolution though in an attenuated form and with one notable dissentient among its leaders. At a Conference held in Madras two months ago with the ostensible object of bringing together to work on common lines of agreement on public questions persons prominent among the Moderates and those belonging to the Congress party, the former strongly opposed the proposal, which consequently fell through, to include a request for the incorporation in the Reform Bill of the provisions affirming the inviolability of the fundamental rights of the people except by the British Parliament. In a manifesto on the Indian situation issued by the British Congress Committee and received by the last mail it is pointed out with reference to a statement of the Prime Minister that "the Government of India since the Armistice has requited India's glorious services" by legislative and administrative repression depriving India of freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom of the person, provoking public protest and riots, particularly in the Punjab, with martial law, deportation of leaders beloved of the people, confiscation of property, suppression of newspapers, executions, public floggings, imprisonment of prominent and patriotic citizens on fantastic charges, refusal of permission to choose counsel for their defence before Military tribunals, shooting by machine guns, and bombing by military æroplanes on defenceless men and women—a regime of blood and iron, which if practised by Germans would have filled Englishmen with horror and indignation." I need not say how the occurences as depicted above have been viewed and action taken in respect of them by

the Moderate party and the Congress leaders respectively both in this country and in England. One typical instance I will give here. In the matter of the wholesale repression of the Indian press in the present regime all over India, and the misapplication of the Press Act so as to curb and suppress freedom of speech and of writing, in regard to which the Nationalist Press has been the chief sufferer, it is worthy of note that the Association of the Moderate party in Madras, the Madras Liberal League, a Joint Secretary of which is a journalist of considerable standing, considered that the meeds of the times were sufficiently met by passing the following Resolution :—

"That in the interest of justice, the Madras Liberal League is of opinion that it is necessary that before the Madras Government directs that steps should be taken to enforce the deposit of security by owners of presses, due warning should be given to them setting forth with reasonable definiteness the articles or the matter to which objection may be taken so as to enable the persons concerned to set themselves right if possible and to obviate the need for further warnings or steps against them and that the above course is necessary to remove the uneasiness in the minds of the general public that is prevalent in consequence of some of the recent proceedings of the Government that ended in the demand of security."

It must be remembered that at this time securities had been forfeited and securities taken on colorable and flimsy grounds from leading English edited Indian and Vernacular Journals in Madras, and popular indignation had been expressed in numerous public meetings at the high-handed and oppressive actions of the Government. The same callous indifference seems to have been shown by the members of the Moderate Deputation in England to the unjust persecution to which the Nationalist Press in India is subjected. The manner in which the "Bombay Chronicle" and its editor, Mr. Horniman, has been persecuted is well-known. By the drastic provisions of the Defence of India Act, the press Act and the Deportation Regulation, the Bombay Chronicle was put under precensorship, its security was forfeited and heavy fresh security was demanded, and the editor while he was in his sickbed, was bundled out of the country to England in a ruthless fashion. One of the results of this gross infringement of a public right as well as of personal liberty was the disappearance for a time of a leading nationalist newspaper of great influence and repute. If we add this to the numerous other cases of executive oppression of Indian journals throughout the country the Government of India is liable to a heavy indictment in regard to its

actions and policy with regard to the Indian Press. The members of the Moderate Deputation had, as their chief, a journalist of long experience and distinguished position and it was expected that he with the others in the deputation who held important position as journalists and as prominent men in public life would have set up an agitation in favour of the emancipation of the Indian press from its present harassing disabilities. That in this matter the Moderate Deputation greatly fell short of public expectation and did not rise to the level of their opportunities is clear from what Mr. Surendranath Bannerjea himself has stated in his speech at Bombay as regards the doings of what he himself calls "the members of the Moderate Press." I have on a previous occasion pointed out that the journals belonging to the Moderate Press in India such as the "Bengalee," the "Leader" and some others have never been interfered with either in England or in India under color of the provisions of the Indan Defence Act, the Press Act, the Post Office Act &c. It has also been stated affirmatively that the Moderate Deputation in England met and resolved not to attend the next Congress.

PARTIES INEVITABLE.

"Can anybody doubt under all the circumstances that the Moderate party consider themselves in a lofty and privileged position, that they want to carry on their activities independently of the Congress party, and that their self-importance and self-righteousness are encouraged and supported by persons in power for their own purposes. The attitude of the members of the Congress party towards the Moderates has been throughout one of conciliation and of friendly exhortation. It may be described in the language of the late Mr. Joseph Chambarlain at one phase of English political life :—The Radicals are, I venture to say, the majority of the Liberal Party. Yet sufferance is the badge of all our tribe, and we have conceded—we are conceding, we will concede—to our Moderate friends, to their convictions, even to their prejudices, if they will meet us somewhere on the road in a similar spirit." The defection of one section of the Congress party and the formation of a separate party is not however to be taken as a serious evil. It corresponds to a well-known principle in human nature and is a natural incident in the constitutional development of a country. Lord Courtney has observed that "men have always been and must be drawn into camps of progress and caution." Mr. Balfour has said, "In English domestic politics we are never at peace—our whole political organization is arranged in order that we may quarrel—and we always do quarrel, sometimes over matters of great

importance, sometimes over matters of small importance, sometimes over matters which cannot but be matters of bitter strife, and some matters which I should suppose might always be dealt with by agreement." Edmund Burke has described the qualities of two classes of persons who may aspire to be members of the British Parliament, one possessing the qualities of "a strenuous resistence—to every appearance of lawless power—a spirit of independence carried to some degree of enthusiasm, an inquisitive character to discover and a bold one to display, every corruption and every error of Government." The other possessing—"an indolent and submissive disposition—a disposition to think charitably of all the actions of men in power and to live in mutual intercourse of favors with them, an inclination rather to countenance a strong use of authority than to bear any sort of licentiousness on the part of the people." It is needless for me to say on which side, among the Moderates or the Nationalists, the respective qualities above enumerated are to be found.

REFORMS.

"The purpose of this Conference is to consolidate and strengthen the forces that sustain the Indian National Congress. There is no question of forming a new party or party organization. As the memorandum of evidence by the delegates of the Indian National Congress before the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Government of India Bill says, "the Indian National Congress represents to-day the overwhelming body of opinion among the people of India. Its constitution and organisation are of the widest democratic kind." We have in this Conference to devise means to enable the Congress to resist the assaults on it from various quarters—to make it a living effective and progressive exponent of the people's will. Reactionary tendencies must not be allowed to creep into its councils. Its democratic structure must be made to reflect truly all the interests which compose the body politic in this country. The Moderate party has eschewed association with the English Labour party. The labour conditions in India merit the serious attention of Indian leaders, and they cannot be properly dealt with without communication and co-operation with the leaders of the Labour party in England. You would have noticed that a special cable received from England states that Mr. Henderson, one of the most prominent and influential leaders of the Labour party has pledged his support to the Congress demands. I cannot but feel that the inattention of the Congress party in the past to the socio-political questions in this country has led to a crop of troubles and embarassments in our political work. The Indian

Reform Bill has been the means of bringing to the surface communal and caste differences which in my opinion are capable of easy adjustment. There is grave danger, it has been pointed out, when the lines of the cleavage of the parties coincide with those between the different social classes in the community, because one side is likely to believe that the other is shaking the foundations of society and passions are kindled like those in civil war. I have no doubt in my mind that unless the interests of those who form a large section are given due consideration and adequately supported, there can be no true national advancement and growth.

"As regards the reform Bill before Parliament, it is generally admitted that it is not likely to be passed with any of the material modifications required by the Congress Deputation or the Moderate party. It will be an irreducible minimum in the process of giving effect to the pronouncement of His Majesty's Government made two years ago. The political fortunes of the Indian people do not in my opinion depend upon the granting or withholding of this modicum of Reform. It will not be a national disaster if by the mutations of party conflict in the House of Commons the present cabinet goes down and with it the present Reform Bill. Mr. Montagu is entitled to our gratitude for his endeavours to give us an instalment of constitutional reform however inadequate we may consider it to be. If the Reform Bill is passed even in its present shape, I would try to make such use of it as is capable of being utilised for the country's progress. I agree with Mr. Jinnah, of the Moslem League Deputation, who in his evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee replied in answer to the question that "beggars cannot be choosers, and we must therefore take the best we can get."

OUR WORK.

"We have large work to do in the near future. The spirit of nationalism has permeated every nook and corner of the country. As Sir Sankaran Nair has clearly put it before the Joint Parliamentary Committee there is a wide political awakening among the masses of the Indian people. There is more true patriotism and genuine public spirit combined with knowledge of current affairs among the rural population than among the town dwellers.

"The political energy and intelligence of the people have to be rightly guided, and as the circle of interest becomes larger for public workers their number must correspondingly be strengthened by fresh accession to their ranks. Whatever may be the nature of the Reform Scheme which is going to emerge from Parliament,

there would be tremendous work to do in the country at large for public workers. Their work must be organised on a stable basis and on progressive lines.

"As the Bill is expected to be passed by the middle of December, the Congress at its session in Amritsar will have an opportunity of considering it and deciding upon the future course of action. The forthcoming session is therefore a very important one. The Congress is going to meet in a Province which has been the scence of frightful maladministration and the sufferings and troubles which the people have undergone must excite our warmest sympathy and delegates from all parts of the country should flock in large numbers to Amritsar and make the Congress session a success. The members of the various Indian deputations to England would have returned to the country by that time and would attend the Congress. The business of this Conference would immediately be to concert measures to make the ensuing session of the Congress as largely attended as possible by persons who subscribe to the resolutions adopted at the last sessions, to infuse life and vigor into all local political associations whose aims and objects are in harmony with those resolutions, and to promote a feeling of solidarity and unity of effort irrespective of class or creed among them. Whatever, may be the nature of the work which may be turned out at this conference, it is quite clear to me from the response whice we have received in writing, and in the attendance of the members which we see that the necessity for convening it has been amply recognised and appreciated. I earnestly hope that our meeting together and holding consultations with regard to the objects which we all have in view, will result in promoting in however small a degree the country's welfare.

"I have not attempted in the foregoing remarks to make out a constructive programme. It seems to me that it is the function of the general body of the Conference after full discussion of the various points that may be suggested by the members. Having regard to the consideration that persons belonging to the Moderate party are perfecting their organisations and making frantic endeavours to obtain ascendancy for their views, it is incumbent on those who hold fast by Nationalists' principles to consolidate their forces and to organise themselves efficiently for practical work. There is a feeling among some gentlemen further that this could best be done by strengthening the existing political organisations such as the Congress Committee and the Home Rule League. On the other hand it is argued that these organisations though largely composed of nationalist members are by the nature

of their constitution unable to exclude from their deliberation and practical work persons who differ from them in fundamental political principles, and that their actions are greatly delayed and hampered in consequence. There is considerable force in both these aspect. There would be common agreement, I take it, among all those assembled in this Conference that in the stirring times in which we live, with political changes and reconstruction of great magnitude looming before us in the near or distant future, it is important that a central organisation in Madras and a net work of similar bodies should be formed in the districts, in towns and in villages, and the work of political education and practical action should be vigorously undertaken and carried on. A big National Fund should also be raised in order that political work may be carried on systematically without having to resort to fugitive subscriptions as is now the case. A number of workers should be enlisted to work in the public cause who should be paid for their time and labour.

Before closing my remarks I have to bring to your notice one more fact: In the course of a private letter written from London dated 16th October, 1919 by a member of the Legislative Council in India to a friend who has forwarded the letter to me for persual to-day, he says: "In the Punjab matter, the stupid doctrine of prestige will come in the way of justice. It is said that the Viceroy being assured of the support of Lord Curzon and Lord Milner not only does not care, but actually defies the present Secretary of State, and our Moderate friends are playing into the hands of the powers that be. This unfortunately cannot be helped." It is to tide over the consequences of such an unfortunate situation that we have met here and I do not despair of success in our efforts.

RESOLUTIONS.

The Conference passed the following resolutions unanimously:—

I. That the members of the Conference do form themselves into a permanent organization for the achievement of Nationalist aims in consonance with the ideals of the Indian National Congress.

II. That the following Constitution be adopted:—

(1) There shall be a Central Council consisting of five members for each district in the Presidency and 31 for Madras City besides the Chairman and four Vice-Chairman to be elected by the general body at the Annual Conference.

(2) The members of the Central Council will hold office for one year or until their successors are elected.

(3) As organizations are formed in the city and mufassal the members of the Council will be elected by them for their respective circles, instead of the annual conference.

(4) There shall be a standing Committee of the Council consisting of 38 members as follows:—Chairman, four Vice-Chairmen, two General Secretaries, Treasurer and five Organizing Secretaries and 25 members. Excepting the Chairman and the Vice-Chairmen the others will be elected by the Central Council. This year the Conference will elect all the officers.

(5) The Standing Committee will be responsible for the carrying on of the work subject to the control and direction of the Central Council. The Standing Committee shall have power to appoint Additional Organising Secretaries who shall however not be members of the Committee.

(6) The quorum for the Central Council shall be 15 and for the Standing Committee shall be five.

(7) The Standing Committee will organize branches and shall have power to affiliate such other bodies as may apply for the affiliation.

(8) Individual members will be admitted into the general body on application at the discretion of the Standing Committee. The annual subscription for a member shall be four annas.

(9) The annual contribution for affiliated bodies and branches shall be fixed by the Standing Committee from time to time in each case.

(10) The Standing Committee shall have power to frame bye-laws and rules to carry out the objects of the Conference.

(11) The Conference shall ordinarily meet once a year but a special session of the conference may be convened at any time on a requisition of 100 members or at the discretion of the Standing Committee.

ELECTION OF OFFICE-BEARERS.

Mr. C. Vijiaraghavachariar of Salem was unanimously elected as Chairman of the Nationalist organisation for the ensuing year amidst defeaning cheers. The names of the Hon'ble Mr. K. V. Rangasawmi Iyengar, Hon'ble Mr. Konda Venkatappayya and Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao were proposed for the vice-Chairmanship.

III. This Conference requests the Government of India and the Punjab Government to withdraw the order prohibiting Mr. Tilak from entering the Punjab.

PROGRAMME OF WORK.

IV. That the following programme be adopted as the work of the Conference:—

(a) (1) To work by all constitutional means for the attainment of Swaraj in which the Government would be responsible to the people of this country.

(2) To carry on sustained agitation to secure primary citizen rights and full responsible government, irrespectively of the limitations and machinery that may be provided in any scheme of constitutional reform that may in the meanwhile be passed.

(3) To educate and organize public opinion for securing and maintaining nationalist ideals in the political organizations of the country.

(4) And to select and support candidates to the Council pledged to carry out the nationalist programme.

President's Concluding Speech

The President in his concluding speech said :—In think that on the whole we have reason to be fairly satisfied with the business we have gone through in this Conference. This is the first attempt which, we as persons holding nationalist principles in this presidency have made in order to come to a common understanding as to the methods of work and the aims which the nationalists have in view. As has been pointed out yesterday, the expression 'Nationalist' has got a wellknown signification. So far as I understand it, the chief principle of nationalism is that we should always prefer the interests of the many to the interests of the few, and that in common life every citizen should be prepared to resent to the utmost capacity any injury of personal or other character to the meanest citizen in the country (Hear, Hear). The nationalists should also see that no communal differences exist among them and that they should be adjusted by mutual arrangements and by harmonious relations among the various members of the community. Above all, those who belong to the Nationalist party should consider that the insterests of the country are above the interests of party or of individuals in the community. (Hear, bear). I think, that from the proceedings that has taken place since yesterday it may safely be said (I see the members have gathered here in fairly larger numbers and I did not even expect that such attendance should be forthcoming, seeing the sort of stain which the nationalists carry in this country)—that the nationalist spirit is largely widespread in this part of the country. We have reason to hope that in all dealings in which the nationalists would be engaged they would carry firmness of purpose and true patriotism and would have, as their ideal, what the national congress has in view. As I have said in my opening speech yesterday the immediate object which we all should have in view is to make the ensuing session of the National Congress a success. That is the

greatest practical work which we have in hand and there is a very short time before us. We should see that every part of the Madras Presidency sends a large contingent of delegates to the Amritsar Congress. It would not do for us to rely upon the general feeling of nationalism in the country. It is possible that an attempt will be made to induce the next session of the Congress to go back upon the resolutions framed in the last Congress at Delhi and it is therefore incumbent upon us all not only in this part but in other parts of the country as well to take a large number of delegates who hold fast to the resolutions adopted last year to Amirtsar and have consultations with the Congressmen from the other parts of the country and come to a common understanding as regards our future work. I have no doubt that the next session would be a very important and useful one because the Reform Bill would have most probably by that time been passed in Parliament. It would be necessary for us to consult the other members of the Congress as to what our future action should be not only as regards the Congress aims but also as regards the various social and political questions which are likely to come in the near future. On the whole we have met under very fair auspices and we have carried through our proceedings with an amount of good will and earnestness of purpose which have characterised the members who have taken part in the proceedings of this conference. I congratulate all of them and most heartily thank them for the great good will which they have shown throughout and for the readiness with which they have responded to the request made to them to attend and give us the benefit of their co-operation.

"A question has been asked as to what name should be given to any association which may be formed in the moffussal. I do not think the name is of particular significace at the present time. It may be called the Nationalist Association branch. So long as the name nationalist is attached to it, that would mark all the differences necessary between other associations and an association having nationalist aims. I hope the Standing Committee which will be elected by the central Council just now, would immediately meet and frame a sort of programme for the various branch associations which will be formed in the country. The first duty of the committee would be to put themselves in touch with the various political organisations in order to guide their future work.

After the usual thanks-givings the Conference then came to an end.

National

Congress & Conference

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

(Hon. Pt. Motilal Nehru.)

Amritsar, Dec. 27th, 1919.

It is indeed an exceptional honour to be thought fit to take the helm of the great ship of the Indian National Congress in the stormy weather we are passing through The honour you have conferred on me is deserved only by a skilled point, who can afford to make light of the breakers and the rocks ahead. I wish your choice had fallen on one who had both the skill and the confidence to steer clear of all danger the noble vessel you have so generously committed to my care when it is about to sail on a perilous voyage. But all too unworthy as I am for the great distinction you have bestowed on me, I derive solace from the fact that there is a special feature of this session, which no doubt has influenced your choice, and which perhaps widens the qualification for the chair to include even such as I. That special feature presents itself at the outset and runs through our whole programme. It arises out of the recent tragic events in the Punjab which must naturally form the key-note of our proceedings. These events furnish many a dark chapter to the history of the past twelve months, but none darker than the great tragedy enacted in this very city of Amritsar in April last Fellow delegates, you have assembled here in deep mourning over the cruel murder of hundreds of your brothers and in electing your president you have assigned to him the position of chief mourner. That position I accept in all reverence and I sincerely thank you for it. The responsibility, however, remains and is considerably augmented by the great solemnity of the occasion. I can only hope to discharge it by your generous indulgence and the kindly co-operation which I trust I shall receive at your hands in a very liberal measure.

Last year when we met at Delhi the great war had ended and we were all looking forward, full of hope, to the great peace which would endure and which would bring the blessings of freedom to

all nationalities. The time had come for the fulfilment of the many pledges made to us and in accordance with the principles laid down by statesmen in Europe and America, this Congress demanded self-determination for our country. Peace has now come, partially at least, but it has brought little comfort even to the victors. The pledges made by statesmen have proved but empty words, the principles for which the War was fought have been forgotten and the famous fourteen points are dead and gone. "Vae victis" is still, as of old, the order of the day. Russia, hungering for peace, is allowed no respite, and a number of little wars are waging on the continent of Europe. Prussianism has been crushed but it has been reborn in the other countries of the West, which have enthroned militarism on high. The fate of Turkey hangs in the balance, and Ireland and Egypt are being made to feel the might of the British Empire. In India the first fruits of the peace were the Rowlatt Bills and Martial Law. It was not for this that the War was fought; it was not for this that many hundreds of thousands laid down their lives. Is it any wonder that the peace has aroused no enthusiasm and that the vast majority of the people of India refused to participate in the peace celebrations?

With coercion has come concession. That has been the old time policy in India, as in Ireland, persisted in by England in spite of repeated disillusionment. Our rulers have failed to realise that repression and conciliation cannot go hand in hand; that the grace of a gift lies more in the manner of giving than in the thing given. And so the much discussed Reform Bill has been hurried through Parliament so that this "big meeting," as Mr. Bonar Law put it, may be pacified by it to a certain extent as least. The new act demands our most careful consideration. I shall deal with it at a later stage and it will be for you to decide how far it meets with your wishes

In Memoriam.

But before we proceed further we must pause for a moment to pay our tribute of respect to the memory of one of our leaders who have passed away from our midst since we last met in Delhi. Nawab Syed Mohammed, the President of the 28th Congress, held in Karachi in 1913 and for many years the Joint General Secretary of the Congress, died in Madras on the 13th February last. He was one of our foremost public men and had the courage to adopt the Congress creed at a time when the great majority of our Mohammadan brothers were keeping aloof from the national movement. May his soul rest in peace.

We must also do reverence to the sacred memory of the dead who were killed in Amritsar and elsewhere in the Panjab, and to the living who were put to indignities worse even than death and suffered the most shameful barbarities. No monument in marble or bronze is needed to consecrate their memory. Our speeches here will be forgotten, the resolutions you pass may in the future have interest only for the historian, but India will never forget the sacrifice and the sufferings of these children of hers

But through the surrounding gloom has come a ray of bright sunshine which has cheered up many a suffering individual and family in India. His Majesty the King Emperor has on the eve of this great meeting been graciously pleased to send out to us a message of His Royal clemency to be exercised by the Viceroy in the name and on behalf of His Majesty to all political offenders suffering imprisonment or restriction on their liberty in the gracious words of the proclamation. It is the sentiments of affection and devotion which His Majesty and his predecessors have been animated that have consoled us in our misfortunes It is for us, fellow delegates, on our own behalf and on behalf of the people of India whom we represent to convey our sincere homage to His Majesty and our humble appreciation of His Royal benevolence. I have no doubt that you will discharge this Royal duty in a befitting manner, and send out a hearty welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales who is to visit our country next winter. Let us gratefully join His Majesty in his hopes of the future and in the fervent prayer to the Almighty God that by His wisdom and under His guidance India may be led to greater prosperity and contentment and may grow to the fullness of political freedom. It is due to this Royal mercy that we have among us to-day the great leaders of the Punjab who till yesterday were in jail On behalf of this great Congress I offer them the warmest of welcome. They have passed through the fiery ordeal of suffering for the cause and they have come back to us to take their rightful place in the counsels of this great assembly. Their suffering has not been in vain. It has taught us a lesson which we in this Congress, I trust, will not fail to learn.

The Punjab.

As I have already indicated the Punjab has the right to claim first attention of this Congress. But before I deal with the various problems which it presents for our consideration I desire to congratulate you heartily, my fellow countrymen and women of the Punjab, and more specially those of Amritsar, for the courageous

public spirit you have shown in holding the present session of your great National Assembly in this city. You resolved in happier times to invite the Congress to your Province, little dreaming of the dark days you were destined to go through before you were to realize your expectations. You lost no time in forming your Reception Committee and were cheerfully busying yourself with your patriotic work when a great calamity suddenly descended upon you. You have borne this affliction and at the same time have adhered to your resolve. Your spokesman at Delhi, who invited the Congress, lies in jail together with many of his colleagues. Yet you have not flinched or sought to cast aside the burden you had voluntarily undertaken. All honour to you for your devoted patriotism. All praise for your patient suffering.

India has suffered much at the hands of an alien and reactionary bureaucracy, but the Punjab has in that respect acquired a most unenviable notoriety. Competent observers have borne testimony to the spirit that has animated the Punjab administration ever since it came under British rule. Sir Henry Cotton and Mr. Bernard Houghton, both eminent members of the Indian Civil Service, have told us of the retrogressive and backward condition of the province and the militarist tendencies which hold sway there. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald in his book "Awakening of India" says :—

"It is generally conceded in India that the most incompetent of the Governments is that of the Punjab. It takes its stand upon two foundation rocks. "Prestige" and "Sedition," the meaning of the former being that it can do what it likes, and of the latter that if any Indian questions its doings his house will be raided and he will be deported.....It has no notion of statesmanlike handling, no idea of political methods. The man in power simply uses his power, whether it is in the form of a not too honest detective department, or a not too discriminating executive or judiciary."

The proximity of the Punjab to the frontier has enabled its administrators time and again to enforce their will on successive Viceroys and Secretaries of State. The bogey of the frontier is exploited to the uttermost and the proposals made by the "man on the spot" seldom fail to secure acceptance at the hands of the higher authorities. With Delhi almost on the border and with Simla for its summer capital, the Government of the Punjab has the additional advantage of having the ear of the Viceroy, and it has thus come about that being the worst Government in India, it is the most favoured of all provincial administrations. Public life is not likely to thrive under these conditions and it is no wonder that for long there was no marked growth of political ideas in the Punjab.

In order to appreciate the causes which ultimately led to the catastrophe of April last and its sequel, it is desirable to consider briefly the force which have been at work ever since the first pulsations of public life began to be noticed by the authorities. Before 1905 there was practically no public life in the Punjab, but the stupendous blunder of Lord Curzon in effecting the partition of Bengal in the face of a nation's resentment not only convulsed the affected province but sent a thrill of excitement and discontent throughout the country, which could not fail to arouse public activity in the Punjab. The introduction of the Colonization Bill in the local Legislative Council shortly after brought trouble to the very doors of the people. By this bill it was intended to curtail the valuable vested rights of the so-called colonists and to deprive them of the fruits of their labour which had converted the desolate wilds around Lyallpur into a smiling garden. A strong agitation followed and this was dealt with by the usual policy of repression. About this time the editor and proprietor of the *Punjabee* newspaper were convicted. Shortly after the Colonization Bill was passed by the local Council. But these measure failed to put down the agitation which was continued with redoubled energy. The more excitable among the people came into conflict with the police and there were riots in Lahore and Rawalpindi in April, 1907. Against the arrest and trial of the actual rioters no sensible person can have any thing to say but there was no justification for the arrest of Lala Hansraj Sawhney and some other leading public men, as was shown at their trial. Even less excusable was the deportation without trial of Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh. The policy of the Punjab Government in those days, and handed down as a legacy to succeeding Lieutenant Governors, was to shut their eyes to their own reactionary administration and keep the Government of India and the Secretary of State in ignorance of the real causes of the disturbances by supplying them with coloured accounts and fixing responsibility for their own lapses on the poor "agitator". Be it said however to the credit of Lord Minto that he refused to assent to the unjust law passed by the Punjab Council. But there was no lack of other weapons of repression in the already over-stocked armoury of the Punjab Government and these continued to be freely used during the years 1907 to 1909. The methods adopted were the suppression of the press and the prosecution of individuals unacceptable to the Government. Needless to say the young sapling could not weather the continuous storm it was subjected to and there was little manifestation of public life in the Punjab during the years 1910 to 1913.

But repression and terrorism have never yet killed the life of a nation, they but increase the disaffection and drive it under-ground to pursue an unhealthy course breaking out occasionally into crimes of violence. And this brings further repression and so the vicious circle goes on. No one can but deplore violence and political crime. But let us not forget that this is the direct outcome of continued repression. It is due to the perversity of the executive which blinds itself to the causes of the discontent and, like mad bull, goes about attacking all who dare to stand up against it.

Sir Denzil Ibbetson, the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab during the troublous days of 1907, was not slow to perceive the "new air which was blowing through men's minds" but instead of adjusting his sails to this "new air" he chose to steer his course right against it. He, as well as his successor, followed the broad and easy path of piling repression upon repression in accordance with hallowed traditions of the Punjab Administration.

This was the state of the Punjab when her destinies were placed in the hands of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. It was a splendid opportunity for a broadminded and generous hearted statesman to strengthen the foundations of the Empire by doing the barest justice to the natural aspirations of a people to whom the Empire owed so much. How Sir Michael acquitted himself of this high trust every Indian knows.

During the early days of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's rule occurred the "Komagata Maru" incident. The unfortunate men who had left their homes in a spirit of peaceful enterprise, many not wishing to return to India at all, found every door shut in their faces and were forced to return. The reception prepared for them by the Government of India, presumably at the instance of the Punjab Government, was the passing of the Ingress into India Ordinance, which empowered the Government to restrict the liberty of any person entering India. On landing in India they found themselves prisoners and, broken down as they were by the consistent ill-treatment they had received at home and aboard, they completely lost their heads and the unfortunate Budge-Budge riot was the result.

The "Komagata Maru" episodes marked the recrudescence of unrest in the Punjab and afforded a pretext to Sir Michael O'Dwyer to ask for more "effective power" from the unwilling Government of Lord Hardinge. During 1914 and the early part of 1915 insistent demands continued to be made for a "carte blanche" to deal with the situation and a draft ordinance of a drastic character was submitted to the Government of India for approval and promulgation. At last Lord Hardinge was compelled to yield and

the Defence of India Act which substantially embodied the provisions of this draft ordinance was hurriedly passed through the Indian Council. How this "essentially war measure" has been used not only in the Punjab but other provinces as well to deal with matters wholly unconnected with the war, we all know. Sir Michael O'Dwyer was not slow to utilise it and soon after reported its "salutary effect" to the Government of India.

The years 1915 to 1917 were occupied with various conspiracy trials by special tribunals constituted under the Defence of India Act. The vernacular press was ruthlessly suppressed and hundreds of persons were interned under the Defence of India Act or the Ingress Ordinance. It was during this period that Lokamanya Tilak and Srijut Bepin Chandra Pal were prohibited from entering the province lest they should introduce the virus of Home Rule here. This order was recently withdrawn as far as Mr. Tilak was concerned and I am sure you will all join with me in offering a most cordial welcome to him here after his arduous labours in England for the cause Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal is, I believe, still prohibited from coming here and we are thus deprived of his counsel and mature judgment at this critical juncture.

War Activities.

I now come to the war activities of the O'Dwyerian regime during which, in the name of patriotism and the Empire, methods were employed which are even worse than those I have so far noticed. These could only have been practised in the Punjab either by the direct sanction or connivance of Sir Michael O'Dwyer or by over-zealous subordinates in the hope of reward. The truth of the Persian saying—(if a king tolerate one grain of oppression his retinue will inflict a ton of misery,) was fully realised in the course of this strenuous period. For a short time after the beginning of the war recruitment in the Punjab proceeded under normal conditions. But soon after Sir Michael O'Dwyer made up his mind to acquire the distinction of being the foremost recruiting sergeant in India and gentle persuasion gave place to more vigorous methods. Then came the Prime Minister's appeal for the increased war effort. Sir Michael O'Dwyer's energies now knew no limits. In his speech in the Punjab War Conference he said :—

"You know the Delhi programme. My application of it to the Punjab I can explain in a single sentence. Two hundred thousand men for the regular army, voluntaryism if possible, conscription if necessary ; twice the thousand men we have been asked for for the Indian portion of the Indian Defence Force ; a war loan effort which

will eclipse the last; the development to the utmost of our local resources and by God's grace, victory in the end."

These are noble words breathing a lofty patriotism for the Empire. But what regard was paid to the capacity of the province to fulfil the expectations of its ruler? At the Delhi Conference the total number of men to be supplied by India was determined to be 5,00,000. Of these Sir Michael O'Dwyer made up his mind to find no less than 40 per cent from his own province the population of which including the Indian States is only 13 per cent. It was too big an undertaking even for the martial races of the Punjab who had already contributed over 2,50,000 combatants and 70,000 non-combatants, since the commencement of the war. Hence the broad hint conveyed in the words "voluntaryism if possible, conscription if necessary." The various officials engaged in recruiting lost no time in translating those words into action and the horrors committed in the guise of patriotic effort are still fresh in the memory of the victims. An ingenious "quota system" was devised under which a rough census of the male population of every village was taken and each village was called upon to furnish a certain number of recruits within a fixed time. If the required number was not forthcoming within the time given various unlawful and oppressive methods were employed. Villages were punished collectively and individuals were subjected to great hardships and humiliation. I shall not here enter into any details as the Commissioners appointed by your Sub-Committee are enquiring into these cases of ill-treatment and will present to you their report in due course.

The Criminal law was openly abused and numerous proceedings were taken against innocent men under the provisions of Sections 107 and 110 of the Code of Criminal Procedure with the sole object of compelling the accused persons either to enlist or to supply recruits. There are judicial records in existence showing that those who did either the one or the other were acquitted while those who did neither were convicted. In the report on the administration of Criminal Justice for 1917 it is stated :—

'District Magistrates have spent much time in recruiting work during the year. The large decrease in the number of persons called upon to give security under Section 110 Criminal Procedure Code is in a great part due to the heavy recruiting for the army."

In the report for 1918 it is again stated :

"Recruiting for the army continued to be one of the main factors in bad livelihood cases."

Nor was the abuse of law confined only to bad livelihood cases. The following passage occurs in the judgment of the Sessions judge

of Karnal setting aside the convictions of the appeallants by the District Magistrate :—

"The various orders passed by the District Magistrate from time to time clearly show that if these appellants had also supplied recruits from among their near relations or if they were fit for enlistment themselves they would have been let off provided 20 recruits were made up from the village as was originally demanded from it."

Similar methods were employed to swell the provincial contributions to the war loan. It will be interesting to prepare statistics to show how many subscribers found it necessary to transfer their war bonds at heavy discount soon after their subscriptions were announced. One of the favourite methods to deal those who did not satisfy the authorities with their war effort either in supplying recruits or contributing to the war loan was to enhance their income-tax. The following short extracts from the judgments of Collectors rejecting objections to the enhancement will be instructive

"He (the objector) has three sons and will not enlist one of them. He has not subscribed to any war fund or war loan although he could easily do so."

"Up to date he has not helped even by a single pice in any war fund or loan."

The inevitable result of the systematic oppression the main features of which I have described was to spread serious discontent throughout the province and it is not surprising that the pent up feelings of the people occasionally found vent in the commission of serious offences. We have it on record that a Tehsildar in the Shahpur District was murdered and some of his companions sustained grievous hurt. In the same district a mob offered resistance to the arrest of some men on a charge of dissuading people from enlistment with the result that it was fired upon and several casualties occurred.

In a recent speech made in Multan Sir Michael O'Dwyer expressed the lament that "those who worked in organizing recruiting for the division have had a most arduous task ; they have had to content against apathy, timidity, and even with open hostility, which in some cases unfortunately culminated into riot, bloodshed, and defiance of authority in Multan and Muzaffargarh."

Mr. Montagu in his last speech on the Indian budget remarked :—

"Recruiting for the army has gone on in parts particularly affected by these disturbances with such zeal and enthusiasm that I think there is reason to believe that many a family was left without its bread-winner."

Did Mr. Montagu sufficiently realize the inwardness of the "zeal and enthusiasm" he referred to or the extent to which it was carried? The "unauthorised, objectionable and oppressive methods" employed by zaildars and lambardars under pressure of the authorities are described in the judgment of the Sessions judge of Multan as "matters of common knowledge." It is evident that this "common knowledge" did not travel beyond the seas to England or we should have found some indication of it in Mr. Montagu's speech.

What I have so far said applies to all classes affected by recruiting and war loan activities and concerns mainly "the man on the sod, and the man behind the plough" for whom the late Lieutenant Governor professed the warmest sympathy and solicitude. Let us now turn to another class of people for whom he never affected any feelings other than those of unqualified hatred and contempt—I mean the people known as the educated classes in general and the politically minded section of them in particular. I have already shown that public life was all but dead in the Punjab some years before Sir Michael O'Dwyer appeared on the scene. It showed some signs of revival on his assuming charge of the province but was again put down by his masterful repression. There were, however, world forces at work which even the strongest man could not resist and the people of the Punjab whose "manliness, sanity, and practical common sense" the then Lieutenant-Governor was never tired of extolling for his own purposes, could not remain unaffected. The famous memorandum of the nineteen members of the Indian Council, the Congress League Scheme of Constitutional Reforms, the historical announcement of the 20th August, 1917, the visit to India of Mr Montagu himself and the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, all came in quick succession to the utter bewilderment of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. He saw Congress Committees spring up in important centres, and heard the whole province ring with the echoes of speeches made at public meetings and conferences in the course of which this administration was freely criticised. Early in his career as Lieutenant Governor he had conceived an immense admiration for himself and his administration and so long as it was open to him he suppressed all talk of the slightest change or improvement. When that was made impossible by the announcement of the 20th August and the developments which followed it, he made highly offensive and provocative speeches in his own and the Viceroy's Council which served the only purpose of adding to the bitterness of feeling on both sides. Up to the end of 1918 constitutional reforms were the all absorbing topic at almost

all public meetings and he could not well interfere with them. But early in 1919 came a terrible visitation in the shape of the Rowlatt Legislation which set a tremendous wave of agitation rolling in the country from one end to the other. It swept through the Punjab with the same volume and force as through other parts of India and gave Sir Michael O'Dwyer the opportunity he sought. The people were no longer offering criticism which was invited by the Government, but had engaged themselves in a strong agitation against a set policy which the Government had made up its mind to carry out at all cost. This made all the difference with him and with the convenient bogey of the frontier to trot out in case of need ; he prepared himself to deal the last effective blow.

The Rowlatt Legislation.

It will be convenient for me here to say a few words about this most inequitable measure which even according to Mr. Montagu has met with "universal opposition throughout India" You must be perfectly familiar with the provisions of this Act and I shall only notice a few salient features which are enough to condemn it. It invests the Government with "emergency powers" to enable it to deal with anarchical and revolutionary movements. Part I of the Act supersedes the ordinary mode of trial by a special procedure when the Governor-General in Council is satisfied that it is expedient in the interests of public safety to provide for a speedy trial. This speed is attained by doing away with commitment proceedings and the right of appeal which in one word means speed at the expense of justice. It is impossible to underrate the importance of commitment proceedings which give fair notice to the accused of what the case against him is, and how the prosecution seeks to prove it. As to the value of the right of appeal there can be no two opinions. The most remarkable feature of the Act in this respect is that no right of appeal is given even when the judges differ, the only consideration shown being that no sentence of death shall be passed if there is such difference of opinion.

Parts II and III are designed to deal with two classes of anarchical and revolutionary movements but the difference between them is only one of degree. Part II applies when such movements are "extensively promoted" and Part III when they are "prevalent to such an extent as to endanger public safety." But whatever the difference between the two it is impossible in any given case to show that the movement in question was of the one kind and not of the other. For all practical purpose, therefore, the Governor-General in Council has a free hand in the matter and may proceed

under Part II or III as he likes. The fact that a person is concerned in any movement of either kind is in the first instance to be determined behind his back and later on, when his case is referred to the investigating authority, he is to be given an opportunity to appear at "some stage" (not all the stages) of the proceedings, which are to be held in camera. The unfortunate person is not to be allowed to be represented by counsel, he may not be told the name of his accuser, nor even all the facts on which the accusation is based and is not entitled as a matter of right to examine any witness, or produce any document if the investigating authority considers it unnecessary. To crown all this the investigating authority shall not be bound to observe the rules of the law of evidence and there shall be no appeal from its finding. We then have the drastic powers given to Local Government, which are milder under Part II than Part III but extend to the search of any place and confinement in jail of the person concerned.

These, fellow delegates, are some of the staggering provisions of the new law against which the whole country rightly rose as one man. Because there are unfortunately in this country as there undoubtedly are in other countries, some misguided persons who endanger public safety, the whole nation must submit to the disgrace of following this terror to hung over it. It has been over and over again admitted that the great bulk of the population in India are law-abiding. The negation of law and justice which the Rowlatt Act represents could only be necessary to cover the inability or incompetency of the Government to cope with an evil which is by no means confined to India. The only justification pleaded is that the Act is not meant for the innocent and the law-abiding, who need have no fear of its application to them. But it is conveniently forgotten that the sole judge of the innocence or guilt of any person, however high placed he may be, is the executive. And who can have faith in the executive if the safeguards imposed by law on them are removed? Our critics may, but let me tell them plainly that we do not. But it is said that there are safeguards. The Local Government can not proceed without first obtaining the opinion of a judicial officer qualified to be a High Court judge. The obvious answer is that in the first place that opinion is to be based on onesided evidence and in the second the Local Government is not bound by it. All it is bound to do is to consider the opinion. If this opinion is against the Government, but the latter is still satisfied that action is necessary, there is nothing in the Act to prevent it from applying either Part II or III as it likes. It is however pointed out that no Government would be unreasonable enough to

disregard the opinion of the judicial officer whom it consults. After what has happened recently in the Punjab, and at different times in other parts of India, let no man ask us to put implicit faith in the reasonableness of Government measures and methods. What is possible for the Government to do it may do at any time. We cannot be satisfied until it is made impossible for it to depart from strictly constitutional lines. The next safeguard relied upon is the enquiry by the "investigating authority." As you have seen from the conditions under which that enquiry is to be held it is nothing short of an unmitigated farce and can afford no real safeguard. The last argument in favour of the Act is that it is nowhere in force and will never be put in force unless occasion arises and then only in the part of country where such occasion arises. Here again the only determining authority is the executive though in this case it is the Governor-General in Council. It may be said that under the new Reform Act there will be three Indians in the Executive Council and at least they may be relied upon. But the executive does not change its character by being English or Indian. The point is that no executive in the world, however competent it may be, has any business to usurp the jurisdiction of duly constituted law courts or deprive the people of the protection afforded by them.

Much has been said of rumours and misrepresentations of the provision of the Act. I confess that I have not come across them except in Government "communiques" and some police evidence before the Martial Law Commissions. It is a remarkable fact that though these rumours were supposed to have emanated from the educated classes, not a single witness was called nor a single speech produced to fix any particular person with their authorship or circulation though the C. I. D. were everywhere in evidence. Indeed one of the popular cries in the Punjab put the main provisions of the Act in a nutshell.

No pleader, no appeal, no argument.

This is as true a description of the Act as any that can be given in six words, though the author of it has been convicted and sentenced by a Martial Law Commission.

Mr. Montagu has sought to defend this measure in his Budget speech in the House of Commons. He has resorted to special pleading and instead of justifying the principle of the Act has plunged into a consideration of the necessity to deal with anarchical crime. Political crime has to be dealt with, has to be rooted out, but I repeat, what has been said so often before, that no number of Rowlatt Acts or other repressive measures will put an end to it. The one and only way to cast it out is to remove the causes of discontent.

The most amazing part of Mr. Montagu's defence of the Act came when on being interrupted by an hon. member on the question of the accused being deprived of legal assistance, he said :—

"Yes Sir ; under Part I of the Act he has assistance, but under Parts II and III there is no legal assistance. This is not a law court but a committee of inquiry. It is more like a school master investigating trouble at a school, a committee of a club using its friendly services for the purposes of inquiry, somebody to explore all matters, somebody to see that injustice is not done, somebody to be sure that all the facts are investigated."

To compare the arrest and confinement without trial of a citizen, and numerous other restraints put on his liberty of action and speech, with the governance of a school or a club is, to say the least, adding a gross insult to a serious wrong ; it can only be accounted for by the oft-re-peated complaint that Mr. Montagu has recently, to push the Reform Bill through, lost all sense of proportion of other things Indian.

For these reasons I have no hesitation in asking you to express in no uncertain terms, what I know to be your considered opinion, that the Act is an ugly blot on the Indian statute book and must be removed without delay. The issue before us is, as Mahatma Gandhi has concisely put it, "is the will of the people to prevail or that of the Government"? The very existence of this measure puts a stain on our self respect and our national honour. But I feel confident that if you persist in your constitutional efforts you will get rid of it. For, as Mahatmaji says : "A Government be it ever so powerful and autocratic is bound to yield to unanimous public opinion. It is a bad outlook before us if truth and justice have to surrender to mere physical force whether it is wielded by an individual or a Government."

I apologise to you, fellow delegates, for having detained you even for the few minutes I have on the provisions of the inequitious measure. I have done so as this is the first opportunity for the Congress to pronounce its opinion on the Act and also because it marks the starting point of the recent trouble in the Punjab. I must not omit in this connection to express our keen appreciation of the high sense of public duty shown by those members of the Imperial Council who resigned their seats as a protest against the passing of the Act.

Satyagraha.

The Rowlatt Bills, bad as they were, were made even worse and more unacceptable to us by the environment in which they were set.

Mahatma Gandhi rightly pointed out that they were "the unmistakable symptom of the deep-seated disease in the governing body"—a disease which soon after broke out in all its virulence and naked ugliness. To fight this disease Mahatma Gandhi started the great Satyagraha movement. A new force was introduced into our politics, a force with the most tremendous potentialities. India's masses were suddenly awakened and the message of Satyagraha entered the humblest home. Some of us did not entirely agree with the wording of the Satyagraha pledge, many were of opinion that the time had not come for civil disobedience. But few, I imagine, can disagree with the essentials of the doctrine. These, as I conceive them, are truth, fearlessness and non-violence. And, as a corollary, I would add that it is the right of every man to refuse to obey any law which goes against his conscience and to which he cannot with due regard to truth submit, and to suffer the consequences for such disobedience. This is specially so where the laws are passed against the will of the people. I would here refer you to what an eminent American has said. Mr. Hadley, president of the Yale University, says "You can compell ignorant people to accept a statute, you can force bad men to obey it when they do not want to; but if a statute or a judicial decision passes the line of those duties which good and intelligent men as a body accept and impose upon themselves, it is at once nullified. The process of nullifying law has sometimes been called passive resistence."

The qualities I have mentioned above, whether you call them Satyagraha or by any other name, are essential if we are to take our rightful place amongst the nations of the world. We shall not be free or deserve freedom unless we have these qualities in ample measure. Unless we adhere to truth and discard fear we cannot get rid of the slave psychology, the outcome of generations of repression, which has been our sad inheritance And violence cannot avail us That is the special weapon of the west and cannot hope to win freedom by armed force. But even if we could do so it would be a barren victory, a victory which would degrade and coarsen us and make us less fit to enjoy the freedom we had so won We would develop the same vices against which we are contending now and in our turn would start the game of repression.

The spirit of Satyagraha was nobly shown by the great and peaceful demonstrations of the 6th of April. That day must remain a red letter day for India. It was the greatest event of the year. Some persons, ignorant of history and Indian tradition, have likened the hartal to the general strike after the manner of the west, and have called it the forerunner of riot and bloodshed. But the hartal

in India is a spiritual weapon, the old time method of showing sorrow, of having grievances redressed by patient suffering. It has from time immemorial been resorted to to express grief at a national calamity, sorrow at the loss of a loved citizen. It is not used as a threat, nor as a weapon against the forces of law and order. And this was fully shown on the Satyagraha Day when the mighty demonstrations passed off peacefully without the slightest conflict with the police or military.

Some words of Mahatma Gandhi have been distorted to mean that the Satyagraha movement was the cause of disturbances in India. Fellow delegates, I say most emphatically that this was not so. Neither Satyagraha nor the hartal was the cause except in so far as they greatly displeased the authorities and made them provoke the people. There was no civil disobedience of laws in the Punjab. Satyagraha flourished more in other parts of the country and yet there was no disturbance there. The hartals of the 6th April did not cause any breach of the peace. It was only after two popular leaders of this city had been suddenly deported and Mahatma Ghandhi, the most revered Indian of the day, had been arrested, that the passion of the populace broke loose in certain parts of the country. That would have been so even without Satyagraha or hartal. The disturbances were the result of the action of the authorities. They knew full well, in the Punjab at least, that the consequence of their provocative action would lead to trouble and they took measures accordingly.

Martial Law and after.

The events which followed must be fresh in your memory. Martial Law was enforced and for long the Punjab was almost cut off from the rest of the world. The truth was hidden from us and we had to rely on the one-sided accounts presented by Government for our benefit. Outsiders were not permitted to enter the charmed area, even Mr. Andrews being turned out of the province. Within a few days of the declaration of Martial Law the All Indian Congress Commitee demanded a full and impartial enquiry, and a little later appointed a Sub-Committee to conduct an enquiry. This Sub-Committee laboured for months and collected a greart deal of evidence. It was hoped to present this evidence to the official committee which had been announced.

Lord Hunter's Committee.

The appointment by the Government of India of Lord Hunter's Committee was most disappointing, but we waived our substantial

objections to it and decided to co operate provided only full facilities were given to us to represent the people's case. At the earliest possible opportunity we urged upon the Government that the presence of the Panjabee leaders, who were in jail, was necessary for a fair enquiry. For many days we were in frequent communication with the Panjab Government and we were led to believe that our requests were being favourably considered by them. We refrained from going to the press in order to avoid embarassing the Government and waited patiently for their answer. That answer came on the eve of the Hunter Committee's arrival in Lahore. You must have seen the correspondence subsequent to this and our Sub-Committee's statement which have already appeared in the papers, and I can add but little, I would only point out to you that we tried to meet the Government as much as possible. We modified our original request for the release of all the leaders during the enquiry and agreed to the presence of only one or two of them at that time in custody before Lord Hunter's Committee while evidence relating to them was being given. That was all we wanted and which the Government finally refused to give us. It was not an extravagant request. Even criminals have a right to be present in court during their trials The Panjabee leaders are not being tried in the technical sense but their actions are being judged, they are being attacked by official witnesses and much of the blame and responsibility for the disturbances is being cast on them. Yet they were not allowed the privilege of the meanest criminal although the officials of Government, who are as much on their trial and have at least as much to answer for, have had the fullest opportunities of appearing before the committee and conducting their case. Some of these officials have even been allowed the advantage of giving their evidence in camera. After the most anxious consideration the Sub-Committee came to the conclusion that "if it was to discharge the trust upon it, if it was to vindicate the national honour and the honour of the great Panjabee leader, if it was to see truth and innocence established, it could not possibly engage in an enquiry in which the people's party was so heavily handicapped." I feel confident that you will approve of and endorse the action your Sub-Committee took, and trust to its judgment in taking all necessary steps to obtain justice.

Meanwhile Lord Hunter's Committee has pursued the even tenor of its way, roused occasionally by some particularly callous official admission Their findings can but be ex parte decisions, based on the evidence of one party only. The other side of the shield will be presented to you by the Commissioners appointed by

your Sub-Committee, who have strenuously laboured to collect and shift the evidence for the people. I do not overlook the fact that the proceedings of your Commissioners are in the legal sense as ex parte as those of Lord Hunter's Committee. There is however this to be said that your Commissioners have the additional advantage of considering the evidence given before the Hunter Committee. They have for good reasons deferred publishing their report and the evidence on which it will be based and this Congress will not have the advantage of having their considerd opinion on the Panjab occurrences before it. This has also considerably handicapped me as in the absence of your commissioner's report, it is somewhat difficult for me to deal with some aspects of Martial Law.

But whatever findings the Commissioners appointed by the Congress Sub-Committee may arrive at, the central facts of the recent tragic events have now become so crystallised as to enable us to form an adequate idea of the true nature of the horrors through which the Panjab has just passed. These central facts are now matters of common knowledge and emerge clearly above the few controversial points which we may safely leave to our Commissioners. What we in this Congress are concerned with is not so much the fixing of individual responsibility for particular acts as the ascertainment of the spirit which runs through them all. I shall now by your leave touch on some of the main incidents and broad features of the occurrences which clearly indicate the spirit with which the people on the one side and the administration on the other were actuated.

Amritsar.

I shall take the case of Amritsar which stands out more prominently than any other as affording in itself a complete illustration of the spirit on either side.

The people of Amritsar observed the 6th April in the true Satyagraha spirit. So they did also the 9th April, the Ram Navami day, and Mahammadans gladly and eagerly joined their Hindu brethren in celebrating the festival. There was no violence, no threats, and the processionists played the English National Anthem in honour of the Deputy Commissioner. That showed the psychology of the people of Amritsar on that Ram Navami day, Hindus and Moslems observing the festival together, and both joining to do honour to the King Emperor. The next few hours brought a strange trasformation. The Bazaars were filled with mourning and the crowds that had rejoiced the night before, discarded their turbans and shoes in sorrow for they heard that two of their loved leaders had been suddenly deported. And, after the old Indian

fashion, they went unarmed and bare-headed towards the Deputy Commissioner's house to pray for the realise of their leaders. They were fired at, some were killed and a number wounded. But I shall not here deal with the circumstances of or the necessity for this firing. Again the temper of the crowed changed and as is the way with crowds, it rapidly went to the other extreme. The passion for vengeance took possession of it and some parts of the mob committed those excesses for which we Indians cannot but hang our heads in shame. Whatever the treatment they had been subjected to, whatever the provocation offered, nothing can justify the murders which they committed, the shameful assault which they perpetrated on a defenceless woman, the arson and plunder of which they were guilty.

Yet again, the mood changed. After two or three hours of madness, the people, or rather such of them as had been guilty of the outrages, recovered control of themselves. They saw the folly of their doings and, without the intervention of the police or military, of themselves stopped the destruction.

Such was the behaviour of the people of this city on those fateful days. The psychology of a crowd is a difficult thing to fathom, but I cannot but think that the history of those days would have been differently written if an attempt had been made to appreciate the view point of the people.

Let us now consider some of the doings of the officials and the spirit which actuated them. They did not appreciate the inner significance of Satyagraha or the 'hartal.' To them it was all a vast conspiracy, the forerunner of a second mutiny. They did not care to see what troubled the people, they did not search for the causes of this mighty movement. They looked upon the closing of shops and the meetings and the demonstrations as a personal insult to them. Even the fraternisation of Hindus and Moslems was anathema, an act in the great conspiracy. We all know what it is in this country for a body of men to walk bare-headed and bare-footed. It is the sign of deep grief, a token of a great calamity. But our rulers neither understand nor care to study the feelings and emotions of those whom they look upon as a subject race. In his evidence before Lord Hunter's Committee, Mr. Miles Irving, who was Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar at the time, was asked about the people who were proceeding to his house on the 10th. He stated :

"Yes, they were coming to my house, I understood. They were coming not to make any ordinary protest. When people come, they come properly clad, but these men had put off their 'pugrees' and shoes and they intended violence.

Question.—It might have been the sign of mourning?

Answer.—If it was mourning, it was violent mourning."

So, Mr. Miles Irving, after a life-time spent in the Indian Civil Service, thinks that the taking off of turbans and shoes is a sign of coming violence! Ignorance of the habits of a people is never excusable in one whose duty it is govern them. It becomes criminal when it leads to grave consequences.

The sudden deportation of Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal was a typical act of our administrators. Having convinced themselves that there was revolution in the air, that conspiracies were being hatched, that the wonderful calm of the 6th and 9th of April hid strange currents underneath, they took the only step which appeals to the mind of a bureaucrat. They knew that this would greatly upset the people, they knew that there might be trouble, but what matter? Could they not crush them with the "ample resources at their disposal? It did not strike them that the people could be reasoned with or could be conciliated. Nor did they think of having recourse to the ordinary law courts of the country. They do not believe in the intricacies or the delays of the law. They believe in making themselves the judges and meeting out swift and stern justice to their opponents.

The Jallianwala Bagh.

But saddest and most revealing of all was the great tragedy which occurred here on the Vaisakhi day. No Indian and no true Englishman can hear the story of the Khuni Bagh, as it is now aptly called, without a sickening feeling of horror. Our friend Mr. C. F. Andrews, to whom this province and our country is so much indebted, has described it "as a cold and calculated massacre." He says 'I have gone into every single detail with all the ease and thoroughness that a personal investigation could command and it remains to me an unspeakable disgrace, indefensible, unpardonable, inexcusable." Such is the verdict of an Englishman. What words, fellow delegates, can I use to express your feelings and mine whose kith and kin were mercilessly shot down hy the hundred in cold blood? Well may we grieve in the words of the Persian Poet—

(Our country is flooded with sorrow and woe.
O, for our land woe!
Arise and for coffin and cerements glow!
O, for our land woe!
With the blood of our men killed in this pursuit
The moon shines red;

Hill, plain, and garden blood-red glow:
O, for our land woe !)

The facts of this incident are before you, they have largely been admitted by the authorities. But I am not aware of any condemnation from the authorities. I do not know of any high official who has protested against this grim occurrence. That is a revelation of official mentality which staggers me. General Dyer, the author of the deed has almost boasted of his achievement. He had sought to justify it. To him it was a "merciful act" to fire without warning on an inoffensive crowd because it might have made fun of him if he had refrained from doing so. He admits that he could have dispersed it without firing but that would have been derogatory to his dignity as a defender of law and order. And so, in order to maintain his self-respect, he thought it his duty to "fire and fire well" till his ammunition was exhausted and 2,000 persons lay dead and wounded. There ended his duty. It was none of his business, he tells us, to look after the dead and wounded. It was no one's business. The defenders of law and order had won a great victory, they had crushed the great rebellion. What more was needed ?

This is the deed which received the benedictions of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. This is the deed which has been defended by official after official before Lord Hunter's Committee. The plea of necessity is raised, the plea that the massacre produced a good effect on the surrounding districts. We have heard of these excuses before when Louvain was razed to the ground, when atrocities were committed at Dinant and Tarmonde. For these crimes against humanity the late Kaiser and his underlings are going to be tried. But General dyer is secure. His late chief has blessed him and his colleagues in the civil and military administration of this country stand by him and applaud his deed.

Crawling.

The shooting in the Jallianwala Bagh was not the only feats which General Dyer performed. His subsequent conduct was no less revealing of his perverted state of mind. He tells us that he "searched his brain" for a new punishment, a new terror for the people—something, as General Hudson put at in the Imperal Council, to "strike the imagination". And the punishment that was devised did credit to General Dyer's ingenuity and ferocity. It was worthy of the days of the Inquisition. All Indians who happened to pass through a certain lane were forced to crawl on their bellies like worms. This was the punishment meted out to all

innocent and peaceful men who went that way because some hooligans had attacked Miss Sherwood in the lane some days before. No better method could have been devised to humble the people to the dust.

Of the other measures taken in Amritsar by General Dyer—the flogging in public places, the enforced salaaming, the cruel treatment of the best and most respected citizens—I shall not say much. They all tell the same tale of brutal terrorism, the attempt to crush the spirit of the people.

Lahore.

General Dyer was not the only apostle of this cult. There were many others who tried to rival his exploits in the other districts under Martial Law. Lt. Col. Frank Johnson, the expert from Bechuanaland, pursued the policy of "thoroughness" in the Lahore area. A "false and malicious" rumour that the Government intended to interfere with the marriage customs of the people was contradicted by the official "communique" from Simla and the contradiction was given due publicity. The rumour was set down as a base lie and a Mohammadan marriage was arranged in a village not far from Lahore. It so happened that the whole marriage party, including the bridegroom, the priests and the guests, were flogged for having dared to assemble together during the Martial Law days. Col. Johnson has now been pleased to express his regret for this flogging and to tell us that it was due to the absence of tact in the official concerned. He himself exercised this "blessed virtue" by arresting 500 students and the professors of the Sanatam Dharma College and confining them in the fort because a Martial Law notice was damaged by some unknown person. He welcomed the opportunity of doing so, he "was looking for it" He tells us that he was waiting for an opportunity to bring home to the people the power of Martial Law. To him a walk of 16 miles daily for the students for three weeks in the scorching Lahore sun of April and May was no hardship. It was "ordinary physical training of a mild form." But perhaps the most noticeable example of the tact and mentality of Col. Johnson was his order prohibiting more than two Indians from walking abreast. He tells us :—

"If more than two natives come and do not give way to a European, that is likely to lead to breach of the peace."

Question.—Who would commit the breach of the peace, the European ?

Answer—Undoubtedly.

Question—You think he would be justified in doing so?
Answer—Certainly.

And yet we are told of equal partnership in the Empire and are asked to rejoice over the peace which has given this to us!

Gujranwala and Bombing.

In Gujranwala Col. O'Brien held sway, serene in the knowledge that he could do what he wished without let or hindrance. The Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government had assured him, even prior to Martial Law, that his actions would be subsequently validated This simple fact furnishes a more illuminating commentary on the new Indemnity Act than all the learned arguments of Sir George Lowndes in the Imperial Council. We can now understand the whole-hearted support given to the measure by the Hon'ble the Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government and appreciate the wisdom of the provision in the Act which throws on the complainant the burden of proving want of good faith in the accused official when he is armed with a certificate from a Secretary to the Government.

One of the steps taken by Col. O'Brien on the assurance of the Chief Secretary was to arrest Gauhar Singh, a lambardar, aged 60 years. Col. O'Brien states: "Gauhar Singh himself had committed no offence but his two sons were wanted by the police and they were not forthcoming and that was why their old father was arrested. He told us that he did not know where his sons had gone. An order was also passed confiscating his property. The order stated that until the arrest of Gauhar Singh's sons his property would be confiscated, that he be dismissed from the post of lambardar, and any one touching his property or cutting his crops would be shot." No comment from me is necessary.

In Gujranwalla, as you are all aware, the gentle art of bombing from aeroplanes was practised, a bomb being actually dropped on a school boarding-house full of boys. The manner in which bombs were dropped may be gathered from Lt. Dodkin's statement. He says: "I saw twenty or 30 people in a field talking to one another and dropped bombs on them. I did not know who they were, whether they had assembled for an unlawful purpose, but I bombed as my orders were to disperse crowds."

Another part of this district has come to be known as the Bosworth Smith area in memory of the horrors it underwent under the rule of a member of the Indian Civil Service who for years past was in disgrace with the Punjab Government but was selected

as specially qualified to administer Martial Law justice, and has since been rewarded by promotion.

Kasur.

In Kasur Capt. Doveton evolved fancy and novel punishments for the people and sought to teach them how to observe the ancient customs of India by touching the ground with their foreheads. He also had men stripped and flogged in the presence of prostitutes. His brother officer Lt. Col. Macrae meanwhile amused himself by having school boys flogged in public in order to set an example to all evil doers. The bigger boys were picked out at random, perhaps they could bear the whipping better. They were not guilty of any offence, "It was their misfortune" Col. MacIrne tells us, and I take it that the punishment he awarded was in good faith. All the male inhabitants, boys and men, ten thousand in number, had to present themselves for the identification parade. The men arrested, 150 in number, were put in a cage placed on the station platform, and a public gallows was erected, entirely at the instance of the Punjab Government, before any one was tried or condemned to death—as Col. Macrae informs us.

Hindu-Muslim Unity.

Besides the attempt to terrorize the people, the Punjab officials aimed a blow at the most valuable asset of our political life, the union between Hindus and Mahommedans. You are aware, fellow delegates, of the pathetic scenes of fraternization between Hindus and Muslims which took place during the recent disturbances at Delhi, Lahore and other places accompanied with shouts of "Hindu Musalman ki Jai. These expressions of fellowship in a common trouble were treated by the Punjab officials as heinous crimes amounting to open rebellion and waging war against the King, and a new offence was created which was defined as "fraternisation of Hindus and Mohammadans against the Government by law established." One of the most shameful acts of the Martial Law authorities was to ridicule the Hindu-Muslim entente publicly in various ways. The admission of Hindus to the Mahomedan mosques and of Mahomedans to the Hindu temples, the drinking of water, of 'sherbet', from out of the same glass by Hindu and Mahomedan were unmistakable signs of a far deeper union of the two than could be looked upon with equanimity by those who were interested in keeping them apart. And an attempt was made under official inspiration during the closing days of Martial Law to found separate political

associations or 'Sabhas' for Hindus, Mahomedans and Sikhs. I do not know what progress has been made in this direction but I trust that my fellow countrymen of all communities will refrain from swallowing this fatal bait.

I have referred you, fellow delegates, to a very few of the admitted facts. It is not possible for me here to go into all the harrowing details of the numerous atrocities committed in the name of law and order. For these you will have to wait for the report of your Commissioners and the evidence they are collecting. Meanwhile I would beg of you to read carefully the evidence which has been tendered before Lord Hunter's Committee. I would request you to note the overbearing attitude of the official witnesses and their arrogance to the Indian members of the committee. That will give you a greater insight into the official mind than any words of mine can convey. That will give you some idea of what our breathren in the Punjab have had to go through. And I would have you remember that these were the officers who presided over the Martial Law Summary Courts, who dispensed justice and inflicted heavy punishments and flogging.

Necessity for Martial Law.

The question of the necessity or otherwise of the application of Martial Law to the situation which arose in April last is a question on which also we must await the considered opinion of our Commissioners on all the evidence taken by them and that tendered before Lord Hunter's Committee. The Government case has been put as high as it possibly could be before the latter so far as the opinion of the authorities as to the real nature of the disturbances, and their apprehensions at the time as to what they might eventually lead to, are concerned. The point is whether their opinion and apprehensions were based on facts or were the result of panic. I shall abstain from embarassing either our own Commissioners or Lord Hunter's Committee by offering at this stage any definite opinion of my own for your acceptance. But I think I am fully within my rights in pointing out that the question is not so much whether there was necessity for the application of Martial Law at any time as whether it was necessary when it was actually applied. It may be that Martial Law could be justified if it had been introduced at the time when the disturbances were actually going on, but it is an admitted fact that it was not so applied. What was done was to call on the military to help the civil administration, which is well within the discretion of every Magistrate under our Criminal Law, but is very different from Martial Law. Whether or not it was necessary to hand over the entire civil administration to the military on the dates on which the

Martial Law Ordinances and notifications relating to each district were issued is the next question before your Commissioners as well as Lord Hunter's Committee. I shall content myself with laying before you the official view. Mr. Kitchin, the Commissioner of Lahore Division, has stated that Martial Law was not wanted for the purpose of recovering control but in order to prevent the spread of infection, and specially for the speedy trial of the numerous persons who had been arrested. Mr. Miles Irving tells us that the necessity for the continuance of Martial Law did not depend on anything that happened in his district. It depended on outside factors, on the situation on the frontier. General Dyer tells us that the city of Amritsar was a "model of law and order" after the 13th April.

Whatever the finding of your Commissioners and Lord Hunter's Committee as to the initial necessity for martial law may be, there is not the slightest doubt, on the admissions made by the official witnesses before Lord Hunter's Committee, that there was absolutely no justification for keeping it in force for the unconscionable length of time during which its horrors continued to be perpetrated. Admittedly it was not required to maintain law and order and the only justification pleaded, besides the old story of the dangers arising from the proximity of the frontier, is that it enabled the offenders to be brought to speedy justice. But the Government had ample powers under the statute law to constitute special tribunals for the trial of offenders and these would not have taken much longer to dispose of the cases than the Martial Law Commissions and Summary Courts did. The only difference would have been that people would have been saved the sufferings and indignities to which they were subjected under cover of Martial Law and that the accused would have had the advantage of defending themselves by counsel of their choice. The trend of the whole official evidence before Lord Hunter's Committee is that Martial Law was not required to meet the immediate necessities of the administration but merely for the purpose of striking terror into the hearts of the people, so as to avoid possible trouble in the future. I am of course not aware what secrets of state have been imparted to the Hunter Committee in camera by the Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government and General Hudson. But so far as the open proceedings before the Committee go I can affirm with confidence that it was a gross abuse of Martial Law for which all concerned are liable to answer.

Martial Law Death Sentences.

I do not intend discussing any of the hundreds of cases disposed of by the Martial Law Commissions and the Summary

and Area Courts. They have caused the greatest misery to the people, the suffering which endures. Hundreds still lie in jail, many for having done what no honest man need be ashamed of. You will have some idea of the sentences inflicted when I tell you that 108 persons were sentenced to death and the aggregate sentences of imprisonment amounted to the stupendous total of 7371 years and 5 months (allowing 20 years for a sentence of transportation for life.) The figures for whippings, forfeitures, fines and impositions on villages and towns are not yet fully available. Those I have given for imprisonments have been compiled from the official statements presented to the Imperial Council. I am told that even these figures are incomplete and that the official statements do not contain many cases. Many of these sentences have been largely reduced by the present Lieutenant Governor. Clemency has been shown where justice was needed. Injustice cannot be tempered with mercy. Sir Edward Maclagan is a kindly gentleman who has tried to mitigate the rigours of his prdecessor's regime but he has not had the courage or the wisdom to break through the evil traditions he has inherited.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer's Responsibility

Such in briefest outline is the story of the Punjab. The responsibility of Sir Michael O'Dwyer for much that occurred here is admitted and established beyond doubt. I have endeavoured to show you the whole trend of his administration. It would appear that he was striving to make the Punjab a kind of Ulster in relation to the rest of India, a bulwark of reaction against all reform. "We now seem to be drifting into what is known as Birrellism in Ireland," he complained, "truckling to the extremists, encouraging the idea that we are going to hand over the administration to them." And even in his memorandum on the Reforms he could not help lamenting that the Punjab politicians, "hitherto quiescent, were encouraged to assert themselves, and to come into line with other Provinces". To him there was little difference between a constitutional agitator and an anarchist. For both he had the same remedy—repression. But the remedy failed him and but increased the disease. And then he played his master card and brought in Martial Law to kill once for all the breed that agitates. He has failed again in his endeavour, but his policy has resulted in death for many and in utmost misery for thousands. For that he is fully responsible. He is responsible for the actions of General Dyer and his military colleagues in Amritsar; he is

also responsible for the doings of his subordinates in the other districts under Martial Law.

Lord Chelmsford's Responsibility.

But what shall we say of Lord Chelmsford? He must have known, or ought to have known, what was happening in the Punjab. The Congress Committee repeatedly drew his attention to it. Did he seek to interfere or cut short the agony? Has he received or considered any representation from this affected province, presented to him from any sources, which are not strictly official? Was he shown us any sympathy? Has he even been into the heart of the province to acquaint himself by personal enquiry on the spot concerning the tragedies which have taken place? We have not even heard that his "heart has bled for Amritsar." Lord Chelmsford occupies a very exalted position. He has received that position at the hands of his King and as a trust from the English people. How has he served his King and fulfilled this trust? Has he faithfully and adequately discharged his duty to his King and to his fellow countrymen by his persistent refusal to listen or to interfere, by his aloofness and by his absence from the scene of these happenings, when hundreds of His Majesty's subjects were done to death by the military and thousands put to shameful indignity?

Englishmen are, I believe, proud of the justice of British rule and zealous of their reputation. May I not ask them to consider whether Lord Chelmsford has shown himself an active guardian of their honour and worthy of the trust which they had reposed in him? Indians seek for justice at the hands of the British Democracy. Will they tolerate this "frightfulness" in India and shield the authors of it? That is the acid test to British policy in India. On the answer to that depends the future goodwill of the Indian people.

The Lesson of the Punjab.

Fellow delegates, I have ventured to trespass on your time to a considerable extent in dealing with the Punjab and the other matters which have acquired a special significance on account of the recent disturbances. Much has of late been said and written about the Punjab, much still remains. But the lessons which the crowded events of the year have to teach us and the English people are clear. To us they point to the path of steadfast endeavour, the path of sacrifice and patient ordeal. That is the only way to reach our goal. To Englishmen they teach the

oft-repeated truth that tyranny degrades those who exercise it as much as those who suffer under it. And so it is that England, of old the champion of liberty, assumes a different guise in parts of her own dominions. England went to war to fight for the freedom of small nationalities, and yet a big nation under her sway continues to be unfree. In Belgium the German doings were condemned, but in India we still have the pure milk of Prussianism. And the man governed by the Prussian idea is much the same whether he is in the west or in the east. The logic of force is the only argument which appeals to him; military necessity justifies all severities. The object is always to stike terror and an act however "frightful" appears to him "merciful." Ordinary morality and humanity do not influence him and cruelty itself becomes laudable. It is for England to learn the lesson and put an end to conditions which permit these occurrences in her own dominions. If our lives and honour are to remain at the mercy of an irresponsible executive and military, if the ordinary rights of human beings are denied to us, then all talk of reform is a mockery. Constitutional reform without free citizenship is like rich attire on a dead body. Better to breathe God's free air in rags than be a corpse in the finest raiment.

The Government of India Act.

I shall now proceed to consider the new Reforms Act which has just been ushered into an expectant world after much travail and bitter controversy. We have been told by its sponsors in Parliament that it is a great measure, unique in English history, and that it gives us extensive powers. Some of our countrymen have welcomed it with open arms, others have condemned it. It is for this Congress now to consider it and formulate the country's verdict.

It has to be remembered that the situation which this Congress has to deal with is very different to what it was when the Special and Delhi Congresses met last year. Those Congresses had various schemes and proposals before them and it was open to them to accept such as appealed to them in the best interests of the country and reject others. The Montagu-Chelmsford proposals have now blossomed into an Act of Parliament and we must approach its provisions with all the respect due to the expressed will of Parliament which has been assented to by the Sovereign. The passing of the Act and the prospect of its being put into operation at an early date impose upon us here assembled the duty of examining its provisions with a view to laying down the policy

for the country and the working of the electoral, political and administrative machinery, old and new. It does not however impose upon the Congress the duty, to accept, nor does it confer upon the Congress the power to reject the measures which Parliament has decided to introduce and carry out. In my humble opinion neither the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committe .nor the proceedings of Parliament which enacted the Bill into law furnish any reason for the Congress to reconsider and revise the verdict it gave last year on the true requirements of the country. In certain respects those requirements have been partially met, in others they have not been given the weight due to them, either for reasons which do not appeal to us or for no reasons at all. The Act is not based on the wishes of the people of India and its provisions fall short of the minimum demands made by the Congress. But let us not belittle the good that the Act does us. We must recognise that it gives us some power and opens out new avenues of service for us which had hitherto been closed to Indians. I venture to think that our clear duty in these circumstances is to make the most of what we have got and at the same time to continue to press for what is our due. As Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has said : "take advantage of whatever reforms are introduced into the Government of the country, lay down a fuller and a juster programme for the nation, and let every one concerned know that you consider yourselves bound by none of the provisions to which you have taken exception, and go on using your influence to get what you want." Mr. Montagu has laboured strenuously for us and we must express our appreciation of his work and his sincere desire to advance our national aspirations. He has expressed the apprehension that agitation would not hasten the transference of power but might delay it. Lord Middleton in the House of Lords has gone further and declared that the continuance of agitation in order to obtain further concessions would be absolutely fatal to the future of India." We cannot share Mr. Montagu's apprehensions because of the faith in us, and as for Lord Middleton's warning we may ignore it in the assurance that the future of India does not rest in his Lordship's hands. In the course of the same debate Lord Meston was able from his own personal experience to assure the House of Lords that the "agitation in India was only evidence of something deeper. The spirit of nationalism bred in the soul and nurtured by our methods and our example lay below the whole political movement in India to-day. That spirit was spreading rapidly through all classes." This spirit of nationalism cannot rest content unless

all our demands are acceded to. Therefore I would beg of you to work the new reforms, utilise them for the betterment of the country and continue to press and agitate for our full demands.

The Declaration of Rights.

The Act, as I have said, gives us some power, but it does not give us free citizenship or the power to check the misuse by the executive of the functions of law and order. It ignores the insistent demand of the country for a Declaration of Rights. This demand was clearly formulated by the Special Congress at Bombay and it was reiterated at Delhi last year. Subsequent events have but emphasised the necessity for it. No constitution can meet our needs unless it is accompanied with a guarantee and a clear declaration of our elementary rights which have recently been so ruthlessly violated in the Punjab No Indian can be blind to the fact that the protection of our fundamental civic liberties is a matter of the most urgent consequence. No statesman can shut his eyes to the supreme moral necessity of securing the faith of the Indian people in the inviolability of their rights of citizenship.

Our demand for a Declaration of Rights was placed before the Parliamentary Joint Committee. It was ably pressed before them by our deputation, but the committee did not give it even the courtesy of a brief notice in their report. We are thus left in the dark as to the reasons why this most natural demand has not been acceded to.

Without these rights, as some of the most distinguished publicists in England have stated recently in a manifesto, "British freedom is a mockery." It is obvious that all these traditional rights have been set at nought in India by the combined operation of the Indian D. O. R. A, the numerous repressive measures on our statute book and the cult of Martial Law.

History teaches us that wherever the liberties of a people have been placed at the mercy of an executive possessing the power to enact all the laws it wanted, the advent of self-government has been preceded or accompanied by a statutory declaration of rights. This is what we find in most of the continental constitutions of Europe and in the American constitution. Even in respect of India, the British Parliament has in the past expressed a desire to protect the fundamental liberties of the people. As early as 1833 when Parliament first set itself to reconstitute the Indian legislature, it specifically limited the powers of this body by a historic clause, the full meaning of which has often been ignored by the Indian Government and the Indian courts. The Indian legislature, it

declared, is to have no power "to make any law affecting the authority of Parliament or any part of the ancient laws of the constitution of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland whereon may depend in any degree the allegiance of any person to the Crown of the United Kingdom". But notwithstanding this the steady tendency of the executive in India has been to ignore the implications of this limitation of the Indian legislature. The Congress has rightly therefore been on its guard against this danger which lay in the proposals for reform. In considering these proposals and in suggesting modifications to them, it has rested upon one essential condition, that whatever the scheme of reforms may be, it should include as an indispensable part thereof a Declaration of Indian Rights. Judging from Indian conditions alone, it is imperative for this Congress to state that without a repeal of the existing repressive law and a guarantee of the future inviolability of our civic rights, no reforms in the constitutional machinery of the country can be regarded as satisfying our immediate requirements. They will not lessen the risks or the rigours of any future reign of terror that might at any time be inaugurated in the country by a panic-stricken executive.

It has been said that a demand for the declaration of Indian rights is unsupported by constitutional precedent within the Empire and inconsistent with a demand for full Home Rule. But we are still very far from full Home Rule, even under the new dispensation, and the bureaucratic agents of Parliament in India would still be in practically uncontrolled exercise of the power to suspend and suppress civic liberties. But even if India gets full Home Rule within the Empire, it is difficult to see why a declaration of Indian rights should necessarily be considered inconsistent with the demand for full legislative powers for the Indian assemblies. It is true that in many British constitutions conferring full responsible government, the need of specific guarantees has not been felt owing to the protection afforded by the great principles flowing from the rule of Common Law I have referred to above. But in cases where it was found that the tendency of the executive to encroach upon fundamental liberties was pronounced, the necessity of imposing limitations on the powers of even such responsible legislatures has been recognised and acted upon. I shall here only cite the latest example of this kind which occurred when the late Liberal Government passed the Irish Home Rule Act. Section 4 of this Act provides, among other things :

"The powers of the Irish Legislature shall not extend to the making of any new law.....

"Whereby any person may be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law, or may be denied the equal protection of the laws, or whereby private property may be taken without just compensation.

Any law made in contravention of this section shall be void."

It may be stated in this connection that the American Commonwealth has made a special feature of this Declaration of Rights both in the Federal and in the State Constitutions. At the time when the Federal Constitution was originally framed, at the conclusion of the War of Independence, the propposal to embody a Declaration of Rights in the Constitution was discussed. This was given up owing to the delay involved in settling its terms in time for the Convention, but within a few years the necessity for doing so became apparent and the constitution was so amended as to include the Declaration of Rights The terms of the declaration are far wider than those asked for by the Indian National Congress which, in fact, has only adopted some of the important clauses of that section in the American Constitution.

The latest and the most instructive instance is that of the Phillipines. The United States have not only conferred self-government on them at the earliest possible opportunity but have granted to them, under the constitution established by the Jones Law, a Declaration of Rights similar to their own.

General.

Coming to the provisions of the new Act, we find that a considerable part of this measure is in the nature of a blank cheque. The filling up of this cheque is left to the Executive Government of India subject to the supervision of the Secretary of State. This process may make or mar whatever benefits are intended to be conferred by the very large number of proposals which are subject to the extensive rule-making powers provided under the Act. There are yet further commissions or committees to come, and further investigations to be made in order to settle details. It is on the completion of this work that the Act will be fully put into operation.

Announcement of August 20th.

The Joint Committee of the Houses of Parliament have, no doubt, made improvements in some of the provisions of the original Bill. But as they themselves declare, they have definitely accepted the substantial parts of the Bill and of the scheme of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report which it embodied, as conceived in

the spirit and as interpreting with "scrupulous accuracy" the policy of His Majesty's Government announced on the 20th August, 1917. The Congress at Calcutta in 1917 pronounced the country's view on the policy of this announcement, the Special Congress in Bombay in August 1918 voiced our opinion on the Reform Report Scheme, while the Delhi Congress in December last, at the conclusion of the great war, declared the demands of the country for freedom, justice and self-determination. But at every stage of evolution of this constitutional enactment, the right of the people of India or of the Congress, to have the guiding voice in the settlement of their own self-governing institutions has not only been ignored, but has been definitely declared not to exist.

The Joint Committee of Parliament who, it was hoped, would improve the spirit of the Bill, took as narrow a view of the scope and policy of the Bill as the Government of India desired them to do in their latest representations. They have no doubt endorsed cordially the policy of the eventual realisation of responsible self-government in India, but they have denied that India is at present fit for it and they have declared that the announcement did not give any promise of even "the grant of partial responsibility" at present. They have also repudiated our demand for the application of the principle of self-determination. The Bill seeks to provide according to the Joint Committee, the solution for the problem enunciated in the declaration of His Majesty's Government of the 20th August, 1917, which is described to be "to design the first stage in a measured progress towards responsible government." The nature and scope of this first stage, they say, have been misunderstood by the critics of the scheme. "Its critics forget," we are told, "that the announcement spoke of a substantial step in the direction of the gradual development of self-governing institutions, not of the partial introduction of responsible government; and it is this distinction which justifies the method by which the Bill imposes responsibility both on Ministers to the Legislative Council and on the members of the Legislative Council to their constituents, for the results of that part of the administration which is transferred to their charge." The hesitation and the reserve, the suspicion and caution that have thus characterised their report, seriously impair the value of their final proposals, which otherwise could have been improved and liberalised by them without risk to the peace, safety or tranquility of India. The extent to which this narrow spirit has pervaded their report is clearly indicated in its initial paragraphs.

The Joint Committee, evidently under Lord Selborne's guidance, set to expand the preamble to the Act so as to bring all the qualifying clauses and restrictive conditions of the 20th August announcement within its compass in order to give "equal value" to all the parts thereof. This expansion, however, has had one good effect, evidently due, as paragraph 7 of the report indicates but does not admit, to the strong presentation of the Congress case by our deputation before the Committee. The preamble has substituted Parliament in place of the Indian and the British Government as the authority upon whom responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian people. The Joint Committee have acted on the assumption that the Bill is only intended to give the Indian people an opportunity, "a generous opportunity"—whatever that may mean—"of learning the actual business of Government." Their constant anxiety has been to preserve as the essential feature of the Bill the guardianship of the peace and the responsibility for the duties of administration during this period in the hands of the Governor-General in Council. This has seriously affected the attempts which they have in other ways made to remove defects in the original scheme of the Bill. I shall refer only to a few examples in this connection.

Grand Committees and Legislation by Ordinance.

The plan proposed in the original Bill was to empower the Governor or Governor-General to certify what he deemed essential proposals of legislation or essential supplies and to get them enacted or passed through the machinery of an official "bloc" This machinery was to consist of a Grand Committee in the provinces and of the Council of State in the Central Legislature. This plan was found so reactionary and objectionable that the Joint Committee rightly decided on finally abandoning it. This is a matter of some satisfaction to the Congress and its deputation who laid stress on the positively retrogressive character of this part of the scheme. Lord Meston had finally to acknowledge that the institution of Grand Committees would, in fact, reduce in certain respects some of the existing powers of the present Provincial Councils. It was indeed believed, until the Joint Committee's Report was actually published that the alternative machinery which would be set up for the purpose of securing emergency or essential legislation or supplies would be a somewhat extended variation of what the Congress actually proposed at the Special Session in Bombay in 1918, viz., that of making temporary Ordinances. The Moderate deputation had, however,

expressed their willingness to support the original Grand Committee and the Council of State scheme. The London "Times" which made a forecast of the report before it was issued stated the position in the following terms :—

"The alternative in contemplation is to give a wider range to the power residing in the Governor-General, in cases of emergency, to make ordinances which have the force of law for a period of not more than six months. During this time, if permanence were deemed necessary, the Bill would again come before the Provincial Legislature, and in the event of a second rejection the question would be referred to the Secretary of State, who would take the advice thereon of the Parliamentary Select Committee. This would mean much coming to London of Indian deputations to give evidence or influence opinion, and would operate in a sense against the principle, at the root of self-government, that Indian affairs should be decided as far as possible in India. But the politicians tell us that that principle can not be too dogmatically applied so long as the Executive can on occasion disregard the Legislature. It is desirable to see the detail of the plan before definite opinions are formed as to its merits compared with the Grand Committee method. But this, at least may be said : wherever in the British Dominions the Executive is in a permanent minority in the Legislature, essential laws are secured through ordinance making powers, and the final decision as to their permanence rests with His Majesty's Government in London, usually through the agency of the Secretary of State for the Colonies."

In spite of such considerations, the Joint Committee finally decided to give power to the head of the Indian executive to enact prior to sanction by the Secretary of State and subject only to his subsequent ratification or disallowance. The final proposals in this behalf that have now received Parliamentary assent are bound to cause disappointment over the whole country.

Fellow delegates, much as I appreciate the abandonment of the Grand Committee and of the original plan for the constitution of the Council of State, much as I value the passing away of the fictitious and unreal procedure therein involved, I cannot reconcile myself to the idea that a single individual, be he the wisest and most responsible man on earth, should be invested even in an emergency with the power to enact laws affecting a fifth of the human race. We have had only too bitter an experience of the truth which Lord Morley has crystallized in one of his aphorisms, that "Public Safety, Social Order and similar phrases easily become but fair names for a Reign of Terror" I do not ignore the

fact that assurances were given by Mr. Montagu in the House of Commons and recommendations have been made by the Joint Committee, that the exercise of this power by the Governor or Governor-General would be subject to the scrutiny both of the Secretary of State and of a Standing Committee of the House of Commons. I am aware that Mr. Montagu has stated that all important cases would be brought up before the House by the Indian Secretary and would be made, whenever he deemed it needful, matter of debate or resolution by the House. But we know what all such invitations for the voluntary interest of Parliament amount to There is no statutory guarantee that only the Parliament or the House of Commons—not the Minister of the Crown, who is usually and necessarily the mouthpeice of the Governor-General—shall, during the transition period, sanction laws which the Indian Legislature may have wrongly refused to enact. Unless this is provided, the risk of the abuse of what are called reserved powers will remain very real. It has also been argued that the very magnitude of the powers thus lodged in the hands of the Governors and Governor-General would operate as a check against their frequent exercise, and it is also contended that the tension that may be produced by its abuse may develop situations which would result in its disuse or abolition. If the power thus given is not to be exercised or if its exercise will lead to its abolition, there is no necessity whatever to provide for it. However this may be, so far as our present situation goes, our experience of the Government of India's responsibility or responsiveness to public opinion is most disheartening. Verbal assurances by well-meaning politicians have not availed against the wilful misapplication of existing powers, nor have understandings and conventions availed us against the determination of obstinate bureaucrats to over-ride them Weapons of repression which had been in disuse and had rusted for a century, have been taken out of their ancient armoury and employed with a rigour of which the Punjab has borne the brunt. Coerceive powers intended for war purposes have been deliberately perverted for suppressing normal and legitimate political activity or agitation. We have known how even resolutions of the House of Commons have been treated as inconsequential 'ipse dixits' of a far-off assembly. It is indeed surprising that with his intimate knowledge of the past record of the Indian Government Mr. Montagu should have seriously contended that the statutory protection of Parliament on this most important matter should be left to understandings, especially when some other matters of less consequence have been made to depend

for their validity or their continuance on a vote of either House of Parliament under this very Act. It was possible in 1913 for a reactionary House of Lords to protect the interests of the bureaucracy and veto the over-due reform of providing the United Provinces with an executive Council. Even a most liberal House of Commons may find it very difficult, except with the consent of the Indian Secretary, to veto as of right under the present statute an obnoxious repressive measure which the Indian executive may have carried over the head of the representative legislative authority in the land.

Powers of Governors and the Governor-General.

The sum total of the reserved powers in the hands of the Government or Governor-General in respect of legislation is indeed enormous. In the first place, he has the usual power of vetoing a law passed by the legislature. He has also another power given to him under the new Reform Act to stop the progress of a Bill in the Legislature and even prevent the discussion of the whole or any part of a Bill, if he thinks that it affects the safety or tranquility of any part of a province. And then, in addition to all this, he has the power to enact affirmatively, over-riding the opposition of the Legislature, any law on the same ground subject to the subsequent sanction of the Secretary of State. We are deeply grateful to Colonel Wedgwood and Mr. Ben Spoor and other British friends, who put forward the Congress case before the House of Commons, in this and in other respects. The amendment proposed by Colonel Wedgwood, to permit at least a free discussion of Bills and motions in all cases by the legislature concerned, was opposed by Mr. Montagu and rejected by the House. In the result, we have only to trust to the extra good sense and statesmanship of the new race of governors we are promised, and to the increased interest in Indian affairs which the House of Commons is expected to evince in future.

The Budget.

If the powers of the Governors and the Governor-General in legislation are so wide and unrestricted, their powers in regard to the Budget appear to me on close examination nearly as wide and far-reaching. The decision of the Joint Committee to reject the scheme of separate purses in the provinces is no doubt a just and correct one, based on the practical unworkability and unsoundness of the proposals made, but I cannot say that the alternative procedure they have now settled with the approval of Parliament is in

any way consistent with the existence of a really effective budget right in the Legislative Council. The operative part of the new scheme is as follows :—

> "They advise that, if the Governor in the course of preparing either his first or any subsequent budget finds that there is likely to be a serious or protracted difference of opinion between the Executive Council and his Ministers on this subject, he should be empowered at once to make an allocation of revenue and balance between the reserved and transferred subjects, which would continue for at least the whole life of the existing legislative council."

It will be remembered that it is the power not to "direct" but to influence and eventually to control the policy of reserved subjects, through the Budget, that was all along demanded by us and was believed to have been conceded by the Reform scheme. In this matter there existed no difference of opinion whatever between several sections of progressive Indians. In the Bombay Moderates' memorandum this was the position expected to result from the Budget proposals in the original Reform scheme. The Government of India were alarmed at this possibility and in consequence propounded their separate purses scheme, which has now been abandoned. It was at this time that Sir Sankaran Nair wrote his masterly dissenting minutes for which, and for the courageous attitude he took up on the Punjab question, the country will ever remain grateful. In the course of one of these minutes he accurately described the popular attitude towards the Budget proposals in the following words :—

> "Notwithstanding much that could be said against the Reforms Report scheme, a number of critics rallied to its support for the reason, among others, that it provided for a unified budget and for its being voted by the Legislature... .....The control by the Legislature must in any event be regarded as indispensable if the Reforms are to be worth anything in the eye of even the supporters of the scheme."

It is exactly this right and power in respect of reserved subjects that the Joint-Committee have definitely negatived. They say :—

> "The budget should not be capable of being used as a means for enabling ministers or a majority of the Legislative Council to direct the policy of reserved subjects: but on the other hand the Executive Council should be helpful to ministers in their desire to develop the departments entrusted to their care."

Thus, not only can the Governor settle the Budget of a province

for three years if he anticipates trouble, not only can he prevent the minister or the legislature from making any attempt to direct the policy of reserved subjects, even if they involve extra expenditure or taxation, but in regard to all financial matters the authority of the Governor or Governor-General has been made by the Committee as complete and unfettered as it might be. Their report says: "The Committee desire it to be made perfectly clear that this power is real and that its exercise should not be regarded as unusual or arbitrary."

Some Improvements.

It must in fairness be admitted that the scheme has been improved in several directions by the Joint Committee. Of these improvements the addition of two more Indian members to the Viceroy's Executive Council is an appreciable one.

I would also draw special attention to the recommendations which relate to the revision of the existing Land Revenue assessments and policy in India. The declaration of policy by the Joint Committee on this sore and vexed question in the following words will, I sincerely hope, soon lead to some appreciable alleviation of the arbitrary and so often unbearable burdens which the present system imposes on the poverty-stricken Indian ryot:—

"The Committee are impressed by the objections raised by many witnesses to the manner in which certain classes of taxation can be laid upon the people of India by executive action without, in some cases, any statutory limitation of rates and, in other cases, any adequate prescription by statute of the methods of assessment. They consider that the imposition of new burdens should be gradually brought more within the purview of the legislature."

Division of Function.

I do not propose to weary you by going through the lists of reserved and transferred subjects as finally settled by the Joint Committee, which we may presume will be incorporated in the regulations soon to be laid before Parliament under the new Act. I am convinced that the Congress was fully justified in pressing on Parliament the demand of the country for immediate full provincial autonomy, and that it would have failed in its duty if it had refrained from so doing. But as dyarchy has come to stay in our Provincial Governments, until we are able to supersede it by full provincial autonomy, I may just as well refer to two subjects in which the so-called transference of increased power has been hailed in some quarters as a great concession in itself. Thanks to the

report of the Featham Committee and the dissenting minute of Sir Sankaran Nair, the Government of India's retrogressive proposals about Education and Industry have been vetoed. But in spite of this the amount of popular initiative or control in either of these departments is not in the result so very great as might be supposed. Education, for instance, is a transferred subject, but it is subject to the condition that all new universities, the old universities of Benares and Calcutta, Chiefs' Colleges, and European schools, secondary education in Bengal and the Central Scientific and Industrial Research Institutes are not to be transferred. All this constitutes a diminution in the area of control of a subject admitted to be eminently fit for transference to ministerial responsibility and popular control. Again, that part of educational administration which would involve the odious duties of compulsion and taxation, viz, free primary education, is severely left to the minister to manage without the slightest prospect of his hoping for financial relief from the reserved departments or their ample revenues.

Similarly though agriculture is a transferred subject the benefit derivable from the transfer is substantially lessened by the fact that irrigation, water storage as well as Land Revenue will be reserved. Again, the development of Industries is to be a transferred subject, but factories and mines, railways, shipping and navigation including waterways, ports and coinage, are to be reserved subjects. It must tax the brains of all ordinary men to find what discernable development of industries can exist without factories and the facilities provided by the departments not transferred.

Fiscal Autonomy.

A connected subject with that of industries, on which some of us are prone to over-rate the concession made, is what is claimed to be the partial grant of fiscal autonomy. Fiscal autonomy in its strict sense has reference to the tariff and customs arrangements by which the Government regulates the commerce of the country and also raises revenue out of the country's trade. It is in respect of this that we have long claimed our right to levy duties or impose restrictions in the interests of India's well being and to be free from the dictation of the Imperial Government so often made in the interests of British capital and commerce. Whether anything approaching this right is likely to be secured by the recommendations of the Joint Committee has to be judged by the following passage of their report :—

"Nothing is more likely to endanger the good relations between India and Great Britain than a belief that India's fiscal policy

is dictated from Whitehall in the interests of the trade of Great Britain. That such a belief exists at the moment there can be no doubt. That there ought to be no room for it in the future is equally clear.....In the opinion of the Committee, therefore, the Secretary of State should as far as possible avoid interference on this subject when the Government of India and its Legislature are in agreement and they think that his intervention when it does take place should be limited to safeguarding the international obligations of the Empire or any fiscal arrangements within the Empire to which His Majesty's Government is a party".

Anxious as I am to commend the just and generous spirit in which the Joint Committee have tried to solve this question, I am unable to regard their recommendation as anything more than a pious hope. It is clear that unless and until we get responsible government real fiscal autonomy cannot exist.

Periodical Parliamentary Inquiry.

The Congress demand for the realisation of responsible government within a definite time-limit was not acceeded to when the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme was framed, and in its place there was provided a series of enquiries at the end of 5 and 10 years respectively for the further transference of provincial subjects to popular control. Some of our countrymen welcomed these enquiries, because they looked like the old periodical Parliamentary enquiries into Indian affairs which the Congress had asked to be revived in its earlier years. They also hoped successfully to survive the test and investigation that would be made and, like Oliver Twist, to go forward again and ask for more. The injustice of submitting a nation's birth-right to the jurisdiction and decision of an outside body or committee was on the other hand deeply resented by many others who felt that any such submission to jurisdiction and consequent acceptance of verdict would be essentially wrong and unworthy of the self-respect of Indians. India's national self-realisation became so evident and overwhelming during the anti-Rowlatt Bill agitation that the Government of India was greatly alarmed and instructed Lord Meston to ask for the withdrawal of the promise of the 5 years revisions. Lord Meston fixed the period for the next revision at the minimum of ten years, and it is a matter for disappointment that the Joint Committee have accepted this view. They have omitted the clause in the Bill relating to the 5 years revision and have provided only for an enquiry after ten years. I do not attach much importance to these periodical examinations, so wounding to our

self-respect and so susceptible of being used by the bureaucracy for its own purposes. But the fixing of the ten years limit is significant as showing the temper of those who finally shaped the scheme.

Central Government.

Perhaps the most serious omission in the Act, as finally passed by both houses, is that it fails to provide for any transference of administrative or political powers to the representatives of the people in the Central Government. Except for the addition of two Indian members to the Viceroy's Executive Council and an expansion of the Central Legislature into chambers with a preponderance of elected members, the powers and functions of the Governor-General-in-Council in all matters are maintained as effectively as they have been till now. Even on the narrow principles laid down by the Joint Committee, there existed no ground to withhold the grant of some powers to the Central Legislature in respect of the Budget and in some spheres of administration. It is remarkable and significant too that their report has neither endorsed nor rejected any of the untenable grounds on which the Government of India repeatedly urged that the Central Government should be left entirely untouched. Nor have they dealt with the repeated demand pressed before them by nearly all the Indian deputations that the element of responsibility, the keystoue of the new fabric, should be introduced in the Central Government also if the scheme is to have a fair trial.

Woman Suffrage.

A feature of the Act which has disappointed me much is the failure to do justice to the political rights of Indian women. I had hoped that Parliament would profit by the lesson of the woman suffrage agitation in England, but they have repeated the mistake of the Franchise Committee. The justice of the claim was recognised and the flimsiest of argument were advanced in favour of delay. I trust that Indian men will come to the rescue of their sisters and hasten the day of their enfranchisement.

The Enfranchisement of Labour and the Masses.

Another unsatisfactory feature of the Act is the attitude shown towards the enfranchisement of the masses and the wage-earning classes. The Joint Committee have limited the total number of people enfranchised to about 1.5 per cent of the population. Mr. Montagu welcomed trade unionism in India but added that industrial labour had as yet attained a very small development. He did

not choose to tell us how India's industrial development has been obstructed by the British Indian Government. Nor did he refer to the 80 per cent of our people who depend on agricuiture. To the 'kisan' delegates, present here I am glad to see in their hundreds, who represent the great agricultural proleteriat of this country, and to the labour delegates, this Congress owes a special duty. We have to see to their enfranchisement and to the improvement of their hard conditions of life.

These, fellow delegates, are the reforms which have been granted to us. There is little reason for us to be enthusiastic over them but we must take them for what they are worth. We shall not lag behind others in extracting all the good there is in them but we are not prepared to surrender our demand in consideration for the enforced schooling and periodical examinations provided for us. We cannot and we will not rest content till we gain the full measure of that demand.

Commissions in the Army and Navy.

But what would reforms, however substantial, avail us if they are confined to the civil administration of the country. The most perfect machinery of self-government cannot endure for a day if it does not rest the solid foundation of self-defence. The most generous Parliamentary grant of full responsible government cannot subsist without the corresponding grant to us of the power to defend ourselves, of the right to bear arms in defence of our motherland, of the right to possess our own army and navy, manned, officered and controlled by our own countrymen. Theories of a world peace, of a League of Nations and the rights of small nationalities, are all attractive in their way, though they seem now to recede further away than ever from practical realisation. But they cannot justify the continued emasculation of an ancient nation which her political subjection has brought upon her. Notwithstanding the activity displayed in the starting of political reforms, the delay and reluctance shown in the recognition and the grant of India's right to enlist her youth and manhood in the service of her army and navy, in the highest as in the lowest ranks, is indeed deplorable. We are all thankful in this connection to our distinguished fellow-countrymen, Sir Abbas Ali Baig and Sir K G. Gupta, who have pointedly noticed this serious deficiency in the scheme for the speedy grant of self-government to India. It is also gratifying to note that Mr. Montagu has shown a readier tendency to recognize the importance of urgent reform in this respect than he was disposed to show either in the Reform Report, or in the most disappointing steps that he

has taken in regard to military and naval commissions for Indians. "We must not deny to India," he said in his concluding speech on the Bill in Parliament, "self-government because she cannot take her proper share in her own defence and then deny Indians the opportunity of learning to defend themselves. These are problems of which Parliament assumes responsibility by the passage of this Bill." Will Parliament then, take immediate steps to fulfil this responsibility?

The Khilafat Question.

I now turn to a question of supreme importance to our Mahomedan brothers and for that reason of equal importance to all Indians. I mean the Khilafat question. It is impossible for one part of the nation to stand aloof while the other part is suffering from a serious grievance. This was clearly shown when the vast majority of non-Muslims made common cause with the Muslims and abstained from participating in the recent peace celebrations in India. No words of mine are necessary to emphasize the obvious duty of this Congress to give the question its best consideration.

The entry of Turkey in the war was a most momentous event from the Indian Muslim's point of view. They felt no inconsiderable misgivings about their attitude when they saw that an issue had arisen which seemed to involve a conflict between their loyalty to their King and country and duty to the religious head of the Islamic world: But these doubts were happily short-lived and the Indian Mahommadans cheerfully cast in their lot with the British Empire when the memorable announcement of the 2nd November, 1914, was made by Lord Hardinge, securing to the Mahomedans complete immunity from any interference with their religious feelings. This announcement was followed by similar assurances from other British statesmen. Mr. Lloyd George in his famous speech of the 5th January, 1918, said, "Nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race."

The war has ended in complete victory for the allied arms. Moslem India, nay United India, demands that full effect be given to these assurances.

Apart from the promises and pledges given to His Majesty's Muslim subjects they have the right to demand the application of the principle of self-determination to the component parts of the Turkish Empire in the same way as it has been applied to Poland and the Yugo-Slavs. What reason is there for a different treatment of Mesopotamia and Syria, where the population is almost entirely

Muslim in faith, or of Palestine and Armenia, where Muslims are more numerous than the followers of any other religion?

As to who is the rightful Khalifat-ul-Islam it is unnecessary for me to enter into historical or religious considerations. Lord Robert Cecil has admitted in the House of Commons that "His Majesty's Government have never departed from the attitude that the question of Khilafat is one for Muslim opinion alone to decide." Muslim opinion has now decided it, in a manner which leaves no possible doubt, in favour of the Sultan of Turkey. With Arabia independent, with foreign Powers governing Mesopotamia, Syria and Armenia in the guise of mandatories, with Palestine restored to the Jews, with the Greeks securely lodged in Smyrna and the hinterland, with Constantinople itself internationalized, what, I ask, is the position of the Khalifat-ul-Islam? Fellow delegates, it is a serious question demanding your most earnest attention.

Indian Over-Seas.

It has been our unfortunate duty from year to year of late to discuss the questions affecting the status of our countrymen who, trusting to the protection that British citizenship should ensure to them, have gone to the different parts of the British Dominions in pursuit of trade or employment.

Among these South Africa has claimed the largest part of public attention. There, our countrymen have exhibited in the face of heavy odds, qualities of ordinary and constitutional resistance, endurance and pluck which make us feel proud as a nation. We had hoped that after the struggle they carried on for eight years involving great sacrifice and entailing imprisonment of thousands of innocent men, there would be honourable peace for them. But it was not to be. Their European rivals in trade have set up a vehement and virulent agitation against them which may end in disaster to them if we do not do our duty. Fortunately both the Government of India and the Secretary of State are on the alert. And we may hope that at the very least the new Act just passed by the South African Legislature will be early repealed or so amended as not to diminish the rights existing at the time of the Smuts-Gandhi settlement. All India will anxiously await the result of Sir Benjamin Robertson's mission to South Africa. We may derive further consolation from the fact that our good friend Mr. C. F. Andrews is on his way to South Africa to assist our countrymen there. The Imperial Citizenship Association deserves our congratulations for arranging Mr. Andrews' visit. As you are aware Mr. Andrews was requested on his way to visit East Africa. His cable to Mr. Gandhi

from East Africa is alarming and shows that the greed and the prejudice of the European trader and speculator will make him compass the ruin of the Indian settlers in East Africa even by employing dishonest means. The history of East Africa is a history of peaceful development by our countrymen without the gun and the brandy bottle. The Indian trader who has gone to East Africa has been on the friendliest terms with the Africans and has raised their culture without making any boast of civilizing them. It is a libel to say that our traders have brought about moral depravity. Let us hope that the Government of India will tell the anti-Indian agitators in unmistakable language that the rights of the Indians in East Africa are not to be interfered with in any way whatsoever. In your name I assure our countrymen of our warm sympathy and support in their struggle to defeat this utterly unscrupulous and interested agitation.

Then there remains the question of indentured labour. We may congratulate the Government of India and ourselves that on this question there is no division of opinion. The system of indentured labour is gone for ever. I trust that Lord Chelmsford's assurance that the Fiji indentures will be cancelled in the beginning of the new year will be fulfilled and that an announcement to that effect will be made before the year is out. It would be wrong of me not to mention Sir George Barnes' name in this connection. These questions come under his department. And thanks to Mr. Andrews' exposure and Sir George Barnes' sympathetic attitude we shall soon see our countrymen in Fiji freed from the curse. The natural corollary to this must be the termination of Indian indentures in the other parts of the dominions also.

Swadeshi.

From matters which require political action I come to that which in its one aspect requires no political or legal action, yet which is one that is fraught with the greatest consequences for good. I refer to Swadeshi. Mr. Gandhi has made this question his own. He would, if he could, revive the ancient industry of hand-spinning and make the country self-supporting. Modern economists may doubt the success of the scheme in this stage of machinery. But Mr. Gandhi's scheme is one in which there is no waste and if it becomes popular it bids fair to solve the problem of finding a subsidiary occupation to agriculture. Seventy-three per cent of our population is agricultural. No agricultural population can exist without a supplementary industry. If our women were to take to hand-spinning and if hand weaving became fashionable as before

without a big organisation and without a large outlay of money we can not only produce sufficient cloth for our wants but provide the peasantry with an auxiliary industry. I commend the scheme to the attention of the delegates.

Other Subjects.

I have trespassed enough on your indulgence Yet I have not touched many important problems which vitally affect the future of our country. I have not considered the question of education with which is bound up all hope of future progress, nor have I dealt with industries or the terrible poverty of the people. The Universities and the Industries Commissions have done good work in their respective spheres but true reform can only be effected when the full control of these departments is put in the hands of the representatives of the people who alone can understand and supply the needs of the country. Resolutions on these subjects will, I doubt not, be laid before you for your acceptance. They will be moved by eminent speakers far more competent to deal with their special subjects than I can presume to be.

Mr. B. G. Horniman.

But, by your leave, I shall say a few words about a friend of India who has suffered because of the love he bore our country. This Congress needs no words of mine to inform it of the many and varied services which Mr. B. G. Horniman has rendered to our cause. We are a grateful nation and our friends are not so many that we can afford to forget or lose any of them. Mr. Hornithan, as you are aware, was removed from a bed of sickness and without any respite made to leave the country. That is the way of the bureaucracy. Charges of a gross nature have been made against him in the House of Commons and elsewhere. They have been contradicted and proved to be false but there has been no withdrawal of them, nor has Mr. Horniman been permitted to return. In England he is devoting himself to our cause, but that is poor consolation for us who miss his wise counsel and his sturdy independence.

Conclusion.

Fellow delegates, I have had my say. It is for you now to deliberate on the many problems which await solution. Yours is a tremendous responsibility. India is entering upon a new phase of her existence and her future is in your keeping. It is for you to decide what is the best and the quickest way for us to reach our goal.

Indian National Congress

Amritsar, Dec. 1919.

RESOLUTIONS.

1 PRINCE OF WALES' VISIT TO INDIA.

The President moved :—" This Congress tenders its respectful thanks to His Majesty the King Emperor for his gracious Proclamation dated the 23rd of December, 1919 and welcomes the announcement that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales will visit India next winter and assures him a warm reception by the people of this country."

2. INDIAN SETTLERS IN S. AFRICA.

Mahatma Gandhi moved :—This Congress protests against the attempt being made in South Africa and particularly the Transvaal to deprive the Indian settlers of the rights of property and trade hitherto enjoyed by them and trusts that the Government of India will secure the repeal of the recently enacted legislation and otherwise ensure the protection of the status of the Indian settlers in South Africa. This Congress is of opinion that the Anti-Indian agitation now going on in East Africa is utterly unscrupulous and trusts the Government of India will safeguard the right of free and unrestricted emigration from India to East Africa and the full civic and political rights of the Indian settlers in East Africa including the East African territory conquered from Germany.

3. INDENTURES IN FIJI.

"This Congress views with grateful satisfaction the Viceregal declaration that the existing indentures in Fiji are likely to be cancelled at the end of the current year and hopes that a final declaration to that effect will be made by the Government of India before the end of the year and this congress further hopes that indentured emigration in any form whatsoever, whether under the same or other name, will never be renewed. This congress places on record its grateful appreciation of the valuable and selfless services render by Mr. C. F. Andrews to the afflicted in the Punjab, to the cause of indentured Indians in Fiji and elsewhere, and the services being rendered to the Indian settlers in East and South Africa."

The resolution was seconded by the Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sharma. He said "I am glad that the Indian National Congress has given the subject of inter-imperial and inter-National problems pre-eminent place in its programme. It is but just that this parliament of the people of India (hear, hear) should discharge the primary function which will be its chief concern in the coming years, for until we are given Self-Government and until the council of the Government of India becomes the Parliament of the Indian people, nowhere else could this subject be discussed with that freedom, with that fullness and with that dispassionate candour which the subject deserves. Friends, we are a component part of the League of Nations. (A voice; we are not) We are, and until we have full responsibility we must urge members who represent us in the League of Nations to do their duty by Indian people even though such members be selected by Government of India or His Majesty's Secretary of State. The first part of the resolution expresses satisfaction that the Government of India have seen their way to acknowledge the correctness of our claim that no one shall be allowed to proceed from India to Fiji or any other Colony until and unless he is given exactly the same social and political footings as any White settlers in that Colony or protectorate. In this respect our thanks are also due to Mr. Andrews and Mahatma Gandhi and I also wish to add the name of Pandit Malaviya. I know some of the history during the last three years of how Mr. Andrews and Mahatma Gandhi have been able to convert the Government of India and His Excellency Lord Chelmsford. When Mr. Andrews approached the viceregal throne on this subject he was treated very coldly but his adherence to right converted Lord Chelmsford"

Continuing Mr. Sharma said they have had many quarrels with Lord Chelmsford and it was but right that they should appreciate him when he had done right and it was one of the subjects on which he had done right.

The British Parliament and the members of the League of Nations, the speaker said, should remember that Indian money and Indian soldiers had been employed in winning the last victory and they must also remember that without India's help they cannot protect their possessions in South Africa, in East Africa, in Australia and in Canada. Indian money is lavishly spent and Indian army kept on a war footing not so much for the defence of India as for Imperial purposes.

4. RECALL OF THE VICEROY.

Mr. Syed Hassain moved: "In view of the fact that Lord Chelmsford has completely forfeited the confidence of the people of this country, this Congress humbly beseeches His Imperial Majesty to be graciously pleased immediately to recall His Excellency." Mr. Hussain declared that Lord Chelmsford had brought this country to the verge of desperation so far as the continuance of British connection was concerned

Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar seconded the resolution. A very hot debate followed, majority demanding recall of H. E.

The Hon. Mr B. N. Sarma said he felt on the eve of the introduction of responsible Government they should look at the question dispassionately. He could understand if the resolution was based on the Punjab but by passing the resolution they would be condemning the whole administration. He demurred to the suggestion that Lord Chelmsford had been a failure throughout If on taking a balance they arrived at that conclusion he would not quarrel. They must realise Lord Chelmsford had mostly to face a troublous time War was on. He had pestilence to fight, famine to fight, and monetary and currency problems to face. He was there not to defend Lord Chelmsford but he wanted to present both sides Did not the Viceroy oppose the vested interests and fight the Cabinet regarding the excise policy and impose import duty on cotton? He defended the Indian interests in industrial matter and in case of railway policy. Although Government had not completely succeeded, the E I. Railway might have been handed over completely to company management for good. In financial question he had always fought for India. Whether he succeeded or not was a different matter. In industrial and university problems he had done his best. He had tried to get Indians commissions in the army in spite of War Office opposition. As to Lord Chelmsford's attitude towards Reforms he was conservative and liberal, wanting to do good but terribly afraid where it would lead to. When Mr. Montagu was here the Viceroy agreed with him but other counsels subsequently prevailed with him. The moment the committee's recommendations were published, did he not telegraph congratulations and undertake to carry them out? This showed the vissicitudes of his mind, showing he meant to do well. When five provincial governments were against the introduction of responsibility, he and the Government of India went against them. These were things that could be said in the Viceroy's favour. With regard to the Punjab, Mr. Sarma

said, at no other time during the British administration had the administration of justice been brought into such contempt. He personally asked the Viceroy for sympathy but the Viceroy had told him he believed in deeds and not words and said he would appoint an impartial commission and await their report.

Mr. S. R. Bomanjee said Mr. Sarma was the only man who was opposed to the resolution. The good done in connection with the excise duty was done by Lord Hardinge and Lord Chelmsford merely signed the papers. The preferential treatment within the empire regarding leather export was for the benefit of England and not India

Dr. Kitchlew said he never expected that he would be present before this vast gathering to speak, but as he was now present and had heard Mr. Sarma speaking in favour of Lord Chelmsford's administration, he thought he should come forward and speak out the truth that Lord Chelmsford should not only be recalled, but impeached before Parliament. Lord Chelmsford had not an iota of sympathy for the people of India. He had taken away all the liberties of the people and tried to kill political life in India. He would, however, ask them to pass the resolution for his impeachment ; but if they could not do that they must accept the resolution.

Mr. Jitendralal Banerjee said while Mr. Sarma thought the resolution too strong he was of opinion that it was too mild. Lord Chelmsford ought to be prosecuted for high crimes and misdemeanours.

Mr. Satyamurti, after pointing out Lord Chelmsford's failures in other directions, said that in regard to the Punjab he introduced martial law without justification, extended Sir Michael O'Dwyers period of office while the people were asking for his removal and did not visit the Punjab during the disturbances.

The resolution was put to vote and carried by a huge majorty.

5. HUNTER COMMITTEE AND CONGRESS.

Mr. B. Chakarbarty moved :—

"That having regard to the correspondence between the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and the hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. M. K. Gandhi, and between Lord Hunter and the hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and Mr. M. K. Gandhi, and between Lord Hunter and the hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, this Congress is of opinion that his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor's action in

not permitting Martial Law prisoners even in the committee room, even as prisoners under custody, to assist and instruct counsel in the same manner as Government counsel was instructed by officials whose conduct was under investigation of the Disorders Inquiry Committee, constitutes a serious injustice and that it left no other course open to the sub-committee of the Congress to take than the one taken by it, this Congress therefore, endorses and approves of the firm and dignified action taken by the sub-committee in appointing commissioners to make an investigation and submit report.'

6. EXCESSES BY MOB REGRETTED.

Mr. Gandhi moved :—

'This Congress, while fully recognizing the grave provocation that led to a sudden outburst of mob frenzy, deeply regrets and condemns the excesses committed in certain parts of the Punjab and Gujrat resulting in the loss of lives and injury to person and property during the month of April last.'

In moving the resolution Mr Gandhi first addressed the Congress in Hindi and then speaking in English said :—I have explained in the national tongue of India the solemnity of the occasion and the gravity of the situation that faces us I daresay before this assembly and before those who occupy the seat of prominence on the platform, I daresay to them that there is no greater resolution before this Congress than this resolution. The whole key to success in future lies in your hearty acceptance of this resolution, hearty recognition of the truths underlying it and acting up to it. I say that if there had been no violence on our part we could have achieved our end I can quote before you chapter and verse from Viramgam, Ahmedabad, Bombay, etc, to show that there was violence on our part intended and committed. I agree that there was grave provocation given by the Government in arresting Drs. Satyapal and Kitchlew and in arresting me who was bent on a mission of peace at the invitation of Drs. Satyapal and Kitchlew, but the Government went mad at the time and we went mad also at the time. Don't return madness with madness, but return madness with sanity, and the whole situation will be cleared up.

Mr. Gandhi, speaking in Hindi, said :—Only by accepting the resolution can we discharge the greater responsibility and only then can we obtain our rights. Some of my friends have said that in placing the resolution before the public there is a danger

of hurting our cause, but I totally disassociate myself from this view. If no excesses had been committed on our side the Rowlatt Act would have been removed from the statute book. There were no doubt provoking causes, but even then I think people should have kept perfect control over their feelings. I am not a believer in the European methods of violence and I refuse to believe that by burning churches or committing any acts of violence we have obtained our rights The acceptance of the resolution is an act of some purificaton. Some of us have suggested that some acts of violence were committed at the instigation of the C. I. D., but I do not apportion all blame to the people but I do say that many of us in several places acted madly and I want to condemn all acts of madness. By controlling ourselves we shall acquire power which will gain anything and everything for us. We were excited, because when two innocent persons, Drs. Satyapal and Kitchlew, the two eyes of Amritsar, were arrested. In other parts they were excited, because I was arrested whilst I was on an errand of peace I appeal to you to control your anger, because only then you will save India

Swami Shradhanand in seconding the resolution in Hindi said that the foundation of a new era had been laid by acknowledging their own mistakes. So far they had not been accustomed to apportion blame on themselves.

The Resolution was passed.

7. PUNISHMENT OF GEN. DYER URGED.

Mrs. Besant moved :—

"That in view of the fact that neither the Hunter Committee nor the Congress Commission has finished its examination of witnesses and issued its report, this Congress, while expressing its horror and indignation at the revelations already made and condemnation of the atrocities admitted, refrains from urging any definite steps to be taken against the offenders ; yet having regard to the cold-blooded and calculated massacre of innocent men and children, an act without parallel in modern times, it urges upon the Government of India and the Secretary of State that as a preliminary to legal proceedings being taken against him General Dyer should be immediately relieved of his command.

" Resolved further that this Congress desires to place it on record that in its opinion the Government of India and the Punjab Government must in any event be held responsible for the inexcusable delay in placing an authoritative statement of the

massacre of the Jallianwala Bagh before the public and his Majesty's Government."

Mrs. Besant, in moving the resolution, said:—In England they heard nothing of the massacre at the Jallianwala Bagh until Sir William Vincent said in the Imperial Council that about 100 people were killed. It was only due to the hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and the officers of the Seva Samiti that they were able to ascertain the wide extent of the loss of lives in the Jallianwalla Bagh and Pandit Malaviya's searching questions threw some light on the horrors perpetrated in the Punjab, and certainly people had the right to blame the Government of India and the Punjab Government for the indignities inflicted on the Punjab They had also to remember that in indicting General Dyer they were not relying on the testimonies of others, but his own utterances They were criminals who did a public wrong. General Dyer's evidence showed the shameless and utter lack of the realization of things he had done. On his own confession horrors have been perpetrated There were two kinds of wrongs, public and private If offences were committed against an individual, that individual had a right to forget and forgive the wrong done, but when it has been done against harmless unarmed and unresisting people and where the massacre was stopped simply because ammunition ran short and the general commanding directed firing within the closed space until the people were charged with bullets and lay dead and dying, they had the right to appeal to the British public to try and punish those criminals.

Continuing, Mrs Besant said, she appealed to India with her spiritual traditions to forgive the frightful wrong done to the Punjab so that the blood-shed in the Jallianwala Bagh might not cry to heaven for vengeance but instead turn into a river of immortality uniting all into common brotherhood. As long as anger reigned in the heart of the people there would be no real peace She asked the people to leave the task of the punishment of the official criminals of the Punjab and to remember that the King-Emperor had given the message of peace followed by a guarantee in the form of the release of political prisoners.

Mrs Besant added she dared not appeal to any country but India which gave birth to a Budha and others to forgive the wrongs done in the Punjab, for they were difficult to forgive and formed a stain on the name of Great Britain, the land of her birth. She appealed to Indians and India, her land of adoption, to purge it from their hearts, while demanding the justice of Great Britain.

Mr. Tilak's speech.

Mr. Tilak seconding the resolution said :—I was in England when a strong sentiment of anger and rage was prevalent for the trial of the Kaiser whose actions were interpreted to mean the murder of innocent women and children and there was such a strong feeling against him that the people of England demanded his trial in England, and, I read in one of the papers, by a jury consisting of the widows of those slain in the war. Compared to that feeling this resolution before you is very mild, indeed. It points out, I think, the difference between the mental conditions and the spiritual conditions that prevail in England and in India. We are simply asking for the recall of General Dyer, not trial as yet, not impeachment as yet. And why? because our enquiries are yet incomplete, as stated in the first para of the resolution, but it does not mean that our indignation is less than what the English people felt in those days against the Kaiser. My indignation and sentiment at present is very great and I had a mind to speak a good deal and I must say that we should curb our rage and anger until the report of the Hunter Committee and of your own commissioners are out. Probably you will accuse me of moderation I know, but our raged anger has sometimes to be curbed until we are able to let them out with greater effect. That is my excuse for asking you to adopt this resolution as it stands, not that I feel less than any one of you about the outrages committed here. They are unparalleled in the history of the world. The King is for the protection of his subjects and not for the massacre of subjects. Where the individual is entrusted with the charge over his subjects, the greater his power over the subjects the greater is his responsibility, the greater his position and the greater is his pay. If they betray their trust it is but meet that we should ask for their impeachment, not in London but in the Jallianwalla Bagh itself, and if need be they must be punished in the same Bagh. They ought to be allowed to come to India for their trial and for suffering the punishment here. My sentiment is very strong on the point and I compare it to the sentiment which was in England about the Kaiser whose acts may be compared with the atrocious acts committed under martial law. The Kaiser was at war with the world. Government professes that it was at war with the people, because people were in rebellion. Nothing of that kind. It is absolutely wrong to say that the people of the Punjab were in open rebellion. I do not admit it for a moment and I do not think any one of you admits it. (Cries of

No, no.') People have been massacred in cold blood in order to terrify them as my friend Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said in the Legislative Council. If such actions were allowed by civilized Governments I must say that this civilization deserves to be condemned.It has never been practised in other countries. Those atrocities if they had been committed in England, the English people would not have waited for nine months to bring the offenders to trial. No ministry would have considered its existence safe without bringing the culprits to trial. Unfortunately, our Government is not democratic and are 6,000 miles off from our King Emperor, thus encouraging those in power here to be despotic.

8. SIR MICHÆL AND ARMY COMMISSION.

Rai Saheb Ruchi Ram Sahani moved —

'In view of the oppressive regime of Sir Michæl O'Dowyer in the Punjab and the admitted fact brought out before the Hunter Committee that he approved of and endorsed General Dyer's massacre at the Jallianwala Bagh, this Congress calls upon His Majesty's Government to relieve Sir Michæl O'Dowyer of his present duties in this country as a member of the Army Commission as a preliminary to necessary legal action being taking against him.'

Next day the Congress was timed to begin at 11 o'clock (31 Dec) Half an hour after the appointed time Mrs. Besant announced that the President had sent word that he would be a little late and had proposed that Mr. Abbas Tyabji should take the chair which was agreed

9 Dr. Satyapal moved · that this Congress records its grateful appreciation of the action taken by Sir Sankaran Nair in resigning his office as member, Executive Council, of the Governor-General of India, as a protest again at the policy pursued by the Govern ment of India and the Government of the Punjab in maintaining martial law administration in the Punjab in supersession of ordinary courts of justice in the province".

10. Pandit Gokarannath Misra moved· (*a*) This Congress offers its respectful condolence to the relatives of those persons, whether English or Indian who were killed, and sympathy to those wounded or incapacitated during April disturbances. (*b*) This Congress further resolves that the site known as Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar be acquired for the nation and be registered in the names of Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and the Hon. Pandit Motilai

Nehru as trustees and that it be used as a memorial to perpetuate the memory of those who were killed or wounded on the 13th day of April last during the massacre by General Dyer and in order to give effect to the intention of the Congress the following are appointed a committee :—

The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Hon. Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. M. K. Gandhi, Swami Sraddhanand, Dr. Kitchlew and Lala Harkishan Lall: with power to devise the best method of perpetuating the memory of the dead, to have a proper scheme of trust prepared and to collect subscriptions for the purpose and otherwise to carry out the object of the trust.

Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra in proposing the resolution said after two days work in the Congress, his speech on Jallianwala Bagh was unnecessary. There was no necessity to make a long speech on the question how far General Dyer's action on the 13th April was right and proper. They had come to know already that the people in England and America had strongly condemned the action of the General. The men who were killed on the 13th were still alive in spirit and guarding them round the pandal and helping them in their cause. To show respect to those honourable dead they had decided to buy Jallianwala Bagh in order to build a memorial there. The work of acquirement had already taken a real shape and they would very soon begin to start with the work. He asked them to come forward and help them with money.

11. The following Resolutions were put from the chair and carried. "This Congress is of opinion that it is impossible to have real peace in India until legislation popularly known as the Rowlatt Act which was passed in the face of unanimous opposition in the country is repealed and it therefore respectfully urges upon the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India to advise His Majesty to veto the said act or otherwise to secure its repeal.

12. "This Congress enters its emphatic protest against the action of Government of India in prematurely passing the Indemnity Bill even though the acts in respect of which indemnity was granted are the subjects of investigation by the official Inquiry Commission and inspite of the strong opposition of the press, numerous public bodies, and non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council.

13. In view of the fact that full effect has not yet been given to the general amnesty clause of the Gracious Proclamation of

His Majesty the King Emperor and that persons in the Punjab tried by martial law commissioners, summary courts, area officers and Tribunals constituted under the Defence of India Act and detenues, deportees, and all political prisoners in Bengal and other parts of India including the Andamans have not been released, this Congress expresses its earnest hope and trust that the fullest effect will immediately be given to the letter and spirit of the Royal Command.

The Congress reassembled, on January 1, at eleven, the proceedings being strictly confined to the delegates as they related entirely to the question of reforms.

14 THE CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS.

Mr. C. R Dass, Calcutta, moved :—

"That this Congress reiterates its declaration of the last year that India is fit for full responsible Government and repudiates all assumptions and assertions to the contrary wherever made.

"That this Congress adheres to the resolutions passed at the Delhi Congress regarding the constitutional reforms and is of opinion that the Reforms Act is inadequate, unsatisfactory, and disappointing.

"That this Congress further urges that Parliament should take early steps to establish full responsible Government in India in accordance with the principle of self-determination."

He said he was aware that some amendments were going to be proposed. He would, therefore, not take up their time by making a speech on the resolution but reserve to himself the right of speaking later on in reply The first part of the resolution was that which they passed in Calcutta in 1917, in Bombay in 1918 and in Delhi in 1919. The second part merely asked to say of Reforms Act what they said in Bombay and Delhi on the Reform Scheme. It carried them no further than that. The third part of the resolution merely followed from other two parts. It followed from the second proposition that they declared the Reform Act to be unsatisfactory, inadequate and disappointing.

There was a very strong following under the lead of Lok. Tilak who was at the back of the Resolution.

Mrs. Besant next moved the following amendment :

"That the Congress welcomes the Reforms Act as opening the gateway of freedom to the Indian nation and as giving her power to walk on her own feet along the road to responsible Government, this forming a first and substantial stage on that road.

"And it earnestly begs the people to take the utmost advantage of its provisions so as to reach the goal in the shortest possible time.

"It places also on record its gratitude to Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha for their strenuous work against the greatest difficulties both in India and Great Britain."

Mr. Gandhi moved his amendment, which ran :

Clause (*b*), omit the word disappointing at the end and add the following clause after clause (*c*). " Pending such introduction this Congress begs loyally to respond to the sentiments expressed in the Royal Proclamation, namely, ' let the new era begin with a common determination among my people and my officers to work together for a common purpose', and trusts that both the authorities and the people will co-operate so to work the reforms as to secure early establishment of full responsible Government. And this Congress offers its warmest thanks to the Right Hon. E. S. Montagu for his labours in connection with them."

Mr. Gandhi in moving his amendment said : I want to give you the fullest assurance that nothing could have pleased me more than not to have appeared before you in order to divide this House, but when I found that there was conflict of principle, when I found that duty demanded of me that I should say a word even against the revered countrymen of mine, even against those who have sacrificed themselves for the sake of the country, when I found that they did not make sufficient appeal to my head or to my heart and when I felt that an acceptance of the position that underlay their proposition would mean something not good for the country, I felt, I at least should have my own say and make my own position clear to the country. Throughout my life I have understood the principle of compromises ; I have understood the spirit of democracy. I yield to no one in my regard for both these things, but throughout my life I have also found that there come occasions in a man's life who wants to regulate his life according to the voice of his own conscience, according to immutable laws of God as he understands them. I say there come occasions in the life of such a man when he must grasp and embrace as he would embrace a brother parting with his dearest friends and that time stared me in the face two days ago. It is not a matter of removing a word here and a word there. If I could have managed to have the word " disappointing," believe me, I would not have striven before this audience, wasted your, mine and my nations valuable time in higgling over the word. I say to you it is not right to have

the word 'disappointing.' You saw the amendment yesterday in my name which I have withdrawn. It expressed in more graceful language. I do not claim any better knowledge of English on that account, but I had put my heart into it and that is my estimation of my own phraseology. I contend that that amendment expresses the same thing in more graceful language, but I say to myself and I said to myself yesterday, "never mind grace, if you can get substance in another language you shall take it" I have, therefore, taken three paragraphs They are the resolutions in its entirety, with the exception of the objective "disappointing," because that also entirely represents my feeling I do believe with Tilak Maharaj, Mr. Das and all friends that we are fit for responsible Government fully to-day I do believe that what we are getting falls far short of the Congress ideals (Hear, hear). I do believe at the earliest possible moment we should have responsible Government. I am in accord with them. But how are we to build our future? That was the question to which they addressed this and I addressed myself Their conclusion was "let the country go as it will, we shall not give a lead to the country from this platform." What was the meaning of it?

The meaning as I gave to it was 'our policy must be not obstruction, but co-operation Yes, but in mind and it shall be not in the air.' If there is to be co-operation under definite conditions, then I say, let us lay down those conditions, let us make our point perfectly clear. Their position again was why should we thank a servant of ours? After all, who is Mr Montagu? He is our servant If he has done a little bit of his duty, why do you want to thank him? It is an attitude you may sympathise with sometimes, but I say to this great audience that is not an attitude which is worthy of yourselves. If in the heart of hearts you can say that Mr. Montagu throughout his career as the Secretary of State for India has done one thing, namely, he has overborne the opposition led by Lord Sydenham against this Bill and he has resisted all encroachment upon liberal provisions, few enough I admit, but the liberal provisions of that Bill, then I say Mr. Montagu deserves our wholehearted thanks. (Hear, hear and cheers). That is all what my amendment means. My amendment also means that we may not say these reforms are disappointing, disappointing in the sense in which that word is used. Here I suggest to you that if a man comes to me and disappoints me, I do not co-operate with him. If I get a sour loaf I reject it, and I do not take it. But if I get a loaf which is not enough, which has not

sufficient condiments in it, I shall use it, I shall add condiments to it and shall take a bit. Therefore my amendment means nothing more and nothing less than that we should stare the situation in the face as it exists before the country to-day and if Tilak Maharaj tells you that we are going to make use of the Reforms Act as he must and as he already told Mr. Montagu, as he has told the country that we are going to take the fullest advantage of the reforms, then I say, be true to yourself, be true to the country and tell the country that you are going to do it. But if you want to say, after having gone there, you will put any obstruction say that also. But on the question of propriety and obstruction I say Indian culture demands that we shall trust one who extends a hand of fellowship The King Emperor has extended a hand of fellowship (Hear, hear) Mr. Montagu has extended the hand of fellowship, do not reject the advance The Indian culture demands trust and full trust, and if you are sufficiently manly we shall not be afraid of the future, but face the future in a manly manner and say 'alright Mr Montagu, all right, all officials of the bureaucracy, we are going to trust you. We shall put you in a corner and when you resist us and when you resist the advance of the country, then we say, do so at your peril.' That is the manly attitude that I suggest. I therefore say you are bound that if in the heart of hearts you consider that these reforms enable you to advance further to your goal, if you believe that these reforms can be used as a stepping stone to full responsible government, then I say give Mr. Montagu his due and tell him 'we thank you'. But if you say to Mr. Montagu, 'We thank you' the corollary to that is we shall co-operate, with him. If you say to Mr. Montagu 'we do not thank you, let us know what reforms are, we know your intentions, we shall frustrate those intentions by obstructing you at every step.' If that is your position make it clear before the world and ask for it. Then I shall challenge that position and I shall go across from one end of the country to the other and say we shall fail from our culture if we do not do our duty. That culture demands you to respond to the hand that has been extended. As I decline to trust them, I say, we shall co-operate in so far as the country's good is advanced. We shall obstruct you and we shall fail you to defeat your purpose, if your purpose is in any shape or from to diminish the glory of India. That is the amendment I have come to place before you. I again appeal to Tilak Maharaj and I appeal to Mr. Dass and every one of you, not on the strength of my service,—it counts for nothing, not on the strength of my experience, but

on the strength of the inexorable logic, if you accept your own civilisation. I ask the author of the commentaries on Bhagawat Gita (Tilak) if he accepts the teachings of Bhagavat Gita then let him extend a hand of fellowship to Mr. Montagu.

Pundit Malaviya.

Hon. Pandit Malaviya accorded his whole-hearted support to Mr. Gandhi's amendments that the word "disappointment" should be removed and also that a paragraph should be added at the end of the resolution thanking Mr Montagu. The word "disappointing" he said, was used to intensify dissatisfaction. That, of course, was not an essential part of the resolution. The main opposition was to that part which expressed co-operation. Did they in fact desire to co-operate or not? Would they seek election, train the electorate, go about educating, and serve on the councils? Would that not be co-operation which included the fullest and the strongest opposition when necessary? Pandit Malaviya paid generous tribute to Mr Montagu and said India had reason to be grateful to him. They would start their agitation, they had already started it, but they must frankly and wholeheartedly acknowledge the good that had been done. Pandit Malaviya recognised the importance of the Royal Proclamation and winding up his arguments declared that Mr. Gandhi's amendment stood on a strong and unassailable ground. It would be a calamity- a misfortune, if they had to divide, but he was sure some understanding was being arrived at.

Pandit Malaviya at this stage left the rostrum and after a conference with Mr. C R Das, Mr. Tilak and others, returned and announced that a compromise had been arrived at.

The Hon'ble Pandit Malaviya in announcing the compromise over the Reform Resolution said :— Ladies and Gentlemen, it is a matter of great satisfaction to me, and I am sure it would be to all of you (hear, hear) to know that a compromise has been arrived at. Now you know, when the matter was in the hands of Messrs Gandhi and Tilak you could not expect anything different.

Pandit Malaviya at this stage turning to Mrs. Besant asked, "Have I your permission to include your name?

Mrs. Besant—"Let me see the resolution."

Pandit Malaviya then went up to Mrs. Besant and the latter evidently having declined to join in the compromise returned to the rostrum and after further discussion a solution was arrived at. Two elements had been inserted in the resolution agreed upon *viz*, promise of co-operation and an expression of

gratitude to Mr. Montagu. These ideas were to be added as a separate paragraph to Mr. Das's original resolution.The following was the paragraph :—

This Congress trusts that so far as may be possible they will work the reforms so as to secure an early establishment of full responsible government and this Congress offers its thanks to the Right Hon'ble Mr. E. S. Montagu for his labours in connection with Reforms. Pandit Malaviya proceeded to speak further, when Mr. Jinnah rose to a point of order and said that Pandit Malaviya should not be allowed to make another speech and the resolution agreed upon ought to be put.

Mr. C. R. Das, who in moving the original proposition had reserved his right to reply said: I want to occupy your time for one minute. The compromise has been arrived at. Pandit Malaviya has told you that there are two points, co-operation and thanks, but so far as co-operation is concerned, the view with which I have compromised is this that co-operation when necessary to advance our cause and obstruction when that is necessary to advance our cause. We would work the Reform Scheme so far as it may be for the early establishment of responsible government. We are not opposed to co-operation, if co-operation helps us to attain our purpose. We are not opposed to obstruction, plain downright obstruction, when that helps to attain our goal. I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, to accept this compromise of the resolution of the Congress.

Mrs. Besant's amendment was then put to vote and lost, only a handful voting in her favour.

The resolution as settled by compromise was then passed.

15. TURKISH AND KHILAFAT QUESTION.

Mr. B. C. Pal moved that this Congress respectfully protests against the hostile attitude of some of the British Ministers towards the Turkish and Khilafat question as disclosed by their utterances and most earnestly appeal to and urge upon His Majesty's Government to settle Turkish question in accordance with the just and legitimate sentiments of Indian Musalmans and the solemn pledges of the Prime Minister without which there will be no content among the people of India.

The resolution was unanimously passed, Mr. Hasrat Mohani being one of the speakers.

16. DECLARATION OF RIGHTS.

In the Congress agenda following the Reform resolutions stood a lengthy resolution on the Declaration of Rights over the names of Mr. C. R. Das and Mr. Mahamed Ali as proposer and seconder respectively. When this resolution was reached Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra who was acting as the spokesman for the President announced it would be taken up later as there were differences of opinion in regard to it. Eventually when other resolutions on the agenda had been disposed of by being put one after another from the chair and passed, this resolution on the Declarations of Rights was taken up. The resolution on the agenda paper ran :—

"This Congress is emphatically of opinion that in the immediate and imperative interest of this country as well as of the whole British Empire a statute should be forthwith passed by the Imperial Parliament to guarantee the civil rights of His Majesty's Indian subjects and embodying the following provisions :—(1) British India is one and indivisible and all political power is inherited in the people thereof to the same extent as in any other people or nation of the whole British Empire. (2) That all Indian subjects of His Majesty's and all subjects naturalized or resident in India are equal before law and there shall be no penal or administrative law in force in this country whether substantive or procedural of a discriminative nature. (3) That no Indian subject of His Majesty shall be liable to suffer in liberty, life, prosperity or in respect of free speech or writing or right of association except by a sentence by an ordinary court of justice and as a result of lawful or open trial. (4) That every Indian subject shall be entitled to bear arms subject to the purchase of a license as in Great Britain and that the right shall not be taken away save by a sentence of an ordinary court of justice. (5) That the press shall be free and that no license or security shall be demanded on the registration of a press or newspaper. (6) That corporel punishment shall not be inflicted on any subject of His Majesty save under conditions applying equally to all other British subjects ; (7) That a militia of His Majesty's Indian subjects be established by law in the cities and towns and in rural parts divided into units for the purpose. No regular force shall be employed for suppression of internal disorders except when militia are found inadequate, and under an Act especially passed for the purpose . In suppressing disorders and restoring order, no armed force shall, unless it is attacked, interfere. They shall not interfere unless the crowd has been

three times summoned in the name of the King-Emperor and of law to disperse and has not done so until after a reasonable time. (8) That all laws, ordinances and regulations now or hereafter in existence that are anywise inconsistent with the provisions of this statute shall be void and of no validity whatever."

Pandit Gokaran Nath announced that an agreement had been arrived at with regard to this resolution. In clause one it had been agreed to delete the word 'whole' before the British Empire. It had also been agreed to delete clause seven relating to militia. The resolution in its amended form was put from the chair and passed.

Among the other resolutions passed were the following :—

17. EXPRESSION OF THANKS.

"This Congress records its grateful appreciation of the valuable services rendered by the Labour party in and outside Parliament through its office-bearers, through its organisation, its prominent members and the daily and weekly press, and specially Mr. Spoor, the accredited representative of the party in Parliament for Indian affairs, by generally supporting the cause of self-government for India and particularly by pressing the Congress view about the Indian Political Reforms on the Joint Select Committee and on the occasion of the passage of the Government of India Bill in Parliament, for its full sympathy with the demands for full responsible government in India and its generous assurance to advance it through its power and influence.

"This Congress urges its provincial committees and other affiliated associations to promote Labour unions throughout this country with view of improving social, economic and political conditions of the labouring classes and securing for them a fair standard of living and a proper place in the body politic of India."

18. 'INDIA.'

"This Congress notes with satisfaction that it has been agreed by the Board of Directors of the journal 'India' that it shall represent the views of the Congress and refers the recommendations contained in the report of the Congress deputation for the extension and improvement of the said journal to the All-India Congress Committee."

19. WORK IN ENGLAND.

"This Congress is emphatically of opinion that the time has arrived for establishing a permanent mission for its own propa-

gandist work in England and elsewhere and appoints a committee of the following gentlemen to collect the necessary funds for the purpose and to select the personnel of the mission for the first year :—Mr. B. G. Tilak (convener), Mr. S. Kasturiranga Iyengar, Mr. Mohammed Ali, Mr. S. R. Bomanji, Lala Lajpat Rai, G. S. Khaparde, and Syed Hasan Imam with power to add ' if necessary.'

20. LALA LAJPAT RAI.

" This Congress thankfully begs to convey its sense of appreciation of the services of Lala Lajpat Rai to the cause of the country by his earnest and self sacrificing efforts of constitutional agitation in the United States of America by representing the view of the Congress before proper authorities in America in the matter of the demand for self-government and self-determination for India and requests Lala Lajpat Rai to continue his efforts as before."

' This Congress conveys its warmest thanks to the members of the Congress deputation for their strenuous labours in the cause of the Congress in England.'

' This Congress thankfully records its appreciation of the assistance given by the British Congress Committee and especially Dr. Clarke, Dr. Rutherford and Mr. J. M. Parikh, to the Congress deputation in its work in England and views with entire satisfaction the reorganization of the committee as an executive body of the Congress, pledged to carry on the Congress propaganda in England."

21. THANKS TO MUSLIM LEAGUE.

' This Congress places on record its warmest thanks to the All-India Moslem League for passing a resolution recommending the substitution of other animals instead of cows in respect of the sacrifices on the occasion of Bakrid.'

DEWAN BAHADUR V. P. MADHAVA RAO.

Dewan Bahadur V. P. Madhava Rao thanked on behalf of the delegates. Swami Shradhanand and members of the Reception Committee.

The Swami responded in a suitable speech in concluding which, he said was a Sanyasi and as such was resuming his duties and handing over the political reins to the Punjab leaders.'

PRESIDENT'S CONCLUDING ADDRESS.

The following is the full text of Pundit Motilal Nehru's concluding address which was read on his behalf by Dr. Kitchlew :

"Fellow Delegates, before I say anything in reply to the flattering words, the over generous terms in which Dr. Satyapal and others have referred to me and my humble services in your cause, I have to apologise to you for not being able to address you myself as I should have liked to have done.....

In this holy land of the Punjab, in the ever memorable year 1919, strange things have come to pass. We have seen on the side of the people the expression of a feeling of unity, a desire to act corporate, a will to serve in a common cause, in the face of tremendous odds. Out of evil cometh good, and out of the hellfire through which this fair land has passed have been formed the iron bonds of unity, which its enemies will try in vain to break. The union among the various communities of this great country which our greatest men and women have been trying to bring about is at last an accomplished fact, and God willing will never again be broken. Our Mahomedan brothers in the Moslem League assembled, have generously, I may say nobly, adopted a resolution calling upon their co-religionists to abandon the sacrifice of cows at the Bakrid festival which has in the past been a fruitful source of trouble and have thus advanced the cause very substantially. The first fruits of the union are already visible on the horizon, the rest will follow in quick succession, if only we take care to concentrate ourselves on the duty that must be done for duty's sake. The fruits will take care of themselves. Fellow-delegates, the outstanding feature of this session has been the great discussion which you have witnessed in the open Congress to-day, a feature which has been conspicuous by its absence in our past deliberations, The work that lies before us is the spreading of this spirit of organised democracy of what I have spoken, throughout the length and breadth of this country, until not an individual is left without an active desire to do his share in the great work of the uplifting of this great and ancient land. It is for you to carry the message of hope in every nook and corner, for in spite of the atmosphere of gloom that has surrounded us in this city of martyrdom, I see a very bright prospect before us. On this New year's Day, let us make this sacred resolution. Work is needed, but I am confident that each and every one of us will do his very best, with single minded devotion to the cause of the country, that is so dear to us. In this confident hope I bid you farewell and trust we shall meet again under happier circumstances. Fellow-delegates, I once again thank you for the courtesy that you have extended to me and all the kindnesses you have shown me.

ALL INDIA MODERATE CONFERENCE

2nd Sessions, Calcuta, 30 Dec. 1919

Presidential Address

(SIR P. SIVASWAMY AIYER)

Let me thank you most heartily for the high honour you have conferred upon me by requesting me to preside at the second session of the All-India Conference of the Moderate party. On the eve of the momentous political changes which are to be initiated in the country, I cannot help wishing that your choice had fallen on some one more worthy of the high office which you have called upon me to assume. When I look back over the roll of the great men who have adorned the presidential chair of the Congress, when I remember that at the first session of the Moderate Conference the chair was occupied by no less a person than our distinguished countryman and veteran political leader Mr. Surendranath Banerjea and when I realise that we are meeting to-day in a city whose position as the intellectual capital of the Empire and as the great centre of learning, culture and oratory has remained unshaken by the transfer of the seat of Government, I am overwhelmed with a sense of my own deficiencies; and if I am found unequal to the responsibilities of my task, I hope you will extend a generous measure of indulgence to my shortcomings. When the Conference met last year, the great war which had been devastating the world for four years and more had taken a decisive turn in favour of the Allies and the armistice was in sight. Since then the war has come to an end, peace has been concluded with the Central Powers and the cause of liberty, humanity and nationality for which the Allies were pouring out their blood and treasure has been gloriously vindicated. The idea of a League of Nations, which when it was first adumbrated by President Wilson was received with considerable scepticism, has now materialised and become an established fact. Though the

peace treaty has not yet been ratified by America, it is not unreasonable to hope that she will soon do so and help to lay the foundation of the peace of the world on a permanent basis. We are proud to reflect that by the loyalty and co-operation of her princes and peoples in the hour of the Empire's trial, and by the prowess and devotion of her armies in various arenas of the war, the claim of India to a share in the counsels of the Imperial War Cabinet and War Conference has secured recognition, that she has been represented at these deliberations by our distinguished countrymen, His Highness the Maharajah of Bikaner and Lord Sinha, and that she has been accorded a position of equality with the other great Dominions of the Empire in the Peace Conference and admitted as an original member of the League of Nations Though the strain and anxiety of the war are over, the world has not yet returned to normal conditions and is now in the throes of birth of a new order of things, of a reconstruction of the whole scheme of life, political, industrial and social.

The Montagu-Chelmsford report on Indian Constitutional Reforms was the subject of heated discussion at the time of our first conference. The Government of India Bill which was introduced into Parliament six months ago has just been placed on the Statute Book and we have met to celebrate with heart-felt rejoicing the auspicious event which has started India on the path of Self-Government and is destined within a measurable period of time to lead her to the goal of full responsible government. Our profound gratitude is due to all who have laboured to this end, to the authors of the Joint Report, to the members of the various deputations, who at great personal sacrifice went to England and placed the views of their respective constituents before the Joint Committee and especially the members of the Moderate Deputation headed by our leader, Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, to the members of the Joint Committee, who conscientiously endeavoured to remove the defects in the original Bill, to Mr. Montagu for his statesman-like grasp of the situation, his fervid sympathy with Indian aspirations and his wonderful tact, persistency, and powers of Parliamentary management and last but not least to our illustrious countryman Lord Sinha for his wise patriotism, skilful advocacy and devoted labours at the expense of health and under the weight of domestic calamity. The whole of India has cause to be proud of the services of Lord Sinha. No Secretary of State for India will have a more abiding place in the affections and gratitude of the people of India than Mr. Montagu. Our thanks are also due to the members of the Cabinet, who realising the importance of the

measure decided to push it through without delay, to the members of the Labour party for their strong support, and to both Houses of Parliament for their genuine, if cautious, sympathy with the claims of India. We have been deeply moved by the gracious and soul-stirring Proclamation of His Majesty the King-Emperor whose abiding sympathy has ever seen a source of encouragement to us and whose message of exhortation will be an inspiration to all to the fulfilment of his wishes. India is profoundly grateful to His Majesty for the exercise of his Royal Clemency and for his desire to inaugurate the Reforms in an atmosphere of general good-will and harmony.

When at the first conference we expressed our opinion of the scheme embodied in the Montagu-Chelmsford report, we pointed out modifications and improvements which, in our opinion, were needed in the Bill. Many of the defects pointed out have been removed and several of our suggestions have been carried out. One important suggestion which we made related to the simultaneous introduction of the principle of diarchy in a limited sphere of the central government and it is a matter for regret that the Joint Committee and the Cabinet could not see their way to the adoption of this suggestion ; but there can be no doubt that in spite of the refusal of Parliament to introduce the principle of division of functions in the central government, the measure now passed is a substantial fulfilment of the pledges contained in the declaration of the 20th of August 1917. It is now desirable to make a brief survey of the provisions of the statute and see how far it is an advance upon the present constitution and to what extent the proposals in the Congress-Moslem League have been adopted.

Survey of the Reforms.

Taking the constitution of the provincial government first, the strength of the Legislative Council has been expanded, the proportion of the elected element being raised to 70 per cent, and that of the official element restricted to 20 per cent. The franchise has been greatly lowered and widened and provision is to be made on a larger scale than originally intended for the rural population and for the urban wage-earning class. The representation proposed for the depressed classes is to be enlarged. Except the first President of the Council who is to be appointed by the Governor, the presidents and deputy presidents of the Legislative Council are to be elected by the Council itself. The proposal for a Grand Committee and for legislation by recourse to the certification procedure has been discarded and provision is made for necessary legislation on reserved

subjects which may be refused by the Legislative Council by empowering the Governor to act on his own responsibility without recourse to the farce of the official bloc. In cases where the Governor so acts on his own responsibility, the Governor-General has ordinarily to reserve the enactment for His Majesty's pleasure, who will be guided by the Secretary of State acting on the advice of a Standing Committee of Parliament. The system of separate purses for the reserved and transferred departments has been negatived and excepting certain items of fixed charges, all proposals for expenditure will be submitted to the vote of the Council in the form of demands for grants. In cases where the Council refuses to vote for the necessary expenditure on a reserved subject, it is open to the Governor to retain the allotment, if he considers it essential for the discharge of his responsibility for the reserved subject. This must be admitted to be a necessary corollary from the principle of dyarchy, but it is seldom likely that the Governor will exercise his power in opposition to the reasonable wishes of the Council. If it is remembered that there is an Indian element in the Executive Council and that the ministers will be consulted on important matters like the framing of the budget, it will be readily realised what great scope there is for influencing the proposals of the Governor in Council in regard to reserved subjects. In the Executive Council the Indian element will be equal in strength to the non-Indian. The ministers in charge of the transferred departments will be responsible to the Council from the start and will have the same status as the Councillors.

In the Government of India the strength of the Legislative Assembly will be enlarged and provision will be made for direct election. The elected element is fixed at a minimum of five-sevenths and of the remaining two-sevenths at least one-third is to consist of non-officials. Except the first president who will be appointed by the Governor-General, the presidents and vice-presidents will be elected by the Assembly. The Council of State is to be radically altered in character and converted into a true revising chamber of which not more than a third will be officials. Any affirmative legislation required by the Governor-General in Council which either Legislative Chamber refuses to pass can be passed by the Governor-General on his own responsibility in a straightforward fashion, if he certifies that it is essential for the safety, tranquility or interests of British India. In such cases the Governor-General has ordinarily to reserve the enactment for His Majesty's pleasure, who will be guided by the Secretary of State acting on the advice of the Standing Committee of Parliament. The only exception to

this procedure is in cases of emergency calling for immediate action in the opinion of the Governor-General, but in such cases the act will be subject to disallowance by His Majesty in Council. In the Executive Council of the Governor-General the Joint Committee recommends that not less than three members of the Executive Council should be Indians. Though the Joint Committee disclaim any intention of introducing any measure of responsible government into the central administration and though the Governor-General in Council has therefore got the power to restore the allotment made by the Government of India, all proposals for expenditure with some exceptions like military, political and ecclesiastical charges and money's required for the service of loans have to be submitted to the Legislative Assembly and its votes taken on the demands for grants.

Turning to the home administration of Indian affairs, all the charges of the India office other than agency charges are recommended to be placed on the British estimates. The minimum and maximum members of the Council are fixed at 8 and 12 and the introduction of more Indians is recommended. The most important recommendation of the Joint Committee in connection with the control of the Secretary of State is that a convention of non-interference should be established in all matters of purely Indian interest, wherever the Government of India and the legislature may be in agreement. This provision will pave the way for the growth of the fiscal autonomy of India which has been the subject of demand by all classes of politicians. The Statutory Commission which is to come into existence after the expiry of 10 years is empowered to examine not merely into the working of responsible Government in the provincial sphere but also to inquire into the working of the Government of India. The Committee have recommended the creation of a Standing Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament with advisory functions by whose advice the Secretary of State will be guided in his approval of legislation or rules which may be sent up to him by the Government of India.

Congress Demands.

Comparing these provisions with the substance of the proposals made by the Congress, it will be seen that in some respects, as in regard to the removability of the executive, they are a great improvement on those proposals and that the only important matters in which the proposals of the Congress have been departed from are (1) the omission to grant full provincial autonomy (2) the omission to introduce the principle of diarchy in the Government of India

(3) the omission to give a statutory guarantee that full responsible Government shall be established in the whole of British India within a period of 15 years and (4) the omission to provide for a declaration of rights. With regard to the demand for a declaration of rights, it may be pointed out that any such declaration is unknown to the British constitution, that the proper line of progress is in the direction of the development of the powers of the Indian legislature and the introduction of the responsibility of the central government towards the Indian legislature and that the enactment of a fundamental law by a superior authority restricting the powers of the Indian legislature is inconsistent with the true goal and bound to be embarrassing in practice. Under the new constitution the central government will by influence, if not control, be daily brought more and more into consonance with the wishes of the public; exceptional or discriminative legislation is bound to disappear; and the obligation which will be imposed on the Secretary of State by convention to consult the Joint Standing Committee will prove a most valuable safeguard against any improper encroachment of the liberty of the subject.

Decided Advance on the Present.

Taking the Act as now passed, is it not obvious that it represents a decided advance upon existing conditions and that it gives us great opportunities for acquiring a practical knowledge of the art of responsible government. The Act provides for a ten years' period of apprenticeship in the provincial administration and is only intended as a transitional measure. In spite of the fact that it has fallen short of the demands of the Congress, it must be conceded that it provides in the language of the Joint Committee "a generous measure of opportunity of learning the actual business of the government of demonstrating by our conduct of the administration to the first statutory commission that the time has come for further extensions of power." If we remember the conditions under which the scheme has been carried through and the fact that a Coalition Government representing different parties and shades of opinion has been in power all the time, we shall be able to realise the difficulties with which Mr. Montagu had to contend and the statesmanship which he has brought to bear upon the elaboration of a measure acceptable to all parties and upon steering it through a Parliament which included conservative and reactionary elements opposed to any bold or venturesome experiment. It would have been quite easy to frame an ideally perfect scheme which would meet the largest demands of the Congress; but the scheme would

have had no chance of passing through and the fulfilment of our aspirations would have been indefinitely delayed, if not retarded. It was the height of political sagacity on Mr. Montagu's part to have perceived how far he could carry the Government and Parliament with him and frame his proposals in accordance with his practical limitations.

Reception by Extremists.

While the reforms call for the largest measure of grateful appreciation, they have been hailed by several extremist organs and leaders with expressions of unmitigated contempt and dissatisfaction. I shall give a few instances :—Speaking of the recommendations of the Joint Committee the 'Independent' of Allahabad described them as "a colossal sham calculated to perpetuate our unmitigated probation under the British Rule as the hewers of wood and drawers of water They do not vouchsafe a particle of hope and they fail to transfer an iota of real responsibility to the people of India." The leader of the Congress deputation from Madras expressed the hope that "the people of India would with one voice vote against the reform scheme at the next meeting of the Indian National Congress" He observed that "Indians required no training in the art of government, that the bill was not an improvement on the existing state of things and that if it did anything, it increased the powers of the autocracy." The President of the Nationalists' Conference recently held at Madras remarked that "it would not be a national disaster, if by the mutations of party-conflict in the House of Commons the present Cabinet went down and with it the present Reform Bill." You will remember the description of the bill as "a little thing" by the Congress Secretary in England. Persons who do not regard the measure as going sufficiently far may be entitled to ask for further concessions, but there is neither justification nor need for belittling what has been granted. Inability to perceive the merits of the scheme can only be ascribed to intellectual obliquity.

Opinions of Competent Judges.

Let us now turn to the views expressed by some of our sincere friends and well-wishers in England and by distinguished Indians whose patriotism and judgment are beyond all question. Lord Carmichael, Lord Crewe, Lord Clayd, Lord Islington, Sir Michael Sadler, Sir Stanley Reed. Sir J. D. Rees, Mr. Bennett, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, Mr. Polak, His Highness the Aga Khan, Lord Sinha, Sir Sankaran Nair, Sir M. Visveswarayya, Sir P. D. Pattani and Mr. Basu. They all consider that appreciation of the

present measure of reform and an honest endeavour on our part to co-operate in the successful carrying out of the first instalment of responsible government would go a great way to convince the British people of the desirability and expediency of granting a greater measure of responsible government. Major Ormsby-Gore considers the revised reform bill as the most remarkable and epoch-making advance ever made at one bound in the history of British India. Our extremist friend attach more weight to the opinions of Labour Leaders than to those of any other party in England. Mr. Ben Spoor has expressed the opinion that it is important that the Bill should become law without further delay. In the face of the unanimous advice expressed by those who are best entitled to pronounce an opinion, it is idle to suppose that any further concessions could have been obtained from Parliament at this juncture or that the postponement or abandonment of the Bill would have been of no consequence to this country. The fact that the Reforms have been passed by a Coalition Government is an advantage to this country rather than otherwise, for the members of every party have given their support to the policy adopted in the Bill and it will not be possible for any party to repudiate the policy hereafter on the ground that it was adopted against their wishes. It is imagined by our extremist friends that if the bill had been thrown out the Labour Party would soon come into power and introduce a much more spacious measure of Reform and grant India all that she asks for. But, is not this belief based upon a number of assumptions of a very unreliable character? Is it known when the next election will come off, or when the Labour Party will come into power? Even if they do come into power, is there any certainty that they will not be too preoccupied with their own domestic questions to devote their attention to Indian Reforms? And even if they were willing to do so, do we know that any measure introduced by them will successfully run the gauntlet of the House of Lords or that if it fails to do so, the Labour Party will be prepared to make it a party issue and appeal to the country on it and return to power? Instead of making these wild calculations, is it not prudent in the interests of the country to accept with gratitude the first generous instalment of reform and devote our efforts to the successful working of the scheme, so that we may be able to convince the Parliament and the first Statutory Commission that we have not merely the capacity for self-government but that we have acquired the necessary training. Remember that there is nothing in the Bill to prevent the transfer of additional subjects within the ten years' period of training. Even the Delhi

Congress was willing to leave the departments of Law, police and justice for a period of six years as reserved subjects in the hands of the Executive Government. Can it be said that a period of apprenticeship in the art of responsible administration is really unnecessary? Self-assertion however loud or persistent does not amount to training. We, of the Moderate Party, do not hold the view that because it has taken centuries of political experience for Englishmen to acquire their present constitution, we must go through the same period of training. The world is now moving much quicker and it is because statesmen in England have recognised it, that they propose a short course of apprenticeship for a decade or two to acquire the necessary training. The success of any scheme of democratic government does not merely depend upon the fitness of a number of gifted individuals, but involves the education and training of the electorate. There is an immense field of constructive work before us, more than enough to occupy all our energies and if we only turn our attention to the constructive task that lies before us and work for the success of the Reforms, we need have no fears that the next instalment will be delayed by the British Nation.

Party Difference.

The success of the scheme requires the fullest co-operation between the people and the government with mutual good-will and forbearance and a spirit of compromise and conciliation. On the last occasion our veteran leader Mr. Surendranath Banerjea dealt with the events which led to the split between us and the party now in the ascendant in the Congress. It is not necessary for me now to go over that ground again. Let me briefly advert to the differences which have merged between the two parties. As already pointed out, we regard the Reform Act as a substantial advance in the direction of responsible government, while the other party looks upon it as altogether disappointing and unsatisfactory. The next instalment of reform is, in our opinion, to be won by wholeheartedly working for the success of the new scheme and endeavouring to make the best of its merits and opportunities rather than by agitation. The practical demonstration of our fitness by actual work will be a far more effective means of attaining the end than incessant agitation, which will have the effect of diverting the energies of the people from action to talking. Believing that the fullest co-operation between the two halves of the government is necessary for the success of the principle of dyarchy, our policy is to co-operate with the government and support them in all measures

for the good of the people and to criticise them without flinching whenever their measures require to be opposed while stoutly opposing all improper measures of repressive legislation, we shall not seek to fetter the powers of the Indian legislature We recognize no antagonism between the interests of reserved and transferred departments and consider the maintenance of all these departments in efficiency as necessary for the well being of the State. There is no subject of administration, whether reserved or transferred, in which the people are not interested and our attitude towards the budget proposals will be determined by a comprehensive view of the requirements of all departments in the interests of the public and of orderly progress. While endeavouring to get rid of any defects in the reconstructed machinery which experience may disclose, it will not be our aim to exploit the defects for the purpose of wrecking the scheme or creating a dead-lock in the hope of Parliament coming to our rescue and granting us full autonomy. While the pursuit of ideals by the members of the other party seems little likely to be tempered by a perception of practical limitations and hard facts, ours will be a practical idealism based upon a knowledge of existing conditions, a sense of proportion and perspective and a comprehensive view of progress in all directions. It will be our endeavour to consolidate our gains so that our march to the final goal may be firm and sure and we may not lose the ground we are about to occupy. While it would be hazardous to prophesy about the future of parties under untried conditions, it is hardly likely that the differences of opinion which have emerged between the two parties in connection with the Reform Scheme will disappear shortly. Nor is this tendency towards the formation of distinct parties a matter for regret, so long as party organizations are based upon principles and not upon ill-will and rancour between persons and classes. One may go the length of saying that sound party organizations are an indispensable condition of healthy political life and especially so in the working of any constitution based upon the British model. So long as the people had no voice in the administration and it was only a question of wresting privileges from the bureaucracy, the policy of a united front was indispensable. But it is less so, when responsibility for administration has to be assumed by the people, and differences spring up as to aims and methods and it serves no purpose to conceal radical differences of opinion and maintain the semblance of a single political organization when its capacity for action must necessarily be impaired by lack of agreement and cohesion among its constituents. As regards our relation with parties in Britain,

it would be a mistake for us to enter into any exclusive alliance with any particular party, instead of cultivating friendly relations with all.

Nomenclature.

The name to be adopted by our party is a matter which may perhaps be considered here. At the last session of our Conference our President expressed his dislike of the term 'Moderate' and suggested the name "the centre group of the Nationalist party." If I may be allowed to offer a remark, it seems too long an expression for the purpose of nomenclature and the word 'group' is suggestive of an undesirable fissiparous tendency. I have no particular predilections We may call ourselves "Liberals" or 'Progressives' or 'National Liberals' or by any other name you like. I would only respectfully suggest a much shorter and handier name than the one suggested last year.

The Punjab occurrences.

I shall now pass on to a subject which has been engrossing the mind of the public even more than the subject of constitutional reforms. The disturbances in the Punjab in April last and the measures taken by the authorities to deal with them attracted the keenest and most wide spread interest at the time. While the acts of lawlessness committed by the mobs were duly published at the time, the public were not kept equally informed of the doings of the authorities and the nature and extent of the measures adopted by them in the restoration of order. The movements of people to and from the Punjab were prohibited or restricted. Accused persons were deprived of the services of counsel from outside the province. A rigorous censorship was exercised over the press and security was demanded from papers which had the temerity to publish accounts of the manner in which martial law was administered. Such information, however, as leaked out and was published sent a thrill of horror over the land. While all political organisations expressed their detestation of the wanton destruction of life and property and communications and all the other outrages committed by the mobs and their approval of all measures reasonably necessary for the suppression of disorder, they felt it their duty to condemn the excesses of the authorities administering martial law and press for the prompt withdrawl of martial law. After a delay of several months the promised Committee of Enquiry has been appointed and the inquiry has been going on for two months. It is to be deeply regretted that the

government should not have seen their way to suspend the sentences of the leading citizens who were convicted in Lahore and Amritsar and enable them to be present when evidence affecting them was being given at the inquiry and to give instructions to counsel for the cross-examination of the witnesses. It is also unfortunate that for this reason the Congress Committee to whose patriotic labours we owe an ungrudging tribute of praise should have decided to withhold their assistance from the Committee and let in no evidence on behalf of the people. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, the evidence tendered by the government and especially the evidence of the European officers who were charged with the duty of restoring order, has thrown a flood of light upon the administration of the Punjab during those eventual months. The disclosures now made have confirmed the worst suspicions of the public as to the ruthless and inexcusable barbarity of the administration and have created a feeling of intense indignation throughout the country. In view of the fact that the inquiry is not yet concluded, a considerable measure of reserve is called for in expressing an opinion on the matters pending before them. It is neither possible, nor desirable at this stage to express any opinion as to the causes of the disturbances or as to the necessity for the employment of military force or for the introduction of martial law; but the evidence of the European officers which has been already taken has made it abundantly clear that martial law was continued long after the necessity for it, if any, had ceased. that the means adopted by the military authorities to put them down were far in excess of the requirements of the situation and that the proceedings of the officers concerned were not guided by any considerations of common sense, humanity or decency, whether the disturbances in the various localities amounted only to riots or rebellion is a matter which may be left, for the present, to the decision of the Committee. It is well settled that necessity is the sole measure of the duration and extent of the force to be employed for putting down an insurrection and restoring order and that it is only when it is impossible for the ordinary courts of law to sit or enforce the execution of their judgments, that martial law can be indulged. There is nothing to show that except perhaps during the few days immediately following the disturbances the ordinary civil courts could not sit. Apart from any question of the legality of the ordinance providing for the trial of offences by special or martial law tribunals, there was no moral justification for the continuance of martial law or for the continuance of the special tribunals after the disturbances had been put down. The fact that

trial by courts-martial is bound to be quicker or would serve as an example of terror to others and help to keep them in due awe and obedience is no justification whatever for the establishment or continuance of martial law. It is also clear that the martial law officers had no right to treat contraventions of their own orders as offences and proceed to try and punish people for infringement of their orders. Let us turn our eyes to some of the facts disclosed in the evidence of the principal European witnesses The wholesale slaughter of hundreds of unarmed men at Jallian Walla Bagh without giving the crowd an opportunity to disperse, the indifference of General Dyer to the condition of the hundreds of people who were wounded in the firing, the firing of machine-guns into crowds who had dispersed and taken to their heels, the flogging of men in public, the order compelling thousands of students to walk 16 miles a day for roll-calls, the arrest and detention of 500 students and professors, the compelling of school children of 5 to 7 to attend on parade to salute the flag, the order imposing upon owners of property the responsibility for the safety of the martial law posters stuck on their properties, the flogging of a marriage party, the censorship of mails, rhe closure of the Badshahi mosque for sixweeks, the arrest and detention of people without any substantial reason and especially of people who had rendered services to the State in connection with the War Fund or otherwise, the flogging of six of the biggest boys in the Islamiah school simply because they happened to be school boys and to be big boys, the construction of an open cage for the confinement of arrested persons, the invention of novel punishments like the crawling order, the skipping order and others unknown to any system of law, civil or military, the hand-cuffing and roping together of persons and keeping them in open trucks for 15 hours, the use of aeroplanes and Lewis guns and the latest paraphernalia of scientific warfare against unarmed citizens, the taking of hostages and the confiscation and destruction of property for the purpose of securing the attendance of absentees, the handcuffing of Hindus and Mohammadans in pairs with the object of demonstrating the consequences of Hindu-Musalman unity, the cutting off of electric and water supplies from Indian houses, the removal of fans from Indian houses and giving them for use by Europeans, the commandeering of all vehicles owned by Indians and giving them to Europeans for use, the feverish disposal of cases with the object of forestalling the termination of martial law, are some of the many incidents of the administration of martial law which created a reign of terror in the Punjab and have shocked the public. It is a strange feature of the mental constitution of those

military officers that they should have imagined that the steps they took were a remedy for the sullenness of the people and a means for promoting the popularity of the government. We are naively told by General Sir William Beynon that instead of being unduly severe, the administration erred on the side of leniency and that he and Sir Michael O'Dwyer approved of General Dyer's exploit. It is inconceivable that such things can ever happen under the name of martial law in Ireland. That they could have happened in India shows the ineptitude of the present system of government. It is obvious that the Government of India must have regarded the opposition to the Rowlatt Bill as a direct challenge of their authority and as a trial of strength between the people and the government and that having given their promise of support to the local authorities, they were prevented by panic and love of prestige from listening to the representations of Indian leaders, or making any attemt to see things for themselves. It is no wonder that the hearts of our people have been stirred by these doings to their inmost depths. The indecent haste with which the Indemnity Bill was rushed through the Imperial Council is now intelligible. It will also be clear how well-founded the objection of the people was to the provisions of the Rowlatt Bill which entrust the liberties of the subject to the mercy of the executive.

We do not know what the findings of the Enquiry Committee may be ; but if we may be allowed to voice the wishes of the people we should ask, (1) for reparation for all serious hardship and suffering caused by unwarranted acts of severity, (2) for steps being taken to bring to justice any officials, high or low, civil or military, who may be found to have acted unreasonably and in excess of their powers or authorised such acts, (3) for the provision of safeguards against the recurrence of such things in the future and (4) for the abolition of flogging in the Indian Army. Let us see what reasonable safeguards it is possible to suggest. One remedy which may perhaps be thought of is that in dealing with internal out-breaks the civil authorities should only invoke the aid of military forces, but should not allow the introduction of martial law. This suggestion raises a very large issue and in view of the incidents of the martial law regime in Ireland, Egypt, India and Ceylon may deserve consideration, but it seems to me doubtful whether it is likely to be entertained as a practical proposition. No enactment of any Declaration of Rights as suggested by our friends in the Congress can avert the possibility of the introduction of martial law ; for, by the very nature of the case martial law is a creature of necessity and transcends all law. Martial law is

a state of no law where the will of the General who commands the army prevails; but if, as is only too likely, the abolition of martial law for the purpose of suppressing internal outbreaks is put aside as an impracticable suggestion, we are entitled to ask that the constitutional limitations to which its exercise and duration are subject according to the opinions of eminent English jurists shall be authoritatively set forth either in a statute or in a memorandum of instructions to be issued to the Governor-General. It should be made clear that martial law should not be introduced, unless it is impossible for the civil courts to sit and exercise their functions. It is further necessary that the power of creating new offences for breach of regulations and providing penalties therefor should not be delegated to Military Officers and that if courts-martial and civil courts are both sitting, any person not subject to the Naval Discipline Act or to Military Law, who is alleged to be guilty of the contravention of any regulation should be allowed to claim to be tried by a Civil Court instead of by a Court Martial.

The happenings in the Punjab have emphasised the necessity for providing that the Indian element in the Executive Council of the Viceroy shall be at least equal to the European element. They point to the urgent need for the cheapening and quickening of cable communications with England. They have also demonstrated the evil effects of a prolonged exodus to the hills and the consequent isolation of the government from the world of humanity beneath.

Press Act.

The manner in which the Press Act has been administered has brought into prominence the necessity for a revision of it on radical lines. While I am prepared to concede that the provisions for security and forefeiture would serve a useful purpose in dealing with sedition and more especially with Bolshevism at our frontier, I am inclined to think that the deposit of security should not be demanded in the first instance and should be called for only upon its being shown to the satisfaction of a court that the liberty of the press has been abused. Forfeiture also should be made consenquential upon an order of the court to be obtained by the Local Government on proof of publication of objectionable matter. The conditions in the Press Act entailing forfeiture are expressed in such wide terms that it has been found that the safeguard of an application to the High Court is practically illusory. An amendment of the Act on the lines here suggested would remove a keenly felt grievance and is especially necessary in view of the

need for encouraging the growth of a vigorous and honest press under the new conditions of administration.

National Defence.

Even more than the subject of constitutional reform the question of the re-organisation of the military system of the country is vitally connected with the growth of our nationhood within the empire. It is unfortunate that the scope of the reference to the Indian Army Re-organisation Committee recently appointed with Lord Esher as its President should have been so restricted, and that it should have included only one real representative of Indian public opinion. It is also a cruel irony of fate that Sir Michael O'Dwyer whose repressive measures have provoked a storm of indignation throughout India should not merely be a member but the President of the Committee during its inquiry in India. For years past we have been asking that the commissioned ranks in the regular army shall be thrown open to Indians on a liberal scale under conditions which will be compatible with military efficiency. The contention that Indians are only fit to be employed as sepoys under the leadership of British officers and are not qualified for the highest ranks is too hollow to be put forward with any show of plausibility. Even under the existing conditions men who have risen from the ranks to Indian commissions have acquitted themselves with credit. Modern wars are becoming more and more scientific and a country which does not employ the best brains and talents in its army is bound to go to the wall in any conflict with the forces of any of the modern powers One possible objection to the employment of the educated classes in the army is that they may use their military knowledge, training and influence against the government. But are not the educated classes those who can most clearly realize the manifold advantages of membership of the British Empire and has not their loyalty been amply demonstrated by their conduct during the war and by their sincere solicitude for partnership within the British Empire? To adopt the language of the Joint Report, "we believe profoundly that the time has now come when the sheltered existence which we have enjoyed in India can not be prolonged without damage to our national life." The war has painfully brought home to the mind of every Indian his military helplessness and inutility and has quickened the desire for self-reliance for all purposes of national life. We wish to have the fullest scope for the cultivation of the manly virtue and for attainment of the full stature of our manhood so that we may be able to defend ourselves against any external

aggression or internal disorder. In the words of His Majesty, the progress of a country cannot be consummated without the right of her people to manage her affairs and safe guard her intetests. The defence of India against foreign aggression is a duty, an Imperial interest and pride. As a preparation for the goal of responsible government which has been definitely announced as the objective of British rule and in fulfilment of the pledge of increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration we are entitled to demand that the policy which has hitherto guided the administration of the army in India shall be changed, and that the pledges contained in the great proclamation of Queen Victroia should be fulfilled. The continuance of our exclusion from the comissioned rank is a slur upon our capacity and loyalty. The problem of commissions is stated in the Joint Report to bristle with difficulties, the most serious difficulty probably being the one created by the prejudice of Military Officers against the possibility of service under Indian officers But the beginning of an attempt has been made towards breaking down the barrier and let us hope that the change in the angle of vision of the British public and of British statesmen which is alleged to have been brought about by comradeship in arms and by participation in the perils, hardships and sacrifices of the war may overcome the prejudice and opposition of the military authorities, and promote a sympathetic view of our aspirations. Our desire to take the same part in the military organisation of our own country as is enjoyed by the subjects of British colonies in theirs will not be satisfied by the grant of commissions alone. We claim that Indians shall be freely admitted to employment in all arms of the defensive organisation of the country including the artillery, the navy and the air-force and that no time should be lost in taking steps for the organisation of a territorial army which will serve as an auxiliary force to the Indian army. We do not know anything of the contents of the report which must have been presented to the Imperial Government by Lord Jellicoe with reference to the naval defence of India, but costly as any scheme of naval defence must be, we shall be prepared to cheerfully shoulder our burdens on the condition that the Indian section of the navy is manned and officered by Indians. The Indians employed on board the mercantile marine have given ample proofs of their capacity, pluck, sense of duty and discipline and there can be no doubt that we have sufficient material in our sea-faring population for the manning of naval crews. Knowing as you do how the two young Bengalees who were admitted into the Royal

air force and those who were sent to the front in various other capacities distinguished themselves, do you have any reasonable doubt that if the opportunities are given the necessary personnel required for the air service will be forthcoming? Provision should be made in India for giving the highest standard of instruction in military and naval engineering, in the construction and management of aircraft and submarines, in the knowledge of tactics and in all the technical and administrative subjects required for members of the general staff. It is possible that our demands may not be readily granted, but we must make up our minds to carry on a strenuous agitation in England till we gain our object.

You will probably have noticed the announcement in the papers that the Government of India intend to introduce during the next Delhi session of the Viceregal Council a bill for the constitution of an auxilliary force of European subjects. Is it not significant that there is no mention of any intention to introduce a similar measure for the voluntary training of Indians? We must of course recognise that the question of universal service is for some time to come put out of the pale of practical politics by the immensity of our population. But there is no reason why the formation of an auxiliary Indian force on a voluntary basis and in sufficiently large numbers and at least on a scale which will bear the same proportion to the European Auxiliary Force as the Indian army bears to the British units in India, should not be taken in hand. I have heard it said that the response which was made in the year 1917 to the call for voluntary enlistment in the Indian Defence Force was not satisfactory. This is not the time or place to go into the history of this question, nor am I in a position to speak with reference to the response in the other provinces, but having been connected with recruitment to the Indian branch of the Indian Defence Force in the Madras Presidency I am in a position to contradict, so far as Madras is concerned, the statements that have appeared in the Viceregal Legislative Council and in influential journals on this subject. Notwithstanding the fact that the Indian section was treated as the Cinderella of the Indian Defence Force and the numerous difficulties we had to contend against, the establishment of the First Madras Infantry was brought up to full strength and the question of augmenting this branch of the Indian Defence Force was being considered by the Army Headquarters. I may add that the military authorities who from time to time inspected our recruits were satisfied with their progress and attainments.

Arms Act.

The invidious racial distinctions underlying the rules framed under the Arms Act used to be the subject of complaint in Congress after Congress and it is a matter of satisfaction that the Government of India have at least taken action by their resolution of the 21st of March 1919 to abolish all distinctions of a racial character and to provide facilities for the taking out of licenses.

Indians in Africa.

While the sisterhood of India in the nations of the British Empire has been acknowledged in the War and Peace Conferences and in the League of Nations, the treatment accorded to our citizens in the self-governing dominions of the Empire is calculated, not merely to wound our sense of self-respect, but to bring about the expulsion of the Indian settlers by a steady policy of humiliation and persecution. The subject was mooted at the Imperial War Conference by Sir S. P. Sinha (now Lord Sinha) and the views of the Indian representatives were embodied in a memorandum prepared by him The resolution passed at the War Conference of 1918 recognised that it was an inherent function of the governments of the several communities of the British Commonwealth including India that each should enjoy complete control of the composition of its own population by means of restrictions on immigration from any of the other communities As regards the questions raised with reference to the position of immigrants who were already settled in the self-governing dominions, the Conference recommended them for early consideration to the various governments concerned and Sir S P Sinha expressed the hope that on the return of General Smuts he might be able in process of time to remove all or at any rate some of the grievances. The news, however, we have received from South Africa are of a very disquieting character. The Asiatic Land and Trading Amendment Act which has been passed this year extends the restrictions of the Boer Law III of 1885 by prohibiting Indians from acquiring property either by way of transfer to a company or by means of mortgage except as security for a "bona fide" loan. A telegram received about a week ago from Bloemfontein stated that in the course of a speech General Smuts referring to the Asiatic question declared that a fresh invasion had been stopped but a new danger had arisen especially in connection with trade and that steps would have to be taken. We are not informed what exactly the danger referred to is, or what steps are contemplated by General Smuts. In view however of the broad-minded statesmanship of General Smuts it is to be hoped that he may exercise his

influence in favour of justice to the Indian settlers. We are glad to be able to acknowledge the efforts of the Government of India to protect the interests of the Indian settlers. The Union Government have agreed to the representation of Indian interests before the Committee by Sir Benjamin Robertson and an Indian representative and we have to await the result of the investigations of this Committee which has been appointed in response to the demands of the Anti-Asiatic League. It has sometimes been suggested that the objection to the Indian settler is based not upon racial prejudice but upon economic grounds and that by unfair competition he injures the interests of the white labourer or tradesman. We can appreciate the force of economic objections but the remedy in such a case would be rather to prescribe minimum rates of wages and admit the Indian workman to membership of Working Men's Unions and if necessary to prescribe that the Indian workman or tradesman should live in houses conforming to the same standard of sanitary or other conditions as may be reasonably prescribed for the corresponding classes of white settlers. The economic objection however, is merely a cloak for the deeper objection based on racial prejudice. The colour prejudice of the white races and the commercial greed which tempts them to mark off vast regions of the surface of the earth for their exploitation threaten to be the most disruptive force of humanity and are an abiding menace of the peace of the world.

Equally disconcerting news has been cabled to us by Mr. Andrews from East Africa, where a united attempt is being made by the European associations to close the door against future immigration and to stop Indian franchise. Moral depravity is said to have been the result of Indian contact and the South African exclusion policy is approved.

We know what value to attach to these allegations against our countrymen. Mr. Gandhi has pointed out that it is the Indian who was the pioneer settler in East Africa long before a single European set foot on East African soil and who developed the uplands of East Africa. The crusade against our countrymen is impaired by the same feelings of racial prejudice and trade jealousy that have actuated the white settlers in their relations with our countrymen in other parts of the world. The significance of the agitation of the European associations is not confined to British East Africa alone. Under the terms of article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations which provides for a mandate to advanced nations for the administration of the former German Colonies, it is

distinctly provided that the mandatory power must secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of all other members of the League. It was pointed out some time ago by the Paris correspondent of the "Times" that the mandate drafted for the administration of German East Africa which was typical of the mandates for the German Colonies in central Africa included provisions establishing absolute equality of trade for the subjects and citizens of all the high contracting parties The correspondent observed that complete equality of trade had for many years existed in such British protectorates as Nigeria and East Africa and that the same practice and policy would be carried out by Great Britain in German East Africa. The threatened interference with the right of our countrymen in British East Africa is bound to be the precursor of a similar policy of injustice in German East Africa As India is an original member of the League of Nations, Great Britain is bound to protect our rights and strictly maintain the policy of the open door to His Majesty's Indian subjects and citizens. It is our duty to support our countrymen in their claim to the exercise of civil, municipal and political rights and to appeal to the Imperial Government to discharge their obligations under the mandate.

Education.

The reform and improvement of our educational system is an essential condition of our national progress The subject has been most carefully examined by the Calcutta University Commission which was fortunate in its personnel and especially in securing hhe services of Sir Michael Sadler as its President No commission that has ever sat in this country has brought to bear a greater wealth of experience, sympathy and wisdom upon the discharge of its task. Where can we find a more generous appreciation of the merits and aptitudes of Indian students, a more sympathetic understanding of the defects and requirements of students and of the limitations and difficulties under which the vast army of teachers has to work, or a keener perception of the needs of an awakened nation? The dissatisfaction with our system of education which has been felt by the public for years has been proved to be well-founded. They have found defects in our educational organisation from top to bottom and pointed out how the primary school system is out of touch with the actual needs of the community, how extremely inefficient the secondary school system is and how it renders the pupils unfit for useful occupations and how the arts college have failed to realise the aims of university education. They have recommended a comprehensive scheme of reforms covering the whole field of

education and the new machinery which they have proposed for enlisting the active co-operation of the public, for co-ordinating all educational agencies and for the reorganisation of the teaching profession must command general acceptance. It is a matter for satisfaction that the subject of education as a whole is to be transferred to popular control, a result to which Sir Michael Sadler largely contributed by his evidence before the Joint Committee. It will rest with our new legislatures and ministers to set about at once to carry out as far as may be the recommendations of the Sadler Commission subject to any modifications that may be suggested by special local conditions. The provision of facilities for the preparation of our youth for callings in agriculture, commerce, engineering and other walks of life, the extension of facilities for the education of the backward and the depressed classes and the expansion of primary education must engage the unremitting attention of our reformed councils. Care has to be taken also that in the inrush of new ideas which will follow the introduction of the reforms, the preservation of what is precious and vital in Indian thought and culture is not neglected.

Economic Development.

In view of the extreme poverty of our country compared with the standard of any other civilized country, the want of suitable openings in life for our youth, and the need for making the country as self-contained as possible, the problems of economic development are of tremendous importance. The report of the Indian Industrial Commission presided over by Sir Thomas Holland makes a wide survey of the situation and offers recommendations calculated to achieve the ends we all have so much at heart. Some of the recommendations have been the subject of adverse criticism and it is not for laymen to pronounce an opinion on matters where experts differ. Among other things referred to in the report of the Commission I should like to draw your special attention to the need for the encouragement of ship-building in our waters and for the creation of a mercantile marine. It is one of the gratifying results of the war that a change has come in the angle of vision of the government in regard to the policy to be adopted for the encouragement of industries. It is also a matter for satisfaction that the subject of industries has been proposed by the Joint Committee for transfer to popular control, but in view of the discussion in the House of Lords we have to see to it that this proposal is not modified or abandoned in the rules to be made under the statute. The question of tariffs which was excluded from the scope of the inquiry

by the Commission will have to be carefully considered by our public men in the light of the experience of progressive countries like Japan and the United States, and with due regard to the interests of the country as a whole and especially of the poorer consuming classes. Apart from any question of the bearing of tariffs upon the encouragement of industries, it is also worthy of consideration whether the customs duties which form an imperial source of revenue may not be raised to some extent as a matter of pure fiscal policy so as to relieve the provincial governments of a considerable part of the burden of contribution to the Central Government. In connection with the subject of economic regeneration, the treatment of labour is bound to come into prominence and will require to be solved with the fullest sympathy. No economic progress can be considered satisfactory which is not accompanied by an amelioration of the conditions of the labouring classes, by securing to them a fair subsistence which will enable them to secure healthy and cleanly conditions of living and some share of the amenities of life. It is only by a timely attention to these problems and their wise solution that it will be possible to avert the class conflicts which are threatening to break up and destroy society in the west.

The subjects now proposed to be transferred include the most important and growing departments of public administration, Education, Industries, Local self-government, medical administration and public health, agriculture, co-operation and excise. They are the subjects which are most vitally connected with the health, well-being and prosperity of the people and in which the stimulus of popular control will be most fruitful of results. The field of work is as large as it is interesting. But there is another task which is even more arduous and that is the training of the electorates who will be our masters. In several respects government by a responsible ministry is more difficult than government by bureaucratic methods. You have not merely to persuade the masses to appreciate the blessings of a progressive administration but to convince them that they are worth paying for. The system of administration which has been laboriously built up is efficient, though costly, and any important efficiency is bound to react on the interests of the public. The margin for retrenchment of expenditure will be found to be small and the necessity for additional taxation will have to be squarely faced by the new councils and ministry. The electorates will have to be educated to an appreciation of the needs of the whole body-politic and to a sense of just proportion between the various objects of expenditure. With the experience of other countries behind us, we have to learn to avoid the vices and pitfalls of democracy.

The temptation to appeal to ignorance or to sectional interests, to hold out promises that are incapable of fulfilment, has to be resisted. The preparation of a programme of constructive work is one of the tasks that lie immediately before us. It may not be possible for us here and now to chalk out a detailed programme of constructive work in all the departments which are to come under popular control and it may have to be entrusted to a committee and carried out in consultation with the provincial organisations. The ultimate aims of the different parties may not differ very much It is with regard to the methods of approach and the means to be adopted that differences are more likely to arise. Our guiding principle must be "orderly progress" in every department and our organisations must be multiplied and strengthened to carry on the work of propaganda effectively.

Every one of the deputations which has recently gone to England has been struck with the ignorance of Indian matters which prevails in England. In addition to the work of educating the electorates, it will be necessary for us to send out deputations of competent representatives every year to England to create an interest among public men in Indian affairs and to educate public opinion there. A living and watchful interest in the administration of India on the part of the British public and Parliament, is a necessary condition of the further fruition of our hopes. The eyes of the world will be fixed upon the Imperial Government, and if we only make a wise use of our powers aud opportunities I am sanguine enough to believe that the next instalments of reform are bound to follow quickly and as surely as noon follows dawn. I am confidant that full provincial autonomy will be reached in 10 years and that a considerable measure of responsibility will be granted at the end of the first decade. The goal of full responsible government may not improbably be attained within 20 years. The Declaration of Rights of the 20th of August 1917, the Reports of the Joint Committee, the Statute, and the ever memorable Proclamation of His Majesty the King-Emperor, will together constitute the Charter of our liberties and by far the most momentous Charter in our history. The fulfilment of our hopes will be mainly dependent upon our own achievement in carrying out the reforms. Let us hope that the appeal of His Majesty for co-operation will be loyally responded to alike by the officers of government and by the people and their representatives. It must be our loyal duty so to promote mutual good-will and confidence among all classes so that when His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales returns to England after

inaugurating the new constitution, he may be able to report to His Majesty that his exhortation has not been in vain and that his elevating message has inspired the princes and people of India and officers of government to enthusiastic co-operation for the fulfilment of the noble destiny that lies before this land. I trust that from this day forward India will be described as a "Dominion" and not a Dependency of the Empire, and I took forward to the day when India will walk proud and erect among the nations of the earth conscious of a partnership on equal terms in the greatest Empire which the world has seen, and of a right of British citizenship which will connote equal privilegs for all members in all lands over which the British flag waves proud of the glorious contributions she can make to the strength of the Empire, to the thought and culture of the world and to the moral forces that will tend to make this world a better and a happier one for all. May God grant us the wisdom and enthusiasm which with high purpose and steady effort will help us to safely accomplish the journey to the goal

Khalifat.

Although I have not mentioned the "Khalifat" question in my printed address. I beg to mention here that the Hindus have the fullest sympathy with the Mahomedans upon that matter. A resolution will be moved on this subject after discussion with the Mahomedan leaders and will be discussed at the Conference.

The Moderate Conference, Calcutta, 30th December, 1919.

The second session of the All-India Moderates' Conference met at Calcutta in the Town Hall on December 30th 1919. Sir B. C. Mitter was the Chairman of the Reception Committee and Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer was the President. About 500 deligates collected from all over India and about an equal number of local visitors attended. The proceedings opened with Sir B. C. Mitter's welcome address after which Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea proposed Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer to be president. The President then read his address.

The Conference met next day to pass resolutions.

RESOLUTIONS.

1. "This Conference begs to covey to His Majesty the King Emperor its profound homage and sense of deep gratitude for the Proclamation of the 23rd December 1919, which opens a new era in the history of British India by inaugurating the beginnings of responsible Government. By the exercise of his Royal clemency in favour of political prisoners, by his deep sympathy with our political aspirations and by his confidence in our future, His Majesty has ensured an atmosphere of harmony and good will which is bound to contribute to the successful working of the reforms."

2. "This Conference desires to express its profound satisfaction at the anouncement of the visit of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales to India next winter to inaugurate the Constitutional Reforms and to assure him of a loyal and most hearty welcome."

3. (a) This Conference desires to convey to the Right Honourable Mr. Montagu its heartfelt appreciation of the statesmanship, courage and single-minded devotion displayed by him in initiating and carrying the reform proposals and setting India firmly on the road to responsible government.

(b) This Conference desires to record its proud appreciation of the Right Honourable Lord Sinha's services to the country in his

capacity as a member of the War Cabinet, as a representative of India at the Peace Conference and in his conduct of the Reform Bill in the House of Lords.

(c) This Conference desires to thank the Joint Committee for removing several defects in the original Reform Bill and improving it.

4. "While regretting the omission to introduce some measure of responsibility in the central government, this Conference welcomes the Government of India Act of 1919 as a definite and substantial step towards the progressive realisation of responsible government. This Conference appeals to all sections of the community, European and Indian, officials and non-officials, whole-heartedly to co-operate for the successful working of the Act."

Khalifat Question.

5. Mr. C. P. Ramswami Iyer moved :—

"This Conference deeply regrets the long delay in the settlement of satisfactory peace terms with Turkey and views with grave concern any political action which may tend to affect the position or dignity of the Sultan of Turkey as the Khalifa or the guardian of the holy place of Islam This Conference earnestly calls the attention of His Majesty's Government to the depth and intensity of the feelings of His Majesty's subjects on this question and strongly pleads for an early and satisfactory settlement in consultation with the allies. This Conference emphatically urges that any settlement which disregards the sentiments of the Muslem world with which it is in agreement will create widespread discontent and may be detrimental to peaceful progress. No settlement of the Turkish question can in the opinion of this Conference be satisfactory which contravenes the principles of justice and national integrity and even fails to redeem the solemn pledges made during the war"

The Press Act

6. Rao Saheb A. P. Patro moved :—

"This Conference is opinion that the Indian Press Act should be repealed or at least that the Act should be radically revised so that no security or forfeiture should be called for except on satisfactory proof by the Government before a judicial tribunal that the liberty of the Press has been abused and that the condition entailing forfeiture or deposit of security should be so defined as not to render an application to the High Court an illusory safeguard as shown in practice."

7. "This Conference wishes to record its emphatic condemnation of the outrages committed by the mobs at several place in the Punjab and elsewhere and its deep sympathy with the victims and their families. This Conference while in no way wishing to anticipate the decision of the Hunter Committee must express its sense of profound horror and indignation at the manner in which the situation ,which arose in the Punjab in April and May last was dealt with by the officials concerned as disclosed in their own evidence. This Conference is of opinion that it is imperatively necessary—(1) make amends for the outraged feeling of the Indian nation and that British honour and justice should be vindicated by taking step to bring to justice any officials high or low, civil or military, who may be found to have acted unreasonably and in excess of their powers or to have authorised such acts ; (2) that reparation should be made for all serious hardships caused by unwarranted acts of severity ; (3) that safeguards should be provided against the recurrence of such things in future. This Conference authorises its All-India Committee—(1) to take such action as may be necessary on the publication of the Report of the Hunter Committee ; (2) to consider the necessity of the following safeguards among others and taking such further action as may be necessary :—(a) that the introduction, exercise and duration of martial law should be subject to the same constitutional limitations as in England ; (b) that martial law should not be introduced unless it is impossible for the civil courts to sit and exercise their functions ; (c) that the power of creating new offences for breach of regulations and providing penalties therefor should not be delegated to military officers ; (d) that if courts martial are allowed to sit when civil courts are sitting any person not subject to Naval Discipline Act or to Military law who is charged with the contravention of any Regulation should be allowed the option of a trial by the civil court ; (e) that the remedy in the nature of Habeas Corpus should be made available in all parts of British India ; (3) to further the object of the Resolution by arranging for a deputation to England or otherwise."

8. (a) This Conference strongly protests against the attempt made in South Africa to deprive the Indian Settlers of rights hitherto enjoyed by them by means of the Asiatic Trading and Land Amendment Act and by other Legislation of a similar character calculated to drive them out of the country. (b) This Conference appeals to the Imperial Government to affirm and protect the unrestricted rights of Indians to emigrate to British East Africa and the African Colonies which have been taken from Germany and

th support the Indian settlers in these Colonies and all future Indian immigrants in the unrestricted exercise of their civil, municipal and political rights."

9. "This Conference is of opinion that the punishment of flogging which was abolished in the British Army nearly 50 years ago should be immediately abolished from the Indian Army."

10. Sir Devaprasad Sarbadhicary moved a resolution urging the recognition of the claims of Indians to bear arms in the defence of their country. It was also urged to take early steps to place the defensive organisation of the country on a national basis by throwing open the King's Commissions to the Indians on a liberal scale, by throwing open to the Indians all arms of the regular defensive organisation, by taking steps for the organisation of the Territorial Army and by providing adequate military training and instructors in India to the highest standard possible.

Other Resolutions.

Resolutions urging support of Indian Boy Scout movement, the political franchise of the subjects of Indian States in British India and thanking Sir Rash Behari Ghose for his munificent gift for the cause of higher scientific education were then adopted.

Organisation of the Liberal Party.

The Chairman moved a resolution for the organisation of the Liberal Party. The resolution ran thus:—(1) The Liberal Party of India will work for the success of the constitutional reforms by following a policy of co-operation and of promoting good understanding among the different communities and interests in the country. It will aim at a higher standard of national efficiency by means of administrative reforms, a wider spread of education, improvement of public health, economic development and amelioration of the condition of the backward classes of population. The organisation of the Liberal Party shall be known as the National Liberal Federation of India and the future sessions of the All India Moderate Conference shall be designated the annual sessions of the National Liberal Federation. The work of the Federation shall be carried on between one annual session and another by a Council consisting of not more than fifteen members from each province in addition to the office bearers elected at the annual session.

The Work of the League.

The President also moved the following resolutions about the work of the League:—(1) That the Council be instructed to do all

that is necessary and possible in connection with all action that has to be taken under the Government of India Act of 1919 and reports of the Panjab Enquiry Commission and the Indian Army Commission, as well as to bring about the repeal or a radical amendment of the Indian Press Act and also the repeal of the Rowlatt Act.

Deputation to England.

(2) That the Council be further instructed to organise a Deputation to proceed to England to urge before the statesmen and publicists there the views of the Conference on the aforesaid subjects and do such other work as the Council may decide.

Programme of Constructive Work

This Conference is of opinion that it is desirable that various provincial organisations of the National Liberal Federation should consider the following subjects and frame suitable programmes of constructive work in connection therewith : (1) Placing of the principles of land revenue settlements on a Legislative basis, (2) a definite programme of development of irrigation, if necessary by borrowed capital (3) development of provincial railways and reforms of present method of railway administration and of Railway tariff so far as it affects each province, (4) an immediate expansion of free elementary education with the ultimate goal of introduction of compulsory education at an early date, (5) reforms connected with elementary secondary and higher education, collegiate and technical, (6) development of agriculture and improvement of economic condition of agriculturists, (7) reform of the excise administration with a view to minimise gradually the consumption of liquor and with a view to the ultimate introduction of total prohibition, (8) development and expansion of industries and organisation of better credit for the rural classes, (9) amelioration of the condition of the backward classes, the improvement of the present condition of Labour and the housing of the poorer classes, (10) retrenchment of public expenditure and reform of the existing methods of administration with specific reference to the improvement of the district administration, (11) organisation of medical relief and sanitation.

Conference Invited to Madras

After resolutions were adopted the Conference was invited to meet next year in Madras.

The President's Concluding Remarks

The President in his concluding speech thanked them for their overwhelming kindness. He said that the year which had

opened had begun under the happiest auspices for the political future of this country. They had entered upon a new era in political life. The era could not have been heralded by a more auspicious announcement than the gracious Proclamation of His Majesty. That Proclamation had been described as the most momentous charter in the history of this land. He might further say that the charter was not simply associated with the idea of right and privileges to be conferred, but it seemed to him to partake of the charater of a royal edict compatible in loftiness and inspiration to the edict of that great Emperor of India, Asoke, to be inscribed not in stone pillars but in their hearts. It also called upon them to discharge their duties, to serve the cause of the country and to practise self sacrifice. He considered the Proclamation not merely the character of a Royal Edict but that it went still further He was not given to language of extravagance, but if they only reflected carefully and examined the language of the Proclamation he felt sure that he would be considerably justified if he said that the Proclamation would be their political Bible for a long time to come It enunciated the principles which ought to guide them in the shaping of the destiny of their country. It contained many solemn injunctions and wise exhortations to do their duty in such a manner that they should be able to reach the goal in as short a space of time as might be possible. More than all other precepts contained in that Proclamation, he admired the appeal which His Majesty had made for co-operation and harmony, not only between all classes of his subjects but also between the people and the officials of the Government. Unless they adopted that principle of ungrudging co-operation and good will they would not be able to carry on the work before them or achieve the success which they all had at heart. In the minds of many of their people there was a deep rooted distrust of the official world whether European or Indian. It seemed to him that distrust was hardly justifiable in a large majority of cases. A great majority of the officials who took part in the administration of the country were our countrymen and let them not believe that because they were officials their interest was quite different from that of our own. He himself had the good or bad fortune to have a brief spell of office and he ventured to believe that that brief spell of office which he had in no way affected his life. On the other hand he considered that his official experience had been of the highest value to him in enabling him to take a wider outlook, to judge of things with a greater fullness of material information and enabling him to perceive that there were many other sides of the question than that which occured to the mind of the man in the street in the first flush. He then asked them to co-operate with all, whether officials or non-

officials, who were prepared to work for the good of the country in a sincere, honest and patriotic spirit. The outlook for their party was certainly far from gloomy. He would say it was most encouraging. Temporary discomfiture or temporary lack of number need not in any way dishearten them. If they only carried out the programme chalked out, if they only took steps to strengthen their organisation, to extend, to increase their influence in all parts of the country, if they moved about with enthusiasm—it might be their enthusiasm was regulated—he had no doubt that their party was bound to succeed and to attain the ascendency sooner or later not merely amongst the silent, but even among the local classes. Before he concluded he would like to remind the officials who would be entrusted with the duty of the carrying out the reform scheme of the wise words which was uttered by Mr. Montagu in the speech which he made upon the conclusion of the third reading of the Reforms Bill. Those officials who had to take part in the carrying out of the reforms had to remember that they had to co-operate with the people, a people whose sense of nationality was daily growing. If those wise words of exhortation which had been uttered by Mr. Montagu were borne in mind by those officials whose privilege it would be to carry out the reforms and if the appeal of His Majesty sank into the hearts of all classes of people, the president said, he had no doubt whatever that their further progress was insured.

TWELFTH SESSION

All India Muslim League

Presidential Address

(Haziq-ul-Mulk Hakim Mohd). Ajmal Khan
Amritsar 30th Dec. 1919.

Members of the All-India Muslim League, Ladies and Gentlemen.

(After referring to the Delhi incidents the president said :—)

Amritsar, where we are now holding the annual gatherings of the Congress and the All-India Muslim League, has been the scene of incidents which shall ever remain indelible and ugly blots of the history of British Raj in India. But the fact that inspite of the most depressing and dispiriting happenings, the citizens of Amritsar have made it possible for the Congress and the League to hold their sessions here, calls for our admiration for these spirited patriots, and while fully appreciating their courage, perseverence, and manliness we must testify that they have, by their behaviour, furnished an occular demonstration of the fact that Martial Law and its tyrannies are as powerless to silence the voice of Truth as they ever deserve to remain. But the responsibility for the occurrences whether of Lahore, Amritsar or Kasur must primarily be placed at the door of the Government who have so far been ruling India without the least regard for the desires of their fellow subjects, and the passage of the Rowlatt Act is a concrete illustration of that disregard. This legislation was unanimously opposed by all the elected Indian members of the Legislative Council, and every section of Indian population raised its voice against it, but the Government turned a deaf ear to all these voices out of tender regard for the fetish of prestige, making it possible for all the woeful events of Delhi and the Punjab to follow, which we and our coming generations are never likely to forget. It is not given to any common individual to appreciate the particular necessity for enacting the Rowlatt Act. It is generally asked why the legislation of the Rowlatt Act was deemed essential, while such effective weapons as the prevention of seditious meetings

Act, the Press Act and the D. I. A. were available in the armoury of repressive enactments and more especially when rightly or wrongly the proclamation of Martial Law, by means of an ordinance was fully within the limits of Government's competence. If, however, the question of prestige is alone responsible for the passage of the obnoxious legislation, then I fear the consequences of the enactment have been more deleterious to the Government's prestige than the other state of affairs might possibly have been.

Passing now from this initial blunder of the Government of India we come to the Punjab where we meet with an abundant store of mistakes. To begin with, the late Lieut. Governor of this province speaking from his privileged place in the provincial legislative council said that drastic proceedings would be taken against the opponents of the Rowlatt Bill. I am not sure how far such a threat, coming as it did from the representative of a constitutional Government, could be regarded as proper: for the entire activity in the Punjab involved in the struggle against the Rowlatt Act, was strictly within constitutional limits. The pronouncement by the Exsatrap of the minatory words referred to above was tantamount to declaring the mere protest against any legislation undertaken by the Government as criminal. One, however, does not know under what law such an offence would fall.. A possible rejoinder may be that under the D. I. A. whose elasticity in obedience to the official will have become notorious, any constitutional activity of this kind may become punishable. Enthusiastic protests and demonstrations took place in other provinces as well but the heads of those provinces did not feel the necessity of resorting to minatory declamations, nor did it become necessary for them to have recourse to shooting and killing people, and delivering their provinces over to military authorities for Martial Law. It was this flagrantly misguided and repressive activity which on the 3rd and the 5th April last took the form of muzzling Drs Satyapal and Kitchlew, the two popular leaders of Amritsar. Not content with this blunder, the pace of mistaken activity was accelerated, and on the 10th of the same month these leaders were deported from Amritsar. This deportation was undertaken at a time when responsible officials fully anticipated disturbing consequences—"a fact" elicited by Sir Chimanlal Sitalvad in his cross-examination of Mr. Miles Irving, who admitted having anticipated agitation as the result of the deporattion of Drs Kitchlew and Satyapal.

In view of these circumstances the responsibility for all that followed the flagrantly unwise order of deportation must necessarily be laid at the door of the authority from whom the order emanated,

particularly when we know that there existed no trace of any public excitement of the kind anticipated, previous to the blunder. A Hartal followed as an inevitable result, but according to Mr. Jarman, the Municipal Engineer of Amritsar, there were no signs of disorder notwithstanding the cessation of business. In fact, Mr. Miles Irving himself admits in his statement that previous to the firing at the bridge, the crowd did not seem disposed to rioting but wanted to make a representation to the head of the district for the restoration of the deported leaders. So far from there being any testimony in the official evidence to the crowd's disorderly tendency, the facts that the crowd passed Europeans and Government buildings on its way to the D. C's bungalow without signifying any inclination to interfere with them, their desire to petition the D C. for the restoration of their leaders, their not being in possession of sticks or lathis at the time are evident proofs of their peaceful disposition. But the atrocity of opening fire on them was perpetrated in spite of all this which resulted in the regrettable occurrences at the railway station, the banks and other places involving the loss of European lives (which I deplore as deeply as any other man) and once again the Deputy Commissioner had recourse to firing. All was quiet from the 10th to the 12th.

The next day was the well-known 'Baisakhi' festival and a considerable assemblage of men took place in the Jallianwalla Bagh which was gallantly and courageously attacked by General Dyer, who had previous to reaching the spot decided to open fire on them. In his evidence before the Hunter Committee, he proudly boasted that he "fired and fired well" for "little firing" was, in his opinion, "bad." He further admitted that he had made no medical arrangements for the wounded, as all the hospitals were open to them. Finally, replying to Sahibzada Sultan Ahmad Khan he affirmed that there was no difference between mere civil disorder and rebellion. It is to be profoundly deplored that the lives of His Majesty's subjects are entrusted to the care of men, who are capable of boastfully proclaiming that they "fired and fired well," who are ignorant of the difference between the menial offence of ordinarily riotous disorder and the heinous crime of rebellion, and who are incapable of realising that the wounded cannot attend hospitals without somebody's aid. The Commander-in-Chief may profitably open some institutions for teaching such men the difference between ordinary disorders and grave rebellions, the common sense about the inability of the wounded to walk to the hospitals without any help and finally to instruct them in the elementary principles of humanity which require that human life should be treated as valuable and should not

be taken without the profoundest consideration. For a member of a fair and democratic people to have the wantonness to set his heart on firing on fellow beings without taking adequate thought, is a revoltingly execrable atrocity. It deserves to be mentioned with poignant anguish that Indian blood was recklessly made to flow in Jalianwala, with the outrageous result that so far over 500 dead have been traced. In reply to the Hon'ble Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya's interpellation in the Council, official admission went up to 290, but Amritsar's Deputy Commissioner's evidence has unmasked the reality in the amusing statement admitting the number of person killed as 3, 4, or 5 hundred—the uncertainty of hundreds deserves marked attention. This figure has been corroborated by General Dyer himself who admitted having fired 1650 rounds which according to him may have killed 400 to 500 men. This firing becomes all the more indefensible and deplorable when we are told that it was quite possible to disperse the crowd in Jallianwala without recourse to firing, as admitted by General Dyer in the course of his cross-examination. Another matter which deserves to be specially mentioned is the operation of Martial Law before it had been actually proclaimed on the night between the 15th, and the 16th, April last. On the 11th April the administrative control of the District was delivered up to General Dyer, and punishments and orders began to emanate from him. One is, however, left wondering what legal sanction these proceedings had behind them! Do these evidently unconstitutional proceedings resulting as they did in the loss of more than 500 lives of His Majesty's subjects, not entitle one to expect that at least the persons who are directly liable for these deeds of violence will receive the punishment which they richly deserve?

Who can forget the outrageous crawling order of General Dyer, by which human beings were compelled, under pain of punishment, to degrade themselves to the level of animals, and who can ever forget infamous floggings? Did not this very General assert in the course of his examination by the Hunter Committee, that India was the "land of Salaams," where Indians "understood and ought to understand Salaaming." Indians owe it to the honour of their country now to fully grasp the lesson of this assertion and to demonstrate, by their behavior in future what they have learnt by it. Amritsar occurrences reacted on Lahore and elsewhere in the Punjab, and a wave of indignation, caused by these wrongs, swept over the province. The Hartal of the 6th April last peacefully passed off at Lahore, but the news of Mahatma Gandhi's arrest, effected under orders of the ex-satarp of the Punjab, soon had

its effect on the people of Lahore, who assembled in a large crowd to go to the Government House with the object of appealing to the L. G.\ for the cancellation of his order. This crowd was stopped on the mall and turned back and it is stated that the crowd was first fired on while returning and again, while it was nearing the Lahori Gate. On the 11th people were busy with the obsequies of the dead and on the 13th they held a meeting in the Badashi Mosque to express their sorrow. Some people, however, stripped and burnt the clothes of a C. I. D. officer, which at all events, was a regrettable act. As the people came out of the mosque on the termination of the meeting, they were fired on by the military at some neighbouring place. Then came the arrests of some of the well-known and able leaders of the people such as Lala Harkishan Lal, Pandit Ram Bhuj Dutt, Mr. Duni Chand, Bar-at-Law, and others, who could under no circumstances be suspected of countenancing any kind of disorder, and who had made every possible effort to maintain peace and order in the town. But we are all painfully familiar with the treatment they received in return for their civic labours and I advisedly refrain from dilating on this painful topic.

It seems that the late Lieut. Governor, Sir Michael O'Dower, desired to benefit not only his own province by his "Nadirshahi" reign but wanted to extend its blessing to other parts of India as well. He had proposed to penalize "the Independent" newspaper from his seat in Lahore, but the Government of the United Provinces did not prove amenable to the wisdom of undertaking the duty of carrying out each and every whim of his late Honour. It is, however, regrettable that this newspaper's office could not escape the distinction of a police search. It is understood that he was also instigating the Delhi authorities to proclaim Martial Law and desired to have other provinces in the same boat with his "Satrapy", so that it might evade being marked out as a solitary example, but he failed to achieve his end. He had Mr. Goverdhan Das arrested in the Madras Presidency solely on the ground that the latter had dared to furnish a correct account of all the events of the Punjab and its ruler to the press, also that the wires which Pt. Rambhujdutt could not, on account of his arrest, send to the Secretary of State and the Viceroy were despatched by him. He was ultimately prosecuted and has not yet been restored to us. All the occurrences of the Punjab were almost wholly due to reactionery methods. Had wiser counsels prevailed, there is ample reason to believe that not a single life would have been lost. If fire had not been opened on the unarmed crowd, in Amritsar, if Mr. Gandhi had not been arrested

and if the advice of the leaders had been listened to, it can be stated without fear of contradiction that, so far as the Punjab was concerned, no untoward incident would have taken place.

The late Lieut. Governor did not content himself with proclaiming martial Law in some cities, but gave a "carte blache" to men of such pronounced 'competence' as General Dyer, in Amritsar, and Col. Frank Johnson, in Lahore. The latter, in his evidence before the Hunter Committee, has said that 277 persons were tried by the Summary Courts, out of whom 207 were convicted and 66 were whipped, the total number of stripes ammounting to 800. The latter figure included men who were publicly flogged. The Colonel has also opined if not in so many words, that this method of punishment was full of the milk of human kindness. Further, he is responsible for the statement that the people liked the Martial Law and were grateful to him for maintaining peace and order. It seems that the people who manifested such remarkable admiration for Martial Law were not lucky enough to have a taste of the punishment which was brimful of kindness, otherwise they would have been less eager to express their partiality for such a "regime." He has further stated that on the 10th when fire was opened on a crowd of about eight thousand men on the Mall, it resulted in the loss of one human life and five or six wounded, which was due to the fact that the firing of the Police force was very much below third class. It is a pity that none of the members of the Hunter Committee appears to have asked the gallant Colonel what in his opinion would have been the result of firing by one, who had hardly ever shouldered a gun, on a crowd of eight thousand. The only answer according to Frank Johnsonian logic could be that none would have been injured at all. It is noteworthy that Col. Frank Johnson likes the jails immensely, and seems to regard them as unusually comfortable. If jail is really the place of such comforts it would have been the most proper thing for the Colonel to send there those of his admirers who expressed their deep appreciation of the Martial Law.

Lieut. Col. Frank Johnson, who holds a high rank in the army, and who can unmistakably be considered an expert in military matters, has further observed that "whipping is equal to a thousand soldiers" in military equation, of course. Col. Johnson should certainly be sent to the front on some future occasion, so that in an actual engagement he may by dispersing with soldiers, prove the striking effectiveness of the weapon he has discovered—alas, at the conclusion of the late war—and vanquish the enemy with "its" aid. The credit of the discovery must ever belong to this renowned and

gallant soldier. Later on, he has also deposed that the order to shoot any person who stood in the way of opening shops emanated from him, and again he has affirmed that as peace in the city depend upon the cessation of the Hartal, no punishment could be too severe. It is alleged that the Martial Law notice which was posted on the Sanatan Dharm College building was torn down by some unknown person and led the Col. to detain the five hundred men belonging to the College, who were made to march long distances in the heat of summer. They were let go after two days' detention. On this point, Sir C. Sitalvad asked him if he considered it the proper discharge of his duty to march five hundred students to the fort under the burning sun of Lahore, and the reply of the merciful and justice-loving Colonel was that he was prepared to do it again, if necessary. We learn from this gallant officer that he was responsible for punishing one thousand and eleven students. These punishments are in addition to those inflicted by the Police. In answer to a question on this point the chivalrous Colonel is reported to have stated that information was received that many students were insulting English women and that was why he looked upon his orders, which were undoubtedly severe, as right and just, and he would continue to hold that opinion. It is a pity no one asked him on which dates after the 10th. European women were seen out, and who were the boys complained against. Is it not deeply regrettable that on the strength of baseless and absurd rumours or predelictions, poor students were subjected to the subtle tortures which are truly barbarous, and shall ever continue to be regarded so.

He admitted his responsibility for a ridiculous order before the Hunter Committee, according to which no two "natives" could walk abreast in front of an European, lest the latter should be provoked to commit a breach of the King's peace.

And again, I feel a certain commiseration for this colonel, within whom burnt the fire of conscience with a steady flame, when he confesses his weakness in having punished a Magistrate for interfering with a marriage procession and having the offenders, including a priest, flogged. The reason why I feel compassion for the Colonel is that in my opinion this order of the Magistrate did nothing to offend against justice, but perhaps necessity and expediency required it, for it brought out the real character of the likely ends which came within the operation of Martial Law. If two "natives" could not walk together in front of an European lest the latter should be provoked to commit a breach of peace, in the case of a marriage procession the fear of a graver disturbance would be thoroughly justified.

In this instance, by arresting a marriage party which was supposed to be defying the Martial Law, in so far as it carried with it the potentialities of a breach of the peace, and flogging it, the one beneficial result which followed was that the whole city came to know of the incident and the Colonel was saved the inconvenience of administering this punishment to others, as the example must have terrorised the whole city. I am, therefore, truly grieved that Col. Johnson during his "strong administration." betrayed the weakness, induced by qualms of conscience, of dismissing a Magistrate who, keeping the maintenance of peace and order in view, had, all in a bona fide way, ordered this supremely merciful and sublimely kind mode of chastisement. I wonder if this Magistrate would care to bring the matter to the notice of Sir Michael O'Dower (for it was during his Ex-Honour's term of office that an honest maintainer of peace was so unjustly treated), and prefer Colonel's order of dismissal! It would be unjust to overlook the incident of the Badan appeal against the noble and gallant shahi Mosque and the closing of its doors upon Mohammadan Mosque-goers, for it constitutes the most illustrious episode of the O'Dwyrian rule, never likely to be efaced from our memories. It would be an act of fooly for the Mussalmans to complain against this outrage. They should see it for themselves that it was here that a C.I.D. Officer was stripped of his clothes, and the only merciful punishment for so wanton a disregard of the all too fine susceptibilities of the department could be the closing of the Mosque altogether for the time being. If it had remained open and the same incident had been repeated the consequences for the Musalmans would have been indeed very grave. It was also possible that the people might congregate there on the pretext of saying prayers but really to conspire against the Govt. and, then, Col. Johnson or the civil authorities, would have been obliged to adopt severe measures. Moreover, the Mussalmans should remember that if the Colonel closed the Langar Khanas, meant for distributing food among the poor and the hungry, because "rebellion also could be promoted there" (against which grave contingency the city had to be guarded), the closing of the mosque must have been dictated by tender regard for the benefit of the Mohammdans themselves. It was apparent that their not congregating there for prayers would insure them against the catastrophe, resulting from fanning the flame of rebellion. This mosque may have been closed on another possible ground. On the 12th when a number of Mussalmans were returning from it, the Colonel's guard was attacked in the rear (the Colonel is silent as to how and with what weapon) and perhaps

an accidental but vigorous dead-set was made at the Col. himself with the help of a big or trifling brickbat. Placed in such a helpless situation, if the Col. ordered firing and some lives were lost, the matter should not assume the magnitude of a complaint; for according to the recently propounded principle already referred to while dealing with the evidence produced before the Hunter Committee in Delhi only "a trifling number of men were killed to save a large number from decimation. If the Colonel had refrained from firing, it was quite within the pale ofpossibility that the centre of the army would have been rushed, which would have led to more deaths among the crowd than actually took place on the 12th.

He also had 4 aeroplanes to hover over the city which was an act of foresight. For, endowed with a rare genius, this warlord anticipated, that if the citizens threw bombs the lives of his soldiers would be lost in vain and to provide against such a contingency he had kept two aeroplanes in readiness to go up at once at a given signal and drop bombs on the city. This wisdom-propelled precaution achieved a remarkable end, namely, that the citizens were (according to the perverse imagination of the gallant Colonel) prevented from using their hand grenades and the Colonel's army through his foresight and God's grace, remained intact and quite safe.

Kasur.

After describing the incidents at Lahore we come to Kasur. The following is a bare statement of facts gathered from the evidence of official witness who appeared before the Hunter Committee :—

On the 11th. April last, a public meeting was held at Kasur, at which speeches were delivered about the Rowlatt Act.

A Hartal followed the news of Mahatma Gandhi's arrest and continued till the 12th.

On the 12th a procession of people carrying black flags proceeded towards the station, when according to the evidence of Mr. P. Marsden, the Subdivisional officer, the leaders declared that the British Raj had come to an end. The people attacked the railway station, godown goods, waggons, and passenger trains, and looted all the cash which they found there. Similar incidents took place at Khan Karan and the station was damaged at Patti.

At the Kasur Railway station a train was stopped. Two soldiers who were travelling on this train fired one or two shots on the crowd, after which they were attacked and killed. The crowd

was shouting that two of their men had been killed (which meant that they meant to avenge their death).

On the same day, three hundred Indian and fifty British soldiers reached Kasur, under the command of Captain Macray, and on the 16th April he declared Martial Law before a public meeting held at the Town Hall.

The total number of arrests made was 172, out of which fifty-one persons were convicted, and the rest were discharged or acquitted.

In addition to these, two persons were shot by the sentry, because they failed to reply when challenged, and one of them was a deaf mute !

During this period the people were subjected to various punishments which must be mentioned :—

A cage was put up in which people were imprisoned, and they were obliged to answer the calls of nature where they were.

Some persons were made to draw lines on the ground with their nose, as vouched by some reliable persons.

But the military officer, responsible for this punishment, stated, that he did not make such an order, but had only ordered men to prostrate themselves on the ground which was a form of Salaaming.

The Head Master of a high school, and an aged man were flogged.

On the 3rd May a public gallows was erected but was subsequently removed by the order of the Punjab Govt.

The Head Master of the Municipal Board School complained that the boys disobeyed his orders. He was, therefore, asked to send any three boys for punishment. As the three boys sent by the Head Master were physically weak, a second order was sent to him to furnish three robust boys who were selected and sent and were punished for the misfortune of being physically strong.

The Head Master of the Islamia School had made no complaint against his boys but three lads from this school too were similarly punished.

The entire male population of Kasur, numbering some eight to ten thousand, were summoned for identification several times, and were ordered to bare their heads.

The police searched the houses of eight pleaders, and arrested several others, including those who had helped the Government to maintain peace and order. Mr. Dhanpat Rai, pleader, was arrested without any evidence of any kind against him.

Persons were flogged before prostitutes, who were collected to witness the puishment.

Forty persons were flogged, each receiving 18 stripes on an average, and some students were publicly flogged.

From twenty to twenty-five persons were given the fancy punishment of "skipping," which was said to be good for their health.

A poet who had been arrested was asked by Capt Doveton, the Martial Law administrator, to write an ode in his honour and was released in reward for it.

How can one characterise these punishments except as being a leaf out of mediaeval history. In the present age inflicting such punishments and proudly boasting about them can only come of individuals wholly devoid of human attributes.

Gujranwala.

The occurrences of Gujranwala were still worse. Here the unarmed civil populace was bombed from aeroplanes for the first, and let us hope, for the last time in India.

On the 6th April, hartal was observed But previous to this, on the 5th April, a public meeting was convened at which people were enjoined to observe Hartal, in speeches, which according to Colonel O'Brien incited the people to acts of lawlessness. On the 14th April, a disturbance took place, as described in official evidence which led to the burning of the station, the cutting of telegraph wires and damage to the court buildings. Government property and railway station were partially damaged in fourteen places other than Gujranwalla. Some Europeans were also assaulted at some of these places But the most heinous crime alleged to have been committed at Ramnagar was the burning of the King's effigy after which some people went to bathe in the river.

On the 14th aeroplanes were sent to Gujranwala where six bombs were thrown. But the damage done by two of these bombs is stated to be six killed and six injured. Colonel O'Brien's evidence is silent about the damage done by the four remaining bombs. He has given the total number of casualties as twenty-seven, including eleven killed, which figure appears astonishingly small, in view of the frequent bombing and machine gunning from the aeroplanes.

Colonel O'Brien then goes on to say that at 11, the same morning the police fired on the people, for the first time when Mr. Heron was assaulted. On the second occasion, a crowd crossing the railway line was fired on, without any reason after which whereever people collected, they were fired on. It does

not require very hard thinking to come to the conclusion that the gallant colonel's memory has played him false in regard to the number of casualties. It is, one might observe with regret, the inferior shooting by the police, which deprived certain persons of the satisfaction of doing justice to Gujranwala.

Colonel O'Brien asserted that order could be restored only with the help of the army, and Martial Law would not have been necessary if Summary Courts had been established. However, according to Col. Macray everything emanated from the Punjab Government, of whose will the District authorities were mere instruments.

A catalogue of all the wrongs committed before or after the announcement of Martial Law, would be rather prolix, but a few concrete illustrations would not be out of place. Enumerated thus are :—

(1) Flogging publicly,

(2) Refusal to admit people to bail.

(3) The arrest of persons, on information supplied by the Police, without due inquiry.

(4) Handcuffing and marching those under arrest, a distance of two miles through the Bazar, preceded by two Municipal Commissioners, one Hindu and one Mussalman, (most probably to ridicule Hindu-Muslim unity.)

(5) Sending twenty-three arrested persons of Lahore by cattle trucks, and marching them through the bazars of Lahore.

(6) Punishing a police sergeant for failing to give evidence as directed.

Gentlemen, this is a brief but deeply sad tale of the inhuman reaction of which the fair Province of Punjab has been the victim. I have refrained from dwelling on all the atrocities in detail for the obvious reason that you yourselves are fully familiar with them.

Conclusion Regarding Delhi and the Punjab.

I have, after carefully weighing all the circumstances, arrived at the conclusion that the Delhi and Punjab occurrences were due to a series of blunders. I see behind all these happenings one mistake after another, like those committed by a physician, who causes endless harm to the patient, by failing to diagnose the disease. Had not the Rowlatt Act been passed in the teeth of the opposition referred to, not the smallest event of an untoward nature would have taken place in Delhi or the Punjab! The enactment of this legislation brought the Satyagraha movement into existence, which was considerd the last remedy. It was not translated into

practice in Delhi, but the better part of the country regarded it as an acceptable idea. As I have already said, not a drop of blood would have been shed in Delhi, if better counsels had prevailed. The Chief Commissioner certainly acted with patience, and largely helped to save the situation, but all that occurred in Delhi is traceable to the mistakes of other officials. Had no firing taken place at the Railway Station as none took place in the King Edward Park, the situation would have been peacefully overcome.

Coming to the Punjab, the Amritsar happenings clearly show that the initial blunder consisted in the muzzling and deportation orders, served on Drs. Satyapal and Kitchlew, which emanated direct from Lahore, without previous consultation, with the "man on the spot," who had every right of being entrusted with the sole responsibility of keeping order in this district, to be consulted in respect to so delicate a matter. This led to all the sad occurrences which followed. I have a right to ask any right-minded person, if in his opinion any of the gruesome events we all know, and which have been referred to above, would have come to pass, if the initial blunder had not been perpetrated? Similarly, but for Mr. Gandhi's arrest at Palwal, and firing on the crowd at Lahore there was no fear of any untoward event at Lahore. The crowd could easily be dispersed by other means as represented by the leaders to the authorities at the time. The occurrences of Kasur and Gujranwala too, arose out of like blunders, otherwise the demonstrations would have ceased in a short time, as generally happened everywhere.

Lord Hunter's Committee.

The Disorders Enquiry Committee was appointed in response to India's constant demand for a searching inquiry into these occurrences. It commenced its work in November, at Delhi, regarding the Delhi and the Punjab occurrences. We have no right to pronounce any premature judgment and must patiently await its Report. Although our bitter experience of such committees in the past has been abundantly depressing, we must "wait and see" and refrain from expressing any opinion. Considering the fact that the findings of the Hunter Committee will, at most, have a moral effect, we cannot have any very high expectation of it nor can we fail to observe the more or less inconsequential nature of its labours. for has not the Indemnity Act taken the wind out of its sails, by guaranteeing impunity to officials whose appalling infractions would, in a court of law, have assumed the magnitude of grave crimes? This Act also covers the mistakes committed

previous to the operation of Martial Law, and goes as far back as the 30th March last. It is therefore not a matter for wonder that delinqent officials are encouraged to confess their crimes with unseemly audacity, for they feel that they have a right to say and do worse things.

The Non-Official Committee.

As borne out by the procedure adopted at Delhi, it was not originally intended by the Congress Committee to boycott the Hunter Committee. But their modest request for the enlargement of certain Panjab leaders (who are suffering incarceration for no crime other than that of being leaders), with a view to secure the best non-official evidence, was rejected, and they were constrained in the last resort, regretfully, to decide that they should refrain from leading any evidence before the Hunter Committee, but produce the same before the non-official committee, which is also doing its work. The non-official report will, no doubt, present the other side of the picture in bright colours. I am of opinion that General Dyer, Colonel Frank Johnson and some others have greatly lightened the task of the non-official committee. In fact, India may be fully content with reprinting the statements of those witnesses and circulating them widely in England to bring home to the British the real nature of the share of some of their able representatives in ruling India, and also to let them have an idea of the value and worth these men attach to Indian lives. There is however a good deal of work before this Committee, and we hope it will take early steps to publish both in India and England the evidence it has collected.

Result of Repression.

It is India's misfortune that the men at the helm of her affairs, seem to be actuated with the belief that the central principle of Government must ever be repression.

Although the evidence daily accumulating drives one to the conclusion that repression ever leaves a vigorous dynamic force in its wake, yet our Government prefers to adhere to its antiquated political creed, its daily increasing deleterious results notwithstanding.

If Lord Curzon laid India under a debt of gratitude by the partition of Bengal, Sir Michael O'Dower has done nothing less, by his *Nadirshahi* rule in the Panjab, and of which we shall soon begin to be conscious. Sir Michael will have occasion to be proud of his achievement, if political activity is snuffed out in the Punjab.

But, if the real political life of the province begins after his strenuous efforts to stamp it out, the ex-satrap will have occasion to realise the magnitude of his blunder. He will then realise that the bitter poison he ministered to the Panjab, actually proved the elixir of life to her.

The Reforms.

The forthcoming Reforms will, no doubt, go a certain length to affect the anti-diluvian nature of the existing constitution. But, so long as India's share in the Central Government is not of a really satisfactory nature, we cannot hope to have seen the last of the massacre of Jallianwala and the bombing of Gujranwala. We have not the least doubt about the good intentions of the Right Hon. Edwin Samuel Montagu, who, we fully realise, has not merely taken endless pains to achieve the successful conclusion of his efforts in regard to the reform scheme, but has evinced great preseverence and statesmanship, in winning the goal in spite of the reactionary efforts of certain parties. He has established his claim to be regarded a true well-wisher and benefactor of India. But, we cannot help observing that these reforms fall short even of the minimum demand of India.

Judging the recommendations of the Joint Committee of the Lords and Commons relating to the central Government, in the light of the announcement of the 20th August 17, we are constrained to say that they do not fulfil the promise vouchsafed to us. Nor can it be said that increasing the number of Indian members of the Central Executive Council means the devolution of responsibility in the real sense. Such effect as it may possibly have must needs be confined to the moral sphere. It is, however, satisfactory to note that the Joint Committee has rejected the Grand Committee, and recommended the constitution of the Council of State as a true revising chamber, which seems to be free from the defects of the former and curtails our apprehensions. The Joint Committee has offered useful counsel with regard to the selection of the President of the Indian Legislature. It is rightly advised that great deliberation should be exercised in selecting for this office one who apart from being a man of acknowledged ability should also possess experience of Parliamentary principles and procedure. Provincial Governors are invested with power to dismiss ministers, which, in other words, means that the ministers will be subject to the executive pressure which may prove an impediment in the way of the realisation of legitimate and beneficial aims which they may have in view. It will also give rise to a belief in the country

that the possibility of the Indians availing themselves of the modest share allowed to them in the Provincial Councils has been curtailed to a certain extent in this way. Then, who does not know that Bombay, Bengal, and Madras, are the advanced provinces of India, and they are certainly ahead of certain other Provinces in the fields of Education, Commerce and Political activity? Would it not evoke their resentment when they find that they get nothing more than Commerce, Industry and Education in "transferred subjects", although they are, without the least doubt, entitled to much more. To allow provincial legislatures responsible control over commerce, industry and less important subjects, is decidedly a disappointment for India. When we realise that we have no "fiscal autonomy" which is the essence of our demands regarding economic control, without which commerce and industry must needs remain in a static and lifeless condition, we can hardly entertain any hope of developing our commerce and industry. With reference to the subject of education, no opinion can be formed regarding some of the reservations hinted at in the Joint Committee's Report, until they are before us in definite form. But I hope, as authoritatively stated in reliable circles, Education will be a completely "transferred subject." A good step seems to have been taken in respect to the question of franchise. The Joint Committee has liberalised the principle of franchise by recognising the demands of the depressed classes. But, Indian leaders are unable to understand why the rulers and subjects of native states are put on the same footing as British Indian subjects, in regard to the right of "vote" and "election"; and it is difficult for them to extend a warm welcome to this innovation. The Joint Committee does not appear generous in not applying the principle of enfranchisement to women as a whole, although its adoption is left to the choice of different provinces. It can, however, be safely asserted that the right has not been altogether overlooked. It would have been advisable to select some provinces for the operation of the right after it had been even partially recognised by the Joint Committee.

It would be a great injustice to declare those convicted for more then 6 months as ineligible for election for 5 years. Unless a reservation is made in favour of those who are convicted of offences relating to the State, such as S. 124 A, we will be deprived of some of the best men of our country, who have been the victims (from time to time) of executive blunders.

I regret to say that the Bill fixes the period of our political schooling at ten years, which, compared with other courses of

instruction, appears to be long and tedious, especially because we are left in a state of uncertainty. At the conclusion of this period, supposing the Parliamentary Committee does no more than make immaterial recommendations, at the end of ten years, it would not be possible to predict the number of decades for which India may have to wait for the attainment of complete Self Government. This uncertainty could be disposed of, by adhering to the Congress-League Scheme. Unless there is a definite promise that India will get Self Government within 15 or 20 years, it is futile to expect India for ever to continue to value the modest gift of the Reform Scheme. The appointment of a Parliamentary Standing Committee for advising the Government on important Indian matters is satisfactory in as much as it promises to rescue India from the cold indifference which has been her lot so far. It signifies that a welcome beginning of the process of realising India's importance is being made. It is now essential for India to have a permanent organisation in London to co-operate with the Parliamentary Committee when necessary, and to place Indian aspirations before Britain more prominently. It would be quite appropriate to entrust this task to the British Committee of the Indian National Congress and the London Branch of the Muslim League, but it is necessary to consider the ways of making them more useful. At present it will be our duty to devote special attention to the rules which are going to be appended to the Reform Act. If we fail to devote to this task the time which it deserves, the few benefits now accruing to us may also dwindle. However, looking at the Reforms as a whole, we should welcome them as the first stone of the foundation of Self Government. We must not allow the occurrences of the Panjab, and the question of Turkey to prevent us from taking that interest in them which as Indians is our duty to do. Although we are not likely to forget the deep agony caused by the occurrences of the Panjab and the events relating to the Holy Places, Khilafat and Turkey, we should, while continuing our constitutional struggle, make a united effort to make the Reforms successful, as on that well depend our future development.

Hindu Muslim-Unity.

The secret of the success, not merely of the Reform Scheme, but of all the work which is being done by Indians in India and abroad, lies in Hindu Muslim unity. There is no need to look back, as both these communities have fully realised it now, that unity alone can be the firm foundation of India's real improvement and future progress. Although war is rightly regarded a calamity, the share

the world war (now happily ended) has had in forging the links of unity between these two great communities, entitles us to say that the war has bequeathed to India a legacy which is likely to prove the key to the success of the national self-realisation of India. I must, however, confess that there are certain matters which at times come in the way of the full realisation of this blessing. Those who are inspired by a genuine desire to serve their country cannot be affected by any differences of race or creed, which are the same to day as they were before. Hindu-Muslim relations, however, appear to be infinitely more satisfactory than they have been in past years. The question of Government appointments is no longer capable of engaging our attention to any appreciable degree, and although political rights were the subject of much controversy between them before, the Congress League compact of 1916 went a very long way to settle that matter. Such other matters as the League and the Congress may still require to have an understanding about, will I am sure, be easily settled between them on some appropriate occasion.

Preservation of Cows.

I shall, therefore, address myself to the one question, which has an importance quite its own, and which is none other than the preservation of cows. We have, for some time past, been indulging in indirect allusions and vague hints and to my mind it is high time that this question was dealt with in clear and specific terms with a view to reaching a satisfactory conclusion. Some of the methods which some of our Hindu brethren, have at times permitted themselves to adopt for the attainment of their object have, in certain instances, undoubtedly proved highly objectionable, and naturally tending to defeat the very purpose aimed at. But to-day, when both Hindus and Muslims are marching together through a new era, when various differences are gradually, but surely, being transformed into varied phases of unity, the possibility of the resumption of such fruitless efforts is becoming remote. In fact, we are now inspired by that spirit of patriotism which is sure to prove the key to the solution, not merely of the question of the preservation of cows, but also to the final settlement of all other differences. When two sections began to co-operate in a sprit of loving comradeship, sharing one another's burdens, the inevitable result follows and their differences passing through various phases of mutual toleration finally merge in community of interest with circumstances referred to, and the very differences are transformed into the surest basis of united endeavours.

Our Hindu compatriots have for some time past, been making genuine efforts to meet us more than half way, and deserve our sincerest gratitude for their good will. It is indeed, a testimony to their keen realisation of the needs of nation building. It, therefore behoves us, as inheritors of a noble creed, to reciprocate their-amiable regard with greater warmth and good will to demonstrate that our faith teaches us that every good act deserves a better return. Our Hindu brethren enthusistically and spontaneously observed the Khilafat day with us and in closing their business to share our sorrow they evinced remarkably large sympathies. They cheerfully bore great commercial loss only to prove their sincere regard for our sentiments in regard to a matter which was exclusively religious, and could claim their interest in no other way. Can these sincere demonstrations of friendly regard and good will go for nothing? Most certainly not; nor can they possibly fail to evoke the deserving responses from a people not dead to all noble feelings. Again, what but the promotion of commendable reciprocity and co-operation in exclusive religious matters can be a surer guarantee of India's future welfare and progress? Indeed this is the only point on which we are without the least hesitancy unanimously agreed. The matter which is entirely for Muslims to decide, is what practical step they are going to take to demonstrate their appreciation of this principle, to reassure Hindu brethren. Not a soul among Mussalmans would hesitate to vouchsafe the necessary assurance. In fact, they should enthusiastically respond to such a call, and do whatever they legitimately can, to consumate such an object. They should, in so far as it lies in their power refrain from acts calculated to wound the susceptibilities of their compatriots.

We are, and should be, fully cognisant of the fact that cow killing seriously annoys our fellow-countrymen. But before holding out any assurance to them, we must first see in what light our religion views this question. We must also determine the extent in which "Qurbani" is enjoined upon us—irrespective, of course, of the slaughter of cows. According to Islam, "Qurbani" or sacrificial offering is only a Sunati-Muwakkidah a practice observed by the prophet and emphatically enjoined on his followers) which Mussalmans, as Mussalmans, so long as they can afford it, must observe. Now, it is a matter of choice to fulfil this observance by sacrificing camels, sheep, goat or cow, which simply means that any of these animals can be fit offerings. Crores of Indian Muslims must be strangers to the slaughter of camel, for the fulfilment of this observance; but none of them can possibly be accused of the slightest religious omission. On the contrary, Mussalmans of Arabia, Syria, Egypt,

Tripoli and Asiatic Turkey have been faithful to this observance without ever having slaughtered a cow, and I am confident no erudite Mufti can maintain that these Mussalmans have failed to observe the Sunnat (practice of the Prophet) or have been guilty of any religious shortcoming. If any Musalman dares to call a religiously legitimate act illegitimate, he certainly commits a sin. I consider it appropriate at this stage to recount some of the *ahadsee* (religious traditions) according to which the sacrifice of animals other than the cow is entitled to preference. For instance, *Ummati Salmah* (the holy Prophet's venerable wife) says that the Prophet once observed "if any of you see the crescent heralding the month of *Zil Hijiah* and desired to sacrifice a goat...:" which obviously indicates that the tradition Arabs were in the habit of sacrificing goats. According to another our prophet said that of all sacrificial animals sheep was preferable; if we reserve sheep alone for the offering we will be complying with this tradition. However I would refrain from expatiating on the religious aspect of this subject as, properly speaking, it relates to the domain of the doctors of theology. If having regard to all these circumstances, Mussalmans devoted their attention to this subject, of their own accord, and elected to sacrifice animals other than the cow they would have the proud privilege of being regarded the first to take the initial step towards ensuring the internal peace of the country, and they would also, in this way, be repaying the debt of gratitude, under which they have recently been laid by their Hindu compatriots. I earnestly appeal to my Muslim brothers, to consider calmly, what I have said about this question, and if they arrive at the conclusion at which I have arrived, it will be up to them to show what value they attach to the great principle of unity and what practical response they are ready to make (with particular reference to religious susceptibilities) to the forward step already taken by the Hindus in the direction of that goal. If I am asked to specify the practical step to be taken in this direction, I would recommend that the residents of Kashi, Ajudhia, Muthra and Bindraban (the scared places of the Hindus) should begin the operation of the principle enunciated above, and efforts should be simultaneously directed to the propagation of the same idea in other places. I must confess that it is a question which belongs to the vast and heterogeneous population of seven crore Musalmans scattered all over India, and our efforts will take to bear fruit, but this consideration should not discourage us from making an immediate beginning. I am also of opinion, that unless some organized institution is entrusted with the

propaganda, we must despair of any practical achievement in this respect. The Muslim League, of all the institutions, is by far the most suited for this purpose, and I hope it will offer itself for the sacred work, and perform it with the wisdom and zeal which it deserves. I also hope the Muslim League will receive adequate and willing co-operation from the zealous members of the Khilafat Committees. In the first place, I trust that my views on this subject will evoke no adverse criticism from any quarter, but in view of the fact that the Muslim community like all other communities of the world, is composed of men of varied ways of thinking, I shall not mind any onslaught, for I am conscious that my humble suggestions spring from the depth of honesty and sincerity and are not from any motive to please or annoy anyone.

The Ottoman Empire, Khilafat and the Holy Places.

Gentlemen, I now propose to deal with the question, the importance of which cannot be exaggerated. Although, Indian Muslims have expressed their views fairly and fully on various occasions, it is my special privilege and duty, as the President of the League, to survey the entire question of the Khilafat, the Holy Places and the Ottoman Empire. In order to let the responsible ministers and the people of Great Britain have the occasion to realise the real bearings and importance of this question, we must clearly state the truth regarding the relations existing between Turkey and the Mussalmans of the world and the Indian Muslims. Islam is not merely a faith, but a system which knows no colour nor race. It teaches its followers the wholesome lesson of muslim brotherhood, which secures for every proselyte, hailing from England America or Africa, that equality of treatment, which is the imperishable heritage of Mussalmans. The ordering of such a peerless Socio-religious system creates inviolable bonds between one Muslim and another. It is not a mere collection of ritual and other religious observances, but is so deeply rooted in organic ethics that any attempt to detach it from politics would amount to laying the foundation of a system wholly unlike it. According to our faith, the Prophet of Arabia, who is an example of perfection to all, presented this system as an ideal for the world, and when Providence, in His boundless Wisdom, took him away from us at the conclusion of his spiritual mission, his worthy successors worked for the success of his teaching in a manner to which the chronicles written by friends and foes, and the vastness of the circle of the followers of Islam, bear adequate witness. I, however, do not feel the necessity of tracing the entire origin and

development of Khilafat at this stage; for, the curious can find ample material in books of history. I shall content myself with affirming that to-day it is the descendants of Osman the great (the Ottomans), who by common acceptation are invested with the responsibility of Khilafat (spiritual sovereignty), and on account of which the entire population of the Muslim world have, ever since the day Khalifat devolved on Ottoman sovereigns, owed them that spiritual allegiance which has manifested itself to day in the acute unrest among Mussalmans all the world over. The Ottoman Sovereigns have for a long time been the custodians of the Holy Places of Islam, protecting them against non-muslim usurpation. It is, therefore, only natural for Mussalmans to wish to see the Ottoman Empire sufficiently powerful to be able to guard the Holy Places against the nefarious designs of covetous or adventurous aliens. Turkey has, in her career in history, been the shield of Islam, having for centuries shed Turkish blood in defence of Mussalmans in various battle-fields, and has, therefore, been specially endeared to Muslims of the world. These are some of the salient reasons which explain the painful anxiety with which the Muslim world is awaiting the last word of the Peace Conference in regard to the Ottoman Empire. The Indian Muslims who have been under the British rule for more than a century, and who have furnished on several occasions undeniable proof of their practical loyalty to the British Crown, were impaled upon the horns of a most painful dilemma when war came to be declared on Turkey. They wanted to be single minded, but while, on the one hand, they had the soundest religious scruples against going to war with or helping any one against Turkey, on the other, the adoption of a neutral position was calculated to expose them to the charge of shirking the fundamental duty they owed to their own state. Lord Hardinge, the Ex-Viceroy of India, realising the acuteness of the Indian Musalmans' predicament, made the famous announcement regarding the protection of the Holy Places with which we are all adequately familiar, and which went a long way to placate and reassure the Indian Muslims. We, then, relied on the assurance that the war between England and Turkey had nothing to do with religion, and regarded the above-stated announcement as a pledge that no attempt would be made to deprive Turkey of her custody of Holy Places, and determined to help the British with men and money. Giving our first thoughts to the allegiance we owed to the crown, we, not merely fought against the Turks, but offered all the pecuniary assistance we possibly could for the successful prosecution of the War. Musalmans did not play so

great a part in the European theatres of War, as in the battle-fields of Syria, and Mesopotamia. They fought shoulder to shoulder with the British and the Australian soldiers in the famous Dardeneles campaign, against the Sultan of Turkey, in defence of the British Crown, and took prominent part in the service which others were rendering to the Empire. In Syria especially, of all sections of Indians, Musalmans seem to have been most in evidence—a fact admitted by responsible persons. The Indian Muslims, who have ever been earnestly desirous to see the improvement of Turko-British relations, are painfully aware that in spite of their devout hopes to the contrary the treatment of the Turks by British statesmen has almost invariably been detrimental to the former's interests.

Anglo Turkish Relations.

Casting a glance at the history of the period of Anglo-Turkish alliance we first find that the vast and fertile country of Egypt passed from the real suzerainty of the Turks into virtual possession of England, after the Island of Cyprus had been ceded to England, in return for her securing lenient terms for Turkey in the treaty of Steffano, after the Russo-Turkish War of 1877. The conclusion of the treaty of Berlin led the Prime Minister of Italy to address the English Premier regarding Italy's designs on Tripoli, when the latter replied that the right opportunity had not then arrived; for "the quarry should be pursued when lame or wounded." In 1911, long after this exchange of views, Italy invaded Tripoli and the Turks wanted to send their troops through Egypt to resist Italy's brigandage. This procedure, however, the friendly Britain successfully vetoed. On the out-break of the last Balkan War, Mr. Asquith, the late Premier, enunciated the principle that whatever the result of the War, it should not effect the boundaries of the belligerent countries. Later on, when the tables seemed to be turning and the Turks had, owing to disorganisation, to retreat, the same upright Premier was pleased to observe that the victor could not be deprived of the fruits of his conquest. In connection with the same war, armistice was concluded just before the Turks' possession of Adrianople, when the delegates of the belligerents met under the presidency of Sir Edward now Viscount Grey (the ex-foreign Secretary of Britain) who fully exerted his influence to secure Adrianople for the Bulgars, a demand the Turks would not concede, and Anwar Pasha followed by a large number of troops proceeded to rescue the beseiged Turkish Division with the result that Adrianople fell into Turkish hands. But Turkey's old and

faithfull ally Britain continued to insist on the evacuation of Adrianople. The unnameable atrocities the Greeks and Bulgars perpetrated on Macedonian Musalmans during the Balkan war were such as to horrify any civilised people, and M. Pierr Loti, the famous French writer profoundly moved by them reduced them to a poignantly pathetic and immortal narrative. No voice however was raised, on behalf of England against these atrocities, and no hand was stretched to succour the victims. In fact the indifference displayed on this occasion tended to encourage the appalling intentions of the Balkan tyrants.

Again it is common knowledge that Mr. Gladstone did not merely lack sympathy for the Turks, but devoted life-long endeavours to the extinction of European Turkey, and all his utterances regarding the Turks were hard-hearted and brimming with prejudice. Nor is Viscount Grey, his faithful disciple, free from this accusation, for he too has exercised his powers to the detriment of the Turks. Although British Statesmen's hostile attitude against the only recognised Muslim Power seems to have been more or less consistent, the Indian Musalmans made another effort to let bygones be bygones and placed ready reliance on the present Premier's pledge, contained in his well known speech of the 5th January, 1918. He prefaced this pledge by asserting that his utterance contained not merely the thoughts of the Government, but of the whole nation, and not merely of the nation but "of the entire British Empire" and then proceeded to say "Nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race." No pledge can be more unambiguous or more confident, nor can a clearer utterance be expected from the responsible minister of any other power. But the news which subsequently filtered down from Paris, began to alter the features of this promise, and finally the well-known Sheffield speech of the Premier perpetrated its complete disfigurement, demonstrating to the world the fragile nature of so called "pledges and promises," which seem to be the slaves of circumstances, changing as circumstances change. We were assured that the War would not affect the Holy Places, but we find almost all of them in non-Muslim hands to day, and yet unsophisticated Muslims are expected to detect no violation of the promise, vouchsafed to them, in such a state of things. We Musalmans desire it to be distinctly understood that we regard both Mecca and Medina as being in non-Muslim hands, because the *Sharif* himself appears to be a creature of Christendom. The other Holy Places are situated in similar or even worse circum-

stances. Leaving these two pledges aside we find that some of the war aims and assurances most frequently reiterated by the Allies during the period of the War were (1) that the War was waged in defence of justice and right, (2) that it was being fought for the emancipation of backward and small nations, (3) that it was not a religious struggle, but was meant to secure to all the peoples of the world (irrespective of colour or race) the blessings of justice and freedom; (4) that it was undertaken to end tyranny and aggression and to terminate the usurpation of the rights of others, (5) that the vanquished were not to be dealt with severely, but would have their legitimate rights duly considered and (6) *that there were to be no territorial annexations!*

Now it is the moral responsibility of those who propounded these aims and vouchsafed these assurances to explain to the world their real meaning as they now appear in the light of current events. Let them explain which of their pledges or aims has been satisfied or violated by permitting Greece to occupy Smyrna and its neighbouring districts and by equipping France, England and Italy with authority to hold away in Syria, Mesopotomia, and Adalia, respectively. Conscious of what they have done, they are in a better position to expound to the world the spirit which has characterised their treatment of the Ottoman Empire and Muslim rights, and they alone can state whether any Muslim nationalities have suffered any aggression and oppression or not. Will they be so good as to explain the people of this world in unequivocal terms which nationalities have been selected (irrespective of race or creed) for the fulfilment of their war aims and assurances? Whether they conclude to justify themselves or not let the world realise the truth of it all. It is to be profoundly deplored that England's responsible minister appear determined to impair the credit which she should do all to maintain in Asia. The Asiatics too now seem prepared to give such specious promises the credit they deserve. Where, indeed, are the famous "Fourteen Points" of President Wilson which the Turks and others accepted as basic principles which led first to the welcome of armistice and then to the conclusion of hostilities. Why has the para referring to Turkey, which repudiated the annexation of territory and promised "secure sovereignty" to the Ottoman Empire over its Turkish possessions now become a dead letter? What has become of the principle of "self-determination?" Let those who read and relied on this principle also peruse the proceedings of the National Association of the Syrians, clamouring for freedom, whose voices fall on deaf ears. The majority of the Syrian population is vociferously

demanding the preservation of its liberty, but tender regard for French ambition required that Syria should be delivered up to France. Is it anything but an undisguised travesty of the principle of Self-Determination ?

Treatment of Turks During Armistice.

The pathetic narrative of the infamous treatment meted out to the Turks does not end here, for they were subjected to trying ordeals even during the period of armistice. Pressure was brought to bear on them after the cessation of hostilities to evacuate the Holy Medina with the object to hand it over to *Husain*, the Sharif, and thus they were forcibly deprived of the last vestige of sovereignty over the Holy land, and the treacherous Greeks were suffered to land their troops at Smyrna and occupy neighbouring districts about the same time. Considering that the Turks had surrendered their arms, and trops had been demobilised, the Greeks met with no resistance whatsoever in achieving their nefarious end, but were encouraged to perpetrate the appalling atrocities. The Khalifat ul Muslimin afterwards recounted with poignant anguish in the course of an interview which he granted to an European journalist.

His Imperial Majesty said :—

".....Why should the faults of the Government be expiated through massacaring, sacking and raping thousands of peaceful inhabitants in Asia Minor by Hellenic troops, and Greek hands, whose atrocities are well-known to you ?...cities are burnt, thousands of people are killed unjustly, and with the greatest ferocity. The excitement and despair amongst my people are very great. It looks as though a new war is raging already. But the terms of the armistice indirectly protect the Greeks with whom we are not at war and deprives us of every possibility of defending ourselves against their crimes. At the same time the armistice disarms us. Our troops are demobilised. Before things get worse the Powers must put an end to this butchery."

What hard-hearted Musalman can read these words of the *Khalifat ul Muslimin* without being visibly moved, and what human being can help being deeply touched by reading the graphic description of the tragic plight of His Imperial Majesty's innocent subjects. The reprisals the Turks visited upon insurgent Armenians are magnified and termed "atrocities" and are widely circulated in Europe to excite indignation and horror against the Turks ; but if the Turks themselves are the victims of barbarous atrocities by Greeks and Armenians, the philanthropic champions of humanity

close their ears against their shrieks of agony. Are we to regard this as the criterion of the superior civilisation which Europe seems to be proudly presenting as an ideal to the world? And is this an illustration of the sublime love of humanity, of which the cultured nations complacently boast? Time and again we are confidently assured that religious prejudice does not weigh with Europe. But the trend of events proves the contrary. Turkey has not committed the slightest breach of the terms of the armistice, and yet she has been subjected to the kind of treatment detailed above, whereas perfidious Italy has defiantly trampled under foot the decision of the Peace Conference regarding Fiume, and still her violent affront is patiently tolerated. Again Roumania, a much smaller State than Italy, in spite of being guilty of unmitigated brigandage in Hungary, has consistently treated the demands of the Council as unworthy of notice, thus behaving with unbridled defiance of international obligations but her audacious recalcitrance is met with dignified toleration, possibly because she is a Christian State. Emphatic claims are being put forward for the "mandatory" control of Turkish provinces, but faithless and backward Bulgaria is considered fit not merely to enjoy full freedom, but to have an "outlet to the Sea," although she, too, threw in her lot with Germany and fought against the Allies along side of the Turks (without the admittedly clean methods of the latter). Nor is this all to complete the melancholy tale of religious prejudice against the Turks, for there are still other events which drive the point home. The Premier while decorating General Allenby with an order commemorating the conquest of Palestine, preferred to call the Palestinian campaign a "*crusade*" reviving the more or less forgotten and centuries old memories of a series of religious hostilities between the Christians and the Muslims. The resuscitation by the Prime Minister of this obsolescent term implies that the Powers of Christendom have not yet allowed the old memories to abate, and it is a mistake to regard the ancient series of crusades as terminated, since in winning the latest "crusade" General Allenby, the Richard II of his time, has rendered Christendom that distinguished service which even His Royal Predecessor failed to accomplish. Can we ask the minister, who has rescued the centuries old term "crusade" from oblivion, if according to him the Indian Muslims and unfortunate Arabs bled and died on the Syrian battlefield to win a battle which this second Richard won with the help of troops, two thirds of which were Moslem, to be called a "crusade" afterwards? Let these ministers remember that their present policy, and such flagrant indiscretions as the one just

described are not merely a subtle source of pain to the seven and a half crore of Musalmans of India, but are calculated to sow the seeds of a potential estrangement throughout the Moslem world, which if sufferred to grow may not prove conductive to calm contemplation of the undesirable results likely to follow.

In spite of all this the Indian Muslims have not swerved from the path of duty, and have remained firmly loyal. It is confidently hoped that they will continue to display in the future the patience they have so far shown, and unflinchingly adhere to their primary civic duty. But how is the Government discharging the responsibilities with which it is burdened on behalf of the Musalmans? Let us consider the concrete "acts" which answer this query.

The Peace Conference, which undertook the grave duty of pronouncing a final decision regarding not merely some Muslim peoples, but virtually regarding the entire Muslim world, proceeded with its onerous work without consulting a single Muslim representative. It was not considered necessary to observe the elementary principle of hearing the party, the question of whose life and death had to be decided and it has not yet been considered proper to admit a Muslim representative to the Conference with which rests the pronouncement of the final verdict on Islam. We are cognisant that His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner and Mr. Montagu represented the Indian Muslim wishes to the best of their ability before the Peace Conference, and we are deeply grateful to both of them. But may we know what objection there could possibly be to the selection of a Muslim representative? And why, indeed, was so modest and legitimate a demand of Indian Muslims relegated to the scrapheap? The request made to the Prime Minister for receiving a deputation to present the views of Indian Muslims met with a cold reception, for the Premier was not ready to waste his precious time in listening to such useless matters. In the end memorialisation was resorted to, although without securing any satisfactory assurance. We are thankul to His Excellency Lord Chelmsford for the reference he made to this subject in his opening address to the Imperial Council, in its September Session of 1919, when he assured the Indian Muslims that he had done his best to represent the feelings and views of Indian Muslims to the Secretary of State. We must also thankfully acknowledge His Excellency's allusion to Indian Musalman's acute anxiety regarding the question of Turkey, contained in the speech he made on the 24th November last, at Madras. He said "I realise to the full and sympathise most deeply with the anxiety felt by all Muslims in India regarding the result of the negotiation of peace with

Turkey. Knowing how strong those feelings are I took measures to secure that their views should be represented fully to the Home Government and to the authorities assembled at the Peace Conference. Special Muslim representatives were delegated to Paris to attend the Peace Conference, and whatever may be the result of these negotiations, and this must depend on factors which affect interests other than those of India or England, Indian Muslims may rest assured that their feelings have been fully represented. You may have noticed that Mr. Bonar Law speaking in the House of Commons on November 3rd said that the British Government was fully aware of the interest of Indian Muhammadans in the future of Turkey and that they would give as they had already given full weight and consideration to their views." We, however, find no word either in His Excellency's or in Mr. Bonar Law's utterances which may allay the anxiety we feel. In fact no responsible representative of His Majesty either here or in England has yet permitted himself to breathe a word which may even savour of the assurance we Mussalmans of India are awaiting with bated breath. We are fully aware that the result of the peace negotiation with Turkey depends on factors which affect interests other than those of Britain, nor are we blind to French or Italian *Interests* of which the former seem to figure prominently in the considerations likely to determine England's attitude. We are, at the same time, tolerably certain that England's will be the decisive voice in the final settlement with Turkey, and therefore we are constrained to regard what may follow these negotiations as the result of England's strength or weakness. If England realised the true significance and friendly feelings of more than 30 crore Muslims of the world as against the comparatively paltry economic advantages to be derived from Mesopotamia, she would display less solicitude for the interests of France and Italy and secure just and honourable settlement with Turkey ushering in a wholly new era! We are sincerely thankful to Mr. Montagu for undertaking the responsibility of correctly interpreting our views to the Peace Conference. In one of his speeches he was good enough to observe that he and his colleagues (Lord Sinha and H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner) insisted before the Council of the Four that nothing short of a just settlement on the basis of nationality would satisfy the Muslims, nor was any other settlement possible. That indeed, would satisfy the Musalmans, but surely a "settlement on the basis of "nationality" cannot possibly imply that England and France should become the rulers of Arabia under the specious pretext of holding a "mandate", a new fangled invention

bequeathed by the late war. Nor can that principle be said to have been respected by exposing Smyrna to the tyranny of the Greeks. The Muslims will be satisfied only when independence (in the true sense of the term) is secured to the Arabs and other Turkish subjects by assigning to Turkey the "mandate" to administer their provinces subject to the supervision of a League of Nations not swayed by more than one vote of each country. The Muslims know that the right to hold a "mandate" (if mandatory government is at all necessary) in any of the lands previously under the Ottoman rule primarily belongs to Turkey, because the people inhabiting these lands are predominantly Muslim *in faith*, and no non-Muslim power can under any pretext have the right to hold sway over them. The Musalmans cannot be expected to forget that these lands have been the cradle of Islam, where the Holy Places are situated, and where no non-Muslim can ever have even the semblance of the right of mandatory or any other rule. Trampling upon Muslim sentiments in this respect would mean creating not transitory but perennial unrest in the entire Muslim world, which would otherwise mean the deliberate awakening of unfriendly feelings in an otherwise unobtrusive people.

Difference of Muslim and Non-Muslim Conception of Khilafat

In his speech already referred to, we find Mr. Montagu assuring his Muslim fellow subjects that no word had been used during the discussions at Paris, officially or otherwise, to show that any one was foolish enough to comtemplate meddling with the question of Khilafat, which was purely for the Musalmans to determine. Nor did he think the Holy Places or any sacred building were at the time in any danger to require interference. The first portion of this utterance is far from reassuring the Muhammadans. We are not appealing to any one to refrain from interfering with that aspect of the question which is a matter of faith ; for we know all the powers of earth are not puissant enough to change the religious convictions of any people. I can imagine no one to be so foolish as to ground his appeal to Britain on so obvious a misconception. On the contrary our representations are based on the ground that "*temporal power*" is the chief factor of *Khilafat*, which it is feared, will be destroyed by dismembering the Ottoman Empire as contemplated. The *Khilafat* must not be reduced to the position of His Holiness the Pope at Rome, with his influence extending to spiritual confines only. And again I am unable to understand the import of the second portion

of his assurance regarding the immunity of the Holy Places. Who, indeed, is the real ruler of Hijaz, (where Mecca and Medina, the cities of the Prophet are situated) behind Husain the Sharif, and who are holding and administering Baitul-Muqqadas (Holy Jerusalem) Karbala, Najaf-i-Ashraf, Kazmain—Sharifain, Baghdad and other places, in fact the whole of *Jaziratul-Arab* (the entire region where the Holy Places are situated) to day ? If the occupation of the Holy Places by non Muslims does not spell danger to them, it is difficult to assign any meaning to the word.

Obligations Acknowedged.

It would be rank ingratitude if we failed to acknowledge the eminent services rendered to Islam by some of the high souled Englishmen, who have proved that England is not destitute of men, ready to espouse any cause based on righteousness and justice, and in this connection the names of Mr, Marmaduke Pitthall, Captain Aubrey Herbert, M. P,, Sir Theodore Morrison and Professor E. G. Browne are worthy of special mention, and the fair and sympathetic attitude of Mr. C. F. Andrews and some other Britishers entitles them to our thanks. I may, at this stage, take the liberty of reproducing below some valuable excerpts from a speech Mr. Pitthall recently delivered dealing with this difficult Muslim problem. He said :—

"They say the Turkish Empire has always been abominably misgoverned. Well, I know Turkey pretty well and I declare that there was less discontent per head of the population in the Turkish Empire even in the worst of times than there has been in the British Empire at any time in my rememberance". In reference to Armenian massacres he says : "They talk of horrid massacres from time to time. These massacres have never been on one side only. They were owing to seditious propaganda orgaised by powers of Europe —chiefly Russia. And I say that any State even the most civilised, subjected to the kind of treatment Turkey has received from Russia and other European Powers for a century would show precisely the same symptoms as Turkey has shown. You cannot thrust claws into a living frame without convulsions." Then dealing with the change that the Turks were pro-German he states in categorical terms :—

.....In 1913, the Young Turks wished that England should assume the instructorship of the whole Ottoman Empire, the army included, for ten years. Their object was, of course, to get protection against the designs of other European Powers during a period of reconstruction and reform. *The mere suggestion was*

refused" (my italics). He continues : "The man, like Enver Pasha, who had voted for the suggestion as a forlorn hope, said : You see they dare not act alone. England has become the tail of Russia. She has sunk to the position of a third class power. The only chance which now remains to us is Germany.' Further he says : "The pro British part of the Committee (of Union and progress) —the majority—were disappointed, but still persisted. They kept whittling down the offer, seeking to make it acceptable till it amounted to no more than a request that England would provide a certain number of Inspectors for Armenia, to superintend the reforms which the Turks were trying to push forward in those provinces against the whole force of Tsarist intrigue. The force of that intrigue in eastern Anatolia all through 1913-14 amounted to a state of war. The Tsarist agents were using all the means at their disposal, and they had much larger means than the poor Turks possessed, to discredit the Turkish Government. They tried to work up wholesale massacres of Moslems and Armenians quite indifferently—massacres which were to serve as pretext for the Russian occupation of the country—massacres which the Turks did all they could do to prevent ! Western Europe could not be brought to believe that Russian intrigue was what it was—so barefaced, so ruthless,—and the Young Turks thought that if they could get Englishmen in charge of those provinces, England at any rate would be bound to know and believe. England was bound to help them in Armenia by the terms of the Cyprus Convention. Well, that request was granted, as we all believed. It was refused months latter ; suddenly if these English Inspectors had been sent to Eastern Anatolia, if England had not turn up a "Scrap of paper", the last Armenian massacres would not have taken place". A clean consideration of all these matters leads to the one inference, which has been embodied in the foregoing words.

Persia And The Anglo-Persian Agreement.

The plight of Turkey was nearly enough to break the hearts of Indian Muslims, whom news of the Anglo Persian-Agreement (calculated, in our opinion, to seal the doom of another Muslim Power) proved to be the last straw on the load of Indian Muslims' anxiety.

Persia in her palmy days was a source of culture and enlightenment to Indian Muslims and they are deeply indebted to her. Having regard to the lines along which their social, traditional and literary development has proceeded the Indian Mussalmans cannot help entertaining a grateful regard for and calling Persia their "kind,

old teacher." I have already said that "brotherhood" (or the fundamental relationship which knits together the entire Muslim family of the world) is the cardinal principle of Islam, and therefore moved by feelings which suffuse the consciousness of the Musalmans (as a result of the intense realisation of that teaching), they cannot help being gratified or grieved, as the case may be, at the preservation and prosperity or the decay and extinction of Muslim States. These feelings and sentiments, springing from the 'fundamentals' of Islam, remain uneffected by unessential differences of various pursuasions. We, therefore, observe that the *Shia* section of Mussalmans, whose views regarding the essentials of the question of Khilafat do not coincide with those of the *Sunnis*, are intensely interested in the preservation of the Sultan's temporal power as they could possibly be in the welfare of *Iran* (Persia); and the entire *Sunni* population has as tender a feeling for Persia as any living *Shia* can possibly have. Whether it be the Musalmans of Turkey or of Persia, both *Sunnis* and *Shias* and all other followers of Islam, are equally interested in and own spiritual kinship with them, and that is why Indian Muslims are deeply affected by the Agreement, recently concluded between the British Government and *Iran*. The latter seems to have been the object of the former's attentions, on account of her (Persia's) being a neighbour of India, and those attentions have long been materialising in the form of a definite policy. Persia has been for years the object of English and Russian diplomacy, aiming at the extension or restriction of respective "sphere of influence" and as a consequence of this, all the hopes of a prosperous future, raised during the latest period of her evolutional struggle, were dashed to the ground. A severe blow was dealt to the hope of her economic development by causing the resignation of Mr. Shuster, her well-wisher; her political freedom had been imperilled to the point of extinction by the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1909. However, the great European War, whose painful aftermath is not over yet, resulted in the termination of the said agreement, because Kerensky's Government declared it unconscionable and invalid. Had the Russian withdrawal been followed by the British withdrawal, Persia would have been the recipient of blessing. But now it appears that responsible British statesmen were awaiting the end of war, and no sooner any favourable reuslts made their appearance than they began to bestow attention upon Persia, finally securing the conclusion of the agreement under review.

We are now compelled to look upon Persia as the Egypt of Asia. We fully expect English capitalists to construct railways and

roads for motor services. And we may be sure to see the Finance Department completely overhauled, the audactity of men given to speculation materially pruned, agriculture largely improved, oil fields worked by more capable men, but it appears that in regard to the factors on which depends the evolutional development of the Persian people, Persian's hands and feet are in danger of being bound. Persia may now cease to have any conception of political liberty, and despair of working the resources of the country or accomplishing any real economic development with the aid of the country's capital. Henceforth Persia will be obliged to maintain a very low standard of education, and will be so juxtaposed as to be obliged to relieve her officials of much of the burden of their responsibility, as a consequence of which their efficiency will be undermined, and she will be constrained to depend on some other Power for a supply of experts, and all these facts will contribute to the disappearance of her real freedom.

The Anglo-Persian Agreement.

A propos of the Anglo-Persian Agreement which is talked about in Europe and Asia to-day, I may give below the gist of some of the articles which throw light on the nature of this Agreement.

By article 1 of Part 1 of the Agreement, (in so far as the parchment is concerned on which the agreement is indited) the Government of Great Britain "reiterates in the most categorical manner possible" the undertaking "to respect absolutely the independence and integrity of Persia," and thereby in a way incur a responsibility; and according to the second and the third articles it undertakes "to supply, at the cost of the Persian Government," advisers and experts "for the several departments of the Persian Administration," including, of course, Finance and Military Departments. These two articles vitally react on the first; for if the Persian Government is committed to entrusting her Military and Finance to British advisers and specialists, it is obvious that the agreement reaches down to the very root of Persia's independence otherwise guaranteed in the first article. The third article further stipulates, on behalf of Great Britain, the supply of "officers, munitions and equipment of modern type at the cost of the Persian Government," thereby relieving Persia of much of the difficulty she might otherwise have encountered. Then Persia was granted a loan of £2,000,000 from England on interest at 7% per annum, payable by instalments in 20 years, and by way of security of repayment she assigns to England the receipts of all the revenues and customs of various provinces; England also assumes the responsibility of co-operating with the Persian Government

in "encouraging Anglo-Persian enterprize" by means of "construction of railways and other forms of transport," thus enhancing the means of and facilitating communication. Further, Sir Percy Cox has secured the relinquishment by the Persian Government of any claim she might otherwise have made to be indemnified for the damage "caused by British troops during their presence in Persian territory" and, as a token of reciprocal return, the British Government has agreed to claim no "cost for the maintenance of the said troops sent to Persia owing to Persia's want of power to defend her neutrality."!!

If Persia, in her anxiety to defend her neutrality, requested the British Government to send British troops, she certainly cannot fairly claim any indemnity for any damage caused by the troops, and not to burden her exchequer with the cost of the maintenance of these troops must necessarily be regarded as an act of obliging generosity, but if the presence of British troops in Persia was a strategic and ineluctable necessity dictated by foresight in regard to the defence of India on the one hand and the provision against the enemy descending by way of Persia on the advanced troops in Mesopotamia on the other, I fear the securing of the relinquishment of her claim by Persia can hardly be based on fairness.

In fine, the complex problems connected with Turkey's present plight, and the virtual extinction of Persia's freedom, are some of the most fruitful and potent causes of the present unrest throughout the Muslim world, which, in my humble opinion does not derive sustenance from sources of a temporary nature, because it lies down in the depth of faith, and its temporary abatement should not be treated as a sign of its complete subsidence. It has, as we are all aware, brought the Khilafat Committee into temporary existence to voice the true Moslem feelings and to secure the just treatment of Turkey and the preservation of the integrity of Persian independence. It is hoped that they will continue to respect the ethical duty imposed upon them as subjects of the Government, whose protection they enjoy, while banishing all hesitancy and timidity, in giving fearless expression to their views—all within constitutional limits—during this crisis and after. May the Khilafat Committee succeed in achieving what they have come into existence for and may it not be found necessary to perpetuate or prolong their existence.

Non Participation in Peace Celebrations.

Gentlemen, allow me here to say a few words regarding the abstention of the Muslims from the official Peace Celebrations. The Muslims of India along with other Indians would have willingly and

enthusiastically participated in the celebration, whatever its form if the cessation of the war concluded in favour of the Allies had brought real peace and tranquility in its train. But at a time when the only surviving Muslim power appeared to be in imminent peril of being absorbed and the Muslim Holy Places had been weaned from Muslim custody, their abstention from the celebration could hardly be viewed as unjustified. Their religion forbade any participation in such a rejoicing; and whenever there is any conflict between the command of their faith and the wishes of the officials their first duty will be to obey the former which no earthly consideration can possibly override.

Gratefulness of the Hindus and Mahatma Gandhi.

In this respect we, Musalmans, are deeply grateful to the Hindus for sharing our sorrow with sincere willingness, and giving enthusiastic expressions to their sympathetic feelings. The abstention of Hindus from peace celebrations (which included the suspension of business for some time in the evening for 3 or 4 days, and co-operating with Musalmans in observing the directions issued by the Anti-Peace-Celebrations Publicity Board), out of regard, among other things, for Moslem sentiments, has made a deep impression on the Musalmans, and I trust the spirit which has achieved this result will continue to operate in the interest of preserving the impression created. At the same time I confidently trust that the Musalmans will, in future, willingly co-operate with their fellow countrymen in all matters which may be of special and exclusive interest to the latter. I cannot at this stage help mentioning the revered name of Mahatma Gandhi, an acknowledged leader of our country, whose active sympathy springing as it did from the depth of unalloyed sincerity and a correct conception of righteous action, has won him the grateful and reverential affection of all Musalmans of India. If thankfulness can be expressed in words, let me in the name of the Indian Muslim community thank the Hindus and Mahatma Gandhi from the bottom of my heart.

Permit me, now, to say a word about the unfortunate Muslim and other internees, whose sufferings in exile have not known abatement in spite of the termination of the war. It seems as if the question of the release of our *Peswa* (revered guide), Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hussan, and our brothers, Messrs. Muhammad Ali, Shaukat Ali and Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, has ceased to engage the attention of the Government. The Musalmans after having done what was possible for them to do, and failed to secure the early release of

these devotees to the National cause, were hoping that after the cessation of the war the Government would, at any early date, turn its attention to the question of releasing the interness—a hope doomed to disappointment! If, however, this listlessness of the Government continues it will be time for a systematic public movement to draw the attention of the Government to this question. It is, however, devoutly hoped that such a necessity will not arise, and the Government will be found ready to reconsider the question of their release, and terminate the painful period of their separation from us.

Last Word.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am sorry to have occupied much of your valuable time, but the singular gravity of the present crisis in the Muslim world, and the vital questions arising out of the Punjab situation compelled me to linger on the points dealt with in my address, even to the exclusion of some other important problems. I sincerely thank you for the patient hearing you have accorded me, and crave your indulgence for the omissions and shortcomings patent on the face of my humble although honest and sincere submission. I am aware that the exceptional nature of the events now happening in the Muslim world has led me to dwell at length on topics of exclusively Muslim interest, but I have done so advisedly and in the confident hope that it cannot, at this time of day, lead any one to doubt the vivid consciousness of the Mussalmans of the solemn duty they owe to their Motherland. As children of the soil, they know and fervently desire to fulfill their duty to the country of which they, in common with Hindus, Christians, Parsis and other communities are the proud inheritors. They have, I can assure all concerned, realised to the full the solemn call of the Motherland, and the sacred duty of patriotism. I am proud to declare that the time has come when the necessity for exhorting people to live up to the highest standards of patriotism is rapidly diminishing; for the mysterious tide of human progress is pushing its sweep forward, and the humblest being is becoming conscious of how to live and die for higher ideals. For India the unseen future holds a magnificence and splendour compared with which the most glorious grandeur of her past will be but small. Let all hands of men as well as of women join to unveil that vision.

The All-India Muslim League.

Proceedings of the 12th Session.

The 1919 Session opened on Dec. 29 in the Bande Mataram Hall, Amritsar. Dr. Kitchlew, who had been elected Chairman of the Reception Committee while suffering incarceration at the hands of Sir Michael O'Dowyer, the Lieut.-Governor, and had since the Royal proclamation been released in time to be present, evoked a wild enthusiasn. Before the proceedings began it was announced that Messrs. Mohamed Ali and Saukat Ali had been released and would be in Amritsar the next morning. The news was received with acclamation. The proceedings commenced at 1-30 P. M. Most of the prominent Congressmen were present: Pundits Nehru and Malviya, Mrs. Besant, Messrs. Gandhi, Srinivasa Sastri, Bomanji, B. N. Sarma, Gokaran Misra, Bukshi Tek Chand, Ramaswami Iyer, and others. Dr. Kitchlew delivered his welcome address and Moulvi Sanaulla who had been elected acting Chairman while Dr. Kitchlew was in prison then read his speech in Urdu. Hakim Ajmal Khan was then elected President and he delivered his address. The first three resolutions were then passed and the league then adjourned.

Next day, Dec. 30, the League resumed its sitting and the Secretary, Mr. Syed Zahur Ahmed, read the annual report which was passed.

The revised draft constitution of the League was then taken into consideration and slight changes introduced. The next two or three resolutions were then passed and at that stage came Messrs. Mohamad Ali and Saukat Ali. At once the huge gathering stood upon their feet and greeted their beloved leaders now returned after long years of cruel internment with a reverberating chorus of joy. For the time resolutions were dropped and the great Ali Brothers were pressed to speak. They then addressed the meeting and the audience was moved to tears.

The League then adjourned and met again next day to pass the remaining resolutions. After the usual thanksgivings the sessions came to a close.

Resolutions.

The following resolutions were adopted at the Amritsar Session of the All India Muslim League 1919:

1. The All India Muslim League tenders its homage to the person and Throne of His Majesty the King Emperor and assures him of the steadiest and continued loyalty of the Mussalman community of India.

2. That this meeting of All-India Muslim League places on record its sense of deep loss which the Community has sustained by the sad and untimely death of the late Sheik Mohammad Umar, Bar-at-Law of Amritsar, and Secretary Anjuman Taraqqi Talim Mussalman, Amritsar.

3. This meeting of the All-India Muslim League expresses its sense of deep grief at the sad and untimely demise of the late Nawab Syed Mohammad of Madras.

4. This session of the All-India Muslim League while thanking the Governor of Bombay for announcing in Council strict neutrality of the Government in religious matters and for issuing a public warning to the effect, strongly urges the necessity of a sifting enquiry by H. E. the Governor into the complaints of improper conduct of certain Sindh officials in connection with the Khilafat question.

5. That in view of a strong desire of the Muslim community to have definite provisions for the protection of its interest, this League urges upon Government that the following safe-guards be adopted in the forthcoming Reforms—(*a*) The Mussalmans should be adequately represented in the public services of the country; (*b*) The Mussalmans should have representation in the administration in the same proportion as the representation accorded to the Mussalmans on the Legislative Council in the province concerned; (*c*) The Urdu language and Persian character should be maintained in courts and public offices in those provinces where they are in vogue and Urdu should be employed as the medium of primary education in the aforesaid provinces; (*d*) That the Mussalmans should be afforded facilities, protection and help in the observance and performance of their religious rites and ceremonies and usages without any restriction.

The All-India Moslem League resolves that the All-India Congress Committee be asked to appoint a Committee at an early date to confer with the Committee of the Council of the League in order to arrive at an understanding on questions arising out of the Reforms Act, 1919, and the demand for complete self-government.

6. Dr. Ansari next moved a resolution expressing the League's opinion that with a view to reciprocate the good feelings shown towards Mussalmans by their Hindu brethren and to strengthen the growing unity between them and the Mussalmans of India, the Mussalmans should on the occcsion of Bakr-Id festival substitute as far as possible the sacrifice of other animals in place of cows.

THE ROYAL PROCLAMATION.

7. The following resolution was then put from the chair : The All-India Muslim League representing eighty million Muslim subjects of His Imperial Majesty King George V., the Emperor of India, expresses its sense of gratitude for the spirit in which the Royal Proclamation had been addressed to the princes and people of India on the occasion of giving the Royal assent to the Government of India Act, 1919. The League trusts that the rights of the Indian people to direct their own affairs and safeguard their interests, without which the progress of the country cannot be consummated, will be secured ere long under His Majesty's loving sympathy, and earnestly joins in His Majesty's prayer that India may grow to the fulness of political freedom in the near future. Further the League feels confident that the Royal act of clemency in granting general amnesty to political prisoners and detenues would go far to remove the bitterness existing between the people and those responsible for government of the country, and lastly the League assure His Imperial Majesty of cordial and hearty welcome which the people of India would accord to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales during his visit to this country in the coming winter.

PUNJAB DISTURBANCES.

The Hon. Mr. Syed Raza Ali next moved the following resolution which was carried :—

8, In view of the fact that the enquiry in the Punjab disturbances is yet pending, this meeting of the All-India Moslem League refrains from expressing its opinion in the matter at this stage but cannot help drawing the serious attention of the British Parliament to the shocking disclosures made by General Dyer in his evidence before the Hunter Committee in the hope that Parliament will take early steps to see that justice and British reputation for fairness are fully vindicated.

IMPEACHMENT OF DYER AND O'DWYER.

9. The Hon. Maulvi Abul Kasim then moved :—

(1) This meeting of the All-India Muslim League is of opinion that in view of the admissions made by General Dyer in his statement before the Hunter Committee, he is not fit to remain in command and should be immediately relieved of his duty as a preliminary to legal proceedings being taken against him.

(2) This meeting of the All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the entire policy of Sir Michæl O'Dowyer is under enquiry and in view also of the fact that he approved of General Dyer's cold-blooded and calculated massacre in the Jallianwala Bagh, he should be relieved of his connection with the Army Commission as a preliminary to legal proceedings being taken against him.

The resolution was agreed to.

VICEROY'S RECALL.

10. Mr. Mumtaz Husain moved :—This meeting of the All-India Muslim League is of opinion that H. E. Lord Chelmsford has forfeited the confidence of all sections of the Indian population and he should immediately be recalled from India.

The speaker said that the passing of the resolution was highly essential for the future welfare of the country. Lord Chelmsford's regime had been particularly noted for its reactionary attempts to suppress Indian aspirations. To give effect to the Reform Scheme the head of the Government ought to have more liberal ideals and it was doubtful whether Lord Chelmsford would really put Indians on the way to self-government. The indifference shown by His Excellency's Government to respect public opinion expressed by public leaders as a protest against the Rowlatt Act had shaken their faith in his Government. It was nothing but the flouting of public opinion.

GENERAL AMNESTY.

The following resolutions were then moved one after another and carried :—

11. " In view of the fact that full effect has not yet been given to the general amnesty clause of the gracious proclamation of His Majesty the King Emperor and that persons in the Punjab tried by Martial Law commissioners, summary courts, area officers and tribunals constituted under the Defence of India Act, and detenues and deportees have not been released, this meeting of the All-India Moslem League expresses the earnest hope and trusts

that the fullest effect will immediately be given to the letter and spirit of the Royal command."

DEVOTION TO KHALIFA.

12. "This meeting of the All-India Moslem League shares with the entire Moslem world the wide belief that His Imperial Ottoman Majesty, Sultan Waheeduddin, is the recognised Khalifa of Islam and places on record its deep-seated and unshakeable devotion to the sacred person of His Imperial Majesty as a successor of the Prophet and the head of Islam."

DISMEMBERMENT OF TURKEY.

13. "This meeting of the All-India Moslem League expresses its deep disappointment at the disregard shown by the British Government to the repeated representation made by Indian Mussalmans through their representatives in England and India regarding the question of Khilafat, holy places and Jazirat-ul-Arab and feels constrained to express that no settlement contemplating the dismemberment of Turkey would ever satisfy Indian Musalmans but keep them in a state of perpetual dissatisfaction and discontent, for the grave consequences of which they shall not be responsible. Under the circumstances the Mussalmans would be fully justified to carry on all possible methods of constitutional agitation open to them including a boycott of the British army if it is likely to be used outside India for Imperial or anti-Islamic purposes."

SYMPATHY WITH EGYPTIAN NATIONALISTS.

14. "The All-India Moslem League expresses its deep sympathy with the political aspirations of the nationalists of Egypt to get the principle of self-determination applied to their country in accordance with the terms of the Peace Conference and is grieved at the methods adopted to thwart their ambitions."

INADEQUACY OF REFORMS.

15. "While fully appreciating the labours of the Right Hon. Edwin Samuel Montagu, Secretary of State for India, in connection with the Government of India Act of 1919, the All-India Moslem League deeply regrets that full responsible government for which India is fit has been withheld both in the provinces and in the Central Government and that the principle of self-determination has not been applied to her in accordance with her demands. It, therefore, considers the Reforms inadequate and unsatisfactory and trusts that Parliament will establish full responsible govern-

ment of India at the earliest opportunity. In the meantime the League calls upon Indians to demonstrate their capacity for complete self-government by availing themselves of such opportunity as is now offered to them in reforms recently enacted which that League recognises to be a difinite step towards the goal of full responsible government."

LIBERTY OF THOUGHT AND EXPRESSION.

16. " This meeting of the All-India Moslem League places on record its deep-seated belief that the new era ushered in by the gracious Royal Proclamation can not bear fruit unless and until full liberty of thought and expression is granted to the people of India, and the various restrictions placed on that liberty by the manner in which the Press Act has been and is being administered and the various other obstacles placed upon Indian journalism in general and Muslim journals in particular are immediately removed."

SEPARATE REPRESENTATION.

17. " That the All-India Moslem League voicing the Moslem public opinion adheres to the principle of separate representation for the Muslim community and strongly urges upon the Government the immediate necessity of applying the said principle to local bodies in provinces where it has not yet been applied."

REPEAL OF REPRESSIVE ACTS.

18. " That this meeting of the All-India Moslem League urges on the attention of the Government the imperative necessity of repealing the Press Act, the Defence of India Act and the Rowlatt Act."

All India Khilafat Conference.

Amritsar, Jan. 1920.

The second session of the All-India Khilafat Conference opened on the 31st December 1919 in the Congress Pandal at Amritsar.

Maulvi Shaukat Ali, the great Muslim internee who was released only on the 30th December presided. Mahatma Gandhi, Swami Sharadhanand, Maulana Abdul Bari Sahib, Mrs. Besant, Pandit Malaviya, Mr. Mohamed Ali, Dr. Ansari, Haziq-ulmulk Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulvi Zafarali Khan, Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Saiyed Hussain, Dr. Kitchlew and Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhury and others were present. The proceedings began with a recitation from the holy Quran.

The following resolutions were passed.

RESOLUTION 1.—This meeting of the All-India Khilafat Conference held at Amritsar expresses on behalf of the Indian Mussalmans its profound devotion to the Commander of the Faithful, the successor to the holy prophet of the Islam; may peace and blessing of God be upon him, the servant of the holy places, the Sultan of Turkey; may his temporal and spiritual power last for ever, and hopes that his Imperial Majesty will deign to accept the expression of their faith and allegiance: This conference further requests its president to cable the message of the Indian Mussalmans to His Imperial Majesty.

The resolution was moved by Seth Ahmed Haji Siddiq Khatri supported by Moulana Mohamed Kakhir of Allahabad.

RESOLUTION No. 2.—Resolved that in accordance with the decisions of the All-India Khilafat Conference held at Delhi two representative deputations of the Mussalmans should proceed to England and America before 15th January or at the latest by the end of January and that H. E. the Viceroy be requested as early as possible to accord permission to the deputation and to forward to His Majesty the King Emperor and his Ministers by cablegram the request that the deputations be received by them and also to intimate their departure.

The resolution was moved by Mr. Saiyed Hussain and supported by Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew.

RESOLUTION NO. 3.—Resolved that a deputation consisting of the following Muslim representatives of India should immediately wait upon H. E. the Viceory in order to obtain his permission for the deputations to proceed to England and America and that the president of the conference be requested to ascertain the date that will suit His Excellency's convenience for receiving the deputation: Setn Chotani Sahib, Sir Fazulbhoy Carimbhoy, Mirza Ali, Mohamed Khan, Haziqul-mulk H. M. Ajmal Khan, Dr. M. A. Ansari, Mr. Mohamed Ali, Mr. Shaukat Ali, Mr Mumtaz Hussain, Hon'ble Saiyed Raza Ali, Mr. Saiyed Hussain, Maulana Abdul Bari Sahib, Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah, Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlu, Agha Safdar Sahib, and Maulana Hasrat Mohani.

RESOLUTION NO. 4.—Resolved that a representative Muslim deputation be sent to Constantinople so that tendering on behalf of the Indian Mussalmans it may express humble devotion and sentiments of Islamic brotherhood before the Commander of the Faithful, the successor of the holy prophet, the Sultan of Turkey; it also resolves that arrangements be made for sending this deputation so far as possible along with other deputations proceeding to England and America.

The resolution was moved by Maulvi Hazharuddin, Editor, 'Dastoor" and supported by Maulvi Mohamed Akram.

RESOLUTION NO 5.—This meeting of the All-India Khilafat Conference held at Amritsar expresses its extreme sorrow and regret that the demands of the Indian Mussalmans regarding the Khilafat Jaziratul Arab holy places and the preservation of the status quoanti belum of the Ottoman Empire have not yet been acceded to and that on the contrary utterances of the ministers of the British Crown from time to time give rise to strong suspicions that the representatives of the British Government do not desire that these demands should be acceded to, this conference therefore deems it absolutely essential to declare that the Indian Mussalmans still stand firmly by those demands which the law of the Islam made it incumbent upon them to formulate and express, and the Conference desire to declare in the clearest possible manner that if the British Government will accept terms in the peace conference as may be inconsistent with the requirements of our faith, in that case our attitude will be governed by the obligations vigorously imposed upon us by our faith, and for this the British Government alone will be responsible.

The resolution was moved by Mr. Mohamed Ali and supported by Mr. Zafar Ali Khan.

RESOLUTION No. 6.—Resolved that a Khilafat fund be immediately opened and the Central Khilafat Committee of India, Bombay, be instructed to make the necessary arrangements for the collection of at least a sum of ten lacs of rupees from every part of India; it also requests the Indian Mussalmans in general and the Khilafat committees in particular to render every possible assistance to the central Khilafat committee in this connection.

The resolution was moved by Mr. Mumtaz Hussain and supported by Maulana Hasrat Mohani.

RESOLUTION No. 7.—This Conference is of opinion that the attempt made by some of the Government officials in Sind against the objects of the All-India Khilafat conference held at Delhi call for special attention of the Bombay Government; this conference therefore trusts that such officials will not only be warned for future but will be awarded power punishment to prevent the recurrence of such proceedings.

The resolution was moved by Mr. Abdul Majid, editor "Al-Amin," Hyderabad, Sind and supported by Hafiz Atmullah of Amritsar.

RESOLUTION No. 8.—That the constitution framed by the Central Khilafat Committee of India, Bombay, be printed and circulated among the various district and provincial Khilafat committees of India and their opinions be invited thereon and that a sesson of the All-India Khilafat conference be held as soon as possible at Bombay at which the draft constitution may be discussed and approved from the chair.

Moulana Shaukat Ali sent the following telegram to H. E. the Viceroy.

"As president of the Amritsar session of the All-India Khilafat Conference I have been directed to request H. E. the Viceroy to be pleased to receive a small deputation consisting of the leading representative Mussalmans of India to lay before him the views and the religious sentiments of the Mussalmans in connection with the Turkish question. I trust H. E. will be pleased to receive such a deputation and that an early date in January may suit H. E.'s convenience. The names of the members of the deputation will be forwarded when desired for His Excellency's approval.

The Sikh League.

Amritsar, December 27.

A new Sikh League was inaugurated last year which opened its session on 27th Dec. 1919 in the Bande Mataram Hall. There was a large attendance of delegates and a number of ladies were present. The Hon. Sardar Gajan Singh presided. Almost all the leading Sikhs were present. The proceedings opened with a prayer. Mr. Santsingh, proposing the formal election of the President, said that though they were few, yet the assembly was fully representative. The new Sikh League was a triumph of the principle of democracy over the principle of favouritism followed in the past. They were passing through bitter circumstances and entering a new era promulgated by the Royal Proclamation. He hoped that the future would justify the action they were taking and he had no doubt that their President would lead the Sikh community along the path of democracy.

Sardar Naryansingh, pleader of Gujranwala, supporting the motion said that the tree of Self Government was planted on the highest summit of the Himalayas. The Sikhs in the past had thought that the fruits of the tree would come to them without any exertions. The Hindus and the Muslims were far ahead of them on that road. The road was slippery and they ought to march cautiously. The British Parliament had declared that they had only to show their rights to get the fruits of that tree. They had assembled therefore to claim their rights.

Sardar Gajjansingh, in the course of his Presidential Address said that their responsibility was great. ,The world was under reconstruction and a new era for India has been inaugurated by the announcement of 20th August and ratified by the Joint Committee's Report. He explained in detail the salient features of the Reform Scheme mentioning how the Government would be brought gradually under popular control. The Royal Proclamation issued the other day would be looked upon as a new Magna Charta of India. The President next touched upon the services rendered by the Panjab from time to time, particularly by the

Sikhs, and quoted from official statements the number of the Indian Army furnished by the Sikh community. The inauguration of the Reform Scheme was due, he thought, mostly to the services of the Indian Army's doings during the war. They were grateful to the Government for giving them special representation, but he made bold to say that it was inadequate. The Congress and the Muslim League divided among themselves the representation in the Councils, but ignored the claims of the Sikhs. He urged that one-third of the elected and nominated seats should be set apart for the Sikhs and one member out of three in the Governor-General's Executive Council should be given to the Sikhs. He next touched on the question of the Land Settlement and said it was not looked upon as fair. Touching on the question of education he said the Government should come forward in giving an additional grant to the Sikh community. As regards the Canal Profits the Government should not be entitled to more than five per cent. In his opinion the new regulations under the Arms Act were now tightened than losened and Indians should be trusted more and more, but the new rules did not indicate this. It was a matter of surprise that the Punjab should not be treated in the same way as the other provinces in the matter of exemption in the possession of non-firing arms. The next subjects touched by the President were King's Commission, the management of the Golden Temple, the inadequacy of Government appointments given to the Sikhs, specially in the case of the higher appointments, and the handling of the emigrants. In conclusion he prayed for the success of the League and the maintenance of unity among the small community.

After the conclusion of the Presidential Address the League passed a few esolutions.

Conference of European Chambers of Commerce.

Calcutta, January 8th, 1920.

Immediately after the Royal Proclamation giving to India a new Charter of Constitutional Reforms, the European Capitalists of the country, from Calcutta to Bombay and from Lahore to Ceylon, made a huge effort to combine ostensively to save their own interests but really to overwhelm the nationalistic aspirations of the people to stand against the Imperialistic exploitation of the Motherland in the interests of foreigners. A Conference of all the European Chambers of Commerce from all over India and Ceylon was called in Calcutta and the Viceroy who was then on a visit to the place was invited to open it. The Hon. Mr. Crum, the president of the Bengal Chamber was the chief organiser. The first Conference of a like nature was held so long ago as in 1905 when Sir Edward Law, the then Finance Member of the Government of India, opened it.

The Conference was then intended to be held annually but since then a combination like this had not been found possible. The Viceroy, as was natural for a man of his frame of mind, extended a cordial hand of welcome to the union of European Chambers in India. The following is the—

Viceroy's Opening Address.

"Gentlemen, I am very glad to have this opportunity of attending the first meeting of your new Association of Chambers of Commerce, and to congratulate you on the spirit of co-operation which has brought your Association into being and to wish you a long useful career. I am quite sure that periodical meetings to discuss the numerous commercial problems which will always confront you, will be found of great value to yourselves ; and, in those matters in which your difficulties arise out of Government regulations in commercial affairs, or which infringe on large questions of Government policy, it will always be greatly to the advantage of Gov-

ernment to have your united counsels before them, for as you must be aware, it has frequently happened that, in obtaining the views of the various Chambers, we have had the most divergent opinions presented to us. Perhaps in a number of matters I am unduly optimistic in hoping for united counsels; but at any rate, where opinions differ, a free discussion will, I am sure, often lead to a reasonable and practicable solution. Now you will not, I am sure, expect me to address you in any detail on the numerous problems which you many wish to raise with Government. I only want to touch very briefly on some of the wider questions which involved decisions of general policy.

After War Trade.

First, I will take the question which, I feel, is in the minds of you, namely, trade after the war. The war has made great changes in the course of Indian trade, and my Government feel that, after the awful upheaval of this world-wide war, some special measures are necessary to help our merchants and our manufacturers to adapt themselves to the new conditions. We are not going to allow ourselves to drift back to the position in which we were before the war. We are not going to allow our enemies forthwith to return to this country and resume business, as if no war had occurred. We propose, as you will all have been informed from a press communique which has recently been issued, altogether to exclude the Germans from India for a period of years. We want the Germans as our customers, for I do not suppose that anyone will seriously suggest that we are to do no trade with Germany—a policy of cutting off our nose to spite our face—but we are not prepared at the present time to allow the Germans to handle Indian trade in this country. Many of you, I know, would go further and would prevent all aliens from engaging in trade of any kind in this country, except under license. I think that it will clear the air if I say at once that this is no part of the policy of my Government. I am not going now to discuss the question of existing Treaties with foreign countries, but even if it were practical politics, which I do not admit, to insist on all foreigners being licensed to trade, it would mean, if it meant anything at all, that licenses would be granted in one case and refused in another. A policy of this kind would give rise to inevitable diplomatic difficulties to endless dissensions and complications, and to serious danger of retaliation.

am convinced further that any attempt to strangle foreign trade in this way would in the long run be against our best interests

It was not on a foundation of restrictions that the trade of India was built up, and it is not through restrictions that it will continue to develop. The welfare of our trade will, in future, as in the past, rest on the initiative and energy of our merchants and our manufacturers,—their adaptability to new conditions, their readiness to seize new opportunities and to develop fresh markets. It will not rest on the elimination of competition by means of Government action. Those who have gone before you have built up a magnificent structure. It lies with you, and I have full trust in your powers, to enlarge it.

There is one subject, however, which I trust you will allow me, though a layman in these matters, to mention to you. It has been brought home to me that one of the gravest defects in our commerce is our failure to study the machinery necessary to put our goods on the market. We may produce or import the best goods in the world, but unless we study how to market them, inferior goods produced by our rivals in trade will get the market. This defect, I remember, was pointed out to me by the British Trade Commissioner in Canada in 1914. He said that British goods, when once they got on to the market, maintained their position owing to their superiority, but as often as not they failed to get on to the market because the necessary machinery had not been studied or created. And here in India is not the same thing true? Take the little instance of matches. I have bought and continue to buy admirable matches from Rangoon but I never see them on the market and we know how everywhere quite inferior imported matches hold possession of the field. We cannot be content with relying on the intrinsic merit of our goods alone. We must look to the marketing machinery and in view of the hoped-for development of Indian Industries we should assuredly study this aspect of the question very carefully.

Restrictions on Aliens.

Though my Government then are generally opposed to a policy of restrictions on aliens, we feel that it is necessary to retain some of the restrictions with regard to certain minerals such as coal and oil. It will be necessary for our own safety and the safety of the Empire that we should retain a hold over minerals of essential national importance, but we shall endeavour to reduce these restrictions as far as is compatible with the interests of India and the Empire at large.

In connection with the alien problem generally I should like

to mention briefly a matter which, I understand, will form part of your deliberations. I refer to the movement in favour of a Registration of Business Names Act on the lines of the English Statute. Such an Act if applied to India, would, I take it, not merely be designed to enable information to be obtained as to the true names of the aliens trading in this country, but would cover a wider ground and facilitate obtaining readily information as to the real names of the members of any firm trading under an assumed title. A measure of this kind might, I think, well make for a general improvement in commercial morality, especially in a country such as India where high sounding titles attract perhaps more attention than they deserve. But I must remind you that the question is an exceedingly thorny one. It is one on which commercial opinion in the United Kingdom was sharply divided for many years, and it was only the stress of war and the necessity for obtaining a knowledge about alien traders in the country which eventually enabled a sufficient unanimity of opinion to be obtained for the passing of the English Act. In a matter of this kind, a reasonable amount of unanimity in commercial opinion, both European and Indian, seems to me an essential preliminary to legislation. Meanwhile, provincial legislation is in fact contemplated in Burma, which, of course, is in the position of being more or less isolated from the rest of India and where the practical difficulties of the question, especially those which arise from the Hindu joint family, are not so acute.

Tariff Question.

I suppose that, when the subject of post bellum trade policy is discussed, many people's minds will turn naturally to questions of tariffs. Our Indian tariff has, as you all well know, always been framed on a revenue basis. It has been, in theory at any rate, a tariff of uniform duties for revenue purposes only, and we have traditionally accepted a policy of free trade. No doubt it is possible to find exceptions to this broad statement in some of the items of our tariff, and it is certainly true that at least one recent addition to our tariff has been frankly based on grounds of protection. But while this is so, we must not shut our eyes to what is going on around us, and I would specially direct your attention to expressions of opinion in the Press and elsewhere, not only in this country, but in the United Kingdom. The fact is that preconceived opinions have been somewhat shaken by the events of the past five years, and now a days we are not prepared to

accept the doctrines of our youth as something sacrosanct, inviolable and capable of no exceptions whatsoever.

Imperial Preference.

Take for instance, the large question of Imperial Preference. The principle of preferential duties within the Empire has been accepted already in many of the Dominions and has recently been inaugurated in the tariff of the United Kingdom. Would it, broadly speaking, be to the advantage or the disadvantage of India to adopt it as part of our settled policy? I am not here going to attempt to answer the question or to pre-judge it in any way. It may be said that it has been pre-judged already by the rebate on the export duty on hides. With this I do not agree; there were special reasons in that case and those reasons were frankly stated in the Legislative Council last September. In fact, I may say that it is not the Government of India's intention to adopt a policy of preference as a general policy, without full discussion and full support from enlightened public opinion. But let the public be enlightened on the subject, and let no one express *a priori* ideas without a close examination of the statistics and of the conditions of the trade concerned. I should like to see the subject freely discussed, and I believe that you, gentlemen, could do a good deal to clarify ideas on the subject by a careful analysis of the effect of preferential duties on the trades in which you are severally interested. To the best of my recollection we invited you to do this some two or three years ago, but the replies we received did not reveal the careful examination of the statistics in respect of such different commodity which alone could give us the basis of sound decision. What we want to do is to weigh the advantages and the disadvantages, and strike the balance between the two. I am far from minimising the extreme difficulty and complexity of the subject; but a careful study of it from the point of view of each of our principle trades ought to result in some tangible conclusion which will enable us to decide which way our interests lie. Of course it is our interests, that is to say, the interests of India, which we have first to look to, but it would be unwise to take a wholly parochial point of view, and in developing the tariff policy of the future, we ought to be able to evolve some system which will be to the advantage not of ourselves alone, but also of the Empire of which we are a part. For instance, I know that there has been some difference of opinion as to the value to the tea trade on the preference recently introduced in the United Kingdom.

One would naturally be inclined to say *prima facie* that a preference given by the United Kingdom or by other parts of the Empire to certain articles produced in this country in which we compete with other countries, must have some advantage to us, but we can hardly expect assistance if we give nothing in return.

Labour Problem.

I see that the question of labour is on your agenda for discussion, and it is, I think, clear that considerable changes in this field lie before us in the near future. Labour in India has hitherto been almost entirely unorganised and without leaders. Labour in India has hitherto been cheap, but it has also been as a whole greatly lacking in efficiency, with the result that the cost of production in India has not been able, in spite of the cheapness of labour, to compare favourably with the cost of production in Europe or in the United States of America. If we are to hold our own in competition with the nations of the world we must have increased efficiency and with this end in view those of you who are large employers of labour will , I hope, take every step in your power to improve the condition of the labour you employ, especially with regard to housing. Some of you, I know, have already done much in this direction and realize to the full that improved conditions of labour are as much to your personal interest as to the interest of the country at large.

You all know that an International Labour Convention has just been sitting in Washington, and we were asked to send there a single representative of the employers of India and a single representative of the workers. This limited representation made our choice extremely embarrassing, but I am sure you will agree with me in thinking that the employers of India were well represented by Mr. A. R. Muiray, whose great experience and sound judgment must have proved most valuable to his colleagues at the Conference. We had great difficulty also in selecting a representative of the workers . Unions are practically non-existent in India, and labour is at present almost entirely unorganised. In these circumstances we chose Mr. Joshi, a member of the Servants of India Society, who, though not a workman himself, has devoted an unselfish life to the furtherance of the interests of the workmen, and I feel sure that our choice will have justified itself at the Conference.

Railways.

Looking down your list of subjects for discussion I see that

there are several relating to railways. We realize, as fully as you, the vital necessity for railway development in India, and we have set aside an unprecedented sum to be spent on railways during the current financial year, but, as you are aware, there is much leeway to be made upon our existing lines in the way of general maintenance and in the provision of new rolling stock. Deficiencies in this respect will be made good as quickly as possible, and, as supplies arrive, no time will be lost in bringing them into operation. Moreover, we have found ourselves in a position to make a start with new construction, though on a very moderate scale, but I confidently look forward to considerable progress being made in this direction in the very near future. Recent experiences have shown that the State's borrowing powers are greater than could have been contemplated only a few years ago, but even with the increased amounts thus made available, we have thought it well to make proposals to the Secretary of State that the enquiry into railway matters of which notice has already been given, and which will be instituted in the course of the present year, should embrace an examination of means by which further funds can be economically raised for the development of India by means of new railways. India needs all the railways she can get. It is impossible at the present time, and it will probably be so for some time to come, for India to build the railways she requires out of budget allotments or the proceeds of direct borrowing. Does not this point to the probability that private enterprise will have to be invited to enter upon the field? This is a problem to which you might devote your serious consideration.

Rice Control.

The last specific question I shall touch on is that of Rice Control. The recent communique of the Government of India has no doubt attracted your attention. The question of rice control in Burma presents special problems. In 1919, India absorbed the greater part of the surplus available for export and we directed much of the balance to countries having a large Indian population. The Government of India considered that the interests of these consumers outweighed the claims of the Burma producer to make abnormal profits, and the control price was applied to all exports, whether in India or abroad. In the present year the situation is different, as India's requirements are likely to be much smaller, and the greater part of the surplus will go to foreign countries. It is still necessary for us to keep down internal prices in the interests

of our consumers, while at the same time it seems clearly desirable to obtain from our foreign customers a fair market price for the rice that we sell them. It is conceivable that these two objects might be obtained simply by the limitation of exports but if such a limitation proved effective in keeping down internal prices, the exporters would pocket the large difference between these and world prices, and would thus reap the whole of the profits which would otherwise be distributed between the cultivators, the dealers, the millers, the shippers and the various other interests concerned in the trade.

The Government of India have felt it incumbent on them to devise a method of intercepting a considerable share of these profits for the benefit of the general community. The scheme of the control in 1920, the details which have recently been made public, has thus been formulated with the threefold object of, firstly, preventing an undue rise in internal prices; secondly, obtaining a fair price for our exports, and thirdly, securing to the general community a share in the profits of the trade which would otherwise be concentrated in the hands of a comparatively small class. As the bulk of those profits will be taken from the Burma producer, it has been decided to make over the net proceeds, subject to a limit of a crore of rupees, to the local Government for expenditure for the benefit of the cultivator. Should the profits exceed this figure, their allocation will be a matter for future consideration. Measure of this kind is bound to conflict with some established interest, and the Rice Commissioner will be authorised to modify it in detail to meet hard cases, but I hope that it will be recognised to be equitable in its broad principles, and that all concerned will co-operate to make it successful in achieving the three objects which I have explained.

Industries.

I turn now to the question of Industries and you will appreciate the difficulty I have in expressing anything but what are common places on this subject. It is obvious that, in consequence of their different geographical situations, the Chambers of Commerce in India must necessarily differ greatly in their attitude to the apparently opposed interests of local industries and external trade. Superficially regarded, the interest of these two indigenous industries on the one hand and seaborne commerce on the other, seem to be opposed and competitive; and in specific lines this is literally true. But many members of the Chamber who are actively en-

gaged almost solely in external trade, have wisely recognized that their interests in the long run will be improved, not diminished, by healthy development of indigenous industries, and I appreciate very much the sympathy and foresight which have been shown by the old established commercial houses regarding our special efforts to stimulate in this country the manufacture of those articles which have hitherto been obtained only by importation from abroad.

One of the past Presidents of the Bengal Chamber, Sir Francis Stewart, generously devoted much valuable time to the detailed work of the Industrial Commission; and in every province, maritime as well as inland, the Commission was given frankly and freely information and advice.

The attitude of the Chambers was wise as well as generous; the development of local industries will naturally diminish the demands for certain imports; the configuration of external trade may thus become modified and may necessitate a corresponding and often inconvenient modifications of the activities of many commercial firms; but the development of internal industries must necessarily be followed by greater purchasing power and corresponding increase in the total value of imports. The importing firms may, therefore, I think, confidently look forward to enhanced trade as the result of the greater purchasing power of the community.

Apart from these purely economic considerations, there are strong national reasons for extending the field of indigenous manufactures. During the war we realized the military advantage of the few local industries previously established here, especially the textile industries of cotton, jute and wool, the indigenous manufacture of cement, the tanning of hides and the smelting of steel. But we felt also most acutely the absence of many other essential industries; and it is our duty to see that the dangers due to such deficiencies are reduced, if not completely eliminated in future.

The industries which assisted so conspicuously in contributing to the output of war material were, however, the result of unaided private enterprise. The Government only stimulated them by the flow of Government orders. As you know, however, we have now decided to organize a special department of the Central Government and corresponding department in the provinces, to undertake that part of the work which cannot fairly be left to any individual firm, especially the research work on raw materials, staple and accessory, on which indigenous industries are based. It

will be the business of the new departments also to advise other departments regarding the subsidiary conditions essential for industrial development, the facilities for internal transport, the education of technical workers, the treatment of labour, and even, as may seem wise in the interests of the country as a whole, the fiscal conditions of trade.

In developing the activities of the new departments your co-operation and criticism will always be necessary to ensure a healthy well balanced growth ; to recognize in time the boundary between wholesome encouragement and enervating assistance ; to balance the relative national claims of external trade and local manufacture. In these matters your criticisms will be necessary and welcome ; and judging by the way in which you have received the new policy as well as the critical, not necessarily adversely critical, spirit always shown in your reviews of official activities Government can safely rely on the Chambers of Commerce for assistance.

It is impossible to enumerate the many ways in which your members individually and the Chambers as bodies assisted the war activities of Government departments, but your meeting at Calcutta reminds me especially of the valuable services rendered by the local Jute Mills Association. Through the voluntary co-operation of Mr. Murray, to whom I have already alluded in another connection, with Colonel Wilson, the Controller of Jute Manufactures, articles to the value of several crores of rupees were furnished to the Allies for direct war use and the essential functions of transporting foodstuffs. So far as our information goes, not a complaint was ever made regarding punctuality, quality or promptness of despatch whilst the distribution of orders among the mills resulted in effecting most substantial economies.

There are other subjects on which I should have liked to address you, as for instance, Aviation and the Indian Defence Force, and I would have done so if I had been in a position to state any thing definite with regard to them. But consultations are still proceeding on these matters, as many of you know, and I am most anxious that we should not, as a Government, put forward any concrete proposals until we have taken counsel with all the various interests concerned, and are in a position to put forward something like an agreed solution. Time spent in consultation is never time misspent.

Further, Currency is a question about which you would have liked me to inform you, but here again I am not yet in a position

to make any announcement beyond this, that we expect the Report in the middle of this month, and that arrangements are being made for its publication as soon as possible after receipt.

I have now finished. I have put before you my views on various questions which are engaging your attention. This is not a time, when so much is in the melting pot, to deal in hazardous prophecy, and I am sure that you, as business men, would be the last to desire that, but my object in attending your meeting will have been achieved if I have convinced you that I and my colleagues take a real interest in your Association; that we shall watch its enlargement with sympathy; that we wish to take you into our full confidence, and that we look forward to your co-operation with us in the future.

THE VICEROY THANKED.

Mr. J. F. Simpson of the Madras Chamber after thanking his Excellency for his sympathetic address in opening the conference made a reference to the isolation of his Excellency at Simla and at Delhi from the views of the Chambers of Commerce. Although he was surrounded by the best brains India contained, he was deprived of that warm personal contact with a great body of his fellow countrymen. He did not know whether the brains of the representative of commerce whom his Excellency met there were equal to the brains of those whom his Excellency met at Delhi or or Simla and he hoped that the attendance at that conference which included such a large body would assure his Excellency as to how intimate and warm their sympathy was. He did not think it would be out of place for him if he, on behalf of the chambers represented there, were to make a word of reference to the attacks made on his Excellency, the Viceroy, at the Indian National Congress at Amritsar. (Applause.) He did not pretend that his Excelleny's policy had commended itself to all of them but when the commercial community fought they fought fairly. They did not hit below the belt. There had been a great deal of that at the last Indian National Congress and he was sure that every Britisher, apart altogether from the ordinary feelings of loyalty, would always rally round the Governor of the province or the Viceroy. They wanted his Excellency to feel that if they were subjected to things like that then the Governor or the Viceroy would have a much warmer feeling in thier hearts and in their lives (Applause).

The European Association

Annual Meeting—Calcutta.

The Annual Meeting of the European Association was held at the Dalhousie Institute, Calcutta, on 5th January, 1920 with Mr. George Morgan, President of the Association, in the Chair. In the course of his address Mr. Morgan said :—

The Punjab disorders.

I could say a great deal about this, but as it is now the subject of Enquiry by the Hunter Committee, and therefore *subjudice*, I will only mention that the Government of India invited me to serve on the Committee, but principally for reasons of health, I had to reluctantly decline. The Hon'ble Mr. T. Smith, who is Chairman of our Cawnpore Branch, accepted and he is doing excellent work on the Committee. When the Report comes out it will be carefully examined by your new Council and any action which may be considered necessary will no doubt be taken. As you are all aware, I visited Simla in the end of April and the result of my visit was sent in pamphlet form to each Member. I rather favour the opinion held in some quarters that this Committee of Enquiry should *now* be dissolved in view of what the King's Proclamation said with regard to the release of Political Offenders, and which has already been acted upon.

In this connection I should like to add, and I am sure you will all agree with me, that the references made on the public platforms and in the Indian Press about the Viceroy, General Dyer and Colonel Frank Johnson, are nothing short of scandalous.

The Enquiry is not yet finished. Indians shou.d preserve some decency and wait for the Report before giving vent to their feelings.

The Reform Bill.

This Bill has been passed by both Houses of Parliament, has received the King's Assent, and is now the Law of the Land, passed, remember, by our own people. It would be hypocrisy on my part to say that I favoured the Bill entirely as it stands.

Honestly I do not. In many respects I think it is a dangerous experiment but, as it is one to which we are now committed, we must see that it is given a fair trial. The new Ministers must not be nursed too much by those who have already had experience in the art of Governing. The New Ministers must be made to feel their responsibility and they must stand or fall by their work, so that when the Commission is appointed 10 years hence to examine the result of the Bill, the members of that Commission may be able to judge fairly how the scheme has worked, especially with regard to Dyarchy, a hitherto untried system of governing. As no one, either out here or at Home, has been able to convince the Joint Committee that there was any other way of meeting the requirements of the announcement of 20th August 1917, Dyarchy has been accepted, and we will now have to see whether it is a workable proposition in practice, or not.

MR. MONTAGU'S METHODS.

As regards the methods adopted to secure the passage of the Bill I am sure that most of us consider they savoured too much of business politics. The preparation seems to have begun with Mr. Lionel Curtis' letter to Mr. B. N. Basu dated 6th April 1917. In that letter Mr. Curtis outlined a scheme which was more or less what the Bill now represents, and he said " If I advocate an Imperial declaration that self-government is the goal of Indian Policy it is merely a preface to taking some immediate steps for travelling in that direction." We know that on the 20th August of that same year, a declaration was made and on that declaration everything was based. Lord Selborne, the Chairman of the Joint Committee, said that the work of that Committee was not to make a Bill, but only to see that theBill before them coincided with that famous declaration. Mr. Montagu was determined to get the Bill passed as quickly as possible and everything was arranged to that end. Adverse criticism was not tolerated, but everything in favour of the Bill was given wide publicity. We did our best through our Secretary, Mr. Welby, to publish our views at Home and Mr. Welby gave evidence before the Joint Committee on our behalf. He was subjected to very severe cross examination by Lord Sinha and Mr. Montagu but was not shaken in his evidence. We have done everything we could to enlighten the British public as to the true conditions prevailing in India. The difficulty of interesting the British Public in Indian Affairs is set forth in the Secretary's note in the Annual Report. We

can do no more so far as the actual Bill is concerned, but, as there are Rules and Regulations yet to be made under the Bill, we shall have to watch very carefully that nothing objectionable creeps in under these Rules and Regulations. Personally I should have liked to have seen the scheme confined to the Provinces in the first instance and this was the view held by the Association and put forward in our statement on the Bill.

SOME CRITICISMS.

Considering that in the opinion of most thinking men the Reform Bill is in the nature of an experiment (Lord Curzon says "the boldest experiment in the history of the British Empire") it seems to me that it would have been wiser to have left the Viceroy's Executive Council and the Imperial Legislative Council untouched, until the New Provincial Ministers and Councils had proved themselves. I do not consider the compartmental working of the Viceroy's Executive Council an ideal system, far from it, but the inclusion of three Indian Members will not help matters. Unless that Executive Council meets regularly as a Cabinet, and exchanges views freely face to face on all subjects, I cannot see what particular benefit self-government is going to get by two more Indian members on that Council.

The composition of the Council of State as put forward by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report has not been favoured by the Joint Committee and I am not surprised, for it seemed to me an insult to any ordinary intelligence. But the change made by the Joint Committee, although more in keeping with the general idea, may be the cause of infinite trouble in the future. The only safeguard now is the "Veto," to be exercised by the Viceroy and the Governors. Frankly I do not envy them their task. It will be a very great burden for them to bear. In my opinion too great a burden, and one which may deter the best men from accepting posts in India. The Legislative Councils will probably only be pleased when the Viceroy and the Governors do *not* exercise the "Veto," when they *should* have done so.

THE CIVIL SERVICES.

Now with regard to the Civil Service. Everyone is appealing to the Civil Service to live up to their high traditions by doing their level best to make the new order a success. It will be comparatively easy for those members, whose service has only a year or two to run, to do this, but what about the young men just

beginning their career and how about new members. I think the position will be a very difficult one for them. Apart altogether from the work of the Service, there is one matter which I think will make it very difficult to secure good men from Home, and that is the social aspect. To anyone who knows the mofussil this presents a difficult problem and I certainly would not care to join a service which would probably doom me to live the best years of my life bereft of the society of my own fellow countrymen. Europeans and Indians have *not* the same social customs. It is very difficult for a European and an Indian to meet socially in the same way as a European, or an Indian, can meet one of their own race: I hope I shall not be misunderstood. By "socially" I do not mean a dinner at a club or a garden party, I mean the real home social life which we all know and which at present is impossible between Europeans and Indians, generally. That time will change this, is more than possible but many Indian customs will have to undergo complete revolution before it is possible.

THE EUROPEAN POSITION.

To turn to our position under the Reform Bill. In my opinion this Association has a very great future before it. Communal representation has been secured and it is up to us to see that we get the best men to represent our community. Our representatives will have to take a great part in the new Councils and will have to be prepared on *all* subjects. In order to enable our members to be in a position to take part in debates and to hold their own in all matters which arise, I expect the Central Office of this Association to be in a position to prepare briefs for our representatives on *any* subject. It is too much to expect our business men to be able to work up subjects in detail, and we have no leisured class in India who can devote their time to political life, as at Home. Therefore I want to see this work done for them by the Secretary of the Association, under the advice and guidance of the Council. It *must* be done, otherwise we are faced with the only other alternative namely, paid representatives. Do not think that you can ignore Politics. Politics influence our everyday life and we must study them. The man who wants to fight all reform, will be of no use to his community, nor is the man who says the day of the European in India is over, and then folds his hands and takes no further interest. I say we have nearly as much interest in India as the Indians themselves, and we mean to be as large a factor in the influencing of the Governing of India in the future

as we have been in the past, but with this marked difference: whereas the past factor was official, the future factor will be non-official.

A WORD TO THE MODERATES.

I am glad to see that the Indian Moderate Party is asserting itself, and that is all for good. If that party shows backbone and sets itself to work for the real good of India it will deserve, and it will get, our support. But no party which makes politics a game, and only wishes to gain power for its own ends, can expect any sympathy from the non-official European community. Sir B. C. Mitter in his speech at the Moderate Congress on 30th December said that he hoped we would co-operate with Indians in shouldering the new responsibilities and thus ensure the success of the New Act. As I said before, we are ready to give the Reforms a fair trial and, if the party to which Sir B. C. Mitter belongs, really means to stand up against the Extremist Section of Politicians and work for the good Government of India, I feel confident our, community will co-operate. But we insist on being recognised as belonging to India and not as mere foreign exploiters and birds of passage.

WHAT IS THE BEST FOR INDIA.

With reference to what Mr. Montagu said about rousing the masses in India out of their pathetic contentment in order to confer upon them the inestimable boon of exercising the Vote, I would draw your attention to the remarks made by the President of the other Congress, Pandit Motilal Nehru, in the address. This is what he said :—" We do not wish to make of India a cheap and slavish imitation of the west. We have so far sought to liberalise our government on the western model. Whether that will satisfy us in the future, I cannot say. But let us bear in mind that western democracy has not proved a panacea for all ills; it has not yet solved the problems which surround us." One of the points raised in our statement was that it could not be taken for granted that Reform on the lines of the Bill was the Reform best suited to India, and it looks as if the President of the Congress was himself now doubtful on that point."

The Reforms

Indian Constitutional Reforms

For the Original Reports and Papers issued on this matter in 1917-19, see the Register for 1919, Part III. The following pages give only the summary of the Govt of India Despatches and of Reports of the Committees issued in 1919.

Historical Survey.

20 Aug. 1917—Declaration of Policy by His Majesty's Govt. in Parliament through the Secretary of State, Mr. Montagu.

Sept. 1917—Mr. Montagu's Visit to India to confer with Viceroy and local bodies on Indian Reforms.

Oct. Dec' 17—His reception of numerous deputations representing public bodies and conference with local Govts.

8 July 1918—The famous Montagu-Chelmsford Report issued.

March 1919—Lord Southborough's Report on Franchise issued.

5 March 1919—Govt. of India First Despatch on Reforms to the Sec. of State.

April 1919—Report of the Feetham Committee on Functions issued.

16 April 1919—Govt. of India 4th Despatch to the Sec. of State.

16 April 1919—The famous Minute of Dissent of Sir Sankara Nair issued.

23 April 1919—Govt. of India 5th Despatch to Sec. of State.

30 May 1919—Indian Reforms Bill Published by Parliament along with Sec. of State's memorandum—(See. Part II)—First Reading of the Govt. of India Bill 1919 in Parliament.

5 June 1919—Second Reading of the Govt. of India Bill in Parliament—Mr. Montagu's long speech and long and animated debate (See for full debate Part II pp. 140-234)

14 July 1919—Crew Committee Report on Home Administration of Indian affairs published (see Part II, pp. 113-140)

16 July 1919—Parliamentary Joint Committee on Indian Reform Bill held first sitting—Sir James Meston gives evidence on behalf of Govt. of India

21 Nov. 1919—Report of the Joint Committee with the Govt. of India Bill 1919 as amened by them published. (see Part II)

3 Dec. 1919—Govt of India Bill 1919 went to House of Commons in Committee (see Part II)
5. Dec. 1919—The Bill passed 3rd Reading in H. of C.
11. Dec. 1919—The Bill placed before H. of Lords by Lord Sinha.
12 „ „ —2nd Reading of the Bill in House of Lords passed
18 „ „ —3rd Reading in H. of L. passed.
25 „ „ —It receives Royal assent and becomes Law
25 „ „ —His Majesty's Message to India.

Ist Despatch of the Govt. of India

On Constitutional Reforms

Simla, 5th March 1919.

This despatch opens with a description of the reception accorded to the Montford Report in India, dealing in turn with the views of India's non-official Europeans, officials and local Governments. Different types of Government are then considered. It says pointedly that no type of unified Government which would comply with the announcement of August 20, 1917, is practicable under present circumstances, though all local Governments except two declared for a unified system and a majority of the Heads of Provinces who met at Delhi in January 1919 embodied their proposals in a joint minute. These proposals are considered at length and after stating reasons for rejecting them, The Government of India declare themselves definitely in favour of a dual system, modified in certain respects.

The main features of the **Provincial Executive** proposed in the Montford Report are accepted, by the Govt., save that it is suggested that there should be no members without portfolios and that in cases where a Governor lacks Indian experience the council should include two official members. The Government of India understand that for the present Heads of Provinces other than the presidencies will be drawn from the services (I.C.S.) and they would provide by statute for the appointment of one official and one Indian member of council. Ministers should be appointed from the elected members of, and from the outset should be amenable to, the provincial legislature. Their number and pay should be fixed by the Governor in consultation with the prospective ministers and placed on the transferred estimates.

They take care to provide that the main rights and duties of the **Public Services** in India should be reduced to statutory form, and submit proposals for the necessary law. Classification of the services into Indian, provincial, and subordinate divisions is kept up though the chief criterion now is to be the appointing authority. Option of serving under ministers and proportionate pensions are not recommended, but the task of protecting the services is laid definitely upon the Governor: in extreme cases officers should be entitled to apply for proportionate pensions. Officers having duties in both reserved and transferred departments should, for purposes of posting, promotion and decipline, be under the control of that part of the Government which is concerned with the budget head from which their pay is met. There should be Provision in the Bill for the establishment of a Public Services Commission.

The Financial Proposals made by the Government of India involve two important variations from the M-C Report Scheme. In the first place, it is proposed to aim at a more equitable division among the provinces of the burden of Imperial finance. While the proposal in the Report are accepted as a basis for the initial provincial contributions to the Central Government, they propose that a committee on Financial Relations be appointed to fix a fairer scale of contributions for the future and to advise how it can be reached. In the second place, the M-C Report proposal whereby the revenues of the Provincial Governments will be treated as a whole and the amount to be allotted to each half of the Government will be decided yearly at budget time after consultation between the executive council and ministers is rejected. It is held that this system (1) renders impossible the regulation of overdrafts on balances, taxation and borrowing, (2) gives to each half of Government an indefensible power of interference with the other half, (3) will be productive of unnecessary friction, and (4) offer no incentive to either half to develop its own resources. Instead the system of separate purse is proposed, under which each half of the Government will be given a fixed share of the provincial balances, the receipts from its own heads of revenue and a share of the estimated normal surplus, and adjustments to provide for needs of either part of the Government will be made by the grant either of a fraction of some head of revenue or of a growing allotment in cash. The first division of resources would be temporary and thereafter the division would be adjusted periodically. Each half of the Government would be given separate powers of taxation and borrowing, all proposals of

this nature being first laid before the whole Government. The budget would however be a single one prepared by the Finance Department and would be discussed in the legislative Council but not voted upon by it. Resolutions would have effect as recommendations only,as now, but if carried against a minister he would have to consider whether they involve a vote of want of confidence. There would be a single Finance Department with a Joint Secretary to guard the interests of transferred subjects, and the legislature would be asked to appoint a committee on public accounts to advise on all surcharges and disallowances of the auditor and all serious departures from budget provisions.

The **Legislative arrangements** proposed in the M. C. Report are generally supported. The composition of the grand committee is reserved for further consideration and India Govt. recommend that there should be no right of appeal against the Governor's decision in the matter of certification. The proposals in the M-C Report regarding the Governor's powers of assent, dissolution, etc, are approved. It is also proposed that the Governor should have power to reserve certain acts for the assent of the Governor General. Govt. do not think it necessary to establish an Upper House. They agree that the Governor should be the President of the legislative council with power to nominate a Vice-President. For rules of business they propose that fundamental rules, affecing the powers of the different elements of the constitution, should be distinguished from standing orders of council to be framed by the local Governments and alterable by the council with the sanction of the Governor. The right of asking supplementary questions should be extended to all members, and official members should have freedom of speech and vote on any side on all subjects except where Government thinks it necessary to give them instructions to the contrary. The M-C Report proposals regarding the effect of resolutions are accepted, as are also, subject to certain conditions, those regarding standing committees and council under-secretaries.

The Govt. India propose that **Rules of Business** should be framed to regulate the disposal of cases in transferred subjects. The circumstances in which the Governor will be entitled to intervene in transferred subjects should be defined in the instrument of instructions to the Governor which should be a published document. If a minister finds himself unable to acquiesce in the action proposed by the Governor, the latter should be empowered to call on him to resign, and, if he is unable to find another minister immediately, to take over the control of the departments concerned himself.

If the Governor is unable within six months to find a minister, he should move the Secretary of State to re-transfer the portfolio to the Governor in Council.

When differences arise as to the disposal of a case affecting a reserved and a transferred department, the Governor should be able to intervene and, if he thinks fit, submit the case for consideration to other members and ministers than those concerned, but the final decision should remain with the department to which the case properly belongs. When it is doubtful to which department a case belongs, the decision should lie with the Governor. Orders of the two parts of the Government should be distinguished so as to make it clear from which side they emanate. Each half of the Government must refain from opposition to the other half, but should not be expected to give active support to a policy which they have not endorsed.

They approve, the proposal to have periodic **Statutory Commissions** to enquire into the working of the Scheme but object to intermediate changes before the appointment of the first commission.

The Govt. of India also approve that two **Indian Members** should be on the Governor-General's executive council, also the abolition of the statutory restriction on the number of members of the council; but recommend that the appointment of two officials, one lawyer, and two Indians, should be secured by statute. Recommendations in regard to the constitution and powers of the Assembly and the Council of State are reserved pending the consideration of the franchise committee's proposals. The President of the Assembly should be an official nominated by the Governor-General, that powers of assent, reservation and disallowance to all acts of the Indian legislature should remain as at present, that the existing powers of making regulations and ordinance should be maintained, that the Governor-General should have power to return a Bill for reconsideration and to dissolve either the Assembly or the Council of State, and that in the matter of resolutions, questions, rules of business, etc, the Indian legislature should be on the same footing as provincial councils. The establishment of a Privy Council is approved but the proposals to appoint standing committees and council under-secretaries for the Indian legislature are declared to be premature.

Regarding the relaxation of the **Control of the Secretary of State and Parliament** and the transfer of the Secretary of State's salary to the Home Estimates, the Govt. of India are fully

in accord with the M-C proposals and the proposal to institute a committee of Parliament on Indian affairs is welcomed and the suggestion is made that the committee should include members of both Houses. Opinion on the recognition of the India Office is reserved pending the report of the India Office committee.

MINUTE BY THE VICEROY.

The following Minute by His Excellency the Viceroy, dated March 5, 1919 was appended to the despatch :—

I feel it right to append a minute to this despatch, not of dissent but by way of personal explanation.

In 1916 my Government forwarded a despatch to the Secretary of State framing an announcement of policy and the first steps to be taken in pursuance of the policy enunciated. The despatch was subjected to criticism—criticism which I accept as sound—that it failed to fix the enlarged Councils with responsibility. A mere increase in numbers it was said did not train Indians in self-government. It did not advance the object unless the Councils were at the same time fixed with some definite powers and with real responsibility for their actions.

It is to my mind evident that such criticism was the genesis of form of the announcement of policy made by the Secretary of State on hehalf of His Majesty's Government on August 20th. That announcement had three outstanding features. First, the progressive realisation of responsible government is given the keynote and objective of British policy in India : secondly substantial steps are to be taken at once in this direction : and thirdly this policy is to be carried out by stages. I think I shall not be stating the basic principle of this policy unfairly when I sum it up as the gradual transfer of responsibility to Indians.

The Secretary of State was deputed by His Majesty's Government to proceed to India to discuss the whole question with myself and Government. and the results of our discussion are embodied in the Joint Report which we presented to His Majesty's Government.

The Severest Criticism—We took as our terms of reference the announcement of August 20th, and I confidently assert that in the proposals we have made we have not swerved from the terms of that announcement. The progressive realisation of responsible government is the basis of our proposals : substantial steps to be taken at once in this direction are formulated and we have provided through the machinery of the periodic commission for the achievement of the policy announced by successive stages.

We have not overlooked the very grave and real difficulties which lie in the path of the policy proposed. They are set out at length throughout the Report, but especially in the Chapter entitled the 'the Conditions of the Problem' and in my perusal of the criticisms of the Report I have seen no difficulties stated which we have not ourselves empasised. As regards the proposals themselves no criticism which has been directed against them is more severe than our own statement of the case in paragraph 354 of our Report.

"As we have said already because it (the Report) contemplates transitional arrangements, it is open to the criticism which can always be effectively directed against all such plans. Hybrid executives, limited responsibility, assemblies partly elected and partly nominated, divisions of functions, reservations, general or particular, are devices that can have no permanent abiding place. They bear on their faces their transitional character ; and they can be worked only if it is clearly recognised that is their justification and their purpose. They cannot be so devised as to be logical. They must be charged with potentialities of friction. Hope of avoiding mischief lies in facing the fact that they are temporary expedients for training purposes, and in providing that the goal is not merely kept in sight, but made attainable, not by agitation but by the operation of machinery inherent in the scheme itself."

Meaning of Responsibility—I have quoted this passage to show that the Secretary of State and I did not shut our eyes to the very grave difficulties attendant on our scheme. But to what are these difficulties due ? They are not due to any perverse ingenuity on the part of the Secretary of State and myself in the framing of our proposals. They are inherent in the principle underlying the announcement to which we were bidden to give effect, *viz.*, the gradual transfer of responsibility to Indians. And I wish here to endeavour to define what I mean by responsibility. There has been much discussion as to what is meant by responsibility to constituents, responsibility to legislative councils and the like, and I cannot but think that there has been much talk and writing on this subject which is beside the mark, and perhaps our Report is equally guilty with others in this respect. What are we aiming at in our policy ? Surely this, that the decision of certain matters—I will not discuss what matters—shall rest with Indians : that in these matters it will be for them to say "Yes" or "No" and that our scheme shall provide as far as possible, for everybody knowing that the decision in any particular matter is their decision, that the "Yes" or "No" is their "Yes" or "No." This definition of the responsibility to be

attained by Indians is one to which, I believe, most people will ubscribe, and I believe it to be the responsibility at which His Majesty's Government were aiming when they made their declaration of policy.

It is one thing however to enunciate a principle : it is another thing to translate the principle into practice. The Secretary of State and I have had the task imposed upon us of translating the principle of the gradual transfer of responsibility to Indians into practice. We explored every road, we followed up every path which seemed to lead to the goal we had in view, but we always came back to this, that if responsible Government is to be progressively realised through the gradual transfer of responsibility as defined above, the only method by which this can be attained is one which involves the division of the functions of Government between two different sets of authorities, a method which has been compendiously styled "dyarchy."

Objections to Unitary System—In a unitary government, short of unitary responsible government, you cannot fix responsibility upon Indians. You can associate Indians with the Government, but you cannot fix them with responsibility in the sense that anyone can see at a glance that the decision in any particular case is their decision. Moreover in a unitary government there is no room for the gradual transfer of responsibility. There is only one step from irresponsibility into the full responsibility which responsible government connotes. By the dyarchic method, however, you can insure full responsibility in certain subjects with machinery to extend that responsibility to other subjects as occasion permits. The division of subjects between the official portion of the Government and the Indian portion of the Government insures that each portion is fixed with responsibility for its actions in the sphere allotted to it. Such a division is full of difficulties as critics of our scheme have not failed to point out, but they are the price which we must be prepared to pay, if we are to translate the principle underlying the announcement of August into practice, and make the transfer gradual.

Provincial Govt's Scheme

I think I may bring out in greater relief the broad difference between the schemes of unitary government and dyarchy, if I analyse the scheme propounded by the five Heads of Local Governments which is forwarded with the despatch. I welcome the scheme because it is possible from a comparison between it and the scheme of the Report to appreciate the issue between a unitary and a dyarchic goverment.

In paragraph 3 of the minute it is said "While the announcement of His Majesty's Government in Parliament rightly placed the association of Indians with the Government in the foreground of the policy, the idea of association has been overshadowed and obscured by the idea of responsibility."

His Majesty's Government are the sole judges of what was meant by the announcement of August 20th. I have at the beginning of this minute discussed what I believe to be the genesis of the announcement of August 20th and what I regard as its main features and its underlying principle.

If I am wrong as to these, the foundation of the arguments in the preceding pages disappears, but I will examine the scheme of the Heads of Local Governments on the assumption that I am correct.

Local Governments' Proposals—The main features of their scheme may be said to be—

(1) A Council of equal numbers of officials and non-officials, the latter selected from elected members.

(2) No division of subjects.

(3) Legislative Council to be as in the joint Report.

(4) The Governor to have powers to overrule his Executive Council under section 50 of Government of India Act, 1915.

(5) Legislation to be as in joint Report, Grand Committee to exist, but the Governor to have a free hand in the selection of members nominated for it and Governor to have powers of certification in the terms of section 50 mentioned above.

(6) Budget to be voted by the Legislative Council, but Governor to have power to restore any item in terms of section 50.

It can, I think, be seen at once that the pith of the scheme lies in the constitution of the Executive and in the non-division of subjects. The other features are either those of the joint Report or modifications of it. Can it be said that in the Unitary Executive as proposed it will be possible to fix the Indian portion of the Executive with responsibility in the sense in which I have used it in this minute, *viz.*, that it will be for them to say "Yes" or "No" in certain matters and that everybody will know that the "Yes" or "No" is their "Yes" or "No," Their position will not be different from that enjoyed by Indian Members of Executive Councils at the present moment, under which the predominance of the British element always shields the Indian Member from any direct responsibility in respect of actions of the Government. He can always point to the majority against him as responsible for the action taken.

Again, on the assumption that "the gradual transfer of responsibility" is the basic principle of the announcement, I believe that under the scheme of the Heads of Local Governments, there can only be one step from a position of irresponsibility to one of full responsibility. Under this scheme advance can only be by an increase of numbers of Indian in the Executive Council and granted that the initial numbers of British and Indians are two and two, an increase of one to the Indians places them in full control. Let me quote from the minute of dissent of Lord Ronaldshay and Sir Edward Gait to the scheme under discussion, "It is true that if the scheme of the joint Report be adopted, there will be continued agitation for an increase in the number of transferred subjects. But under the alternative scheme there will be an equally strong agitation for an increase in the number of non-official Members of the Government; and concession to that agitation would be far more dangerous, as it would involve a sudden transfer of all power from the official to the non-official members, subject to the power vested in the Governor by section 50 of the Government of India Act, which however, he could exercise only on very special occasions."

The Legislative Councils.—It still remains for me to examine the position of the Legislative Councils under this scheme. The Heads of Local Governments rely on the machinery of the Grand Committee and the use of the certificate to carry their affirmative legislation. In so far as they find themselves able to use this machinery in the whole domain of government, they will reduce the Councils merely to bodies of irresponsible critics to whom no power is given, in whom no responsibility is fixed, but whose numbers are materially increased. In so far as they do not use the machinery they will reproduce the position of Canada described in the Durham Report—an irremoveable executive and an irresponsible but supreme legislature. It might be said that this same argument recoils on my head in respect of our treatment of reserved subjects. But to this objection I would point out that we have advisedly not introduced the principle of responsibility into that sphere, while in the sphere of the transferred subjects the principle has full play.

The potentialities of friction, which are predicted for the dyarchic scheme, will thus, to my mind, be equal if not greater in their proposals and the saving grace of responsibility will find no place.

Once more,—I have seen schemes under which a combination of division of subjects with a unitary executive is proposed. I would ask those who suggest such schemes to test them by the two principles which I understand are basic in the announcement, of

fixation of responsibility and of gradual transfer of responsibility. I do not believe they will survive the test. But let me state the problem in another way. The division of subjects is incompatible with Unitary Government. The moment you divide subjects you necessarily divide the Government, otherwise there is no meaning in the division. You divide subjects in order to allocate those which are to be under the control of the Legislative Councils to Members of the Government who would owe allegiance to the Councils. By division of subjects then you at once introduce dualism into the Government, and have two portions of one Government owing allegiance to different authorities.

Need for Prompt Action.—I have confined myself in this minute to the one point whether or not the advance is to be by way of the gradual transfer of responsibility. This to my mind must be settled before it is profitable to discuss the details of the proposals. I have traced the history of the promulgation of this principle. It is for His Majesty's Government to decide whether I have traced it aright and whether I have correctly interpreted their announcement of August 20th. The idea of responsibility was, as I believe, introduced into that announcement deliberately and I have endeavoured loyally to carry it out in the proposals for which the Secretary of State and I were jointly responsible. I leave it then for the decision of His Majesty's Government, but I earnestly press upon them the imperative necessity of action in fulfilment of their announcement. I agree with the opinion expressed by His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, in a note writen to me in connection with the Conference of Heads of Provinces, that "time is a factor of vital importance in the consideration of the whole question of Reforms." "I am convinced" he says "that delay is a greater danger even than an imperfect scheme, and that those of us on whom must fall the heavy burden of putting reforms schemes into actual operation will be better able to work an imperfect scheme with the good-will and confidence of all concerned than to operate a more perfect scheme—if one can be devised—when confidence and good will have been broken and alienated by disappointment and delay."

One last word—The Secretary of State and I asked for publication of our Report because, as we said, "our proposals can only benefit by reasoned criticism both in England and India, official and non-official alike." That criticism, so far as India is concerned, has been received and along with my colleagues in the Government of India. I have carefully weighed it. The results of

our consideration are embodied in the amendments suggested by us in our despatch. We have not departed from the underlying principle of the Report ; and I believe what we have done much to clarify and strengthen the proposals as a practical scheme.

CHELMSFORD
Viceroy and Gov. General.

SOUTHBOROUGH REPORT ON FRANCHISE

The Committees on Franchise and Subjects, foreshadowed in the Montagu-Chelmsford report, were duly appointed under the Chairmanship of Lord Southbrough and their reports were issued in March, 1919.

The Franchise Committee's Report is summarised as follows :—

Provincial Councils—The committee recommend the retention of the existing general disqualifications of electors and the addition of a further disqualification based on nationality which would not, however, apply to subjects of Indian States They decided that the social conditions of India make it premature to extend franchise to women.

It is proposed that the general franchise should be based on residence within the constituency and the possession of certain property qualifications as evidenced by the payment of land revenue, rent or local rates in rural areas, and of municipal rates in urban areas, and of income tax generally. An important exception of these general principles is the recommendation of the Indian Army. No attempt has been made to arrive at any uniform property qualification. The qualifications proposed vary not only from province to province ; but also, in some cases, in different areas within the same province. An important point is that the same qualifications is proposed for all communities within the same area.

The **number of electors**, which the franchise proposed for the various provinces will give, is roughly estimated as follows :—

Madras	542,000
Bombay	653,000
Bengal	1,228,000
United Provinces	1,483,500
Panjab	237000
Bihar and Orissa	576,500
Central Provinces	159,500
Assam	30?,000

It is proposed to replace the existing system of indirect election to the provincial legislative councils by a system of direct election. The district will ordinarily be the electoral unit but in some provinces single cities with large populations and in other provinces smaller towns in groups will form urban constituencies Single member constituencies are generally recommended but some latitude is left to local Governments in this matter. The committee are opposed to the introduction of elaborated system of voting, such as proportional representation, the limited vote, and the cumulative vote. They recommend that plural voting should be forbidden except where a constituency returns more than one member in which case each elector will have as many votes as there are members. Electors will also be allowed to vote in one general or communal constituency in addition to voting in a special constituency.

The average number of electors in the general and communal constituencies in the various provinces is estimated to be as follows :—

Madras	7,200
Bombay	8.900
Bengal	16,400
United Provinces	17,700
Punjab	4,900
Bihar and Orissa	9,100
Central Provinces	3,400
Assam	9,700

The size of individual constituencies will, however, vary enormously, from 500 electors in the Muhammadan constituency composed of the towns of Madura, Trichinopoly and Srirangam to 96,000 in the constituency of Almora in the United Provinces.

The **size of the council** which the Committee recommend for each province is as follows :—

Madras	118
Bombay	111
Bengal	125
United Provinces	118
Panjab	83
Bihar and Orissa	98
Central Provinces	70
Assam	53

In the Presidencies and the United Provinces the proportion of elected members proposed is from 78 to 80 per cent. of the total

membership, and in the remaining four provinces from 73 to 75 per cent. The proportion of officials proposed is 15 per cent. in the United Provinces, 16 per cent. in the three presidencies and Bihar and Orissa, 17 per cent. in the Central Provinces and Assam and 19 per cent. in the Punjab. The **interests to be represented by nomination** are :—

(*i*) the depressed classes in all provinces, except the Punjab ;
(*ii*) Anglo-Indians in all provinces, except Madras and Bengal, where representation will be by election ;
(*iii*) Indian Christians in all provinces, except Madras, where they will have a special electorate, and the Central Provinces ;
(*iv*) labour in Bombay, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and Assam ;
(*v*) excluded tracts in Madras and the Central Provinces ;
(*vi*) military interests in the Punjab ;
(*vii*) (*viii*) aborigines and domiciled ;
(*ix*) Bengalis, all in Bihar.

The number of nominated non-official members proposed varies from 4 in Bengal and the United Provinces to 9 in Bihar and Orissa and Assam.

Special electorates are proposed for the following interests :—

(*i*) universities, in all provinces except Assam ;
(*ii*) landholders and
(*iii*) commerce and industry,
both in all provinces.

The number of landholding members varies from 2 in Assam to 7 in Madras and of representatives of commerce and industry from 2 in the Punjab and the Central Provinces to 15 in Bengal. In the representation of commerce and industry the following special interests share :

(*i*) planting in Madras, Bihar and Orissa and Assam ;
(*ii*) mining in Bengal, Behar and Orissa and the Central Provinces ;
(*iii*) European Chambers of Commerce in Madras, Bombay, Bengal and the United Provinces ;
(*iv*) Indian Chambers of Commerce in the same four provinces ;
(*v*) Trades' Associations in the three Presidencies ;
(*vi*) and (*viii*) Millowners' Association and cotton trade in Bombay ;
(*viii*) (*ix*) (*x*) and (*xi*) the jute trade, the tea trade, Indian Associations and Inland Water Transport Board in Bengal ;

(*xii*) general industrial interests in the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, Central Provinces and Assam.

The extension of **communal electorates** is proposed in the interests of (1) Indian Christians to whom three seats are given in Madras ; (2) Anglo-Indians who are given one seat each in Madras and Bengal ; (3) Europeans who are given two seats in Bombay and Bengal and one seat in Madras, the United Provinces and Bihar and Orissa ; and (4) Sikhs to whom eight seats are given in the Punjab. In the case of Muhammadans, the existing system of communal election is retained and following the Congress League agreement the committee propose to give Muslims the following proportion of Indian elected seats :—

	per cent.
Madras	15
Bombay	34
Bengal	40
United Provinces	30
Punjab	50
Bihar and Orissa	25
Central Provinces	14

The claims to separate electorates of the following minor communities are not supported. Mahishyas of Bengal and Assam, Marwaris of Calcutta, Bengali domiciled community of Bihar and Orissa, Ahoms of Assam, Mahars of the Central Provinces, Uriyas of Madras and Parsis of Bombay. The majority of the committee would also reject the claims of the Mahrattas. In regard to non-Brahmans of Madras, the committee observe that they were deprived of the opportunity of examining the non-Brahman leaders and of testing their views since they refused to appear before the committee. The communications from Dr. Nair and other non-Brahman leaders, are included in an appendix (XV) to the report. The committee regret that the refusal of these leaders to appear at the enquiry made a settlement by consent impossible. They considered certain solutions of the non-Brahman problem ; but in the end decided to make no difference between Brahmans and non-Brahmans ; but they add a suggestion that the matter may be further considered hereafter if the non-Brahmans make a move.

Few changes are proposed in regard to the **qualfications of** the **candidates**.

The most important are :—

(1) the removal of the disqualification of subjects of Indian States.

(2) the limitation of the disqualifications of dismissal from Government service and imprisonment

(3) the withdrawal of the Governor's power to declare the election of a candidate as contrary to public interests ; and

(4) the addition of a new qualification of residence within the constituency in the provinces of Bombay, the Punjab and the Central Provinces.

The Indian Legislature—The committee recommend that the Assembly should have a total strength of 120 members, or including the Governor-General in Council 121. 80 members should be elected, distributed among various provinces as follows :—

Madras	12
Bombay	12
Bengal	13
United Provinces	12
Panjab	9
Bihar and Orissa	9
Central Provinces	5
Assam	3
Burma	4
Delhi	1

Of these 80 members 36 will represent general non-Muslim interests, 19 general Muslim interests, 1 general Sikh interests, 5 non-Muslim landholding interest, 4 Muslim landholding interests, 1 Sikh ladholding interest, 6 European commerce and planting and 4 Indian commerce. To these will be added 14 members appointed by nomination and 26 officials. The committeee hold that a system of direct election is not feasible, except in the case of the landholding and commercial interests, and recommend that the general representatives should be returned by the non-official members of the provincial legislative councils voting on a communal basis.

It is proposed that the **Council of State** should consist of 56 members, exclusive of Governor-General, of whom 24 should be elected. The 24 elected seats are distrributed as follows :—

General	11
Mahomedans	7
Sikhs	1
Landholders	2
European Chamber of Comerce	2
Burma	1

The elected members, with the exception of the two representatives of European commerce, will be returned by the non-official members of the various provincial councils, the distribution of seats among the provinces being as follows :

Madras	3
Bombay	3
Bengal	3
United Provinces	3
Punjab	3
Bihar and Orissa	2½*
Central Provinces	1½†
Assam	1½†

* One landholding seat to be filled alternately from Bengal, and Bihar and Orissa.

† One Muhammadan seat to be filled alternately from the Central Provinces and Assam.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ON FRANCHISE.

The following is a brief summary of the Government of India despatch of April 23, 1919, (See A. R. 1919 Part III.) giving that Government's views on the Franchise Report.

The Government of India accept the Committee's recommendations with the following exceptions. They would not admit subjects of Native States as electors or candidates. They object to any franchise qualifications other than those based on property. They would enlarge the electorate proposed for Madras and reduce those for Bengal, United Provinces and Assam, and would reduce size of larger constituencies. They consider provision for representation of backward classes inadequate and propose considerable increase in some provinces. They see no need for special University constituencies and propose to re-examine proposals for landholding constituencies in Madras, Punjab and Assam, and to re-distribute seats allotted to landholders of United Provinces. They accept proposals for Muslim representation except in Bengal where they would give Muslims 44 seats instead of 34. They propose tentatively to allot to non-Brahmans 30 out of 61 non-Muslim seats in Madras but without special electorate and would consult Bombay Government regarding Mahrattas. They would ask for further consideration of distribution of seats between town and country. In regard to the Indian Legislature they agree generally as to the size of both chambers but criticise the distribution of seats in the Assembly with special

reference to omission of urban representation and amount of representation proposed for landholders and European and Indian commerce. They would prefer a system of direct election to the Assembly but are prepared to accept indirect election provided elections to Council of State are direct.

DIVISION OF FUNCTIONS.

The following is a summary of the Report of the Feetham Committee on Division of Functions :—

The report is in six sections. The important sections are no. II, which deals with provincial functions and relations between the provinces and the Government of India, no. III in which the transfer of functions and the powers of the Governor-in-Council in relation to transferred subjects are discussed, and nos. IV and V in which proposal regarding the Public Services and Finance respectively are put forward. Much of the report does not lend itself readily to summary being of a technical and complicated nature but the main proposals are :—

Section II.—The committee have prepared two lists showing (i) all-India subjects and (ii) provincial subjects. Among the most important subjects proposed for inclusion in the all-India list are, naval, military and aerial matters, foreign relations and relations with native states, railways (with certain exceptions), communications of military importance, posts and telegraphs, currency and coinage, sources of imperial revenue, law of status, property, civil rights, etc., commerce, shipping and major ports, criminal law, central police organisation and railway police, possession and use of arms, central institutions of scientific and industrial research, ecclesiastic administration and all-India services. In the provincial list the most important items are local self-government, medical administration and education, sanitation, education (with certain exceptions), provincial buildings, communications other than those of military importance, light and feeder railway in certain cases, irrigation and canals, land revenue administration, agriculture, civil veterinary department, fisheries, cooperative societies, forests, excise, administration of justice, development of industries, police prisons and reformatories, control of newspapers and presses, provincial borrowing.

The provincial subjects will be divided into reserved and transferred and it is proposed that the powers of the Government of India in regard to provincial subjects should vary according to this division.

The committee recommend that intervention in transferred subjects should be allowed only for two purposes, *viz.*:—

(1) To safeguard the administration of all-India subjects.

(2) To decide questions arising between two or more provinces, failing agreement between the provinces concerned :

In respect, however, of certain special subjects they retain a a certain power of control in the hands of the Government of India by making the subjects "provincial subjects to Indian legislation." In the case of reserved subjects the committee recognise that no specific restrictions can be imposed on the Government of India's general powers of control but feel that the control should vary according as the subjects are administered by provincial government as agents of the Government of India or as provincial functions properly so called. In respect of the former the Government of India's powers of control must remain absolute, but in regard to the latter they propose to secure that the Governor General in Council shall exercise his power of control with due regard to the purpose of the new Government of India Act.

Effect of the proposals —The general effect of the proposals will be to leave the provinces free to legislate on provincial subjects, reserved and transferred, which are not specially made subjects to Indian legislation, except in cases where the proposed Bills affected powers expressly reserved to the Government of India by statute, or amend any provision of certain specified all-India Acts, or amend any section of an Act which by the terms of the Act itself is specially protected. They also propose that the Governor shall have power to reserve for the consideration of the Governor-General provincial Bills, which appear to him to affect any matter specially committed to his charge, any all-India subject or the interests of any other province, and shall be required similarly to reserve Bills which affect the religion or religious rights and usages of any class, university Bills, Bills shifting boundaries of reserved and transferred subjects, and railway or tramway Bills.

Section III.—The committee preface their discussion of the transfer of subjects with a statement of reservations which accompanied the proposals of local Governments. The Madras Government were wholly opposed to any scheme involving dualism, the Governments of Bombay and the Punjab and the Chief Commissioner of Assam proposed alternative schemes involving no division of functions and the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces desired a period of training before the introduction of the Report scheme. The

most important subjects proposed for transfer are local self-government, medical administration and education, sanitation, education (with certain exceptions), provincial buildings, communication other than those of military importance, light and feeder railways and tramways (in certain cases), agriculture, civil veterinary department, fisheries (except in Assam), co-operative societies, forests in Bombay, Excise (except in Assam) subject to certain safeguards and the development of industries. Mr. Couchman is unable to recommend the transfer of any subject in Madras as he feels that the proposals of the Franchise Committee will result in the return of a large majority of Brahmans in whose hands the interests of the masses will not be safe !

Intervention of the Government.—The committee recommend that the Governor should be free to intervene in the administration of transferred subjects.

(*i*) In defence of reserved subjects,

(*ii*) In defence of his special responsibilities under the instrument of instructions.

In cases of the former description if the Governor fails to get ministers concerned to agree, he will himself decide the point in issue and will be empowered to call on the minister to resign in cases of necessity. If the case is an emergent one requiring immediate action, the Governor will be able to certify it as such, whereupon the Governor-in-Council will take action. Rules are suggested for regulating the relation between the two portions of the Government and defining the authority of the Governor. The gist of these is (1) each side is not to interfere unduly with the other, (2) the Governor shall decide which side has jurisdiction when that is in doubt, (3) the Governor shall see that all orders of the Governor-General-in-Council are carried out, (4) the Governor shall call joint meetings in cases where reserved and transferred departments are concerned and shall decide in cases of disagreement, (5) the Governor-in-Council can administer a transferred subject in an emergency in the absence of a minister.

In defence of his special responsibilities under the instrument of instructions the Governor should have similar powers. Draft clauses defining the Governor's special responsibilities are included in the report : the matters covered by them are the maintenance of peace and tranquillity and prevention of religious and racial conflict, the grant of monopolies or special privileges to private undertakings contrary to the public interests and unfair discrimination in commercial and industrial matters, the protection of the interests of the

Anglo-Indian or Domiciled Community and of the public services, and the protection of the special educational interests of Muslims, religious institutions, and depressed and backward classes

Public Services—Section IV.—The committee recommend that the public services employed under provincial governments be classified into three divisions, namely, Indian, provincial and subordinate. The chief criterion will be the appointing authority. The Indian services will be recruited according to methods laid down in statutory orders by the Secretary of State and appointments to these services will be made by the Secretary of State, who will also fix rates of pay, sanction all new appointments, and secure pensions by statutory orders under the new Government of India Bill. The committee recommend that statutory rules should provide that no orders affecting adversely emoluments or pensions shall be passed in regard to officers of all-India services in transferred departments without the concurrence of the Governor. As a special measure of protection in the case of the Indian Medical Service propose that the medical department is transferred, statutory orders should provide that the private practice of officers of the Indian Medical Service will be regulated only by the Secretary of State. They further recommend that the Governor should be charged with the protection of the public services and with the duty of seeing that no orders affecting adversely the pension or emoluments of any officer are passed before they have been considered by both parts of the government. Appeal against such orders should lie to the Government of India and the Secretary of State and no officer of all-India service should be liable to dismissal except by order of the Secretary of State. Questions of promotion, posting and discipline of officers with duties in both reserved and transferred departments should be treated in the manner explained above in connection with the relations of Governor in Council and ministers.

Provincial Division : Pending legislation which will regulate recruitment, training, discipline, and the general conditions of service of the provincial services it is proposed that the existing rules should *mutatis mutandis* be binding on ministers as regards transferred departments. In regard to pay, allowances, leave, etc., local Governments will be granted wide powers. In the matter of discipline, the main features of the procedure proposed for all-India service should apply to existing members of provincial services. In case of future entrants all orders affecting emoluments and pensions, and orders of dismissal, should require the personal concurrence of the Governor.

Subordinate Division : The rights and privileges of present incumbents should be maintained by means of directions to the Governor in Council as regards reserved subjects and instructions to the Governor in respect of transferred subjects. So far as future entrants are concerned the Governor in Council and Governor and ministers must be left to regulate the entire working of the services.

In conclusion the committee suggest that as far as possible members of all-India services should be secured in the benefits of the conditions under which they were recruited. The principle that alterations shall not press hardly on members of the services should be formally recognised in the future.

Finance.—Section. V.

Under this head the most important proposals are—

(1) That a strong audit system independent of the Governor in Council and ministers be established and that audit reports be laid before provincial legislature ;

(2) That the provincial finance departments should be reserved and that in relation to transferred subjects the duties of the department should be to advise and criticise, final decision resting with the minister subject to assent of the Governor.

(3) That a list of taxes which local Governments may impose without previous sanction of the Governments of India should be included in a schedule to be provided for by rule ;

(4) That provincial governments should ordinarily borrow through the Government of India,but, subject to approval of that Government as to time and method of borrowing, should be free to borrow in Indian market in certain circumstances.

(5) That subject to certain simple regulations provincial governments should be left to their own responsibility in the disposal of their balances ;

(6) That a schedule of municipal and local taxation should be prescribed by the Governor-General in Council and previous sanction should only be required in case of tax not included in schedule.

REMARKS BY GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

The following is a summary of the Government of India Despatch of April 16, 1919, dealing with the report on the division of functions.

The Government of India accept generally the lists of all-India and provincial subjects ; changes proposed are for the most part additions to make lists more specific or complete. They also accept

general principles for regulation of intervention by the Government of India in provincial subjects, while suggesting somewhat different procedure in matter of provincial legislation in interests of simplicity. Principal changes in this respect are: (1) to give Government of India right to legislate in provincial matters where uniformity is desirable instead of marking transferred subjects as subject to Indian legislation, and (2) to give the Governor greater freedom in matter of reserving bills by omitting provision for compulsory reservation. Government of India also agree with committee as to Governor's powers of intervention in transferred subjects though they would vary slightly the procedure in emergency cases where (a) minister is unable to accept Governor's decision; they generally approve proposals regarding rules of executive business and instrument of instructions, of which a draft is appended to the despatch. They regard the list of transferred subjects as generally suitable but are unable to agree to transfer of higher education and development of industries.

DIVISION OF FUNCTIONS.

The following are the revised lists of All-India, Provincial and Transferred subjects, as proposed by the Government of India.

The paragraphs in brackets are the Government of India's remarks.

ALL-INDIA SUBJECTS.

1. All questions connected with His Majesty's naval, military and air forces in India, including the Royal Indian Marine, volunteers, cadets, and armed forces other than military and armed police maintained by provincial Governments.

1*a*. Ordnance, munitions, censorship, compulsory purchases, requisitioning, prize courts, registration of mechanical transport, etc., for naval and military purposes.

2. External relations, including naturalisation and aliens.

3. Relations with Native States.

3*a*. Political charges.

3*b*. Regulation of ceremonial, including titles and others, precedence and darbars, and civil uniforms.

4. Any territory in British India other than provinces mentioned in the schedule.

(The schedule will include the eight provinces to which the reform scheme applies.)

4*a*. The Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

4*b*. Territorial changes other than intra-provincial, and declaration of laws.

5. Excluded areas. (This entry is included provisionally and subject to any recommendations for the treatment of those areas which may be made in a subsequent despatch).

(These are the backward areas referred to in paragraph 199 of the Joint Report which it is suggested should be administered by the Governor under the control of the Government of India.)

6 Communications—to the extent described under the following heads :—

(*a*) Railways and tramways, except (*i*) tramways within municipal areas and (*ii*) light and feeder railways and tramways.

(*b*) Such roads, bridges, ferries, tunnels, ropeways, causeways, and other means of communication as are declared by the Governor-General-in-Council to be of military importance.

(*c*) Aircraft, aircraft factories, aerodromes and landing places.

(*d*) Inland waterways, to an extent to be declared by the Governor-General-in-Council.

(7) Shipping and Navigation (including shipping and navigation on inland waterways in so far as declared by the Governor-General-in-Council under 6 (*d*)).

(It is suggested that wide powers should be delegated to local Governments to enable them to regulate local shipping traffic, *e. g.*, coasting vessels plying between ports in the same province, especially as regards accommodation provided for passengers).

8. Lightships, beacons, buoys and light-houses (including their approaches.

9. Port quarantine and marine hospitals.

10. Ports declared to be major ports by the Governor-General-in-Council.

11. Posts, telegraphs and telephones and wireless installations.

12. Sources of imperial revenue, including customs, cotton excise duties, taxes on income, salt, stamps (non-judicial).

13. Currency and coinage.

14. Public debt of India.

15. Savings banks.

16. Department of the Comptroller and Auditor-General.

17. Civil Law, including laws regarding status, property, civil rights and liabilities and civil procedure.

18. Commerce, including banking and insurance.

19. Trading companies and other associations.

19*a*. Regulation of food supply, fodder, fuel and trade generally between provinces in times of scarcity.

20. Control of production, supply and distribution of any articles in respect of which control by a central authority is declared by the Governor-General-in-Council essential in the public interests

20*a*. Control of cultivation and manufacture of opium and sales of opium for export.

20*b*. Stores and Stationery.

(Subject to the introduction as soon as possible of such measures of decentralization as are found by the Governor-General in Council to be advisable).

21. Control of petroleum and explosives.

(The law regarding petroleum and explosives is at present under the direct control of the Government of India and uniformity of law and administration is desirable).

22. Geological survey.

22*a*. The development of industries including industrial research.

(*Vide* 24, Provincial. The fact that the development of any industry or any industrial research is being taken up by the Government of India will not prevent local Governments from also taking it up).

23. Control of mineral development, in so far as such control is reserved to the Governor-General in Council under rules made or sanctioned by the Secretary of State, and regulation of mines.

(The rules regulating the grant of licenses to prospect for minerals and the grant of leases of mines and minerals are made by the Governor-General in Council and sanctioned by the Secretary of State in Council).

Mining administration is now controlled by the Government of India and there is a small expert department of Inspectors working freely all over India. It would be impossible without great extravagance and loss of efficiency for each province to have its own expert staff.

24. Inventions and designs.

25. Copyrights.

26. Emigration and immigration and interprovincial migration.

(It is considered desirable to make interprovincial migration an All-India subject to be administered by the provincial Governments as agents).

26*a*. Pilgrimages beyond British India.

27. Criminal Law, including criminal procedure.

(The insertion of penal clauses in a provincial Bill will not bring the Bill within the scope of this entry).

27*a*. State prisoners

28. Central police organization and railway police so far as jurisdiction and cost are concerned.

29. Control of possession and use of arms.

30. Central agency for medical research and central institutions of scientific and industrial research, including observatories, and central institutions for professional or technical training,

30*a*. Government of India records and the Imperial Library.

30*b*. Government of India buildings.

31. Ecclesiastical administration.

(The expenditure is incurred entirely by the Government of India. The Bishops and clergy are under the administrative control of the local Governments, except that the Bishop of Calcutta, as Metropolitan, is under the control of the Government of India. As a large portion of the expenditure is on behalf of the army, the subject must be an All-India one).

31*a*. Higher language examinations to an extent to be declared by the Governor-General in council.

32. Survey of India.

33 Archæology.

Provisionally included : *vide* para. 39 of the despatch.

34. Zoological survey.

35. Meteorology.

36. Census and Statistics.

37. All-India Services.

37*a*. Government servants' conduct rules.

38. Legislation in regard to any provincial subject, in so far as such subject is stated in the Provincial List to be subject to Indian legislation, and any powers relating to each subject reserved by legislation to the Governor General in council.

39. All matters expressly excepted from inclusion in the list of provincial subjects.

40. All other matters not included in the list of provincial subjects.

Provincial Subjects.—1. Local self-government, that is to say, matters relating to the constitution and powers of municipal

corporations, Improvement trusts, district boards, mining, boards of health and other local authorities eastablished in the province for purposes of local self-government, exclusive of matters arising under the Cantonments Act.

2. Medical administration, including hospitals, dispensaries and asylums.

(Legislation regarding the status and civil rights and liabilities of lunatics is an all-India subject. The question of medical registration falls under head 42).

3. Public health and sanitation and vital statistics.

3*a*. Pilgrimages within British India.

4. Education, excluding—

(1) the Benares Hindu University and such other new university as may be declared to be all-Indian by the Governor-General in Council.

(2) Chiefs' colleges and any educational institutions maintained by the Government of India, subject to Indian legislation.

(*a*) controlling the establishment, and regulating the constitutions and functions of new universities ; and

(*b*) defining the jurisdiction of any university outside its own province ;

And, in the case of Bengal, up till the time when the recomendations of the first statutory commission are carried into effect, subject to Indian legislation with regard to the Calcutta University and the control and organisation of secondary education. (*Vide* paragraph 58 of fourth despach.) If higher education is reserved there will be less need for this provision.

5. Public Works included under the following heads :—

(*a*) Provincial buildings.

(*b*) Roads, bridges, ferries, tunnels, ropeways, causeways, and other means of communication other than such as are declared by the Governor-General in Council to be of military importance.

(*c*) Tramways within municipal areas ;

(*d*) Light and feeder railways and tramways.

6. Control of water supplied in rivers, streams and lakes, irrigation and canals, drainage and embankments, water storage and water power subject to such rules in regard to technical scrutiny and financial sanction as may be prescribed.

7. Land Revenue administration, as described under the following heads :—

(*a*) Assessment and collection of land revenue ;

(*b*) Maintenance of land records, survey for revenue purposes, records of rights ;

(*c*) Laws regarding land tenures, relations of landlords and tenants, collection of rent ;

(*d*) Court of Wards, encumbered and attached estates ;

(*e*) Land improvement and agricultural loans ;

(*f*) Colonization and disposal of Crown lands and alienation of land revenue.

Vide para 61 of the fourth despatch.

7*a*. Management of State properties.

8. Famine relief.

9. Agriculture, including research institutes, experimental and demonstration farms, introduction of improved methods, provision for agricultural education, protection against destructive insects and pests and prevention of plant diseases.

10. Civil Veterinary Department, including provision for veterinary training, improvement of stock, and prevention of animal diseases.

11. Fisheries.

12. Co-operative Societies.

13. Forests, including preservation of game therein.

14. Land acquisition, subject to Indian legislation as regards acquisition of land for public purposes.

15. Excise, that is to say, the control of production, manufacture, possession, transport, purchase and sale of alcoholic liquor and intoxicating drugs, and the levying of excise duties and license fees on or in relation to such articles, but excluding, in the case of opium, control of culivation, manufacture and sale for export.

16. Administration of justice, including the constitution, maintenance and organization of courts of justice in the province, both of civil and criminal jurisdiction, other than a High Court, a Chief Court, or the Court of a Judicial Commissioner, but subject to Indian legislation as regard courts of criminal jurisdiction.

17. Provincial law reports.

18. Administrator-General and Official Trustee, subject to Indian legislation.

19. Judicial stamps, subject to Indian legislation.

20. Registration of deeds and documents,

21. Registration of births, deaths and marriages.

Existing Indian legislation provides for the following classes, *viz.* members of every race, sect or tribe to which the Indian Succession Act, 1865, applies, and all persons professing the Christian religion.

22. Religious and charitable endowments.

(This entry is provisional on the contemplated Indian Act on this subject being secured from alteration by rules under the proposed section 79 (3) (*i*) of the Government of India Act).

23. Development of mineral resources which are Government property, subject to rules made or sanctioned by the Secretary of State, but not including the regulation of mines.

24. Development of industries, including industrial research.

Vide 22*a*. All-India.

2 . Industrial matters included under the following heads :—

(*a*) Factories ;
(*b*) Settlement of labour disputes ;
(*c*) Electricity ;
(*d*) Boilers ;
(*e*) Gas.

(Inspectors of Factories, Electricity and Boilers are provincial officers under the control of the local Governments, but we consider that there are strong grounds for maintaining uniformity in regard to the four matters which are made subject to Indian legislation. As regards the other subjects, especially those included under "Welfare of labour," it is desirable to give the provinces freedom of initiative).

(*f*) Smoke nuisances ; and

(*g*) Welfare of labour, including provident funds, industrial insurance (general, health and accident) and housing :

subject as to (*a*), (*b*), (*c*) and (*d*) to Indian legislation.

26. Adulteration of food-stuffs and other articles.

27. Weights and measures.

28. Ports, except such ports as may be declared by the Governor-General-in-Council to be major ports.

29. Inland waterways, including shipping and navigation thereon so far as not declared by the Governor-General-in-Council to be under control of the Government of India ; but Subject as regards inland steam vessels to Indian legislation.

30. Police, other than the jurisdiction and cost of railway police.

31. Miscellaneous matters :—

(*a*) regulation of betting and gambling ;
(*b*) prevention of cruelty to animals ;
(*c*) protection of wild birds and animals ;
(*d*) control of poisons, subject to Indian legislation ;
(*e*) control of motor vehicles, subject to Indian legislation as regards licenses valid throughout British India ; and
(*f*) control of dramatic performances, and cinematographs subject in the case of the latter to Indian legislation in regard to certification.

32. Control of newspapers, books and printing presses, subject to Indian legislation.

33. Coroners.

34. Criminal tribes, subject to Indian legislation.

35. European vagrancy, subject to Indian legislation.

36. Prisons, prisoners and reformatories, subject to Indian legislation.

37. Pounds and cattle-trespass.

38. Treasure trove.

39. Museums (except the Indian Museum, Imperial War Museum and the Victoria Memorial, Calcutta), and zoological gardens.

39*a*. Provincial records and libraries.

39*b*' European cemeteries and historical monuments and memorials.

40. Government Press.

41. Franchise and elections for Indian and provincial legislatures.

(*Vide* para. 76 of fourth despatch, and para. 2 of fifth despatch).

42. Regulation of medical and other professional qnalifications and standards, subject to Indian legislation and provision for medical education.

Under this head will fall the administration of the existing provincial Medical Registration Acts. Power is reserved to the Indian legislature in order to secure uniformity and maintain the standards of professional qualifications.

43. Control of the public services other than the All-Indian services serving within the province, subject to Indian legislation.

44. Sources of provincial taxation not included under previous heads, whether (*a*) taxes included in the schedule of additional provincial taxes or (*b*) taxes outside this schedule in the case of which the prior sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council has been obtained to the necessary legislation.

45. Borrowing of money on the sole credit of the province subject to such rules as are made by the Secretary of State in Council.

46. Any matter which, though falling within an all-India subject is declared by the Governor-General-in-Council to be of a merely local or private nature within the province.

Provincial Subjects for Transfer :—The list of provincial subjects for transfer is as follows, the smaller paragraphs are the Government of India's remarks :—

In all Provinces.

Local self-government, that is to say, matters relating to the constitution and powers of municipal corporations, improvement trusts, district boards, mining, boards of health and other local authorities established in the province for purposes of local self-government exclusive of matters arising under the Cantonments act.

The question of control, if any, to be exercised over policemen or watchmen by local authorities should be left to be determined by provincial legislation relating to local self-government,

Pounds, where they are managed by local authorities, will come under local self-government.

Medical administration, including hospitals, dispensaries and asylums.

It will be noted that it is proposed to reserve "Regulation of medical and other professional qualifications and standards," and to make this matter subject to Indian legislation (*vide* Provincial List, item 42). The administration of the Medical Registration Acts will thus be reserved, and the power of securing uniformity of standards will remain with the Indian legislature.

The Sanitary Department will be responsible for the compilation of vital statistics, but at present in most provinces will have to rely on the services of other departments for their collection.

Pilgrimages within British India.

Primary and middle vernacular education.

It is suggested that the Governor shall be required to have special regard to certain interest in education (*vide* paragraph 67).

In all Provinces except Assam.

Public Works included under the following heads :—

(*a*) Provincial buildings connected with transferred departments :

(*b*) Roads, bridges, ferries, tunnels, ropeways, causeways and other means of communication other than such as are declared by the Governor-General-in-Council to be of military importance ;

(*c*) Tramways within municipal areas.

In all Provinces.

Agriculture, including research institutes, experimental and demonstration farms, introduction of improved methods, provision for agricultural education, protection against destructive insects and pests and prevention of plant disease.

Civil Veterinary Department, including provision for veterinary training, improvement of stock and prevention of animal diseases.

In all Provinces except Assam

Fisheries.

In Assam the restrictive measures taken for the protection of fish have been unpopular, and the administration of fisheries is closely connected with the Land Revenue Department.

In all Provinces.

Co-operative Societies.

In Bombay only.

Forests, including preservation of game therein.

The existing power of the Governor-General in Council under the Forest Act will remain ; and any provincial legislation affecting them will be subject to previous sanction.

IN ALL PROVINCES EXCEPT ASSAM.

Excise, that is to say the control of production, manufacture, possession, transport, purchase and sale of alcoholic liquor and intoxicating drugs, and the levying of excise duties and license fees on or in relation to such articles, but excluding, in the case of opium, control of cultivation, manufacture and sale for export.

With refereuce to the proposed restriction of the purposes for which the Government of India will exercise their power to intervene in transferred subjects (*vide* para. 4 of the despatch), the following points affecting Excise require special mention :—

(1) The power of the Government of India to safeguard the administration of customs revenue will involve power to control the

incidence of excise revenue : *(i)* on any liquor which is likely to compete directly with imported liquor : and *(ii)* on any article imported into British India which is liable on importation to the payment of customs duty.

(2) With regard to provincial action restricting the introduction into a province of excisable articles the position will be as follows :—

The Government of India will be entitled to intervene, in the case of excisable article imported from outside British India, to protect their custom duties, and, in the case of excisable articles in transit from or to other provinces, territories and States of India, for the purpose of protecting the interests of such other provinces, territories or States.

(3) The Government of India will be entitled to intervene in matters affecting the supply of excisable articles to His Majesty's forces.

In Madras and Bombay, Excise, Salt and Customs are dealt with under a unified system of administration. Salt and Customs are all-India subjects, and the question of making arrangements for the separate administration of these subjects when the transfer of Excise takes effect will be considered by the Government of India.

In all Provinces.

Registration of deeds and documents.
Registration of births, deaths and marriages.
Vide note to item 21, provincial list.
Religious and charitable endowments.
Adulteration of foodstuffs and other articles.
Weights and measures.
Museums (except the Indian Museum, the Imperial War Museum and the Victoria Memorial, Calcutta) and Zoological gardens.

REPORT OF LORD CREWE'S COMMITTEE

ON INDIA OFFICE REFORMS

July 14,—1919.

Summary of Recommendations.

The following is the official summary of the proposals made by the Committee on Home Administration of Indian affairs over which Lord Crewe presided.

Relations between the English and Indian administration.

(1) Save in the case of absolute necessity, legislation should not be certified for enactment by the Council of State without the previous approval of its substance by the Secretary of State on the ground that its enactment is essential in the interests of peace, order and good Government of India.

(2) Where the Government of India are in agreement with a majority of non-official members of the Legislative Assembly either in regard to legislation, or in regard to resolutions on the budget, or on matters of general administration, assent to their joint decision should only be withheld in cases in which the Secretary of State feels that his responsibility to the Parliament for peace, order, and good Government of India, of paramount consultations of Imperial policy, require him to secure reconsideration of the matter at issue by the Legislative Assembly.

(3) As a basis of delegations the principle of previous consultation between the Secretary of State and the Government of India would be substituted in all cases in which previous sanction of the Secretary of State in Council has hitherto been required.

(4) In the relations between the Secretary of State and the Local Governments the principle should as far as possible be applied that, where the Government are in agreement with a conclusion of the legislature, their joint decision should ordinarily be allowed to prevail.

(5) Assent to or disallowance of Indian legislation by the Crown should be signified by His Majesty in Council.

The administration of India.

(6) The powers and authority now vested in the Secretary of State for India in Council should be transferred to the Secretary of State.

(7) The Secretary of State should be assisted by an Advisory Committee to which he shall refer such matters as he may determine and he may provide by regulations for the conduct of the business of the Committee.

(8) The Advisory Committee should consist of not more than 12 and not less than six members, appointed by the Secretary of State.

(9) Not less than one-third of the members of the Committee should be persons domiciled in India selected by the Secretary of State from a panel of names submitted by non-official members of the Indian Legislature.

(10) The tenure of office of a member of the Committee should be 5 years.

(11) The members of either House of Parliament should be ineligible for appointment to the Committee.

(12) The salary of the members of the Committee should be £1200 a year.

(13) The Indian members of the Committee should receive a subsistence allowance of £600 a year in addition to salary, in respect of their domicile.

(14) Statutory provision should be made for recommendations (6) to (13) inclusive.

(15) The Secretary of State should regulate by executive orders the conduct of correspondence between India Office and the Governments in India.

The Organisation of the Indfa Office Establishment.

(16) Action should be taken with a view to the transfer of the agency work of the India Office to a High Commissioner for India or some similar Indian Governmental representative in London.

(17) No formal system of interchange of appointments between a member of India Office and Indian services can be recommended, but a deputation between the two countries should be encouraged.

(18) Occasion should be taken now and then to appoint an Indian to one of the posts intermediate between the Secretary of State and heads of departments.

(19) The charges on account of political and administrative work of the India Office should be placed on the Estimates, those on account of agency work of the office being defrayed from Indian revenues, the apportionment to be determined by agreement between the India Office and the Treasury.

(20) The Committee are not in favour of the proposal to establish a select committee of the House of Commons on Indian affairs, and Sir James Brunyate, Prof. Keith and Mr. Basu have stated their views in separate memoranda (See Part II)

REPORT OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE OF PARLIAMENT

ON THE GOVT. OF INDIA BILL, 1919.

The reference of the Government of India Bill to the Select Committee of both Houses, recommended in the course of the second reading debate in the House of Commons by the Secretary of State, was formally made in both Chambers early in July, 1919, and after discussing procedure in private and hearing a statement from the India Office, the Committee under the Chairmanship of Lord Selborne held their first public sitting on 16 July. The members of the Committee—7 from eachHouse—were the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquess of Crewe, Viscount Middleton, Lord Islington, Lord Sydenham, and Lord Sinha from the Lords, and Mr.T. J. Bennett, Sir Henry Craik, Major Ormsby-Gore, Sir D. Maclean, Sir J. D. Rees, and Mr. Ben Spoor from the Commons. Sir Donald Maclean subsequently resigned and his place was taken by Mr. F. D. Acland.

The Committee pursued their task with great assiduity, receiving and acting upon the special authority of both Houses to sit during the summer recess. Many Indian deputations went to London to lay documents before the Committee and tender evidence. In all 70 witnesses were heard, sometimes in groups of two or three at a time, but usually separately, and the Minutes of Evidence extend to 580 closely printed foolscap pages. The work of public examination ended on October 15, and the subsequent private deliberations, suspended on two occasions for preparing or revising the draft report, ended on 17th November. The Report was issued two days later, as a White paper, accompanied by the Bill as amended. (See Next Part).

Immense importance attaches to the Report for since the Bill is to be little more than a frame-work if there is to be due flexibility and adaptation in the new Indian constitution, it may be regarded as the foundation of the Rules to be subsequently made. The extent to which the recommendations and interpretations are accepted will

form an authoritative standard of the intentions of Parliament in regard to the details and practical working of the new Constitution. They resolve doubts justly entertainted in view of repeated breaches of faith in the past as to the policy of Parliament, and by including the limiting as well as the operative sentences of the pronouncement of 20th August, 1917, in the preamble to the Bill, they demonstrate that the responsibility for deciding the further stages of development rests on Parliament alone " and that it cannot share this responsibility with, much less delegate it to, the newly elected legislatures of India."

The recommendations and the accompanying revised Bill were received almost universally as making distinct improvements on the measure as read a second time in the Commons. Their general effect is to simplify the machinery, while materially enlarging the reality, of the first instalment towards the goal of giving India an autonomous system comparable with those possessed by the self-governing Dominions. Stress is laid upon the importance of the Governor fostering in every way free consultation between the two halves of his Government without obscuring their separate distinctive responsibilities. In many ways the dangers of friction and deadlock arising from the original scheme are mitigated, while the reality of growing degrees of autonomy is more clearly defined.

SUMMARY OF THE REPORT.

The main recommendations of the Joint Committee's report were officially summarised as follows :—

(1) The Committee endorse the general scheme of the Bill as an accurate interpretation of the announcement of the 20th of August, 1917, and are of the opinion, after considering all the suggested alternatives, that the partitions of the domain of provincial government into two fields, with the consequent division of responsibility, is the best way of giving effect to the spirit of the declared policy of Government.

(2) While laying great stress on the necessity of clearly demarcating and fixing the responsibility of each half of the executive for its own sphere, the Committee regard it as of the highest importance that the Governor should foster the habit of free consultation between both halves and that he should insist upon it in all important matters of common interest.

(3) The Committee believe that the revised Bill secures to the Governor-in-Council on the one hand, and to the Government of India on the other, the possession of unquestioned means of dis-

charging their respective responsibilities to Parliament, the maintenance of which, except in so far as they are released from that responsibility by the changes made under the Bill, the Committee regard as an essential feature of the policy of His Majesty's Government.

(4) The Committee recommend the immediate constitution of a Standing Joint Committee of both Houses for the purpose of securing closer Parliamentary touch with Indian affairs. One of the most important points on which consultation with this Committee will be required is for the examination of draft rules under the Bill and for the examination of the first rules. They recommend that the present Committee should be re-appointed.

(5) The scheme of the Bill, which leaves much to be carried out by rules, is endorsed as necessary and right. From this point the order of the recommendations follows for the most part the arrangement of the revised Bill. The whole of the announcement is included in the preamble in order to dissipate doubts as to the authority of the different parts.

(6) **Functions Committees.**—The lists of subjects as revised after consultation at the India Office and put in as evidence by Mr. Feetham are accepted. This involves the recommendation that the whole of education, subject to reservations about Universities and the development of industries, should be (a) transferred subject.

(7) Rules for **Allocation of Revenue** between the two halves of Government.—The Committee do not endorse the suggested separation of the sources of revenue, but recommend that the Governor be empowered if the joint purse is found to produce friction at any time to make an allocation of a definite proportion of the revenue and balances to continue in force for at least the whole life or the existing Legislative Council. If the Governor requires assistance in making the allocations, he should be allowed at his discretion to refer the matter for decision to an authority to be appointed by the Governor-General. Until a mutual agreement between both halves of the Government has been reached, or until the allocation has been made by the Governor, the total provision of the different heads of expenditure in the provincial budgets of the preceding financial year is to hold good.

(8) There is no cause at present for disturbing the existing relations between the Local Government of India and the Secretary of State. The question whether and in what manner Local Governments should correspond with the Secretary of State should be left

to the latter to decide. Now intervention by the Government of India in provincial matters will require a corresponding change in the Secretary of State's control. India is not yet ripe for a Federal system, and while an extensive delegation to the Provincial Governments of some of the powers and duties now in the hands of the Government of India is essential, the Central Government cannot be relegated to the functions of mere inspection and advice.

(9) **Relations of Governor and Ministers.**—Ministers will have the option of resigning if their advice is not accepted by the Governor, and the Governor will have the right of dismissing a Minister whose policy he believes to be seriously wrong, or out of accord with the views of the Legislature. If the Governor resorts to dissolution to find new Ministers, the Committee hope that he will be able to accept the view of the new ministers regarding the issue which forced the dissolution. The Ministers will certainly be at least two in number in every province, and the fact that they undoubtedly will act together has been recognised and provided for as a desirable position. The Governor should never hesitate to point out to his Ministers what he thinks is the right course, or to warn if he thinks their proposed course is wrong, but if the Ministers decide not to adopt his advice the Governor should ordinarily allow the Ministers to have their way. Mistakes will doubtless follow but they will bring experience. The status of Ministers should be similar to that of a member of the executive Council.

(10) Normally the Executive Council is expected to consist of two members. If in any case the Council includes two members of the Civil Service, neither of whom is an Indian, the Committee think it should also include two non-official Indians.

(11) **Franchise Recommendations.**—The following recommendations relate to the Franchise Reports.—

(*a*) The Government of India to adjust the allocation of seats so as to secure a larger representation of the rural population, as distinct from the urban and a better representation of the urban wage-earning classes, and an effort should be made to remedy as far as possible the disparity between the size of the electorates in the different provinces. The adjustment, however, must in all cases be by increasing and not by diminishing, the representation already proposed by the Southborough Report.

(*b*) Depressed Classes.—The Government of India should be instructed after consultation with the Local Governments to provide a larger share of real representation by nomination, having regard to

the number in each province, to increase and not to diminish the general electorate, and the nominees are to be taken if suitable, and if not otherwise available, from the ranks of the public services, without thereby increasing the prescribed ratio of official members.

(*c*) The non-Brahmins in Madras must be provided with separate representation by means of the reservation of seats. The Brahmins and non-Brahmins to be invited to settle the number of seats to be reserved and the method of reservation, and failing an agreement a decision to be made by an arbitrator appointed by the Government of India.

(*d*) The Mahrattas in Bombay are recommended for a similar treatment.

(*e*) The Electoral Rules to be so framed that if any Provincial Legislative Council decides by a resolution in favour of women's franchise, women should be put on the register of that province.

(*f*) With the one exception named in the preceding head the franchise not to be altered for the first ten years and Legislative Councils to be unable to make alterations.

(*g*) The special representation of landholders in the provinces to be reconsidered by the Government of India in consultation with the local Governments.

(*h*) The franchise for University seats to be extended to all graduates of over seven years standing.

(*i*) European representation is accepted except for Bengal. The Government of India should consider with the Bengal Government its readjustment in that province.

(*j*) The eligibility of the rules and subjects of Native States to vote or stand for election to be settled for each province by the local Government.

(*k*) Dismissal from Government service not to be a disqualification for election, but a criminal conviction involving a sentence of more than six months' imprisonment to disqualify for five years from the date of the expiry of the sentence.

(*l*) The Franchise Committee's proposal for a residential qualification and the maintenance of the Lucknow Compact is endorsed.

(*m*) The Committee advise the full exploration of the principle of proportional representation with a view to its consideration by a Statutory Commission.

(*n*) A complete and stringent Corrupt Practices Act to be passed and brought into operation before the first elections.

(12) Great importance is attached to the question of the selection of the first Presidents of the Legislative Councils and to the necessity of imbuing the Councils from the start with the spirit and convention of Parliamentary procedure.

(13) Voting the **Provincial Budget**—When the Council reduce, or fail to vote a Budget demand for a transferred subject, the Committee consider the Governor will be justified if so advised by his Ministers, in re-submitting the vote to the Council for the purpose of reviewing the decision. The Governor's power of the restoration of reduced reserved votes must be regarded as real and its exercise is not arbitrary. All proposals for taxation should be considered and agreed upon by both halves of the Government before submission to the Legislative Council.

(14) The Committee reject the **Grand Committee Procedure** as failing in a crisis to secure the object in view and as perpetuating the disadvantages of the official *bloc*. The responsibility for reserved legislation is with the Governor-in Council, and no advantage is gained by attempting to conceal this. The Governor's power is to be exercised only after opportunity for full discussion in the Legislature and the Standing Committee of Parliament should be specially consulted on acts of this kind by the Secretary of State.

(15) **Indian Legislature**—The scheme of the Report and the original Bill for the operation of the Council of State is rejected for much the same reason as is the Grand Committee. The Council of State is to be constituted as a true revising Chamber from the start. The Franchise Committee's proposal for election to the Council of State is rejected, and Government is to be instructed to propose a different system immediately to be elaborated before the inauguration of the new constitution of the Legislative Assembly. The views in paragraph 39 of the Franchise Despatch are endorsed, and the Government of India is to be instructed to propose a better scheme of election at the earliest possible moment.

(16) The first President of the Legislative Assembly should be qualified by experience of the House of Commons and knowledge of Parliamentary procedure and should be chosen with a view to the influence which he may be expected to exert on the whole of Parliamentary procedure in India.

(17) The voting of the Indian Budget is not introduced as establishing any measure of responsible Government in the Central Administration, and the power of the Governor-General to disregard adverse votes is to be understood to be real and intended to be used if

and when necessary. The clause is passed on the understanding that the Assembly will be reasonably representative in character and directly elected.

(18) The Committee recommend that in future not less than three members of the Governor-General's Executive Council should be Indians.

(19) All costs of the **India Office** not being agency charges should be placed on the British estimates.

(20) The Council of India is retained without change in its statutory position with all its advantages of tradition and authority but a re-adjustment of work is desirable so as to provide a less rigid procedure and to enable the introduction of the portfolio system to be made. More Indians should be introduced, and the period of tenure of office should be reduced to five years with this object in view and in order to secure a continual flow of fresh experience from India.

(21) No statutory change in the relations between the Government of India and the Secretary of State is possible so long as the former remains wholly responsible to Parliament but the conventions governing these relations may be wisely modified to meet the fresh circumstances caused by a large elected majority in the Legislative Assembly. Thus the Secretary of State, in the exercise of his responsibility to Parliament, which he cannot delegate, may reasonably consider that only in exceptional circumstances should he be called on to intervene in matters of purely Indian interest in which the Government of India and the Indian Legislature are in agreement. A particular instance of this convention would be tariff arrangements. Fiscal autonomy cannot be guaranteed by Statute without the unconstitutional result of limiting the ultimate control by Parliament of the Crown's power of veto. It can only be assured by the acknowledgment of a covention that the Secretary of State should, so far as possible, abstain from intervention in fiscal matters when the Government of India and the Indian Legislature agree and should only intervene to safeguard the international obligations of the Empire or any fiscal arrangements within the Empire to which his Majesty's Government is a party. The relations between the Secretary of State and the local Governments as regards intervention in respect of reserved subjects of purely provincial interest should be governed by similar principles. Over transferred provincial subjects the control of the Government of India and of the Secretary of State should be confined to the limits defined under clause 13 of the Bill.

(22) The **Public Services** changes made in part 14 of the Bill indicate generally the Committee's views on this matter. If there are members of a service whose doubts as to the changes to be made are so deeply rooted that they feel they cannot usefully endeavour to take part, the Committee think it would be fair if possible to offer them an equivalent career elsewhere or, as a last resort, that they should be allowed to retire on such pension as the Secretary of State may consider suitable to the length of service.

23. The appointment of a **Statutory Commission** at the end of ten years is endorsed. The Commission should include the Government of India in the scope of the enquiry, and consider generally what further advance can be made. Meanwhile no substantive changes should be introduced.

24. The Committee do not advise the inclusion of **Burma** in the scope of the scheme, and while not doubting that the Burmese have deserved and should receive an analogous Constitution, they are impressed with the essential difference between Burma and India

25. The institution of **Standing Committees** as a general rule in Provinces is strongly recommended, and in such departments of the Government of India as the Governor-General may decide.

26. The principles governing the revision of assessment of **Land Revenue** should be brought under closer regulation by statute as soon as possible as part of a general policy, bringing within the purview of legislation the imposition of new burdens.

27. Importance is attached to Sir Michael Sadler's recommendations of **Education Boards** and the Committee hope that Ministers will see their way to constitute them from the outset. The advisability of creating Local Government departments in every Province is also commended to Ministers.

The policy endorsed in paragraph 326 of the Joint Report is strongly endorsed. In conclusion the Committee repudiate any suggestion that the changes made by the Bill imply any condemnation of the present system of Government in India. The present form of Government arises out of the fact that Parliament has held the Government of India responsible to itself for every action ; and that there has hitherto been no constitutional self-Government effort. The welfare of the masses of the peoples of India has everywhere and always been the spirit of Government.

INDIA IN PARLIAMENT & ABROAD

THE INDIAN REFORMS 1919

Royal Proclamation.

GEORGE THE FIFTH, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India.

To my Viceroy and Governor-General, to the Princes of Indian States and to all my Subjects in India of whatsoever race or creed, greeting—

1. Another epoch has been reached to-day in the Councils of India. I have given my Royal Assent to an Act which will take its place among the great historic measures passed by the Parliament of this Realm for the better Government of India and the greater contentment of her people. The Act of seventeen hundred and seventy-three and seventeen hundred and eighty-four were designed to establish a regular system of administration and justice under the Honourable East India Company. The Act of eighteen hundred and thirty three opened the door for Indians

to public office and employment. The Act of eighteen hundred and fifty-eight transferred the administration from the Company to the Crown and laid the foundations of public life which exist in India to-day. The Act of eighteen hundred and sixty-one sowed the seed of representative institutions and the seed was quickened into life by the Act of nineteen hundred and nine. The Act which has now become law entrusts elected representatives of the people with a definite share in Government and points the way to full representative Government hereafter. If, as I confidently hope, the policy which this act inaugurates should achieve its purpose, the results will be momentous in the story of human progress; and it is timely and fitting that I should invite you to-day to consider the past and to join me in my hopes of the future.

2. Ever since the welfare of India was confided to us, it has been held as a sacred trust by our Royal House and Line. In eighteen hundred and fifty-eight QUEEN VICTORIA of revered memory solemnly declared herself bound to her Indian subjects by the same obligations of duty as to all her other subjects; and she assured them religious freedom and the equal and impartial protection of law. In his message to the Indian people in nineteen hundred and three my dear father KING EDWARD the Seventh announced his determination to maintain unimpaired the same principles of humane and equitable administration. Again, in his proclamation of nineteen hundred and eight, he renewed the assurances which had been given fifty years before and surveyed the progress which they had inspired.

On my accession to the throne in nineteen hundred and ten I sent a message to the Princes and Peoples of India acknowledging their loyalty and homage and promising that the prosperity and happiness of India should always be to me of the highest interest and concern. In the following year I visited India with the Queen Empress and testified my sympathy for her people and my desire for their well-being.

3. While these are the sentiments of affection and devotion by which I and my predecessors have been animated, the Parliament and the People of this Realm and my officers in India have been equally zealous for the moral and material advancement of India. We have endeavoured to give to her people the many blessings which Providence has bestowed upon ourselves. But there is one gift which yet remains and without which the progress of a country cannot be consummated: the right of her people to direct her affairs and to safeguard her interests. The defence of India against foreign aggression is a duty of common Imperial interest and pride. The control of her domestic concerns is a burden which India may legitimately aspire to taking upon her own shoulders. The burden is too heavy to be borne in full until time and experience have brought the necessary strength; but opportunity will now be given for experience to grow and for responsibility to increase with the capacity for its fulfilment.

4. I have watched with understanding and sympathy the growing desire of my Indian people for representative institutions. Starting from small begin-

nings this ambition has steadily strengthened its hold upon the intelligence of the country. It has pursued its course along constitutional channels with sincerity and courage. It has survived the discredit which at times and in places lawless men sought to cast upon it by acts of violence committed under the guise of patriotism. It has been stirred to more vigorous life by the ideals for which the British Commonwealth fought in the Great War and it claims support in the part which India has taken in our common struggles, anxieties and victories. In truth the desire after political responsibility has its source at the roots of the British connection with India. It has sprung inevitably from the deeper and wider studies of human thought and history, which that connection has opened to the Indian people. Without it the work of the British in India would have been incomplete. It was therefore with a wise judgment that the beginning of representative institutions were laid many years ago. This scope has been extended stage by stage until there now lies before us a definite step on the road to responsible Government.

5. With the same sympathy and with redoubled interest I shall watch the progress along this road. The path will not be easy and in marching towards the goal there will be need of perseverance and of mutual forbearance between all sections and races of my people in India. I am confident that those high qualities will be forthcoming. I rely on the new popular assemblies to interpret wisely the wishes of those whom they represent and not to forget the interests of the masses who cannot

yet be admitted to the franchise. I rely on the Leaders of the people, the Ministers of the future, to face responsibility and endure to sacrifice much for the common interest of the State, remembering that true patriotism transcends party and communal boundaries ; and while retaining the confidence of the legislatures, to co-operate with my officers for the common good in sinking unessential differences and in maintaining the essential standards of a just and generous Government. Equally do I rely on my officers to respect their new colleagues and to work with them in harmony and kindliness ; to assist the people and their representatives in an orderly advance towards free institutions : and to find in these new tasks a fresh opportunity to fulfil as in the past their highest purpose of faithful service to my people.

6. It is my earnest desire at this time that so far as possible any trace of bitterness between my people and those who are responsible for my Government should be obliterated. Let those who in their eagerness for political progress have broken the law in the past respect it in future. Let it become possible for those who are charged with the maintenance of peaceful and orderly Government to forget extravagances they have had to curb. A new era is opening. Let it begin with a common determination among my people and m officers to work together for a common purpose. therefore direct my Viceroy to exercise in my name and on my behalf my ROYAL CLEMENCY to political offenders in the fullest measure which in his judgment is compatible with public safety. I desire him to extend it on this

condition to persons who for offences against the State or under any special or emergency legislation are suffering from imprisonment or restrictions upon their liberty. I trust that this leniency will be justified by the future conduct of those whom it benefits and that all my subjects will so demean themselves as to render it unnecessary to enforce the laws for such offences hereafter.

7. Simultaneously with the new constitution in British India, I have gladly assented to the establishment of a CHAMBER OF PRINCES. I trust that its counsels may be fruitful of lasting good to the Princes and States themselves, may advance the interests which are common to their territories and British India, and may be to the advantage of the Empire as a whole. I take the occasion again to assure the Princes of India of my determination ever to maintain unimpaired their privileges, rights and dignities.

8. It is my intention to send my dear son, the PRINCE OF WALES, to India by next winter to inaugurate on my behalf the new Chamber of Princes and the new constitution in British India. May he find mutual goodwill and confidence prevailing among those on whom will rest the future service of the country, so that success may crown their labours and progress and enlightenment attend their administration. And with all my people I pray to Almighty God that by His wisdom and under His guidance India may be led to greater prosperity and contentment and may grow to the fulness of political freedom.

December the Twenty-third Nineteen-hundred and Nineteen.

Text of Govt. of India Bill—1919

(As Amended by the Joint Committee of the Houses of Commons and Lords)

Preamble.

Whereas it is the declared policy of Parliament to provide for the increasing association of Indians in every branch of Indian administration and for the gradual development of Self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realisation of Responsible Government in British India as an integral part of the Empire :

And whereas progress in giving effect to this policy can only be achieved by successive stages, and it is expedient that substantial steps in this direction should now be taken.

And whereas the time and manner of each advance can be determined only by Parliament, upon whom responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples.

And whereas the action of Parliament in such matters must be guided by the co-operation received from those on whom new opportunities of service will be conferred and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility :

And whereas concurrently with the graduat development of Self-governing institutions in the Provinces of India it is expedient to give to those Provinces in provincial matters the largest measure of independence of the Government of India which is compatible with the due discharge by the latter of its own responsibilities

Be it therefore enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows :—

Part I.

LOCAL GOVERNMENTS.

1.—(1) Provision may be made by rules under the Government of India Act, 1915, as amended by the Government of India (Amendment) Act, 1919 (which Act, as so amended, is in this Act referred to as "the Principal Act")—

(*a*) for the classification of subjects, in relation to the functions of Government, as central and provincial subjects, for the purpose of distinguishing the functions of local Governments and local legislatures from the functions of the Governor-General in Council and the Indian legislature;

(*b*) for the devolution of authority in respect of provincial subjects to local Governments, and for the allocation of revenues or other moneys to those Government.

(*c*) for the use under the authority of the Governor-General in Council of the agency of local Governments in relation to central subjects, in so far as such agency may be found convenient, and for determining the financial conditions of such agency; and

(*d*) for the transfer from among the provincial subject or subjects (in this Act referred to as "transferred subjects") to the administration of the Governor acting with Ministers appointed under this Act, and for the allocation of revenues or moneys for the purpose of such administration.

(2) Without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing powers, rules made for the above-mentioned purposes may—

(i) regulate the extent and conditions of such devolution, allocation, and transfer;

(ii) provide for fixing the contributions payable by local Governments to the Governor-General in Council, and making such contribution a first charge on allocated revenues or moneys;

(iii) provide for constituting a finance department in any province, and regulating the functions of that department;

(iv) provide for regulating the exercise of the authority vested in the local Government of a province over members of the public services therein;

(v) provide for the settlement of doubts arising as to whether any matter does or does not relate to a provincial subject or a transferred subject, and for the treatment of matters which affect both a transferred subject and a subject which is not transferred; and

(vi) make such consequential and supplemental provisions as appear necessary or expedient:

Provided that without prejudice to any general power or revoking or altering rules under the Principal Act, the rules shall not authorise the revocation or suspension of the transfer of any subject except with the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council.

(3) The powers of superintendence, direction and control over local Governments vested in the Governor-General in Council under the principal Act shall in relation to transferred subjects be exercised only for such purposes as may be specified in rules made under that Act, but the Governor-General in Council shall be the sole judge as to whether the purpose of the exercise of such powers in any particular case comes within the purposes so specified.

(4) The expressions "central subjects" and "provincial subjects" as used in this Act mean subjects so classified under the rules. Provincial subjects, other than transferred subjects, are in this Act referred to as "reserved subjects."

2.—(1) The provision in sub-section (1) of section thirty of the Principal Act, which gives power to local Governments to raise money on real or personal estate within the limits of their respective Governments by way of mortgage or otherwise, shall have effect as though that provision conferred a power on local Governments to raise money on the security of their allocated revenues, and to make proper assurances for that purpose.

(2) Provision may be made by rules under the Principal Act as to the conditions under which the power to raise loans on the security of allocated revenues shall be exercised.

(3) The provision in subsection (1) of section thirty of the Principal Act which enables the Secretary of State in Council with concurrence of a majority of votes at a meeting of the Council of India to prescribe provisions or conditions limiting the power to raise money shall cease to have effect as regards the power to raise money on the security of allocated revenues.

3.—(1) The presidencies of Fort William in Bengal, Fort St. George, and Bombay, and the provinces known as the United Provinces, the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, the Central Provinces, and Assam, shall each be governed, in relation to reserved subjects by a Governor in council, and in relation to transferred subjects (save as otherwise provided by this Act) by the Governor acting with Ministers appointed under this Act.

The said presidencies and provinces are in this Act referred to as "Governor's provinces" and the two first-named presidencies are in this Act referred to as the presidencies o Bengal and Madras.

(2) The provisions of section forty-six to fifty-one of the Principal Act, as amended by this Act, shall apply to the United

Provinces, the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, the Central Provinces, and Assam, as they apply to the presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay. Provided that the Governors of the said provinces shall be appointed after consultation with the Governor-General.

4.—(1) The Governor of a Governor's province may, by notification, appoint Ministers, not being members of his Executive council or other officials, to administer transferred subjects, and any ministers so appointed shall hold office during his pleasure.

There may be paid to any Minister so appointed in any province the same salary as is payable to a member of the Executive council in that province, unless a smaller salary is provided by vote of the Legislative council of the province.

(2) No Minister shall hold office for a longer period than six months, unless he is or becomes an elected member of the local legislature.

(3) In relation to transferred subjects, the Governor shall be guided by the advice of his Ministers, unless he sees sufficient cause to dissent from their opinion, in which case he may require action to be taken otherwise than in accordance with that advice. *Provided that* rules may be made under the Principal Act for the temporary administration of a transferred subjeet where, in cases of emergency, owing to a vacancy, there is no Minister in charge of the subject, by such authority and in such manner as may be prescribed by the rules.

(4) The Governor of a Governor's Province may at his discretion appoint from among the non-official members of the Local Legislative Council Secretaries who shall hold office during his pleasure, and discharge such duties in assisting members of the Executive council and Ministers as he may assign to them.

There shall be paid to Council Secretaries so appointed such salary as may be provided by vote of the Legislative Council.

A Council Secretary shall cease to hold office if he ceases for more than six months to be a member of the Legislative Council.

5—(1) The provision in section forty-seven of the Principal Act, that two of the members of the Executive Council of the Governor of a Province must have been for at least twelve years in the service of the Crown in India, shall have effect as though "one" were substituted for "two," and the provision in that section that the Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Forces in India, if resident at Calcutta, Madras, or Bombay, shall, during his continuance there, be a member of the Governor's Council, shall cease to have effect.

(2) Provision may be made by rules under the Principal Act as to the qualifications to be required in respect of members of the Executive Council of the Governor of a province in any case where such provision is not made by section forty-seven of the Principal Act as amended by the section.

6.—(1) All orders and other proceedings of the Government of a Governor's province shall be expressed to be made by the Government of the province, and shall be authenticated as the Governor may by rule direct so that provision shall be made by rule for distinguishing orders and other proceedings relating to transferred subjects from other orders and proceedings.

Orders and proceedings authenticated as aforesaid shall not be called into question in any legal proceeding on the ground that they were not duly made by the Government of the province.

(2) The Governor may make rules and orders for the more convenient transaction of business in his Executive Council and with his Ministers, and every order made or act done in accordance with those rules and orders shall be treated as being the order or the act of the Government of the province.

The Governor may also make rules and orders for regulating the relations between his Executive council and his Ministers for the purpose of the transaction of the business of the local government :

Provided that any rules or orders made for the purposes specified in this section which are repugnant to the provisions of any rules made under the Principal Act as amended by this Act shall, to the extent of that repugnancy but not otherwise, be void.

7.=(1) There shall be a Legislative council in every Governor's province, which shall consist of the members of the Executive council and of the members nominated or elected as provided by this Act.

The Governor shall not be a member of the Legislative Council, but shall have the right of addressing the Council and may for that purpose require the attendance of its members.

(2) The number of members of the Governor's Legislative Council shall be in accordance with the table set out in the First Schedule to this Act ; and of the members of each council not more than twenty per cent. shall be official members, and at least seventy per cent. shall be elected members.

Provided that—

(a) subject to the maintenance of the above proportions, rules under the Principal Act may provide for increasing the number of members of any council, as specified in that schedule ; and

(b) the Governor may, for the purposes of any Bill introduced in his Legislative council, nominate, in the case of Assam, one person, and in the case of other provinces, not more than two persons,

having special knowledge or experience of the subject-matter of the Bill, and those persons shall, in relation to the Bill, have for the period for which they are nominated all the rights of members of the Council, and shall be in addition to the numbers above referred to ; and

(c) Members nominated to the Legislative council of the Central Provinces by the Governor as the result of elections held in the Assigned Districts of Berar shall be deemed to be elected members of the Legislative Council of the Central Provinces.

(3) The powers of a Governor's Legislative council may be exercised notwithstanding any vacancy in the council.

(4) Subject as aforesaid, provision may be made by rules under the Principal Act as to—

(a) the term of office of nominated members of Governors' Legislative Councils, and the manner of filling casual vacancies occurring by reason of absence of members from India, inability to attend to duty, death, acceptance of office, resignation duly accepted, or otherwise ; and

(b) the conditions under which and manner in which persons may be nominated as members of Governor's Legislative councils ; and

(c) the qualification of electors, the constitution of constituencies, and the method of election for Governors' Legislative councils, including the number of members to be elected by communal and other electorates, and any matters incidental or anicillary thereto ; and

(d) the qualifications for being and for being nominated or elected a member of any such Council ; and

(e) the final decision of doubts or disputes as to the validity of any election ; and

(f) the manner in which the rules are to be carried into effect.

Provided that rules as to any such matters as aforesaid may provide for delegating to the local Government such power as may be specified in the rules of making subsidiary regulations affecting the same matters.

(5) Subject to any such rules any person who is a Ruler or subject of any State in India may be nominated as a member of a Governor's Legislative Council.

8.—(1) Every local Legislative Council shall continue for three years from first meeting.

Provided that—

(a) the Council may be sooner dissolved by the Governor ; and

(b) the said period may be extended by the Governor for a period not exceeding one year, by notification in the official gazette

of the province, if in special circumstances (to be specified in the notification) he so thinks fit ; and

(c) after the dissolution of the Council the Governor shall appoint a date not more than six months or, with the sanction of the Secretary of State, not more than nine months from the state of dissolution for the next session of the council.

(2) A Governor may appoint such times and places for holding the sessions of his Legislative Council as he thinks fit, and may also, by notification or otherwise, prorogue the Council.

(3) Any meeting of a Governor's Legislative Council may be adjourned by the person presiding.

(4) All questions in a Governor's Legislative Council shall be determined by a majority of votes of the members present other than the person presiding, who shall, however, have and exercise a casting vote in the case of an equality of votes.

9.—(1) There shall be a president of a Governor's Legislative council, who shall, until the expiration of a period of four years from the first meeting of the council as constituted until this Act, be a person appointed by the Governor, and shall thereafter be a member of the Council elected by the Council and approved by the Governor :

Provided that if at the expiration of such period of four years the council is in session, the president then in office shall continue in office until the end of the current session, and the first election of a president shall take place at the commencement of the next ensuing session.

(2) There shall be a deputy-president of a Governor's Legislative council who shall preside at meetings of the council in the absence of the president, and who shall be a member of the Council elected by the Council and approved by the Governor.

(3) The appointed president of a Council shall hold office until the date of the first election of a president by the Council under this section, but he may resign office by writing under his hand addressed to the Governor, or may be removed from office by order of the Governor, and any vacancy occurring before the expiration of the term of office of an appointed president shall be filled by a similar appointment for the remainder of such term.

(4) An elected president and a deputy-president shall cease to hold office on ceasing to be members of the Council. They may resign office by writing under their hands addressed to the Governor, and may be removed from office by a vote of the council with the concurrence of the Governor.

(5) The president and the deputy-president shall receive such salaries as may be determined, in the case of an appointed president,

by the Governor, and in the case of an elected president or deputy-president, by an Act of the local Legislature.

10.—(1) The local Legislature of any province has power, subject to the provisions of this Act, to make laws for the peace and good Government of the territories for the time being constituting that province.

(2) The local legislature of any province may, subject to the provisions of the subjects next following, repeal or alter with regard to that province any law made either before or after the commencement of this Act by any authority in British India other than that local legislature.

(3) The local Legislature of any province may not, without the previous sanction of the Governor-general make or take into consideration any law—

(*a*) imposing or authorising the imposition of any new tax unless the tax is a tax scheduled as exempted from this provision by rules made under the Principal Act : or

(*b*) affecting the public debt of India, or the customs duties, or any other tax or duty for the time being in force and imposed by the authority of the Governor-general in Council for the general purposes of the Government of India ; provided that the imposition or alteration of a tax scheduled as aforesaid shall not be deemed to affect any such tax or duty ; or

(*c*) affecting the discipline or maintenance of any part of His Majesty's naval military, or air forces ; or

(*d*) affecting the relations of the Government with foreign Princes or States ; or

(*e*) regulating any central subject ; or

(*f*) regulating any provincial subject which has been declared by rules under the Principal Act to be, either in whole or in part, subject to legislation by the Indian Legislature, in respect of any matter to which such declaration applies ; or

(*g*) affecting any power expressely reserved to the Governor General in Council by any law for the time being in force ; or

(*h*) altering or repealing the provisions of any law which, having been made before the commencement of this Act by any authority in British India other than that Local Legislature, is declared by rules under the Principal Act to be a law which cannot be repealed or altered by the local legislature without previous sanction ; or

(*i*) altering or repealing any provision of an Act of the Indian Legislature made after the commencement of this Act

which by the provisions of that Act may not be repealed or altered by the Local Legislature without previous sanction :

Provided that an Act or a provision of an Act made by a Local Legislature and subsequently assented to by the Governor General in pursuance of this Act, shall not be deemed invalid by reason only of its requiring the previous sanction of the Governor-general under this Act.

(4) The Local Legislature of any province has not power to make any law affecting any Act of Parliament.

11—(1) Sub-sections (2) and (3) of section eighty of the principal Act (which relate to the classes of business which may be transacted at meetings of Local Legislative Councils) shall ease to apply to a Governor's Legislative Council, but the business and procedure in any such Council shall be regulated in accordance with the provisions of this section.

(2) The estimated annual expenditure and revenue of the province shall be laid in the form of a statement before the Council in each year, and the proposals of the Local Government for the appropriation of provincial revenues and other moneys in any year shall be submitted to the vote of the council in the form of demands for grants. The council may assent, or refuse its assent, to the demand, or may reduce the amount therein referred to either by a reduction of the whole grant or by the omission or reduction of any of the items of expenditure of which the grant is composed ;

Provided that—

(*a*) the Local Government shall have power, in relation to any such demand, to act as if it had been assented to, notwithstanding the withholding of such assent or the reduction of the amount therein referred to, if the demand relates to a reserved subject and the Governor certifies that the expenditure provided for by the demand is essential to the discharge of his responsibility for the subject ; and

(*b*) the Governor shall have power in cases of emergency to authorise such expenditure as may be in his opinion necessary for the safety or tranquillity of the province or for the carrying on of any department ; and

(*c*) no proposal for the appropriation of any such revenues or other moneys for any purpose shall be made except on the recommendation of the Governor, communicated to the council.

(3) Nothing in the foregoing subsection shall require proposals to be submitted to the council relating to the following heads of expenditure :

(i) contributions payable by the Local Government to the Governor-General in Council ; and

(ii) interest and sinking fund charges on loans, and

(iii) expenditure of which the amount is prescribed by or under any law ; and

(iv) salaries and pensions of persons appointed by or with the approval of His Majesty or by the Secretary of state in Council ; and

(v) salaries of Judges of the High Court of the province and of the Advocate-General.

(4) If any question arises whether any proposed appropriation of moneys does or does not relate to the above heads of expenditure, the decision of the Governor shall be final :

(5) Where any Bill has been introduced or is proposed to be introduced or any amendment to a Bill is moved or proposed to be moved, the Governor may certify that the Bill or any clause of it or the amendment affects the safety or tranquillity of his province or any part of it or of another province, and may direct that no proceedings or no further proceedings shall be taken by the Council in relation to the Bill, clause or amendment, and effect shall be given to any such direction.

(6) Provision may be made by rules under the Principal Act for the purpose of carrying into effect the foregoing provisions of this section and for regulating the course of business in the Council, and as to the persons to preside over meetings thereof in the absence of the president and deputy-president, and the preservation of order at meetings ; and the rules may provide for the number of members required to constitute a quorum and for prohibiting or regulating the asking of questions on and the discussion of any subject specified in the rules.

(7) Standing orders may be made providing for the conduct of business and the procedure to be followed in the council, in so far as these matters are not provided for by rules made under the Principal Act. The first standing orders shall be made by the Governor in Council, but may, subject to the assent of the Governor, be altered by the Local Legislatures. Any standing order made as aforesaid which is repugnant to the provisions of any rules made under the Principal Act, shall, to the extent of that repugnancy but not otherwise, be void.

(8) Subject to the rules and standing orders affectingt he Council, there shall be freedom of speech in the Governor's Legislative Council. No person shall be liable to any proceedings in any such Council, or by reason of anything contained in any official report of the proceedings of any such Council.

12.—(1) Where a Bill has been passed by a Local Legislative Council, the Governor, lieutenant-Governor or Chief Commissioner may, instead of declaring that he assents to or withholds his assent

from the Bill, return the Bill to the Council for reconsideration, either in whole or in part, together with any amendments which he may recommend, or, in cases prescribed by rules under the Principal Act may, and if the rules so require, shall reserve the Bill for the consideration of the Governor-General.

(2) Where a Bill is reserved for the consideration of the Governor-General, the following provisions shall apply :—

(*a*) The Governor, lieutenant-Governor, or Chief Commissioner may, at any time within six months from the date of the reservation of the Bill with the consent of the Governor-General, return the Bill for further consideration by the Council with a recommendation that the Council shall consider amendments thereto :

(*b*) After any Bill so returned has been further considered by the Council together with any recommendations made by the Governor, lieutenant-Governor, or Chief commissioner relating thereto, the Bill, if re-affirmed with or without amendment, may be again presented to the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor or Chief commissioner :

(*c*) Any Bill reserved for the consideration of the Governor-General shall, if assented to by the Governor-General within a period of six months from the date of such reservation, become law on due publication of such assent, in the same way as a Bill assented to by the Governor, Lieutenent-Governor, or Chief commissioner, but if not assented to by the Governor-General within such period of six months, shall lapse and be of no effect, unless before the expiration of that period, either—

(i) the Bill has been returned by the Governor, lieutenant-Governor or Chief commissioner, for further consideration by the Council ; or

(ii) in the case of the Council not being in session, a notification has been published of an intention so to return the Bill at the commencement of the next session.

(3) The Governor-General may (except where the Bill has been reserved for his consideration), instead of assenting to or withholding his assent from any Act passed by a local Legislature, declare that he reserves the Act for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure thereon, and in such case the Act shall not have validity until His Majesty in Council has signified hisassent and his assent has been notified by the Governor-General.

13—(1) Where a local Legislative Council has refused leave to introduce, or has refused to pass in a form recommended by the Governor, any Bill relating to a reserved subject, the Governor may certify that the passage of the Bill is essential for the discharge of his responsibility for the subject, and thereupon the Bill shall, notwithstanding that the Council have not consented thereto, be deemed to have passed, and shall on signature by the Governor be-

come an Act of the local Legislature in the form of the Bill as originally introduced or proposed to be introduced in the Council or (as the case may be) in the form recommended to the council by the Governor.

(2) Every such Act shall be expressed to be made by the Governor, and the Governor shall forthwith send an authentic copy thereof to the Governor-General, who shall reserve the Act for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure, and upon the signification of such assent by His Majesty in Council, and the notification thereof by the Governor-General, the Act shall have the same force and effect as an Act passed by the local Legislature and duly assented to:

Provided that where in the opinion of the Governor-General a state of emergency exists which justifies such action, he may, instead of reserving such Act, signify his assent thereto, and thereupon the Act shall have such force and effect as aforesaid, subject however to disallowance by His Majesty in Council.

(3) An Act made under this section shall as soon as practicable after being made be laid before each House of Parliament, and an Act which is required to be presented for His Majesty's assent shall not be so presented until copies thereof have been laid before each House of Parliament for not less than eight days on which that House has sat.

14. An official shall not be qualified for election as a member of a local Legislative Council, and if any non-official member of a local Legislative Council, whether elected or nominated, accepts any office in the service of the Crown in India, his seat on the Council shall become vacant :

Provided that for the purposes of this provision a Minister shall not be deemed to be an official and a person shall not be deemed to accept office on appointment as a Minister.

15. (1) The Governor-General in Council may, after obtaining an expression of opinion from the local Government and the local Legislature affected, by notification, with the sanction of His Majesty previously signified by the Secretary of State in Council, constitute a new Governor's province, or place part of a Governor's province under the administration of a deputy-Governor to be appointed by the Governor-General, and may in any such case apply, with such modifications as appear necessary or desirable, all or any of the provisions of the Principal Act or this Act relating to Governors' provinces, or provinces under a Lieutenant-Governor or Chief Commissioner, to any such new province or part of a province.

(2) The Governor-General in council may declare any territory in British India to be a "backward tract," and may, by notification, with such sanction as aforesaid, direct that the Principal Act and

this Act shall apply to that territory subject to such exceptions and modifications as may be prescribed in the notification. Where the Governor-General in Council has, by notification, directed as aforesaid, he may, by the same or subsequent notification, direct that any Act of the Indian Legislature shall not apply to the territory or any part thereof subject to such exceptions or modifications as the Governor-General thinks fit, or may authorise the Governor in Council to give similar directions as respects any Act of the local Legislature.

16. (1) The validity of any order made or action taken after the commencement of this Act by the Governor-General in Council or by a Local Government which would have been within the powers of the Governor-General in Council or by a Local Government if this Act had not been passed, shall not be open to question in any legal proceedings on the ground that by reason of any provision of this Act or of any rule made by virtue of any such provision such order or action has to be within the powers of the Governor-General in Council or of the Government concerned.

(2) Nothing in this Act, or in any rule made thereunder, shall be construed as diminishing in any respect the powers of the Indian Legislature as laid down in section sixty five of the Principal Act, and the validity of any Act of the Indian Legislature or any local Legislature shall not be open to question in any legal proceedings on the ground that the Act affects a provincial subject or a central subject, as the case may be, and the validity of any Act made by the Governor of a province shall not be so open to question on the ground that it does not relate to a reserved subject.

(3) The validity of any order made or action taken by a Governor acting with his ministers, shall not be open to question in any legal proceedings on the ground that such order or action relates to or does not relate to a transferred subject, or relates to a transferred subject of which the Minister is not in charge.

PART II.

Government of India.

17. Subject to the provisions of this Act, the Indian Legislature shall consist of the Governor-General and two chambers, namely, the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly.

Except as otherwise provided by or under this Act, a Bill shall not be deemed to have been passed by the Indian Legislature unless it has been agreed to by both chambers, either without amendments or with such amendments only as may be agreed to by both chambers.

18—(1) The Council of State shall consist of not more than sixty members nominated or elected in accordance with rules made under the principal Act, of whom not more than twenty shall be official members.

(2) The Governor-General shall have power to appoint, from among the members of the Council of State, a president and other persons to preside in such circumstances as he may direct.

(3) The Governor-General shall have the right of addressing the Council of State and may for that purpose require the attendance of its members.

19.—(1) The Legislative Assembly shall consist of members nominated or elected in accordance with rules made under the Principal Act.

(2) The total number of members of the Legislative Assembly shall be one hundred and forty. The number of non-elected members shall be forty, of whom twenty-six shall be official members. The number of elected members shall be one hundred.

Provided that rules made under the Principal Act may provide for increasing the number of members of the Legislative Assembly as fixed by this section and may vary the proportion which the classes of members bear to one another, so, however, that at least five-sevenths of the members of the Legislative Assembly shall be elected members, and at least one-third of the other members shall be non-official members.

(3) The Governor-General shall have the right of addressing the Legislative Assembly, and may for that purpose require the attendance of its members.

20.—(1) There shall be a president of the Legislative Assembly, who shall until the expiration of four years from the first meeting thereof, be a person appointed by the Governor-General, and shall thereafter be a member ot the Assembly elected by the Assembly and approved by the Governor-General:

Provided that, if at the expiration of such period of four years the Assembly is in session the president then in office shall continue in office until the end of the current session and the first election of the president shall take place at the commencement of the ensuing session.

(2) There shall be a deputy-president of the Legislative Assembly, who shall preside at meetings of the Assembly in the absence of the president, and who shall be a member of the Assembly elected by the Assembly and approved by the Governor-General.

(3) The appointed president shall hold office until the date of the election of a president under this section, but he may resign his office by writing under his hand addressed to the Governor-General, or may be removed from office by order of the Governor-General,

and any vacancy occurring before the expiration of his term of office shall be filled by a similar appointment for the remainder of such term.

(4) An elected president and a deputy-president shall cease to hold office if they cease to be members of the Assembly; they may resign office by writing under their hands addressed to the Governor-General, and may be removed from office by a vote of the Assembly with the concurrence of the Governor-General..

(5) A president and deputy-president shall receive such salaries as may be determined, in the case of an appointed president by the Governor General, and in the case of an elected president and a deputy-president by Act of the Indian Legislalure.

21. Every Council of State shall continue for five years, and every Legislative Assembly for three years, from its first meeting.

Provided that—

(*a*) either chamber of the Legislature may be sooner dissolved by the Governor-General; and

(*b*) any such period may be extended by the Governor-General if in special circumstances he so thinks fit, and

(*c*) after the dissolution of either chamber the Governor-General shall appoint a date not more than six months or with the sanction of the Secratary of State not more than nine months after the date of dissolution for the next session of that chamber.

(2) The Governor-General may appoint such times and places for holding the sessions of either chamber of the Indian Legislature as he thinks fit, and may also from time to time by notification or otherwise, prorogue such sessions.

(3) Any meeting of either chamber of the Indian Legislature may be adjourned by the person presiding.

(4) All questions in either chamber shall be determined by a majority of votes of members present other than the presiding member, who shall, however, have and exercise a casting vote in the case of an equality of votes.

(5) The powers of either chamber of the Indian Legislature may be exercised notwithstanding any vacancy in the chamber.

22.—(1) An official shall not be qualified for election as a member of either chamber of the Indian legislature, and if any non-official member of either chamber accepts office in the service of the Crown in India, his seat in that chamber shall become vacant.

(2) If an elected member of either chamber of the Indian Legislature becomes a member of the other chamber, his seat in such first-mentioned chamber shall thereupon become vacant.

(3) If any person is elected a member of both chambers of the Indian Legislature he shall, before he takes his seat in either chamber, signify in writing the chamber of which he desires to

be a member and thereupon his seat in the other chamber shall become vacant.

(4) Every member of the Governor-General's Executive Council shall be nominated as a member of one chamber of the Indian legislature, and shall have the right of attending and addressing the either chamber but shall not be a member of both chambers.

23.—(1) Subject to the provisions of this Act, provision may be made by rules under the Principal Act as to—

(*a*) the term of office of mominated members of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly, and the manner of filling casual vacancies occurring by reason of absence of members from India, inability to attend to duty, death, acceptance of office, or resignation duly accepted or otherwise ; and

(*b*) the conditions under which and the manner in which persons may be nominated as members of the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly, and

(*c*) the qualification of electors, the constitution of constituencies, and the method of election for the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly (including the number of members to be elected by communal and other electorates) and any matters incidental or ancillary thereto ; and

(*d*) the qualifications for being or for being nominated or elected as members of the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly : and

(*e*) the final decision of doubts or disputes as to the validity of an election ; and

(*f*) the manner in which the rules are to be carried into effect.

(2) Subject to any such rules, any person who is a ruler or subject of any state in India may be nominated as a member of the council of State or the Legislative Assembly.

24—(1) Subsections (1) and (3) of section sixty-seven of the Principal Act (which relate to the classes of business which may be transacted by the Indian Legislative Council) shall cease to have effect.

(2) Provision may be made by rules under the Principal Act for regulating the course of business and the preservation of order in the chambers of the Indian Legislature and as to the persons to preside at the meetings of the Legislative Assembly in the absence of the president and the deputy-president ; and the rules may provide for the number of members required to constitute a quorum, and for prohibiting regulating the asking of questions on and the discussion of, any subject specified in the rules.

(3) If any Bill which has been passed by one chamber is not, within six months after the passage of the Bill by that chamber, passed by the other chamber either without amendments or with

such amendments as may be agreed to by the two chambers, the Governor-General may in his discretion refer the matter for decision to a joint sitting of both Chambers. Provided that standing orders made under this section may provide for meetings of members of both chambers appointed for the purpose, in order to discuss any difference of opinion which has arisen between the the two chambers.

(4) Without prejudice to the powers of the Governor-General under section sixty eight of the Principal Act, the Governor-General may, where a Bill has been passed by both Chambers of the Indian Legislature, return the Bill for reconsideration by either chamber.

(5) Rules made for the purpose of this section may contain such general and supplemental provision as appear necessary for the purpose of giving full effect to this section.

(6) Standing orders may be made providing for the conduct of business and the procedure to be followed in either chamber of the Indian legislature in so far as these matters are not provided for by rules made under the Principal Act. The first standing orders shall be made by the Governor-General in Council, but may with the consent of the Governor-General be altered by the chamber to which they relate.

Any standing order made as aforesaid which is repugnant to the provisions of any rules made under the Principal Act shall, to the extent of that repugnancy but not otherwise, be void.

(7) Subject to the rules and standing orders affecting the chamber there shall be freedom of speech in both chambers of the Indian Legislature. No person shall be liable to any proceedings in any court by reason of anything contained in any official report of of the proceedings of either chamber.

25.—(1) The estimated annual expenditure and revenue of the Governor-General in Council shall be laid in the form of a statement before both chambers of the Indian Legislature in each year.

(2) No proposal for the appropriation of any revenue or moneys for any purpose shall be made except on the recommendation of the Governor-General.

(3) The proposals of the Governor-General in Council for the appropriation of revenues or moneys relating to the following heads of expenditure shall not be submitted to the vote of the Legislative assembly, nor shall they be open to discussion by either chamber at the time when the annual statement is under consideration, unless the Governor-General otherwise directs—

(*i*) interest and sinking fund charges on loans ; and

(*ii*) expenditure of which the amount is prescribed by or under any law ; and

(*iii*) salaries and pensions of persons appointed by or with the approval of His Majesty or by the Secretary of State in Council ; and

(*iv*) salaries of Chief Commissioners and Judicial Commissioners ; and

(*v*) expenditure classified by the order of the Governor-General in Council as—

(*a*) ecclesiastical ;

(*b*) political ;

(*c*) defence.

(4) If any question arises whether any proposed appropriation of revenue or moneys does or does not relate to the above heads, the decision of the Governor-General on the question shall be final.

(5) The proposals of the Governor-General in Council for the appropriation of revenue or moneys relating to heads of expenditure not specified in the above heads shall be submitted to the vote of the Legislative Assembly in the form of demands for grants.

(6) The legislative assembly may assent or refuse its assent to any demand or may reduce the amount referred to in any demand by a reduction of the whole grant.

(7) The demands as voted by the Legislative Assembly shall be submitted to the Governor-General in Council, who shall if he declares that he is satisfied that any demand which has been refused by the Legislative Assembly is essential to the discharge of his responsibilities, act as if it had been assented to, notwithstanding the withholding of such assent or the reduction of the amount therein referred to by the Legislative Assembly.

(8) Notwithstanding anything in this section the Governor-General shall have power, in cases of emergency, to authorise such expenditure as may, in his opinion, be necessary for the safety or tranquillity of British India or any part thereof.

26.—(1) Where either chamber of the Indian Legislature refuses leave to introduce, or fails to pass in a form recommended by the Governor-General, any Bill, the Governor-General may certify that the passage of the Bill is essential for the safety, tranquillity or interests of British India or any part thereof, and thereupon—

(*a*) If the Bill has already been passed by the other chamber the Bill shall, on signature by the Governor-General, notwithtanding that it has not been consented to by both chambers, forthwith become an Act of the Indian Legislature in the from of the Bill as originally introduced or proposed to be introduced in the Indian Legislature, or (as the case may be) in the from recommended by the Governor-General ; and

(*b*) If the Bill has not already been so passed, the Bill shall

be laid before the other chamber, and, if consented to by that chamber in the form recommended by the Governor-General, shall become an Act as aforesaid on the signification of the Governor-General's assent, or, if not so consented to, shall, on signature by the Governor General, become an Act as aforesaid.

(2) Every such Act shall be expressed to be made by the Governor General, and shall as soon as practicable after being made be laid before both Houses of Parliament, and shall not have effect until it has recieved His Majesty's assent and shall not be presented for His Majesty's assent until copies thereof have been laid before each House of Parliament for not less than eight days on which that House has sat ; and upon the signification of such assent by His Majesty in Council, and the notificatien thereof by the Governor-General, the Act shall have the same force and effect as an Act passed by the Indian Legislature and duly assented to

Provided that where in the opinion of the Governor-General a state of emergency exists which justifies such action, the Governor General may direct that any such Act shall come into operation forthwith, and thereupon the Act shall have such force and effect as aforesaid subject, however, to be disallowed by His Majesty in Council.

27,—(1) In addition to the measures refered to in sub-section (2) of section sixty-seven of the Principal Act, in requiring the previous sanction of the Governor-General, it shall not be lawful without such previous sanction to introduce at any meetings of either chamber of the Indian Legislature any measure—

(*a*) regulating any provincial subject which has not been declared by rules under the Principal Act to be subject to legislation by the Indian Legislature ;

(*b*) repealing or amending any Act of a local Legislature ;

(*c*) repealing or amending any Act or ordinance made by the Governor-General.

(2) Where in either chamber of the Indian Legislature any Bill has been introduced, or is proposed to be introduced, or any amendment to a Bill is moved, or proposed to be moved, the Governor General may certify that the Bill, or any clause of it, or the amendment, affects the safety or tranquillity of British India, or any part thereof, and may direct that no proceedings, or that no further proceedings, shall be taken by the chamber in relation to the Bill, clause, or amendment, and effect shall be given to such direction.

28—(1) The provision in section thirty-six of the Principal Act, imposing a limit on the number of members of the Governor-General's executive council, shall cease to have effect.

(2) The provision in section thirty-six of the Principal Act as

to the qualification of members of the council, shall have effect as though the words "at the time of their appointment" were omitted, and as though after the word "Scotland" there were inserted the words "or a pleader of the High Court" and as though "ten years" were substituted for "five years."

(3) Provision may be made by rules under the Principal Act as to the qualifications to be required in respect of members of the Governor-General's executive council in any case where such provision is not made by section thirty-six of the Principal Act as amended by this section.

(4) Subsection (2) of section thirty-seven of the Principal Act which provides that when and so long as the Governor-General's Executive Council assembles in a province having a Governor the Governor shall be an extraordinary member of the council shall cease to have effect.

29.—(1) The Governor-General may at his discretion appoint from among the members of the Legislative Assembly, council Secretaries who shall hold office during his pleasure and discharge such duties in assisting the members of his Executive Council as he may assign to them.

(2) there shall be paid to Council Secretaries so appointed such salary as may be provided by the Indian Legislature.

(3) A Council Secretary shall cease to hold office if he ceases for more than six months to be a member of the Legislative Assembly.

Secretary of State in Council

30. The salary of the Secretary of State, the salaries of his Under secretaries, any other expenses of his department may, notwithstanding anything in the Principal Act, instead of being paid out of the revenues of India, be paid out of moneys provided by Parliament, and the salary of the Secretary of State shall be so paid

31. The following amendments shall be made in section three of the Principal Act in relation to the composition of the Council of India, the qualification, term of office, and remuneration of its members :—

(1) The provisions of subsection (1) shall have effect as though "eight" and "twelve" were substituted for "ten" and "fourteen" respectively, as the minimum and maximum number, of members provided that the tenure of office of any person who is a member of the Council at the time of the passing of this Act shall not be affected by this provision.

(2) The provisions of subsection (3) shall have effect as if "one-half" were substituted for "nine" and "India" were substituted for "British India."

(3) In subsection (4) "five years" shall be substituted for "seven years" as the term of office of members of the Council, provided that the tenure of office of any person who is a member of the Council at the time of the passing of this Act shall not be affected by this provision.

(4) The provisions of subsection (8) shall cease to have effect and in lieu thereof the following provision shall be inserted.

There shall be paid to each member of the Council of India the annual salary of twelve hundred pounds; provided that any member of the council who was at the time of his appointment domiciled in India shall receive, in addition to the salary hereby provided, an annual subsistence allowance of six hundred pounds.

Such salaries and allowances may be paid out of the revenues of India or out of moneys provided by Parliament."

(5) Notwithstanding anything in any Act or rules, where any person in the service of the Crown in India is appointed a member of the Council before completion of the period of such service required to entitle him to a pension or annuity, his service as such member shall, for the purpose of any pension or annuity which would be payable to him on completion of such period, be reckoned as service under the Crown in India whilst resident in India.

32—(1) The provision in section six of the Principal Act which prescribes the quorum for meetings of the Council of India shall cease to have effect, and the Secretary of State may provide for a quorum by such directions as he may issue in this behalf.

(2) The provision in section eight of the Principal Act which requires weekly meetings of the Council of India shall cease to have effect.

(3) Section 10 of the Principal Act shall have effect as though the words "all business of the council in committees thereof is to be transacted" were ommitted, and the words "the business of the Secretary of State in council of India shall be transacted, and any order made or act done in accordance with such direction shall, subject to the provisions of this Act, be treated as being an order of the Secretary of State in Council" were inserted in lieu thereof.

33. The Secretary of State in Council may, notwithstanding any thing in the Principal Act, by rule regulate and restrict the exercise of the powers of superintendence, direction, and control, vested in the Secretary of State and the Secretary of State in Council, by the Principal Act, or otherwise, in such manner as may appear necessary or expedient in order to give effect to the purposes of this Act.

Before any rules are made under this section relating to subjects other than transferred subjects, the rules proposed to be made shall be laid in draft before both Houses of Parliament, and such

rules, shall not be made unless, both Houses by resolution approve the draft either without modification or addition, or with modifications or additions to which both Houses agree, but upon such approval being given the Secretary of State in Council may make such rules in the forms in which they have been approved and such rules on being so made shall be of full force and effect,

Any other rules shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament as soon as may be after they are made, and if an Address is presented to His Majesty by either House of Parliament within the next thirty days on which that House has sat after the rules are laid before it praying that the rules or any of them may be annulled, His Majesty in Council may annul the rules or any of them, and those rules shall thenceforth be void, but without prejudice to the validity of anything previously done thereunder.

34. So much of section five of the Principal Act as relates to orders and communications sent to India from the United Kingdom and to orders made in the United Kingdom, and sections eleven, twelve, thirteen and fourteen of the Principal Act shall cease to have effect, and the procedure for the sending of orders and communications to India and in general for correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Governor-General in Council or any local Government shall be such as may be prescribed by order of the Secretary of State in Council.

35. His Majesty may by Order in Council make provision for the appointment of a High Commissioner for India in the United Kingdom, and for his pay, powers, duties, and conditions of employment ; and the Order may further provide for delegating to the High Commissioner any of the powers previously exercised by the Secretary of State or the Secretary of State in Council whether under the Principal Act or otherwise in relation to making contracts, and may prescribe the conditions under which he shall act on behalf of the Governor-General in Council or any Local Government.

Part IV.

THE CIVIL SERVICES IN INDIA.

36.—(1) Subject to the provisions of the Principal Act and of rules made thereunder, every person in the civil service of the Crown in India holds office during His Majesty's pleasure, and may be employed in any manner required by a proper authority within the scope of his duty, but no person in that service may be dismissed by any authority subordinate to that by which he was appointed, and the Secretary of State in Council may (except so far as he may provide by rules to the contrary) reinstate any person in that service who has been dismissed.

If any such person appointed by the Secretary of State in Council thinks himself wronged by an order of an official superior in a Governor's province, and on due application made to that superior does not receive the reddress to which he may consider himself entitled, he may, without prejudice to any other right of redress, complain to the Governor of the province in order to obtain justice, and the Governor is hereby directed to examine such complaint and require such action to be taken thereon as may appear to him to be just and equitable.

(2) The Secretary of State in Council may make rules for regulating the classification of the civil service in India, the methods of their recruitment, their conditions of service, pay and allowances, and discipline and conduct. Such rules may, to such extent and in respect of such matters as may be prescribed, delegate the power of making rules to the Governor-General in Council or to Local Governments, or authorise the Indian Legislature or Local Legislatures to make laws regulating the public services ;

Provided that every person appointed before the commencement of this Act by the Secretary of State in Council to the civil service of the Crown in India shall retain all his existing or accruing right or shall receive such compensation for the loss of any of them as the Secretary of State in Council may consider just and equitable.

(3) The right to pensions and the scale and conditions of pensions of all persons in the civil service of the Crown in India appointed by the Secretary of State in Council shall be regulated in accordance with the rules in force at the time of the passing of this Act. Any such rules may be varied or added to by the Secretary of State in Council and shall have effect as so varied or added to, but any such variation or addition shall not adversely affect the pension of any member of the service appointed before the date thereof.

Nothing in this section or in any rule thereunder shall prejudice the rights to which any person may, or may have, become entitled under the provisions in relation to pensions contained in the East India Annuity Funds Act, 1874.

(4) For the removal of doubts it is hereby declared that all rules or other provisions in operation at the time of the passing of this Act, whether made by the Secretary of State in Council or by any other authority, relating to the civil service of the Crown in India, were duly made in accordance with the powers in that behalf, and are confirmed, but any such rules or provisions may be revoked, varied, or added to by rules or laws made under this section.

37.—(1) Notwithstanding anything in section ninety-seven of the Principal Act the Secretary of State may make appointments to the Indian Civil Service of persons domiciled in India, in accordance with such rules as may be prescribed by the Secretary of

State in Council with the concurrence of the majority of votes at a meeting of the Council of India.

Any rules made under this section shall not have force until they have been laid for thirty days before both Houses of Parliament.

(2) The Indian Civil Service (Temporary Provisions) Act, 1915 (which confers power during the war and for a period of two years thereafter to make appointments to the Indian Civil Service without examination), shall have effect as though "three years" were substituted for "two years."

38.- (1) There shall be established in India a public service commission, consisting of not more than five members, of whom one shall be chairman, appointed by the Secretary of State in Council. Each member shall hold office for five years,, and may be re-appointed. No member shall be removed before the expiry of his term of office, except by order of the Secretary of State in Council. The qualifications for appointment, and the pay and pension (if any) attaching to the office of chairman and member, shall be prescribed by rules made by the Secretary of State in Council.

(2) The public service commission shall discharge, in regard to recruitment and control of the public services in India, such functions as may be assigned thereto by rules made by the Secretary of State in Council.

39.—(1) An Auditor General in India shall be appointed by the Secretary of State in Council, and shall hold office during His Majesty's pleasure. The Secretary of State in Council shall, by rules make provision for his pay, powers, duties, and conditions of employment or for the discharge of his duties in the case of a temporary vacancy or absence from duty.

(2) Subject to any rules made by the Secretary of State in Council, no office may be added to or withdrawn from the public service, and the emoluments of no posts may be varied, except after consultation with such finance authority as may be designated in the rules, being an authority of the province or of the Government of India, according as the post is or is not under the control of a Local Government.

40. Rules made under this Part of this Act shall not be made except with the concurrence of the majority of votes at a meeting of the Council of India.

Part V.

STATUTORY COMMISSION.

41.—(1) At the expiration of ten years after the passing of the Act the Secretary of State shall submit for the approval of both Houses of Parliament the names of persons to act as a commission for the purposes of this section.

(2) The persons whose names are so submitted, subject to the approval of, and to any alterations made by Parliament, shall be a Commission for the purpose of inquiring into the working of the system of Government, the growth of education, and the development of representative institutions, in British India, and matters connected therewith, and the commission shall report as to whether and to what extent it is desirable to establish the principle of responsible Government, or to extend, modify, or restrict the degree of responsible Government, then existing therein, including the question whether the establishment of second chambers of the Local Legislatures is or is not desirable.

(3) The Commission shall also inquire into and report on any other matter affecting British India and the provinces, which may be referred to the Commission by the Secretary of State.

Part VI.

GENERAL.

42. Notwithstanding anything in section one hundred and twenty-four of the Principal Act, if any member of the Governor-General's Executive Council or any member of any Local Government was at the time of his appointment concerned or engaged in any trade or business, he may, during the term of his office, with the sanction in writing of the Governor-General, or, in the case of Ministers, of the Governor of the province, and in any case subject to such general conditions and restrictions as the Governor-General in Council may prescribe, retain his concern or interest in that trade or business, but shall not, during that term, take part in the direction or management of that trade or business.

43. Any assent or disallowance by His Majesty, which under the Principal Act is required to be signified through the Secretary of State in Council, shall as from the passing of this Act, be signified by His Majesty in Council.

44.—(1) Where any matter is required to be prescribed or regulated by rules under the Principal Act and no special provision is made as to the authority by whom the rules are to be made, the rule shall be made by the Governor-General in Council with the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council and shall not be subject to repeal or alteration by the Indian Legislature or by any local Legislature.

(2) Any rules made under this Act or under the Principal Act may be so framed as to make different provision for different provinces.

(3) Any rules to which this section applies shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament as soon as may be after they are made

and if an address is presented to His Majesty by either House of Parliament within the next thirty days on which that House has sat after the rules are laid before it, praying that the rules or any of them may be annulled, His Majesty in Council may annul the rules or any of them, and those rules shall thence forth be void, but without prejudice to the validity of anything previously done thereunder.

Provided that the Secretary of State may direct that any rules to which this section applies shall be laid in draft before both Houses of Parliament, and in such case the rules shall not be made unless both Hou es by resolution approve the draft either without modification or addition, or with modifications or additions to which both Houses agree, but upon such approval being given, the rules may be made in the form in which they had been approved, and such rules on being so made shall be of full force and effect, and shall not require to be furthur laid before Parliament.

45. The amendments set out in Parts I and II of the Second Schedule to this Act, being amendments to incorporate the provisions of this Act in the Principal Act, and further amendments consequential on or arising out of those provisions, shall be made in the Principal Act, and any question of interpretation shall be settled by reference to the Principal Act as so amended. The provisions of the Principal Act specified in Part III of that schedule, being provisions which are obsolete or unnecessary, or which require amendment in detail, are hereby repealed or modified, and shall be dealt with, in the manner shown in the second column of that schedule.

46. In this Act the expressions "official" and "non-official," where used in relation to any person, mean respectively a "person who is or is not in the civil or military service of the Crown in India."

Provided that rules under the Principal Act may provide for the holders of such offices as may be specified in the rules not being treated for the purposes of the Principal Act or this Act, or any of them, as officials.

47. (1) This Act may be cited as the Government of India Act 1919, and the Principal Act, as amended by any Act for the time being in force, may be cited as the Government of India Act.

(2) This Act shall come into operation on such date or dates as the Governor-General in Council, with the approval of the Secretary of State in Council, may appoint, and different dates may be appointed for different parts of India.

On the dates appointed for the coming into operation of the provisions of this Act in respect of any Executive or Legislative Council all the members of the council then in office shall go out of

office, but may, if otherwise qualified, be re-appointed, re-nominated or re-elected, as the case may be, in accordance with the Principal Act as amended by this Act.

(3) Any reference in any enactment, whether an Act of Parliament or made by any authority in British India, or in any rules, regulations or orders made under any such enactment, or in any letters patent or other document, to any enactment repealed by the principal Act, shall for all purposes be constructed as references to the Principal Act as amended by this Act, or to the corresponding provision thereof.

(4) Any reference in any enactment in force in India whether an Act of Parliament or made by any authority in British India, or in any rules, regulations, or orders made under any such enactment, or in any Letters Patent or other document, to any Indian legislative authority, shall for all purposes be construed as references to the corresponding authority constituted by the Principal Acts as amended by this Act.

(5) If any difficulty arises as to the first establishment of the Indian legislature or any Legislative Council after the commencement of this Act or otherwise in first giving effect to the provisions of this Act, the Secretary of State in Council or the Governor-General in Council as occasion may require, may by order do anything which appears to them necessary for the purpose of removing the difficulty.

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REPORT

From the Joint Select Committee of the House of Lords and the House of Commons appointed to consider the Government of India Bill.

ORDERED THAT—

1. That the Committee have met and considered the said Bill and taken the evidence of a large number of witnesses, many of whom had come all the way from India for the purpose. A mass of telegrams and other communications has also been received. The list of witnesses and telegrams have been printed as an appendix to the evidence. Written representations have not as a rule been printed. The committee appreciate the advantage they have derived from being placed in full possession of the views of many persons who have given much thought to the political future of the country.

2. The Committee were not charged, as some have seemed to think, with the task of reporting on the state of India, or on the conduct of the administration in India, or even at large on the best form of Government for India, but only with the duty of dealing with this Bill, which had been read a second time in the House of Commons, according to the well-known forms of Parliamentary procedure, and with the rules and conventions arising out of it.

3. In the declaration made by His Majesty's Government on the 20th August, 1917, there is enunciated the problem for which the Bill endeavours to provide a solution. It is to design the first stage in a measured progress towards responsible government. Any such stage, if it is to be a real advance, must, as the Committee conceive it, involve the creation of an electorate and the bestowal of some share in the work and responsibilities of government on those whom the electorate chooses to represent its interest. In the present circumstances of India, the electorate must at the outset be small and the administrative experience of its representatives must be limited. Before the policy of His Majesty's Government can be fulfilled the electorate must grow, and practical experience in the conduct of public affairs must be enlarged. During this period the

guardianship of the peace of India cannot be withdrawn from the official agency which Parliament at present charges with duties of the administration, and Committee regard it to be an essential feature of the policy of His Majesty's Government that, except in so far as he is released from responsibility by the changes made under this Bill, the Governor-General-in-Council should remain in undisturbed responsibility to Parliament and fully equipped with the necessary powers to fulfil that responsibility. But from the beginning the people must be given an opportunity, and all political wisdom points to its being a generous opportunity, of learning the actual business of government and of showing, by their conduct of it, to some future Parliament that the time has come for further extensions of power.

4 In the opinion of the Committee the plan proposed by the Bill is conceived wholly in this spirit, and interprets the pronouncement of the 20th August, 1917, with scrupulous accuracy. It partitions the domain of provincial government into two fields, one of which is made over to ministers chosen from the elected members of the political legislature, while the other remains under the administration of a Governor-in-Council. This scheme has evoked apprehensions which are not unnatural in view of its novelty. But the Committee, after the most careful consideration of all suggested alternatives, are of opinion that it is the best way of giving effect to the spirit of the declared policy of his Majesty's Government. Its critics forget that the announcement spoke of a substantial step in the direction of the gradual development of the self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible governments and not of the partial introduction of responsible government ; and it is this distinction which justifies the method by which the Bill imposes responsibility, both on Ministers to the legislative council and on the members of the legislative council to their constituents, for the results of that part of the administration which is transferred to their charge.

5. Having weighed the evidence and information before them, the Committee have made a number of changes in the Bill. Those of a more detailed or miscellaneous character are briefly discussed below under the clauses to which they relate. Those which are directed to the avoidance of the difficulties and dangers which have been pointed out proceed on a simple and, in the Committee's opinion, an indefeasible theory. That theory the Committee think it desirable to state at once. Ministers who enjoy the confidence of a majority in their Legislative Council will be given the fullest

opportunity of managing that field of government which is entrusted to their care. In their work they will be assisted and guided by the Governor, who will accept their advice and promote their policy wherever possible. If he finds himself compelled to act against their advice, it will only be in circumstances roughly analogous to those in which he has to override his Executive Council—circumstances which will be indicated in the Instrument of Instructions furnished to him on his appointment by His Majesty. On the other hand, in and for that field of government in which Parliament continues to hold him responsible the provincial Governor in Council will remain equipped with the sure and certain power of fulfilling that responsibility. The Committee will indicate in the course of this Report how they visualise the relations between the two parts of the provincial Government, but they wish to place in the forefront of the Report their opinion that they see no reason why the relations should not be harmonious and mutually advantageous. They regard it as of the highest importance that the Governor should foster the habit of free consultation between both halves of his Government, and indeed that he should insist upon it in all important matters of common interest. He will thus ensure that Ministers will contribute their knowledge of the people's wishes and susceptibilities, and the members of his Executive Council their administrative experience, to the joint wisdom of the Government. But while the Committee anticipate much advantage from amicable and, as far as posible, spontaneous association for purposes of deliberation they would not allow it to confuse the duties or obscure the separate responsibility which will rest on the two parts of the administration. Each side of the Government will advice and assist the other : neither will control or impede theother. The responsibility for administrative and legislative action in their own field will be fixed beyond possibility of doubt on Ministers and on the majorities of the provincial legislature which support them ; and they will be given adequate power to fulfil their charge. Similarly within that field for which he remains accountable to Parliament, the responsibility for action must be fixed on the Governor-in-Council, and he must possess unfailing means for the discharge of his duties. Finally, behind the provincial authorities stands the Government of India.

6. The change which this Bill will make in the political structure and life of India is very important. It marks a great step in the path of self-government, and it is a proof of the confidence reposed by His Majesty's Government in the loyalty, wisdom and capacity of our Indian fellow-subjects. At the same time it points to the

desirability of keeping Parliament in closer touch with Indian affairs than has recently been possible. The Committee accordingly propose that a Standing Joint Committee should be appointed by both Houses of Parliament for that purpose. It should have no statutory functions, but a purely advisory and consultative ; status and among its tasks is one of high importance, the consideration of amendment to rules made under this Bill. For the plan on which the Bill has been drafted, and in the opinion of the Committee rightly drafted, will necessitate the completion of some of its main provisions by a large number of rules and other documents which will have to be framed before the machinery established by the Bill can come into working order. Many of these rules and documents will be drafted in India for the approval of the Secretary of State. When they come of England it may be found convenient that present Committee be reappointed to advise Parliament in regard to them.

7. The Committee will now proceed to indicate the nature of the changes they have made in the Bill, and also their suggestions for action to be taken under it, either in the framing of rules or by executive process hereafter

Preamble.

The Preamble of the Bill, as drafted, was based on the announcement of His Majesty's Government in Parliament of the 20th August, 1917, and it incorporated that part of the announcement which pointed to the progressive realisation of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the Empire, and to the expediency of gradually developing self-governing institutions in India, and it referred to the granting to the Provinces of India of a large measure of independence of the Government of India. It did not, however, deal with those parts of the announcement which spoke of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and declared that the progress of this policy could only be achieved by successive stages, and that Parliament, advised by His Majesty's Government and by the Government of India, on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian people, must be the judge of the time and measure of each advance, and be guided by the co-operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service are conferred and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility.

The Committee have enlarged the preamble so as to include all parts of the announcement of the 20th August, 1917. Their reason for doing so is that an attempt has been made to distinguish between the parts of this announcement and to attach a different value to each part according to opinion. It has been said, for instance that where as the first part is a binding pledge, the latter part is a mere expresion of opinion of no importance. But the Committee think that it is of the utmost importance, from the very inauguration of those constitutional changes that Parliament should make it quite plain that the responsibility for the successive stages of the development of self-government in India rests on itself alone, and that it cannot share this responsibility with, much less delegate it to, the newly elected legislatures of India.

They also desire to emphasize the wisdom and justice of an increasing association of Indians with every branch of the administration but they wish to make it perfectly clear that His Majesty's Government must remain free to appoint Europeans to those posts for which they are specially required and qualified.

Part I.

Clause 1.—The Committee wish to take this opportunity of acknowledging the debt they owe to the work of the two Committees on Franchise and Functions presided over by Lord Southbrough. If they are not able to accept all the conclusions of these Committees, and if they recommend some additional provisions to those included in those reports, it does not mean that they are not very sensible of the value of the work done, without which, indeed, this constitutional change could not have been effected.

The lists of central, provincial and transferred subjects included in the Functions Committee's report have been somewhat altered after consultation with the India Office (see Appendix F to the Minutes of Evidence) and as so amended they are accepted by this Committee, subject to certain general observations at the end of this Report. It must not, however, be concluded that these partitions of the functions of government are absolutely clear out and mutually exclusive. They must in all cases be read with the reservations in the text of the Franchise Committee's Report, and with due regard to the necessity for special procedure in cases where their orbits overlap.

The Committee have given much attention to the difficult question of the principle on which the provincial revenues and balances, should be distributed between the two sides of the provincial Governments. They are confident that the problem can readily be solved by the simple process of common sense and reasonable give and take, but they are aware that this question might in certain circumstances, become the cause of much friction in the provincial Government and they are of opinion that the rules governing the allocation of these revenues and balances should be framed so as to make the existence of such friction impossible. They advise that if the Governor, in the course of preparing either his first or any subsequent budget, finds that there is likely to be a serious or protracted difference of opinion between the executive council and his ministers on this subjects, he should be empowered at once to make an allocation of revenue and balances between the reserved and transferred subjects, which should continue for at least the whole life of the existing legislative council. The Committee do not endorse the suggestion that certain sources of revenue should be allocated to reserved, and certain sources to transferred subjects, but they recommend that the Governor allocate a definite proportion of the revenue, say, by way of illustration two thirds to reserved and one-third to transferred subjects, and similarly a proportion, though not necessarily the same fraction, of the balances. If the Governor desires assistance in making the allocation, he should be allowed at his discretion to refer the question to be decided to such authority as the Governor-General shall appoint. Further, the Committee are of opinion that it should be laid down from the first that, until an agreement which both sides of the Government will equally support has been reached, or until an allocation has been made by the Governor, the total provisions of the different expenditure heads in the budget of the province for the preceding financial year shall hold good.

The Committee desire that the relation of the two sides of the Government in this matter, as in all others, should be of such mutual sympathy that each will be able to assist and influence for the commom good the work of the other, but not to exercise control over it. The budget should not be capable of being used as a means for enabling ministers or a majority of the legislative council to direct the policy of reserved subjects; but on the other hand the executive Council should be helpful to ministers in their desire to develop the Departments entrusted to their care. On

the Governor personally will devolve the task of holding the balance between the legitimate needs of both sets of his advisers.

Clause 2.—This clause has been inserted to regularise the raising of loans by local Governments on the special security of their own provincial revenues.

Clause 3.—The question has been raised as to the communications between the Governors of provinces and the Secretary of State. The question as to whether such communication shall in future take place, and as to the procedure to be adopted in them, may well be left to the Secretary of State. In the opinion of the Committee there is no cause at present for disturbing the existing position, except to the extent to which the Secretary of State relaxes his powers of direction and control over local governments. To that extent the Government of India will also withdraw from intervention: but India is not yet ripe for a true federal system, and the Central Government cannot be relegated to functions of mere inspection and advice. The Committee trust that there will be an extensive delegation, statutory and otherwise, to provincial governments of some powers and duties now in the hands of the Government of India; and they trust also that the control of that Government over provincial matters will be exercised with a view to preparing the provinces for the gradual transfer of power to the provincial Government and Legislature.

Clause 4.—The Committee are of opinion that the ministers selected by the Governor to advise him on the transferred subjects should be elected members of the legislative council enjoying its confidence and capable of leading it. A minister will have the option of resigning if his advice is not accepted by the Governor; and the Governor will have the ordinary constitutional right of dismissing a minister whose policy he believes to be either seriously at fault or out of accord with the views of the Legislative Council. In the last resort the Governor can always dissove his legislative council and choose new ministers after a fresh election; but if this course is adopted the Committee hope that the Governor will find himself able to accept such views as his new ministers may press upon him regarding the issue which forced the dissolution. The Committee are of opinion that in no province will there be need for less than two ministers, while in some provinces more will be required. In these circumstances they think that it should be recognised from the commencement that ministers may be expected to act in concert together. They probably would do so: and in

the opinion of the Committee it is better that they should, and therefore that the fact should be recognised on the face of the Bill. They advise that the status of ministers should be similar to that of the members of the Executive Council, but that their salaries should be fixed by the Legislative Council. Later on in this Report it will be suggested that Indian members of the Council of India in London should be paid a higher scale of remuneration than those members of the Council domiciled in the United Kingdom. The same principle might suggest to the Legislative Council that it was reasonable for the ministers of the provincial government domiciled in India to be paid on a lower scale of remuneration than the European members.

Provision has been made in this clause for the appointment at the Governor's discretion of non-official members of the Legislative Council to fill a role somewhat similar to that of the Parliamentary Under-Secretary to this country.

Clause 5.—The Committee are of opinion that the normal strength of an Executive Council, especially in the smaller provinces, need not exceed two members. They have not, however, reduced the existing statutory maximum of four; but if in any case the Council includes two members with service qualifications, neither of whom is by birth an Indian, they think that it should also include two unofficial Indian members.

Clause 6.—The Committee desire at this point to give a picture of the manner in which they think that, under this Bill, the Government of a province should be worked. There will be many matters of administrative business, as in all countries which can be disposed of departmentally, but there will remain a large category of business of the character which would naturally be the subject of Cabinet consultation. In regard to this last category the Committee conceive that the habit should be carefully fostered of joint deliberation between the members of the Executive Council and the ministers, sitting under the chairmanship of the Governor. There cannot be too much mutual advice and consultation on such subjects; but the Committee attach the highest importance to the principle that, when once opinions have been freely exchanged and the last word has been said, there ought then to be no doubt whatever as to where the responsibility for the decision lies. Therefore, in the opinion of the Committee, after such consultation, and when it is clear that the decision lies within the jurisdiction of one or other half of the

Government, that decision in respect of a reserved subject should be recorded separately by the Executive Council, and in respect of a transferred subject by the Ministers, and all acts and proceedings of the Government should state in definite terms on whom the responsibility for the decision rests. It will not always, however, be clear otherwise than in a purely departmental and technical fashion with whom the jurisdiction lies in the case of questions of common interest. In such cases it will be inevitable for the Governor to occupy the position of informal arbitrator between the two parts of his administration ; and it will equally be his duty to see that a decision arrived at on one side of his Government is followed by such consequential action on the other side as may be necessary to make the policy effective and homogeneous.

The position of the Governor will thus be one of great responsibilily and difficulty, and also of great opportunity and honour. He may have to hold the balance between divergent policies and different ideals, and to prevent discord and friction. It will also be for him to help with sympathy and courage the popular side of his government in their new responsibilities. He should never hesitate to point out to Ministers what he thinks is the right course or to warn them if he thinks they are taking the wrong course. But if, after hearing all the arguments, Ministers should decide not to adopt his advice, then in the opinion of the Committee, the Governor should ordinarily allow ministers to have their way fixing the responsibility upon them,even if it may subsequently be necessary for him to vote any particular piece of legislation. It is not possible but that in India, as in all other countries mistakes will be made by Ministers, acting with the approval of a majority of the Legislative Council, but there is no way of learning except through experience and by the realisation of responsibility.

In the debates of the Legislative Council members of the Executive Council should act together and Ministers should act together, but members of the Executive Council and Ministers should not oppose each other by speech or vote ; members of Executive Council should not be required to support, either by speech or vote, proposals of ministers of which they do not approve, nor should members be required to support by speech or vote, proposals of the Executive Council of which they do not approve, they should be free to speak and vote for each other's proposals when they are in agreement with them. All other

official members of the Legislative Council should be free to speak and vote as they choose.

Clause 7.—The Committee have altered the first schedule to the Bill, so as to show only the total strength of the Legislative Council in each province. They have retained the provision, now in sub-clause (2), that at least 70 per cent. of the members shall be elected, and not more than 20 per cent. shall be officials. This general stipulation will govern the distribution of the seats in each province; but in certain respects the detailed agreements will require further consideration, and proposals should be called for from the Government of India in regard to them. The points in question, as well as some disputable matters on which the Committee wish to endorse the proposals of the Franchise Committee's report, are dealt with in the following recommendations:—

(a) The Committee regard the number of seats allotted to the rural population, as distinct for the urban, as disproportionately low, and consider that it should receive a larger share of representation. They also think that an attempt should be made to secure better representation of the urban wage-earning class; and they are convinced that an effect should be made to remedy in part at least the present disparity between the size of the electorates in the different provinces. In all those matters no definite instructions need be given. The Government of India should be left a wide discretion in adjusting the figures, subject however, to the understanding that the adjustment should be effected in all cases rather by enlargement than by diminution of the representation proposed in the Franchise Committee's report.

(b) The Committee are of opinion that the representation proposed for the depressed classes is inadequate. Within this definition are comprised, as shown in the report of the Franchise Committee, a large proportion of the whole population of India. They think that the Government of India should, as it advises, be instructed to give such classes a larger share of representation by nomination, regard being had to the numbers of depressed classes in each province, and after consultation with the Local Government. This representation should, if necessary, be in addition to, but not in diminution of, the general electorate. Whenever possible other persons than members of the Civil Service should be selected to represent the depressed classes, but if a member of those services, specially qualified for this purpose, has to be appointed, his

nomination should not operate to increase the maximum ratio of official seats.

(c) In the Madras Presidency the Committee consider that the non-Brahmins must be provided with separate representation by means of the reservation of seats. The Brahmins and non-Brahmins should be invited to settle the matter by negotiation among themselves; and it would only be, if agreement cannot be reached in that way, that the decision should be referred to an arbitrator appointed for the purpose by the Government of India.

(d) The Committee would recommend that similar treatment be accorded to the Mahrattas in the Bombay Presidency.

(e) The question whether women should or should not be admitted to the franchise on the same terms as men should be left to the newly elected Legislative Council of each province to settle by resolution. The Government of India should be instructed to make rules so that, if a Legislative Council so voted, women might be put upon the register of voters in that province. The Committee have not felt able to settle this question themselves, as urged by the majority of witnesses who appeared before them. It seems to them to go deep into the social system and susceptibilities of India, and, therefore, to be a question which can only, with any prudence, be settled in accordance with the wishes of Indians themselves as constitutionally expressed.

(f) The Committee are of opinion that the franchise as settled by the rules to be made under this Act should not be altered for the first ten years, and that it should at present be outside the power of the Legislative Councils to make any alteration in the franchise. The recommendation, therefore, in respect of woman suffrage, is to be regarded as altogether exceptional, and as not forming any precedent in respect of proposals for other alterations.

(g) The special representation of land-holders in the provinces should be reconsidered by the Government of India in consultation with the local governments.

(h) The franchise for the University seats should be exerted to all graduates of over seven years' standing.

(i) The Government of India should be instructed to consult with the Government of Bengal in respect of the representation of

Europeans in Bengal. It appears to the Committee that there are good reasons for a re-adjustment of that representation. The recommendations of the report of the Franchise Committee in respect of European representation in other provinces may be accepted.

(j) The question whether the rulers and subjects of Indian States may be registered as electors or may be elected to the legislative councils should be left to be settled in each case by the local government of the province.

(k) The Committee are of opinion that dismissal from the service of the government in India should not be a disqualification for election, but that a criminal conviction entailing a sentence of more than six months' imprisonment should be a disqualification for five years from the date of the expiration of the sentence.

(l) The compromise suggested by the Franchise Committee in respect of the residential qualification of candidates for Legislative Councils, where by the restriction was to be imposed only in the province of Bombay, the Punjab, and the Central Provinces, may be accepted.

(m) The recommendations of the Franchise Committee in respect of the proportionate representations of Mohammedans, based on the Lucknow compact, may be accepted.

Two further observations must be made on this question of franchise. It seems to the Committee that the principle of proportional representation may be found to be particularly applicable to the circumstances of India, and they recommend that this suggestion be fully explored so that there may be material for consideration by the Statutory Commission when it sits at the end of ten years. Further, it has been strongly represented to the Committee, and the Committee are themselves firmly convicted, that a complete and stringent Corrupt Practice Act should be passed and brought into operation before the first elections for the Legislative Councils. There is no such Act at present in existence in India and the Committee are convinced that it will not be less required in India than it is in other countries.

Clause 9.—The Committee have considered carefully the question who is to preside over the Legislative Councils in the provinces. They are of opinion that the Governor should not preside, and they advise that, for a period of four years, the President should

be appointed by the Governor. Wherever possible it would be a advantage if someone could be found for this purpose who had had Parliamentary experience. The legislative council should itself elect a Vice-President, and at the end of four years the nominated. President would disappear, and the President and Vice-President would be elected by the councils. The Committee attribute the greatest importance to this question of the Presidency of the Legislative Council. It will, in their opinion, conduce very greatly to the successful working of the new councils if that are imbued from the commencement with the spirit and conventions of parliamentary procedure as developed in the Imperial Parliament. The Committee will recur to subject in dealing with the question of the President of the Legislative Assembly of India.

Clause 11.—The Committee think that the provincial Budget should be submitted to the vote of the Legislative Council, subject to the exemption from this process of certain charges of a special or recurring character which have been set out in the Bill. In cases where the Council alter the provisions for a transferred subject, the Committee consider that the Governor would be justified, if so advised by his Ministers, in re-submitting the provision to the Council for a review of their former decision, but they do not apprehend that any statutory prescription to that effect is required. Where the Council have reduced a provision for a reserved subject which the Governor considers essential to the proper administration of the subject concerned, he will have a power of restoration. The Committee wish it to be perfectly clear that this power is real and that its exercise should not be regarded as unusual or arbitrary; unless the Governor has the right to secure supply for those services for which he remains responsible to Parliament, that responsibility cannot justly be fastened upon him.

Whenever the necessity for new taxation arises, as arise it must, the questions involved should be thrashed out by both parts of the Government in consultation together, and it is especially important that in this matter both parts of the Government should, if possible, be in agreement when the proposals of the Government are laid before the Legislature.

Clause 13.—The Committee have rejected the plan of Grand Committees as drafted originally in the Bill. They have done so because in their opinion the Grand Committee did not give the Governor the power of securing legislation in a crisis in respect of those matters for which he is held responsible, and because

in respect of ordinary legislation about reserved subjects it perpetuated the system of securing legislation by what is known as the "official bloc," which has been the cause of great friction and heart burning. The responsibility for legislation on reserved subjects is with the Governor in Council, and, when the "official bloc" has been put into operation, it has been put into operation by him and is merely an indirect way to asserting his responsibility. The Committee think it much better that there should be no attempt to conceal the fact that the responsibility is with the Governor in Council, and they recommended a process by which the Governor should be empowered to pass an Act in respect of any reserved subjects, if he considers that the Act is necessary for the proper fulfilment of his responsibility to Parliament. He should not do so until he has given very opportunity for the matter to be thoroughly discussed in the Legislative Council, and as a sensible man, he should, of course, endeavour to carry the Legislative Council with him in the matter by the strength of his case. But, if he finds that cannot be so then he should have the power to proceed on his own responsibility. Acts passed on his sole responsibility should be reserved by the Governor-General for His Majesty's pleasure, and be laid before Parliament. His Majesty will necessarily be adviced by the Secretary of State for India, and the responsibility for the advice to be given to His Majesty can only rest with the Secretary of State But the Committee suggest that the standing Committee of Parliament, whose appointment they have advised should be specially consulted about Acts of this character. Provision, however, is made in the Bill for the avoidence of delay in case of a grave emergency by giving the Governor-General power to assent to the Act without reserving it though this of course would prevent subsequent disallowance by His Majesty in Council.

Clause 15—The Committee have two observations to make on the working of this Clause. On the one hand, they do not think that any change in the boundaries of a province should be made without due consideration of the views of the Legislative Council of the province. On the other hand, they are of opinion that any clear request made by a majority of the members of a Legislative Council representing a distinctive racial or linguistic territorial unit for its constitution under this Clause as a sub-province or a separate province should be taken as a "prima facie" case on the strength of which commission of inquiry might be appointed by the Secretary of State, and that it should not

be a bar to the appointment of such a commission of inquiry that the majority of the Legislative Council of the province in question is opposed to the request of the minority representing such a distinctive territorial unit.

Part II

Clause 18.—As will be explained below, the Committee do not accept the device, in the Bill as drafted, of carrying government measures through the Council of State without reference to the Legislative Assembly, in cases where the latter body cannot be got to assent to a law which the Governor-General considers essential. Under the scheme which the Committee propose to substitute for this procedure, there is no necessity to retain the Council of State as an organ for government legislation. It should therefore be reconstituted from the commencement as a true Second Chamber. The recommendation that it should consist of sixty members, of whom not more than twenty should be official members. The Franchise Committee advise that the non-official members should be elected by the same group of persons as elect the members of the Legislative Assembly and in the same constituencies. This is a plan which the Committee could in no circumstances accept. They hope and believe that a different system of election for the Council of State can be devised by the time the constitution embodied in this Bill comes into operation, and they recommend that the Government of India be enjoined forthwith to make suggestions accordingly, to which effect can be given without delaying the inauguration of the new constitution. If the advice of the Committee that it be re-appointed for the purpose of considering the rules to be framed under this Bill be approved, it should have an opportunity of considering the proposals made for the election of the Council of State.

Clause 19.—For the Legislative Assembly the Committee are equally unwilling to accept, as a permanent arrangement, the method of indirect election proposed in the report of the Franchise Committee. If by no other course it were possible to avoid delay in bringing the constitution enacted by the Bill into operation, the Committee would acquiesce in that method for a preliminary period of three years. But they are not convinced that delay would be involved in preparing a better scheme of direct election, and they endorse the views expressed by the Government of India in

paragraph 39 of its despatch dealing with the subject. They accordingly advise that the Government of India be instructed at once to make recommendations to this effect at the earliest possible moment. These recommendations as embodied in draft rules would also be subject to examination by this Committee if re-appointed.

Clause 20.—The Committee think that the President of the Legislative Assembly should for four years be a person appointed by the Governor-General. He should be qualified by experience in the House of Commons and a knowledge of parliamentary procedure, precedents and conventions. He should be the guide and adviser of the Presidents of the provincial councils, and he should be chosen with a view to the influence which it is hoped he would have on the whole history of parliamentary procedure in India. He should be paid an adequate salary.

Clause 25.—This is a new provision for the submission of the Budget to the vote of the Legislative Assembly, on the understanding that this body is constituted as a chamber reasonably representative in character and elected directly by suitable constituencies. The Committee consider it necessary (as suggested to them by the consolidated fund charges in the Imperial Parliament) to exempt certain charges of a special or recurring nature, which have been set out in the Bill, e. g., the cost of defence, the debt charges aud certain fixed salaries, from the process of being voted. But otherwise they would leave the assembly free to criticise and vote the estimates of expenditure of the Government of India. It is not, however, within the scheme of the Bill to introduce at the present stage any measure of responsible government in the central administration, and a power must be reserved to the Governor-General in Council of treating as sanctioned any expenditure which the Assembly may have refused to vote if he considers the expenditure to be necessary for the fulfilment of his responsibilies for the good government of the country. It should the understood from the beginning that this power of the Governor-General in Council is real, and that it is meant to be used if and whenever necessary.

Clause 26.—For reasons which prompted the rejection of the process of certification by a Governor to a grand committee in a province, the Committee are opposed to the proposals in the Bill which would have enabled the Governor-General to refer to the Council of State, and to obtain by virtue of his official majority in that body any legislation which the lower chamber refuse to accept, but which he regarded as essential to the discharge of his duties. The Committee have no hesitation in accepting the view

that the Governor-General in Council should in all circumstances be fully empowered to secure legislation which is required for the discharge of his responsibilities; but they think it is unworthy that such responsibility should be concealed through the action of a Council of State specially devised in its composition to secure the necessary powers. They believe that in such a case it would add strength to the Government of India to act before the world on its own responsibility In order, however, that Parliament may be fully apprised of the position and of the consideration which led to this exceptional procedure, they advise that all Acts passed in this manner should be laid before Parliament, who would naturally consider the opinion of the standing committee already referred to.

Clause 28—The recommendation of the Committee is that the present limitation on the number of the members of the Governor-General's Executive Council should be removed, that three members of that Council should continue to be public servants or ex-public servants who have had not less than ten year's experience in the service of the Crown in India; that one member of the Council should have definite legal qualifications, but that those qualifications, may be gained in India as well as in the United Kingdom, and that not less than three members of the Council should be Indians. In this connection it must be borne in mind that the members of the Council drawn from the ranks of the public servants will, as time goes on, be more and more likely to be of Indian rather than of European extraction.

Clause 29—The Committee have inserted this provision to allow of the selection of members of the Legislature who will be able to undertake duties similar to those of the Parliamentary Under-Secretaries in this country. It should be entirely at the discretion of the Governor-General to say to which departments these officers should be attached, and to define the scope of their duties.

Part III.

Clause 30—The Committee think that all charges of the India Office, not being agency charges, should be paid out of moneys to be provided by Parliament.

Clause 31—The Committee are not in favour of the abolition of the Council of India. They think that, at any rate for some time to come, it will be absolutely necessary that the Secretary of State should be advised by persons of Indian experience, and they are convinced that, if no such council existed the Secretary of State would have to form an informal one if not a formal one. Therefore,

they think it much better to continue a body which has all the advantages behind it of tradition and authority, although they would not debar the readjustment of its work so as to make it possible to introduce what is known as the portfolio system They think also, that its constitution may advantageously be modified by the introduction of more Indians into it and by shortening of the period of the service upon it, in order to ensure a continuous flow of fresh experience from India and to relieve Indian members from the necessity of spending so long a period as seven years in England.

Clause 33.—The Committee have given most careful consideration to the relations of the Secretary of State with the Government of India, and through it with the provincial governments. In the relations of the Secretary of State with the Governor-General in Council the Committee are not of opinion that any statutory change can be made, so long as the Governor-General remains responsible to Parliament, but in practice the conventions which now govern these relations may wisely be modified to meet fresh circumstances caused by the creation of a Legislative Assembly with a large elected majority. In the exercise of his responsibility to Parliament, which he cannot delegate to anyone else, the Secretary of State may reasonably consider that only in exceptional circumstances should he be called upon to intervene in matters of purely Indian interest where the Government and the Legislature of India are in agreement.

This examination of the general proposition leads inevitably to the consideration of one special case of non-intervention. Nothing is more likely to endanger the good relations between India and Great Britain than a belief that India's fiscal policy is dictated from Whitehall in the interests of the trade of Great Britain. That such a belief exists at the moment there can be no doubt. That there ought to be no room for it in the future is equally clear. India's position in the Imperial Conference opened the door to negotiation between India and the rest of the Empire, but negotiation without power to legislate is likely to remain ineffective. A satisfactory solution of the question can only be guaranteed by the grant of liberty to the Government of India to devise those tariff arrangements which seem best fitted to India's needs as an integral portion of the British Empire. It cannot be guaranteed by statute without limiting the ultimate power of Parliament to control the administration of India, and without limiting the power of veto which rests in the Crown ; and neither of these limitations finds a place in any of the statutes in the British Empire. It can only therefore be

assured by an acknowledgement of a convention. Whatever be the right fiscal policy for India, for the needs of her consumers as well as for her manufacturers, it is quite clear that she should have the same liberty to consider her interests as Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa. In the opinion of the Committee, therefore, the Secretary of State should as far as possible avoid interference on this subject when the Government of India and its Legislature are in agreement, and they think that his intervention, when it does take place, should be limited to safeguarding the international obligations of the Empire or any fiscal arrangements within the Empire to which His Majesty's Government is a party.

The relations of the Secretary of State and of the Government of India with provincial governments should, in the Committee's judgment, be regulated by similar principles, so far as the reserved subjects are concerned. It follows, therefore, that in purely provincial matters, which are reserved, where the provincial government and legislature are in agreement, their view should ordinarily be allowed to prevail, though it is necessary to bear in mind the fact that some reserved subjects do cover matters in which the central government is closely concerned. Over transferred subjects, on the other hand, the control of the Governor-General in Council, and thus of the Secretary of State, should be restricted in future within the narrowest possible limits, which will be defined by rules under sub-clause 3 of Clause 1 of the Bill.

Rules under this clause will be subsidiary legislation of sufficient moment to justify their being brought especially to the notice of Parliament. The Secretary of State might conveniently discuss them with the Standing Committee whose creation has been recommended in this Report; and Parliament would no doubt consider the opinion of this body when the rules come, as it is proposed that they should do, for acceptance by positive resolution in both Houses. The same procedure is recommended by the Committee for adoption in the case of rules of special or novel importance under other clauses of the Bill. It must be for the Secretary of State to decide which of the many rules that will fall to be drafted by the Government of India can be sufficiently dealt with by the ordinary process of lying on the table of Parliament for a certain number of days. In deciding this point however, he may naturally have recourse to the advice of the Standing Committee, should it happen to be in session, and obtain their assistance in determining which rules deserved to be made the subject of the more formal procedure by positive resolution.

Clause 35—This clause carries out the recommendation of Lord Crewe's Committee to appoint a High Commissioner for India, to be paid out of Indian revenues, who will perform for India functions of agency, as distinguished from political functions, analogous to those now performed in the offices of the High Commissioners of the Dominions.

Part IV

Clause 36—The Committee do not conceal from themselves that the position of the public services in working the new constitutions in the provinces will, in certain circumstances, be difficult. They are of opinion that these services have deserved the admiration and gratitude of the whole Empire. They know that some members of the services regard the wisdom of the proposed changes with grave misgiving, and some fear that those changes will not tend to the welfare of the Indian masses. They are convinced, however, that the services will accept the changing conditions and the inevitable alteration in their own position, and devote themselves in all loyalty to making a success, so far as in them lies, of the new constitution.

In the provinces, officers serving in a reserved department will be controlled by the Governor in Council, and in a transferred department by the Governor acting with ministers, but in both cases alike the personal concurrence of the Governor should be regarded as essential in the case of all orders of any importance prejudicially affecting the position or prospects of officers appointed by the Secretary of State.

The Committee think that every precaution should be taken to secure to the public servants the career in life to which they looked forward when they were recruited, and they have introduced fresh provisions into this clause to that end. If friction occurs, re-adjustment of persons and places may often get over the difficulty, and the Governor must always regard it as one of his most important duties to establish a complete understanding between his ministers and the officers through whom they will have to work. But if there are members of the service whose doubt as to the changes to be made are so deeply-rooted that they feel they cannot usefully endeavour to take part in them, then the Committee think it would only be fair to those officers that they should be offered an equivalent career elsewhere, if it is in the power of His Majesty's Government to do so, or. in the last resort, that they should be allowed to retire on such pension as the Secretary of State in Council may consider suitable to their period of service.

Part V.

Clause 41.—The Committee are of opinion that the Statutory Commission should not be appointed until the expiration of ten years and that no changes of substance in the constitution, whether in the franchise or in the lists of reserved and transferred subjects or otherwise, should be made in the interval. The Commission will be fully empowered to examine the working of the constitutions in all their details in the provinces, and to advise whether the time has come for full responsible government in each province, or in the alternative whether and to what extent the powers of self-government already granted should be extended, or modified, or restricted. It should be clearly understood, also, that the Commission should be empowered to examine into the working of the Government of India and to advise in respect of the Government of India no less than in respect of the provincial governments.

8. This concludes the Committee's specific recommendations on the Bill. There remain certain other topics which do not conveniently fall within any particular clause. The first of these is the treatment of Burma, and after hearing evidence the Committee have not advised that Burma should be included within the scheme. They do not doubt but that the Burmese have deserved and should receive a constitution analogous to that provided in this Bill for their Indian fellow-subjects But Burma is only by accident part of the responsibility of the Governor-General of India. The Burmese are as distinct from the Indians in race and language as they are from the British.

9. Doubts have been expressed from several quarters questioning the financial adjustment proposed between the Central and Provincial Governments in India. Without expressing any opinion on this controversy the Committee accept and endorse the recommendation of the Government of India that a fully qualified financial commission should be appointed to advise as to the principle on which contributions from the provincial governments to the Central Government should in future be adjusted.

10. The Committee think that it may often greatly assist the Political education of India if standing committees of the legislative bodies are attached to certain departments of Government, but they only express this opinion on the understanding that the appointment of such committees, their composition, and the regulations which govern their procedure, shall be matters wholly and exclusively within the discretion of the Governor-General or of the Governor as the case may be.

11. The Committee are impressed by the objections raised by many witnesses to the manner in which certain classes of taxation can be laid upon the people of India by executive action without, in some cases, any statutory limitation of the rates and in other cases, any adequate prescription by statute of the methods of assessment, They consider that the imposition of new burdens should be gradually brought more within the purview of the Legislature. And in particular, without expressing any judgment on the question whether the land revenue is a rent or tax, they advise that the process of revising the land revenue assessments ought to be brought under closer regulation by statute as soon as possible. At present the statutory basis for charging revenue on the land varies in different provinces ; but in some at least the pitch of assessment is entirely at the discretion of the executive government. No branch of the administration is regulated with greater elaboration or care ; but the people who are most affeted have no voice in the soaping of the system, and the rules are often obscure and imperfectly understood by those who pay the revenue. The Committee are of opinion that the time has come to embody in the law the main principles by which the land revenue is determined, the metcods of valuation, the pitch of assessment, the periods of revision, the graduation of enhancements, and the other chief processes which touch the well-being of the revenue payers. The subject is one which probably would not be transferred to ministers until the electorate included a satisfactory representation of rural interests, those of the tenantry as well as of the landlords ; and the system should be established on a clear statutory basis before this change takes place.

12. The Committee have not hitherto touched on the subject of education in India, and it is far too large for them to make any attempt to deal with it adequately. They have accepted the recommendation of the Functions Committee that, subject to certain reservations about the Universities, the responsibility for the whole field of education in each province should be transferred to ministers. They attach much importance, however, to the educational advancement of the depressed and backward classes, and they trust that the subject will receive special attention from ministers. They are also impressed by the advantage of Board such as Sir Michal Sadler has advised in Bengal, for the assistance of minister in controlling the different grades of education, and they trust that ministers will see their way from the outset to constitute such Boards in every province. The Committee would similarly commend to ministers the advisability of creating local government departments in the provinces.

13. The Committee attach the greatest importance to the formation in each provincial government of a strong department of Finance which will serve both sides of the Goverment alike.

14. The Committee have been greatly struck by the earnest representations made to them by several witnesses, both of British and Indian birth, to the effect that the Government of India and the provincial governments must become more vocal, and put forth their view of what the good of India requires with more courage and more persistance than they have in the past. It has been represented to them that it will be of the utmost importance in the future that the Government of India and the provincial governments should have means of explaining to the people of India the reasons why things are done, the reasons which underlie decisions, and the arguments against proposals which they consider will be detrimental to the welfare of the country. It was represented to the Committee that at present, to a great extent, the case for the policy of the Government of India and of the provincial governments is unknown to the masses of Indians, whereas the case against that policy is becoming every day more widely disseminated by means of the vernacular press. They are glad to think that this opinion is also shared by the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy. It dealt with in paragraph 326 of their report on Indian Constitutional Reforms.

15. In conclusion the Committee emphatically repudiate the suggestion that the changes in this Bill in the form of the provincial governments of India imply any condemnation of the present system of government in India. The Government of India has accomplished great things for India's good and one of its greatest services has been the introduction into India of a reign of law, to which the Government itself is as much subject as the people it governs. It is no reproach to it that in form it has been everywhere autocratic. So long as Parliament on the one hand did not bestow any form of constitutional self-government on any part of India, and on the other hand held the Government of India rigidly responsible to itself for its every action, it could not be otherwise in the provinces any more than at the central seat of government. But, whatever the form, the spirit of its being everywhere and always has been effort for the welfare of the masses of the people of India.

16. The Committee have directed the Minutes of Proceedings, together with Appendices, to be laid before both Houses of Parliament.

The Joint Committee

Examination of Witnesses.

The House of Commons passed the 2nd Reading of the Government of India Bill on the 5th. June 1919. The following members were proposed for the Joint Committee of both Houses : Mr. Montagu, Sir H. Craik, Mr. Bennett, Sir J. Rees, Sir D. Maclean, Mr. Ormbsy-Gore and Mr. Ben Spoor. On June 30th Lord Curzon in the H. of Lords on behalf of Government moved the resolution agreeing to the establishment of the joint committee. The motion was carried and subsequently Lords Selborne, Crewe, Islington, Northumberland, Sinha, Sydenham and Middleton were proposed as members from the Lords on the Committee. On July 3rd the motion for the appointment of the proposed members (7 of the Commons and 7 of Lords) of Parliament as members of the Joint Committee of Parliament to consider the Indian Reforms Bill was carried by 336 votes to 26, inspite of the persistent opposition of a small pack of Sydenhamites headed by Col. Yate. After a few preliminary private sittings the Joint Committee held its first sitting in public on July 16, 1919 to examine Sir James Meston, the first witness, on behalf of the Government of India. A large number of deputations had been sent from India representing the various public bodies and the Joint Committee asked them to submit their memoranda in writing and decided to call one or two witnesses from each to explain their views more fully

Sir J. Meston on behalf of the Government of India said that the Government of India whole-heartedly agreed with every vital principle of the Bill, and he denied that there had been any attempt to whittle down the scheme. The Government of India accepted the proposal as a general rule that the Provincial Executive Councils should contain only one official member, but they considered there should be a second, where the Governor was a stranger to India. The Government of India had not yet made up their minds with regard to direction over Councils. They agreed to the principle of a large elective majority, but were a little apprehensive, that the wide power given might be regarded as going further than the report. It was, of course, desirable that the Provinces should be able to deal with social reform and matters such as the abuse of religious charities.

The Government of India objected to the proposal to pool the revenues of Provinces. If a dual Provincial Government was to

work successfully, it depended on the clearer demarcation of the two halves of the Governments. The Government of India proposed that each half should control the revenues of its own departments and this would be a tremendous stimulant to each to develop its own resources. Otherwise, if money were transferred, there might be a suggestion for prohibition with loss of revenue, while they might also be pressed to reduce police expenditure. The Government of India suggested this division also, in order to diminish friction and avoid a wrangle lasting five months every year. It would also be difficult for any Department to start an important scheme extending over years, unless their income was certain. The joint purse proposal was also opposed by prominent Indians, who would have much to do with bringing the scheme into operation.

The Government of India could see no virtue in electing two Chambers of the Provincial Legislature from the same narrow indirectly voting source. They had always pressed for direct representation and would prefer a senatorial electorate. Another point was that there was no control over the Secretary of State who could alter the whole constitution by making rules.

In reply to Mr. Bennett, he said that the Government of India would like to see the Provinces enabled to borrow on the security of their own revenues. Reviewing the situation in India, Sir J. Meston emphasised the rapidity with which interest in politics, and the desire for larger share in administration of their own affairs had penetrated the people of India and warmly spoke of the spontaneous growth of a real spirit of Nationalism. He endorsed Sir J. D. Rees that the continuance of the bureaucratic regime in India is no longer possible, or compatible with carrying on Government without continual discontent and trouble.

Sir James Meston defended the proposed dualism and especially separate purse by which the administration of public funds is divided between the nominated and elected sections of the new Provincial Legislatures. He said that the knowledge that only a limited proportion of revenues could be drawn upon by each section, would probably deter wild unreasonable proposals on which the Governor's veto would certainly be necessary at any rate temporarily. The Government of India desired gradual increase in the number of Indians capable of accepting responsibility in administrative government and making prompt decisions, instead of continually sheltering behind the position of collective responsibility. The Government of India were very anxious that the new system should have a fair chance. They wanted to proceed cautiously and preferred to start on the assumption that there were bound to be differences of opinion and possibly friction between the two sections of the new Provincial

Legislatures, but they were hopeful that there would eventually be a joint purse for the two halves of Government.

He thought that the enfranchisement of women in India would be extraordinarily difficult. Very few women would come to the polling booths.

Replying to Lord Sydenham, Sir J. Meston denied that the scheme was coldly received in India. On the contrary it was whole heartedly received by some classes. The public services were naturally nervous about the change, but would loyally co-operate in making the scheme a success.

Lord Southborough next gave evidence that his Committee had endeavoured to find a via media which would lead to the best solution during the experimental years of reform. The Committee took a high line throughout ignoring carping criticism. They had been greatly helped by the data and proposals of the Local Governments. He did not favour separate or special arrangements for recording women's votes. Many witnesses supported women suffrage but he felt they were not thinking whether women would desire to use the vote, but thought it would show a desire to give women of India assistance and perhaps a larger measure of emancipation. The Committee sympathised with the desire to help women by enfranchising them but could not go beyond sympathy.

Replying to Lord Sinha, Lord Southborough said they were unable to arrive at a Senatorial franchise and might have come to grief on the matter but for the self-denial of the Indian members. They recognised that they must get the machine going. They would have liked direct representation but that would come later.

Dealing with the Madras difficulty he said, the Committee were unanimous that they were not justified in embarking on a big extravagant scheme upon the evidence produced, that they thought the onus lay heavily upon the non-Brahmins to make out their case. He was of opinion that the proposal of the non-Brahmins should not be accepted, except as a condition of settlement.

The Deputation of the **Moderate party** submitted a very lengthy memorandum. **Mr. Banerjee** its spokesman was the next witness to tender evidence. He admitted that the transference of power to an oligarchy was the principal objection to the proposed reforms. He declared that there was strong tendency to magnify the differences between masses and the classes. The antagonism between Brahmans and non-Brahmins was, principally furthered by non-Brahmins including many titular Maharajahs who were believed to have financed the anti-Brahmin movement. He thought that the movement was waning and would disappear in time with the granting of social legislation. The Brahmins of Bengal and educated classes desired its disappearance and

the institution of social equality. Communal representation was not regarded favourably. It would be difficult and inadvisable to give female franchise in one province and withold it from another.

The Memorandum of the Moderate deputation to the joint Committee generally supported the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, but suggested modifications. It stated that the signatories have not found any alternative to Diarchy, which fulfils the terms of the announcement of 20th August and that if the modifications recommended by the Government of India or part of them were carried out, the scheme would be rendered unacceptable and almost unworkable. The Memorandum declares that the position of the Minister responsible to the Legislature is disadvantageous compared with the position of Executive Councillors. It prefers a joint purse to divided purse and urges that the power of the Legislature over the Budget should be more complete than the Bill provides, and that the proposed right of the Legislature to appeal to the Government of India against the certificate of the Governor that a Bill deals with a reserved subject should not be abandoned. The Memorandum also urges an advance to the original proposal that the list of transferred and reserved subjects should be revised after five years. Industries and education should be wholly transferred at the start. The element of responsibility should be introduced in the Central Government by placing some of the Departments under a Minister liable to the control of the Legislature. The Government of India should no longer be required to refer tariff proposals to the Secretary of State for previous sanction and when the Government and the Legislature are agreed on the matter, the Secretary of State should as rule refrain from refusing his sanction. Presidents of Legislatures should be elected members and not Governors.

Mrs. Besant on behalf of the Home Rule League agreed that the Reform Bill must not be whittled down and also agreed that the principle of diarchy was inevitable in the transition to responsible government. The objections to women's franchise were weak. Women's suffrage had been carried in two Congresses and at all Conferences where it had been proposed. She thought that granting Home Rule to India would tend to bring the British and Indians closer together. The two great points on which Indian opinion concentrated were fiscal autonomy and some advance in the Central Government. She thought that the exclusion of women from the franchise would cause great friction and suggested that the question of enfranchisement of women before a period of ten years should be left to the Legislative Council. She urged that transference be effected on application from the Legislature. The Home Rule Deputation did not approve of communal representation as it intensified separation by importing

religious questions into politics. The Report of the Functions Committee was generally satisfactory but land revenue, irrigation, and famine relief should be transferred. The Franchise Report was unsatisfactory. The property qualification was too high and there was no literary qualification. She was followed by Mr. Ramaswamy Iyer who substantiated and confirmed all that she said.

On August 5 Mr. V. J. Patel submitted a long memorandum on behalf of the National Congress. He urged a considerable general extension of the franchise for women as well as for men, and said that unless the Bill empowered the Legislative Council to amend or make laws thereanent it would not be of much value. The Congress welcomed the Bill as a slight advance towards their ideal. The Congress considered the people capable of undertaking Responsible Government with local administrative autonomy at once and it was for them to say when full responsibility should be undertaken ; that there was a strong demand in India for enfranchisement of women and declared that the representation of Indians on the Legislative Council under the bill was inadequate. The Committee was hostile to the Congress deputation and subjected Mr. Patel to a strong cross-examination.

Mr. Patel stated that the modifications suggested by the Congress were, firstly, full responsible Government for the Provinces with transfer of all subjects ; secondly, the same measure of responsibility in the Government of India ; Army, Navy, Air Force, Peace Treaties, foreign relations, relations with ruling princes and subjects affecting the peace, tranquility, and defence of the country should be reserved, while the remaining subjects affecting internal affairs should be handed over to the representatives of the people ; thirdly, fiscal autonomy ; fourthly, a time-limit of fifteen years should be fixed by statute, in which full Responsible Government should be attained in the whole of British India.

Mr. Madhava Rao of the Congress deputation said that the Indian Civil Service had overstayed its usefulness and should retire. The English civil servants were useful in their own way, but Indians would get on as well without them. He wished to see local self-government in India developed on eastern not western lines. He alleged that, during the recent controversy, civil servants took sides and entirely misunderstood the feeling of the country. Civil Servants contended that Indians were not fit to rule. The continuance of the civil service system meant stunting the development of the people. He strongly supported full provincial autonomy to be at once given to India and to be saved from the Civil Servants.

Sir Frank Sly on behalf of the Indian Civil Service contested Mr. Madhava Rao's opinion, that India was able to dispense with

Europeans. He believed that the agitation against the Civil Service was largely political, in order to strengthen the Indian claim to responsible government. He would be very sorry to think that Mr. Rao's views reflected the more sober opinion in India.

He said that the large majority of Civil Servants in India loyally accepted the Pronouncement of August 20th. Some honestly believed that the proposals of the Report exceeded what was desirable at present, others believed that the Report went on wrong lines, and that diarchy would make it more difficult to proceed on satisfactory lines. Others believed that the scheme was justified and that there was no satisfactory alternative. He believed that Civil Servants were genuinely frightened by recent criticism, and feared that it might be difficult to make the scheme a success, even with the best will, owing to racial prejudice and they desired safeguards for their position. He said that, if he were a young man choosing a career, he would undoubtedly enter the Civil Service under the scheme.

A large volume of evidence was gone into in the month of August. The great **Mr. Tilak** gave evidence on behalf of the Congress Deputation, but the Committee curiously enough simply listened to him without questioning. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry tendered a brilliant evidence which was the best of the whole lot. Mrs Sorojini Naidu made an earnest appeal for the franchise to women. Mr. Samarth appeared for the Bombay Presidency association, Mr. K. V. Reddi for Madras Non-Brahmins, Mr. B. P. Wadia for Labour, and Mr. Chintamani of Allahabad, Messrs K. C. Ray, P. C. Ray, Dr. T. Sapru, M. A. Jinnah, Ramchandra Rao, Rama Rayaningar and a few others also gave evidence. Sir Archbold Earl, Sir Verney Lovatt and Sir W. Meyer also appeared and supported the Bill with more or less earnestness and bureaucratic timidity.

Mr. Welby, the arch-inspirer of the Anglo-Indian association, gave evidence on the 18th August. He said that the great bulk of the Indian population was utterly incapable of forming any opinion on other than mere local matters. There was no demand for self-Government or anything approaching it by the people. It was for the Government to recognise that caste existed as perhaps the most important fact in India, and not to ignore it when providing for the representation of the people. Mr. Welby regarded the present bill as reactionary in many respects and said that the European community felt that the work of administering India was being taken away from capable men who had been responsible for it, and gradually handed over to a class who had shown little administrative aptitude. Europeans in India strongly felt that Parliamentary control of administration was rather a farce, and the average Member of Parliament, owing to pressure of other work and the absence of direct

knowledge of India was not disposed systematically to interest himself in Indian affairs.

There was no sitting of the Committee in September. It met again in October 1919 and took several important official evidence, such as that of Sir W. Duke, Sir T. Holderness, Sir M. Hammick, Sir J. Brunyate, H. H. the Aga Khan and of that champion of prussianism in India **Sir Michael O'Dowyer.** The latter giving evidence on October 8th stated that local Governors of India accepted the main views of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, except as regards dualism. Separately each of the two streams, eastern and western, which irrigated the arid plain of administration in India was inadequate for the efficient irrigation of the whole tract and the best results would be obtained by combining both streams in a common channel. Community of Government must continue, if the western stream was to function as an integral part of Government. The aim of the political classes in India, who desired to bring the whole administration under their sole separate control, was quite legitimate so far as their object was to prove their own capacity and to obtain wider scope for Indian ideas and Indian personnel. But that object could be adequately secured by giving them, as the majority scheme proposed, a larger share of work in the whole joint British and Indian administration. Working in association these classes was to exclude British experience and capacity from the administration which these qualities had built up; that object appeared to be inconsistent with the welfare of the community and the British Government which was responsible for the general welfare should not allow general interests to be subordinated to the interests of any one class or interest, eastern or western. If the business of Government was to be inspired by a common purpose, that was unobtainable under dualism. Their aim should be to organise and unite the two elements by close associaton for a common purpose and not to emphasise the differences as dualism did by artificial and ever increasing separation. The best way to secure this unity was to recognise that the British and Indian Governments working for a common object had a common mandate and common responsibility. The association and partnership of the British and Indians for this common object would, in a large majority of cases, secure unity of views and effort. That was the mature conclusion of seven out of nine Local Governments based on long practical experience. Their scheme modified the Montagu Chelmsford Scheme in one important respect by eliminating the danger of dualism. A feature of their scheme was that the Joint Executive was half Indian and half British there being two British and two Indian represen tatives, besides the Governor. This he declared to be dangerous.

On October 10th the **Aga Khan** tendered evidence and said, as an ideal he preferred self-Government on the American federal plan or Swiss lines but he recognised that India's future was linked with Britain, and responsible government must be a way towards evolving some such plan more suited to the countries of great states such as India would become. He looked forward to the day when through a referendum and initiative the electors would fully supervise their representatives. Dualism could not be a permanent solution, but it was difficult at present to imagine any other coherent scheme for the transitional period. A two-thirds majority vote should be needed for the removal of a Minister. The Governor's power to disregard the opinion of Ministers was desirable at present as a safeguard from the British point of view, but he doubted the practical utility of such power. He was of opinion that the best guarantee against hasty, unfair or partial legislation and the best protection for the Governor himself would be a referendum. He thought that the proposed restrictions or the financial and legislative powers of legislatures were unnecessarily severe so far as Bombay and Bengal were concerned. The legislature should certainly be empowered to vote supplies. The Grand Committee method of securing essential legislation might be necessary for the first few years, but thereafter the natural constitutional solution of dissolving the House on important occasions when the policy of the administration was successfully challenged should be resorted to, and the referendum should be used where only one measure caused friction. He did not entirely accept the position that the time had not come to give Legislative Assembly measure of control over the Central Government, for example Public Work and Education could be handed over to a responsible Minister at headquarters without unduly fettering the Government of India in the discharge of its responsibilities. The Bill left for too much to rules to be made hereafter. Less scope should be left for the exercise of the personal inclination or party prejudices by successive Secretaries of State or Viceroys.

The work of public examination of witnesses by the joint committee ended on October 15th. After a few private meetings for preparing and revising the report, this work was finished on the 17th November. The report was issued two days later accompanied by the amended Bill.

The Govt. of India Bill, 1919

In the House of Commons in Committee

Debate on the Bill as Amended by the Joint Committee.

The House went into Committee on 3rd December, 1919 on the recommitted Government of India Bill Mr Whiteley in the Chair

On **Clause 1**, which enables provision to be made by rules for the classification of subjects in relation to the functions of Government as central and provincial subjects—

Colonel Yate moved an amendment providing that the rules to be made should be rules "under the Act," instead of rules 'under the Government of India Act, 1915, as amended by the Government of India (Amendment) Act, 1919." He asked the House to give the Bill the most careful consideration It was read a second time in extraordinary circumstances, being brought in on the Thursday before the Whitsuntide recess, and passed in a few hours without any debate. To a small country like Egypt Lord Milner was being sent out. The Secretary for India was a man who knew nothing about India, but, after going out and consulting people there, came back and formed a Constitution for a territory bigger than the whole of Europe, excluding Russia. Under the Bill, everything was to be left to rules under references to two former measures. The Secretary of State was going to take by these rules powers to amend the whole Constitution for India which had hitherto been in force.

These rules ought not to be left to the idiosyncrasies of a Sec. of State In that House they were very much opposed to legislation by Orders in Council. They wanted to have everything in this Bill He would like to see a Bill passed before the peace celebration on 13th December, showing that we were really in earnest in this matter; but this Bill could not come into operation until the summer of 1921. Therefore there was plenty of time to obtain the opinion of

the Governors of the various Provinces of India on these rules ; and when the rules came back they should be attached to the Bill before it came into operation. He appealed to the Government not to pass blindfold legislation leaving everything to be worked out according to the view of the Secretary of State. His next amendment on the paper would provide that the rules should be laid in draft before both Houses of Parliament and should not be made unless both Houses by resolution approved the drafts ; that the Secretary of State in Council might make such rules in the form in which they had been approved ; and that the Bill should not be brought into operation until all such rules had been approved and attached to the Bill. They must have sure opinion as to what the effect of these rules would be.

Mr. Montagu explained that in order to avoid confusion, as soon as this Bill was passed it would be incorporated in the old Act There would be no necessity for reference to a complicated system of Acts. There would be only one Act. Therefore the words "principal Act," would disappear and the words "this Act" would be substituted for them. The meaning of "this Act" would be that the whole Constitution of India would be embodied in the original Acts with these amendments. If the first part of this amendment were carried they would lose the definition of "the principal Act," they would lose the whole scheme on which the Bill was constructed, and they would be deprived of the opportunity of automatic consultation which avoided all trouble of reference.

Never had a Bill for the Government of India been introduced which made the Secretary of State so amenable to the control of that House as this Bill did. Rules in former Acts were not made with all the provisions which had been incorporated in this Bill to secure the control of Parliament. All rules under Clause I had to be brought before Parliament by the Secretary of State, and it was suggested that all rules should be first investigated and reported on by a Standing Committee of both Houses. Therefore the House would have the advice of a Committee of its own appointing. His hon. and gallant friend sought to provide that, instead of laying on the table, all rules would have to have a resolution of both Houses. By all means let them have resolutions on the important rules, but do not let them have resolutions on every alteration in a very complicated set of rules. If all the rules came before them for a confirmative resolution the procedure would become customary and would lose its significance. In Committee upstairs it was agreed that the best course to pursue was that all rules shoud be submitted

to a Joint Committee of Parliament, and all the rules, with the report of the Commitee, should come before the House of Commons. (Hear, hear.) The Secretary of State was authorised by the Bill to decide whether he would adopt thea ffirmative course rather than the negative course of laying on the table. The Secretary of State would act as Parliament directed—he would be a fool if he did not—in taking the advice of the Joint Committee. In practice it would be the Joint Committee who would say to him that the rules were so important that he had better adopt the affirmative course, or that the alterations were so trifling that it was necessary only to draw attention to them by lying them on the table of the House of Commons.

He was anxious to ensure Parliamentary control without encumbering the procedure of Parliament, and he thought the clause provided for such control in every necessary particular. It might interest the Committee to know that there had been correspondence with the Viceroy and Government of India as to the necessity of the Bill receiving the Royal Assent before Christmas. They hoped that the rules under the Bill after they had received the opinions of all concerned, including the local Governments, would be brought home here in sufficient time for the holding of the new elections in November of next year, and it was hoped that the new National Legislative Assembly would sit in India in January, 1921. He wanted the Committee to know what the Govenment of India and the India Office were aiming at if all went well.

Colonel Yate still held that they would be wrong if they did not take care to express their opinion upon all rules when they were brought in.

Earl Winterton said that his experience was that the House as a whole took very little interest in documents laid on the table of the House. It was, in his opinion, highly important that in the future Parliament should take far more interest in the affairs of India than it had done in the past.

Mr. Montagu said he hoped that for the first time in the history of Parliament a Standing Committee on Indian affairs would be appointed, not by any Minister of the crown, but by the House itself. If such a Committee existed it would be their duty to advise whether a particular rule or rules should be submitted to the House by affirmative resolution ; and he was sure the House would stand by the advice thus given by its own Committee. (Hear, hear.)

Sir, H. Craik hoped the amendment would not be pressed. In view of the vital interests at stake, it would be fatal if the Bill, when it became an Act, was held up until all the necessarily elaborate rules were drafted, approved, and submitted to Parliament.

Major Ormsby-Gore also thought it would be unreasonable to suspend taking action in regard to many important clauses of the Act until certain machinery was devised in India and sent over for the approval of Parliament.

The amendment was negatived without a division.

On Diarchy.

Cololonal Yate moved to omit from Clause 1 the paragraph enabling provision to be made by rules "for the transfer from among the provincial subjects to the administration of the Governor acting with Ministers appointed under this Act," and to substitute a provision that the rules shuld be "for the constitution of the Governor's Executive Council, in which there shall be an equal number of official Ministers and of Ministers chosen by the Governor from the elected members of the provincial Legislature.' This amendment, raised the whole question of the diarchy. That unprecedented form of government would be equivalent in India to what the conditions would be in this country if the Prime Minister had one-half of his Cabinet on the benches behind him, and the other half were comosed of the leaders of trade unions—the Smillies and the Cramps. One-half of the Governor's Ministers would be men whose whole fame and notoriety was based upon the way in which they opposed and thwarted the official Ministers, and the result would be continual friction between the two sides of the Ministry. His amendment was that the system of government in the Provinces should be unified. The system of diarchy was unworkable. The House had not been informed of the opinion on this subject of the Governors of the Provinces, who ought to have been consulted before such a proposal as that in the Bill was brought forward.

Mr. Acland (a member of the Joint Committee) insisted that diarchy was the most fundamental question (Hear, hear.) No one had said that the system was ideal. There certainly would be, there must be difficulties. All that they could claim was that it was the best system for carrying out the declaration of August, 1917. The alternative system proposed by the amendment, it

seemed to him, involved dualism, diarchy, every bit as much as the system proposed in the Bill (hear, hear), without having that definite responsibility which alone would make dualism a real success. Under the system proposed to be substituted by the amendment there would be no duty of any sort on the Governor to allot any particular portfolio, or indeed, any portfolio at all, or any real executive responsibility, to those persons who were elected by the constituencies. He suggested that they were likely to get the maximum of friendly working if each side of the Executive Council had a definite reponsibility formally attached to it. If every one were responsible for everything, there was much more likely to be friction than if the two sides were responsible for different things. It was a part of the policy of this country that this Bill should constitute a step, that it should be a stage from which further steps forward were possible, if this stage showed by its working that it was justified. From the system proposed by the hon and gallant member no further step was possible, except either to diarchy or complete responsible government. Surly one of the things in the Bill was that, in a certain number of years, power should be given to the House to judge definitely whether to make a further step, and, if so what step to make. So long as they gave to Ministers selected from the members elected to the Legislatures the power of saying that any failure was not their fault because the official members interfered, they would not arrive at a real judgment of whether administration through the elected representative had been a success or a failure. They would get a block on the progressive scheme which they hoped might be justified by its results, and one of the main purposes of this legislation would be defeated. The amendment was absolutely fatal to the Bill, and did not in any way carry out the policy which the House had accepted when it gave a second reading to the Bill.

Sir H. Craik—said that every one knew that diarchy was open to very serious objection, but it seemed to him that the amendment would introduce diarchy in the most dangerous and unworkable form, and if he were not mistaken, it was almost the very proposal made at the Indian Congress. (Hear, hear.) They might take it as almost a certainty that this equal number of members would represent absolutely diametrical points of view, and in every case of a differance of opinion they would have the Governor stepping in to decide by his casting vote. Did his hon. and gallant friend think that that was a practicable or possible view to take of the working of this system ?

Colonel Wedgwood thought the purport of the amendment was not quite clearly understood by the Committee. It limited the responsibility of the Provincial Legislative Assembly. A promise had been made in India that there would be a grant of responsibility to Indian Legislative Assemblies, and if this amendment were carried there would be no such grant, but they would remain just where they were at present. They wished to see a transfer of responsibility from the Indian Civil Service to the democracy, and this Bill was a beginning. In these circumstances he did not see how the Government could accept the amendment.

Mr. T. J. Bennett said that there was a great deal of evidence which warranted the Committee taking a hopeful view of the way in which the scheme would work. They had no right to think that Ministers of India would play to the gallery. He thought members might support the scheme in the Bill with confidence that it would achieve its purpose.

Sir J. D. Rees said that it was no use having an advance unless it was one which gave actual responsibility to the Ministers appointed. The amendment drew the pith and substance out of the Bill.

The amendment was negatived.

Control of Provincial subjects.

Mr. Spoor moved to insert in the clause the following paragraph ;—"Subject to rules made under the Principal Act all provincial subject other than the subjects of law, justice, and police (as defined in the rules) shall be transferred to the administration of the Governor acting with the Minister in charge of the subject. Subjects so tranferred are in this Act referred to as 'trasferred subjects.' " He said the amendment proposed a greater measure of devolution of powers to the provincial governments. Eighty per cent of the population of India relied on agriculture only as their means of existence, and unless there was transference in all the provinces of land revenue and irrigation no real control would be given to the representatives of the people. The three Indian members on the Functions Committe pressed very hard for the transfer of these subjects, and he believed the Bombay Government recommended the complete transfer of all the subjects contained in the amendment. In recent years there had been an extraordinary political awakening in India. There was danger that this Bill did

not go far enough; and there was a disposition to look at the question from a purely British point of view. If the Bill did not go far enough the result would be to strengthen the small band of extremist politicians in India who desired complete separation from the British Empire. The people of India should be allowed to have complete control, so far as the provincial subjects were concerned. We should lose nothing by showing the Indian people that we trusted them, and by giving them a chance to proceed along constitutional lines to fuller and wider political responsibility.

Colonel Wedgwood seconded the amendment which, he said, was directed to the transfer of most of the matters of local administration to the legislative assemblies. The subjects transferred under the Bill were few and meagre, and the subjects reserved for administration by the bureaucracy were enormous and important. The first transfer was local Self-Government (hear, hear), which included the whole administration of the municipal councils and of the district boards. Any real development in India must begin from the municipal councils and district boards; but the right hon. gentleman had made the mistake of starting his reforms in mid air by developing the great provincial legislative assemblies. He urged the importance of having a genuine Local Government Board appointed, with a native Minister in charge. By the transfer of education enormous opportunities were opened up. A hundred years of English rule had left India a more or less illiterate people. Public works were handed over, but in an emasculated form. The vital question of the land revenue was also reserved. He regretted much that there could be no chage in the Bill for 10 years. The measure was viewed in India now with hesitation and doubt.

Government Policy.

Mr. Montagu said that in refusing the amendment it was not because he did not sympathise earnestly with those who were in a hurry. It was simply for the reason, which some critics of the measure forget, that the Bill was not a concession to a demand (Hear, hear.) It was based, rightly or wrongly, on a principle, which he held to be of the utmost importance, that it was not the purpose of the Government to ask Parliament to surrender its trusteeship to Indian bureaucrats in exchange for the present Indian Civil Service. It was the intention of the Government to ask Parliament gradually to surrender its trusteeship in favour of an Indian electorate. But they had to create that electorate. (Hear, hear.) It was not a question of putting a whole set of names on

a list of electors. They had to find out whether they could get the electors to the poll, and whether the electors would vote on the questions at issue, or only on religious questions or something of that kind. He believed they could soon create a real Indian electorate to which Parliament could entrust its trusteeship of the government of India, but until the electorate was in existence Parliament would not be justified in surrendering its trusteeship. (Hear, hear.) The whole question of land revenue was really a quesion for the electorate. Whatever was done, the first electorate would not be thoroughly representative of all classes interested in the land. There was no distrust of India; but there was a jealous maintenance of the principle upon which the Bill was founded, and Government asked for a few years of delay before they transferred the services in question until they could feel assured that there was in India a full and efficient electorate.

It had been said that diarchy was a novel term which could not be defended. The bill was its defence. It proposed to transfer something in order to judge in the future whether, having created an electorate, other services could also be transferred. For instance, he did not want to hand over factory legislation, even if it could be separated from other things until he was sure that there was an Indian electorate which could take an interest in the work of the Minister in charge and hold him responsible. He believed, once the Bill was through, the progress of India to complete Self-Government was irresistible and nothing could stop it. But there was one enemy in the path, and that was if, in order to satisfy those who were impatient, Parliament departed from the principle upon which the Bill rested and wrecked it by over loading it. (Cheers.)

Commander Kenworthy said the arguments of the right hon. gentleman were the same old crusted Tory objections that used to be advanced against the extension of the franchise to agricultural labourers in this country. (Laughter.)

Colonel J. Ward urged that the idea of sanitation in the minds of Eastern people differed so greatly with the idea in the Western mind that no one having knowledge of the subject would dream that by the handing over of the control of that department to native management an advantage would be conferred on the Indian people. In regard to the transfer of factory legislation also, Mr. O'Grady and he asked many questions in the House in 1909-10 concerning the factory population of india, and they discovered that almost all of the factories in India were owned by wealthy Indians who had no knowledge of European ideas of labour and objected to any

regulation, and that it was through the apprehension of their hostility that more had not been done to improve the factory system in India It would be a fatal blunder for Labour members of this House to allow the possibility of influencing factory conditions in India to pass beyond their reach

Mr. N Mclean contended that the arguments against the proposal afforded reasons for setting up a Labour electorate in India

Major Barnes pointed out that the Bill contained no restriction upon the extention of the list of transferred subjects at future dates

Major Ormsby-Gore remarked that the Labour members failed to realise that the industrial population of India was a comparatively insignificant part of the whole population

The amendment was rejected, on a division, by 260 votes to 47

Colonel Wedgwood moved an amendment to leave out from the clause the provision that the rules might provide for fixing the contributions payable by local governments to the Governor-General-in Council, and making such contribution a first charge on allocated revenues or moneys He said the Central Government had large sources of revenue, and he wished to enter his protest against the demand that the provinces should also contribute their quota to it When the next step forward was taken grants from the provinces ought to cease The present system of claiming contributions from the provinces was particularly unfair in certain cases, such as those of Madras and the United Provinces, and any proposal which tended to perpetuate it was open to objection

Mr Montagu said the inequalities of the present system were notorious All that could be said for the scheme under the Bill was that it certainly did not make them worse (Colonel Wedgwood — It perpetuates them) He did not think so It would be impossible to saddle the Government of India with the necessity of raising its own revenues entirely all on a sudden These inqualities must take time to remove Assuming the Bill passed, it had been decided to appoint a Fiancial Relations Committee, and Lord Meston had consented to go out to India again to act as chairman He hoped to get a Committee together which would be quite impartial as between province and province, and would assist them in coming to the end they all desired Whatever might be the taxable capacity of India, it could not be developed in a day.

The amendment was withdrawn

Colonel Wedgwood moved to omit paragraph 3,in order to elicit whether the right hon. gentleman contemplated that the new provincial executives would have Cabinet responsibility, or whether the Indian Ministers would present demands for money which they would have to balance by making suggestions for additional taxation.

Mr. Montagu said, as he understood the position, the Provincial Governments in India had practically no powers of taxation. To his mind, taxation ought not be imposed on the provinces. He hoped it never would be imposed except when the whole Government, after considering the resources at their disposal, agreed to go to the legislatures to ask for taxation. He contemplated that all Budget proposals would be discussed in common between all parties concerned.

The amendment as negative without a division.

On the question that the clause stand part of the Bill—

Mr. Oman explained that "diarchy" was a German word invented by Professor Mommsen and applied to the relations between tne Emperor Tiberius Augustus and the Senate. It was the most loathsome piece of political farce ever foisted on a great nation. He regretted the passing of this clause because it sanctified racial differences. It created in the Provincial Government a body which was purely Indian. We had ceded to purely Indian administration a great part of the provincial functions of Government. It would have been better if the whole functions of Government had been partly given over to Indians. It was lamentable that a purely Indian body would have charge of some things in which the great Indo British Civil Service should hold way. He referred particularly to sanitation and education. There was a great agitation in India in favour of a so called indigenous medicine—a fad of which the medical science of the world did not approve, but which had great popularity. That question would come, not before the Indo-British medical service, but the service entirely controlled by the Indian part of the Administration. That was deplorable.

Colonel Yate said they had no notion whether the Government of India agreed to the transfer of education. So far as they were aware the Government of India were entirely averse from this transfer.

The clause was agreed to, as also clause II (Borrowing powers of local Government).

On Clause III.

Mr. Spoor moved that Burma be included in the operation of the clause, his object being to ascertain whether it was intended for the benefit of Burma to introduce at the earliest possible moment a measure analogous to the one which they were then considering

Mr. Montagu quite agreed that Burma must have an analogous grant of Self Government adapted to her own local conditions, and Burma would get without loss of time one of two things She would either become a Governor's province and be dealt with Clause 15, if that turned out to be the best solution, or be given a different Constitution, in which case it would be necessary to bring in new legislation, which would be introduced without loss of time.

Mr. G. Throne asked the right Hon. Gentleman to say when he expected to come to a decision, and Earl Winterton submitted that a good deal of harm might be done if the position of Burma were discussed at lengh on that occasion

Mr. Montagu said he could not give a definite promise as to when legislation would be introduced, for he was not in a position to pledge the Government. But his desire was to finish this great work ; he was in communication with the Government of India in regard to Burma, and he should be disappointed if at the end of the next Session a Burma Bill was not then introduced.

The Amendment was withdrawn.

Sir H Craik moved an amendment to provide that the Governors of the provinces should be appointed by the Governor-General with the approval of His Majesty, and that they must have been, at the time of their appointments, at least 10 yearss in the service of the Crown in India.

Mr. Fisher, (President of the Board of Education) said it was not the intention nor the effect of the clause that Civil servants should henceforward be excluded from the new Governorships. The clause expressly provided for the possible appointment of members of the Indian Civil Service to those exalted posts. The new duties were not of a nature for which the Indian Civil Service was the best preparation.

After further debate, **Mr. Montagu** denied that the clause was put in with a desire to do anything unjust to the Civil Service of India, which had no greater admirer than himself. Nor did the clause rob them of anything. It gave them every chance still to

reach the position of Governor. What it did do—and the clause was fully agreed—was to throw those positions open to the best man who could be found for the job. In the law Civil servants in India were eligible for Governorships of presidencies, and he thought it would be a very unfortunate thing to regard the rare occasions on which that particular appointment had been made as precluding this appointment being made. He did not believe that in practice for some years to come the clause would make a very great difference. He wanted nothing so much as to ensure for India in the future the best Civil Service that could be got He was sanguine enough that when this great controversy was settled and this bill was law, the relationship between Indian politicians and the Civil Servants who undertook to carry it out would have none of the bitterness which had been the terrible lot of the unfortunate Civil servants who had done their duty with unswerving application during the last 10 years.

The amendment was negatived, and the clause was agreed to.

The House of Commons again went into Committee on Dec 4 on the recommitted Government of India Bill, Mr. Whitely in the chair.

The Chairman pointed out that there were amendments on Clause 7, which dealt amongst other things with qualification of electors, ranging over several matters, and he proposed, with the assistance of the Committee, to take three leading points from amongst them—*viz.*, (1) the question of sex qualification, (2) the question of the candidates, and (3) the question of the electorate. This would give members an opportunity of putting forward their views in each class.

Major Hills moved as an amendment that in framing the rules which laid down the qualification for voters, no discrimination should be made on account of sex. His desire was to include women as men in the electorate, and his amendment, whilst it qualified a woman to vote, would not qualify her to sit upon the legislative councils. It could not be said that there was no demand for women's franchise because as far as Indian opinion went it was quite unanimous in favour of granting women the vote. A distinguished Indian Civil servant had told him that woman and woman's opinion largely ruled matters in India. The objection to the amendment was, he understood, that the idea of the franchise was

totally foreign and repugnant to the social and religious feelings of India. His reply was that we had made great inroads on the social structure of India by this Bill and that it would be a tall order to say that Indian opinion would not sanction the vote. The Bill would enfranchise about five million men and the effect of his amendment would be to enfranchise one million women We had already sapped the traditional historical system of India, and he did not believe that a new world could be built without the aid of women. The safest as well as the justest cause would be to grant them the vote

Mr. Montagu expressed the the hope that the Committee would support the decision of the Joint Committee. He quite recognised the force of the demand for woman suffrage in India, and Parliament would make a mistake in denying to the women the opportunity of becoming enfranchised ; nevertheless in many parts of India there was a strong conservative opinion against it, opinion more prominent in some provinces than in others, and based largely on the belief in old established customs, amounting in some cases to religion. There being on a subject of this kind such divergence of opinion on a matter cutting deep down into the social life of India, what was the best thing for Parliament to do ? He submitted that it was to maitain the impartiality which had been characteristic of the British Government in India ever since it was founded, and to leave it to the people of India to decide the matter themselves as represented under the Bill. This was not a question of enfranchising women in our own country and under our own social conditions. The queston was whether they should decide now and at once to enfranchse women who lived under different conditions, and whose relations to the men in India were matters for Indians themselves to decide.

Lady Astor—But it is to be decided by Indian men. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Montagu—That is quite true. But the Hon. Member will remember that the question of woman franchise in the country was decided by men.

Lady Astor—Only after enormous pressure from the ladies. (Laughter and cheers.)

Mr Montagu—That also is quite true. But the pressure will come into existence in India, if it is not in existence already, and the question will be decided in the same way. I agree with what has been said as to the valuable contributions that women could

make to the political questions of the country, both as electors and representatives. If I were an Indian and a member of the Legislative Council I should vote for the proposition. But I do not think I am entitled to do so here and now. We should leave it to those who are Indians.

Mr. Spoor speaking as a member of the Joint Committee which considered the Bill, said they had all been profoundly impressed by the reasons given by Indian women witnesses for the political enfranchisement of their sex, and the earnestness and eloquence with which those reasons were supported. He believed a majority of the Committee, were they left to decide according to convictions, would have agreed to the inclusion of the proposal in the Bill. In the circumstances the decision of the question would not be left, as was pointed out by the noble lady (Lady Astor), to the women of India, nor even to the people of India for 98 per cent. of the people would be excluded from the electorate.

Earl Winterton supported the amendment. He said the purpose of the Bill was to allow India to advance by progressive steps towards the ideal of Western democracy. There was no logical reason why Indian women should not be permitted to make an advance along that path, Of course the extension of the franchise to the women of India "would cut deep into the social susceptibilities of that country," as the Joint Committee remarked, but was not that observation applicable to the same reform in any country? (Hear, hear). Too many people in this country took their ideas of the position of women in the East from such plays as *Afgar*. All the evidence available went to show that the women living under the veil in Eastern countries took an interest in politics and the affairs of life generally now such as was unknown 10 years ago; and the experience of English ladies living in the East and coming into close touch with the native women was that very often the women who lived in what seemed the utmost detachment from the world took the deepest interest in political and public questions. The women of those countries weild a far greater influence through their husbands than was generally supposed, and to keep them out of the franchise system would involve the risk of having an agitation in India resembling the women franchise agitation in this country, and would place a serious weapon in the hands of agitators. Of course, there were in India, as in every country, some women, as well as some men, who were unfitted to exercise the vote. Reading some recent reports of the Divorce

Court, one might say that some women in this country were unfitted to exercise the vote. For example, would "the major's girl wife," when she reached the age of 30 years, be more fitted to exercise vote than would a woman graduate of Bombay University? (Hear, hear.) What would be needed above all else in India, when the new system of Government came into operation, would be to bring informed public opinion to bear upon questions of hygiene and reform. He contended that, after what had taken place in this country, Parliament could not logically refuse to extend the franchise to the women of India. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Bennett said that he thought the course which the Joint Committee had proposed should be taken in this matter was, on the whole, quite as helpful to the cause of woman suffrage in India as the course recommended by the supporters of the amendment.

Mr. Fisher, (President of the Board of Education) appealed to the Committee to come to a decision on this question, the issues of which were now fully before them. The Government felt that if the text of the Bill was preserved in its present form, woman suffrage would be introduced in many provinces of India where it was popular, where there was a strong element in its favour, and where woman's organizations were already fully developed. But from all the evidence at their disposal, they were convinced that to introduce this question at this moment in the Punjab for instance would create very serious difficulty. For that reason they had come to the conclusion that it was far better to leave the decision of this question to the opinion of the provinces of India and not to decide it on the floor of the House.

Lieutenant-Commander Kenworthy said the Punjab had been referred to. A letter of the Aga Khan, the head of the Indian Musalmans, appeared in *The Times* three or four days ago strongly recommending the grant of the vote to women. The three great native political organizations—the Indian National Congress, the Indian Moslem League, and the Home Rule League of India—had by large majorities passed resolutions, not asking but demanding that the limited number of women who would be included should be granted the franchise.

The amendment was rejected by 202 votes to 67.

Colonel Wedgwood moved an amendment providing that non-residence in a constituency should not disqualify for election to Governors' Legislative Councils. He said the obligation of residence did not exist and would not be tolerated in this country,

and ought not to be introduced in India. The argument against a residential qualification in England applied with greater force to India, where few candidates would be available. It would increase the difficulty of selecting the leaders of the new democracy in India. He felt that at the back of this limitation of the choice of candidates in Bombay, the Punjab, and the Central Provinces was a desire to have representatives in these Legislatures who would have less education and less experience, and would be more amenable to political pressure. Another amendment he had on the paper provided that a man should not be disqualified for standing by reason of the fact that he had been dismissed from the Government, or had been imprisoned for any offence not involving moral turpitude. The best way to put into an agitator a sense of serious responsibility to the community was to put him in Parliament. He had a third amendment to provide that membership of a local legislature should not be a disqualification for election to the Imperial Legislature at Delhi.

Mr. Montague said that when the rules relating to the franchise came back from India and were laid before Parliament an opportunity would be given to the House to discuss them. He believed the residential qualification was a bad one because it was of very little use. The adoption of the principle in three of the provinces was a compromise. If it were found that the absence of a residential qualification in the other provinces led to good representation of rural constituencies, then he hoped that at the next revision of the franchise the residential qualification in the three provinces would disappear.

Lieutenant-Commander Kenworthy—When will the first elections take place in India?

Mr. Montagu said he could not give the date till the Bill was through. But he wished to have the first elections held in November, 1920, so that the first session of the new Councils could commence in January, 1921.

The amendment was negatived Clause 7 added to the Bill,

On Clause 9.

Mr. Spoor moved an amendment designed to ensure the selection of such President by direct election, instead of by appointment by the Governors, until the expiration of a period of four years from the first meetings.

Mr Montagu said he thought no better way could be found to prejudice the start of the scheme than to adopt the amendment The proposal in the clause was that until the first Councils had gone by and an election had taken place, Presidents should not be appointed who would have the qualifications and experience necessary for such a position, but for some reason which he could not understand the mover of the amendment was not content to wait until, at the end of four years, elected Presidents could be chosen.

The amendment was negatived and the clause agreed to.

Mr. Montagu on an amendment moved by Mr. Stewart to Clause 10, providing that local legislatures should not make or take into consideration any law relating to currency or coinage, assured the hon member that there was not the slightest danger of currency or coinage ever being a provincial subject in India. It was physically impossible that it should be so without the assent of the House, and absolutely impossible that anybody should propose it.

The amendment was negatived.

The clause was afterwards agreed to, as were clauses 12 to 17.

On Clause 19.

Lieutenant Comander Kenworthy moved an amendment which provided that the members should be nominated or "directly" elected He argued that the chamber should be directly elected, as it was desirable to start the new Legislative Assembly on the most democratic lines.

Mr. Montagu was in cordial agreement with the advantages of direct representation. The Government of India were hopeful of advising a system of direct representation, and that would, in all probability, be put in the scheme which would come before the House. There was, however, a possibility that the direct electorate could not be devised in time for the starting of the Bill.

The amendment was negatived.

On an amendment to **Clause 24**, which deals with the proceedings in the Indian Legislature, **Colonel Wedgwood** raised the question of fiscal autonomy, which, he said, almost the whole of the evidence from India asked for. At present they had gone so far as to allow that the Government, if they thought fit, should propose import duties to the Legislature. He considered that the question of import duties should be dependent upon the Assembly itself.

Mr. Montagu said that the amendment was unnecessary. He was quite in agreement with fical autonomy for India but it was for the Government to put forward the proposals. Most of the officials in India had been Protectionists; he himself was a convinced Free-trader. It was certain that if we had the key industries in this country, India would have the same. India should have the opportunity of revising her tariffs in what she considered to be her interests. Any tariff proposed in India must be in the shape of a Bill, which could only be carried by votes of the Legislative Assembly

The amendment was negatived and the clause agreed to.

Clauses 26 to 32 were agreed to after a number of amendments had been negatived or withdrawn.

On Clause 33, relating to the control of the Secretary of State, Mr. Montagu, in reply to Colonel Wedgwood, gave an undertaking that before rules were made embodying the franchise, he would submit them to the House of Commons for approval and give the House an opportunity of amending them

The clause was agreed to.

Clauses 34 and 35 were agreed to. Before Clause 36 relating to the Civil Services in India was agreed to, Mr. Montagu said it was far better that Civil servants should retire than work unwillingly under the new constitution. He would exercise his discretion if he were still Secretary of State in dealing with the matter, but he could not grant proportionate pensions on his own sole authority. The information he had tended to show that Civil servants, having expressed their apprehension about certain aspects of the Bill, would, in accordance with the great traditions of the service, do their best to make it a success.

The remaining clauses were agreed to, and the Bill was reported without amendment to the House.

The Govt. of India Bill, 1919

Third Reading In the House of Commons

(**Friday Dec. 5. 1919**)

The speaker took the Chair at 12 o'clock

On the motion for the Third Reading of the measure —

Mr. Adamson said that the Labour Party recognised the Bill as a definite step in the right direction. Their principal criticism was that it did not go far enough, and that we were not taking advantage fully of the help of the people of India in the great task we had in hand. The Bill gave the people a measure of control in the various provinces, but no real control in the Central Government. This, in the opinion of his party, was a mistake, and might deprive us of the sympathetic co-operation of some of the best elements of the population of India.

His party also regretted that the Bill only provided for a very limited franchise, and they especially regretted that the industrial workers were excluded from it. There were industrial problems facing the Indian people and demanding solution and the industrial workers of India were initiating trade union movements for the improvement of their condition. The Bill failed to provide the working classes with the political safety-valve which had been provided here (England) and in other industrial countries. In this country political freedom had given the working classes an alternative to direct action. This had enabled them to proceed on constitutional lines, the lines of evolution, as against revolution ; and there was a strong probability that Labour would assume the responsibilities of Government in this country in the not far distant future. If political freedom were denied to the industrial worker in India, he might be driven back to direct action. A profound mistake would have been committed, and it might prove very costly to the Empire and to the people of India themselves. The Labour Party also regretted the exclusion of women from the franchise. Here our experience had shown the great value of allowing men and women to face together the problems of national life. But notwithstanding the defects of the Bill, the Labour Party welcomed it,

as he had said, as a step in the right direction. They hoped it would prove a success, and so justify the grant of a further instalment of political power to the people of India at no distant date. (Hear, hear.)

Sir J. D. Rees said the Bill was a great experiment, and of course there was danger in it, but as it was generally accepted that something must be done and that delay would be dangerous, he was glad that the Bill had come to its last stage in the House. He had felt aghast at the proposal made last night that as many women as men might be safely enfranchised in India. This confidence could only be based on want of knowledge. He, like others, had been captivated by the eloquence and charm of the ladies who came from India to plead the claims of their sex. But any one who wanted to know the real India must go, not to the cosmopolitian and hardly Indian city of Bombay, from which came the women's deputation but to the least industrial and most rural, and therefore the most representative provinces—first Madras, and then the United Provinces. The women of India enjoyed the privilege of choosing their husbands and dismissing them at will, and he must say that so reasonably did they exercise this tremendous privilege that if a husband conducted himself at all well he had a very good chance of being kept on. (Laughter.)

It was said that the Lieutenant-Governors were opposed to the Bill. The other day he was shooting with two Lieutenant-Governors —he was happy to say they shot every well as the birds found out (laughter)—and they said to him, "It is by no means the case that Lieutenant-Governors are all of one mind in this matter. It may be that we, as old Civil servants, would prefer the present system to go on"—so he would, too, as an on old Civil servant—but we realise that India cannot stand still, that she must have some share in that advance of democracy for which, rightly or wrongly, we fought in the War, and we do not oppose the arrangements made for the distribution of work, which we are represented as condemning." But now that Persia, which was proverbial for its unalterable laws, had become a Parliamentary Government, that China, the symbol of unchanging conservatism, had become a Republic, that the autocratic Thrones of the world were in the dust—not that he rejoiced over these things (laughter)—it was folly to talk about personal predilections, or to pretend that they did not want the reasonable and moderate and thoroughly well guarded advance which the Bill proposed. Throughout the Bill there were

the completest and most satisfactory safeguards of the maintenance of British supremacy. The provision that increases of the land tax should be, as far as possible, the acts of the Legislatures, and not the executive and administrative acts of the Government, was great and far-reaching, and should commend itself to the more Radical section of the House, in which all were Radicals now (Laughter.) The Secretary for India had shown great sagacity and ability in his conduct of the Bill, and the people of India were fortunate that at a time like this his right hon friend should have had charge of such a measure (Hear, hear.)

Sir D Maclean said he regarded the Bill as a great Liberal measure, and thought the nation would feel that the Committee on the Bill had come to sound, fair, and statesman like conclusions. No measure affecting the great Empire of India had ever received more careful consideration. First, the Secretary of State had visited India, and with his colleagues had conducted most careful investigations at a time of great internal trouble there. Then had followed the issue of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, one of the most remarkable State documents ever published in the history of the British Empire; next the introduction and second reading of the Bill, then its consideration by a Joint Committee of both Houses, followed by its consideration in Committee of this House, and now by its third reading. The progress of the measure had been quite remarkable. There had been much difference of opinion, honestly and competently expressed; but there had been only two divisions in the Committee stage; and it was a very remarkable event and symptomatic of the substantial measure of agreement which had been reached in regard to one of the most difficult problems ever presented to the House that the Bill had gone through without any of the customary Parliamentary pressure and without any amendment. There had been no attempt to stifle discussion, there had been no obstruction, and there had been a measure of agreement which must give to those who were still mistrustful some ground for confidence that the Bill had been fairly, fully and competently discussed. Much had been said of the risks of this new experiment. So far as he could see, the strongest criticism had come from those who thought it did not go far enough. That might be the case, but in dealing with so vast a problem he was convinced that it was right to proceed with sufficient boldness to justify the confidence of the sincere reformers in India, coupled with the necessary measure of precaution dictated by experience. A problem so great and complex could

not be dealt with in a light-hearted way. If Parliament were to be true to their trust, they must deal with it on broad, statesman-like, and steady lines. He was sure that those who were true leaders of opinion in India—and it was cause for thankfulness that India was developing so rapidly a governing class of capacity, energy, and steadiness—would at no distant date of history be counted and qualified to take on their own shoulders the broad principles of Self-Government and apply them in practice in that great Dominion within the ambit of the British Crown. The Bill represented a long step forward If we wished to retain India within the British Empire we must not be afraid of development and change. We should not keep her unless we thoroughly grasped that fact. But he believed there was no fear of India leaving the ambit of the British Empire so long as we fully and in time recognised that we must give her, growing as she was in knowledge, intelligence, and consciousness, her due measure of Self-Government.

Professor Oman speaking as a member of a group whose amendments had been rejected, said they were not opposed to the Bill, but had only sought to add to it clauses that would protect enlightened and wise Government in India. His constituency was sometimes called the supporter of lost causes To that list no more honourable cause could be added than that of the old Indian Civil Service, to which Oxford had given by the hundred the best of her men, and the activities of which he feared were impaired for ever by this Bill. The measure seemed to him to indicate a desire to disturb the placid content of the masses of India. The desire to disturb, disguised as idealism and high policy, had brought us into a condition which he could only view with much doubt and fear as to the future.

Sir H. Craik said the passage of this Bill was perhaps the most hazardous and daring step that had ever been taken by the British Parliament, but the right hon. gentleman might rely on everybody doing his best to make the advance prosperous and successful. He had the strongest and closest ties with the Indian Civil Service, and he was convinced that in their doubts and difficulties, whether they were mistaken or not, they had always been deeply and sincerely anxious for what was best for India. He was equally convinced that the Service would accept the changed conditions and devote themselves in all loyalty to making a success of the new Constitution.

Mr. Spoor agreed that the time for criticism had now passed. What was going to be the result of this measure?

It had been claimed for it that it struck the happy medium. Time alone would show how far that hope would be realised. He sincerely hoped the people of India would take this measure, that all sections of political opinion in that country would use it, to the fullest possible advantage. But he hoped the people of India would continue to agitate on strictly constitutional lines in order to secure that wider and larger measure of Self-Government towards which the present proposal was only a step.

He had criticised the Bill because he thought it did not go far enough, but he recognised in it a definite break with the past. He believed it was actually the opening of a door, and it depended in great measure upon the attitude and the unity of the Indian people how much farther that door should be opened. He congratulated the Secretary of State for India upon having taken this historic step, for when the Bill passed he believed our relations with India would be full of promise for the future. There had been rather black pages in the past. There had been misunderstanding, coercion, and natural resentment. He would like to see the hatchet buried and the past forgotten. In order to do that it must be clearly understood that the day had gone for ever when the people of India could be regarded as a subject race.

The principle of the Bill was that we regarded the people of India as in every essential respect our equals; and if we could encourage that sense of equality and comradeship between the Indian people and the British people, the relations of the two countries would be much happier in the future than in the past. We were seeking to fulfil some of the obligation of the trusteeship which we assumed many years ago. If we could convince the people of India that the time when we unfortunately regarded them as a subject race had gone, and that they were really our equals, he believed the people of India would be able to make a much larger contribution to the peace and progress of the world than would have been possible in any other conditions.

Major Ormsby Gore said the really great thing the Bill did was to establish an Indian electorate. Eight and a half per cent. of the adult males was a small franchise, but it was far more numerous than anything that had ever existed in the past. The hon. member for Oxford University talked of the Indian Civil Service as a lost cause, a statement which ought not to pass without challenge. The Indian Civil Service would be of as great value in the future as in the past. The Bill was being passed because we had taught India to love and admire our institutions

and political ideals and to copy them. In the future he believed on the basis of this Bill and its progressive development there would be an increase of mutual sympathy and understanding between Indians and England. He hoped the rather too ready criticism which some Indians had adopted in recent years of the Indian Civil Service, and of Englishmen themselves, would cease, also that the talk of the subject races and of people being unable to do this and that would also cease on the other side.

Captain W. E. Elliott said it seemed extra-ordinary that when they had a Bill brought in by Whiggism triumphant no mention of the other great party in the State should be made. This was a change from bureaucracy to oligarchy, and the oligarchs had caught the Labour Party, who lined up behind them saying, "Here we have a great democratic advance." Whenever the Whigs had won and put a great oligarchy into power the people had been ground down and trampled on. If India had been entrusted to us by the League of Nations, should we have considered we had fulfiled the mandate by transferring it from our own people to five millions of the Indian upper classes?

When the Bill had become law, our responsibility towards India would be very greatly increased, and the supervision of Parliament would need to be far keener than it had ever been before, and he despaired of their being able to compass that in a congested state of Parliamentary business. Such supervision as would be needed seemed to him to be utterly beyond the power of any Committee or Standing Committee of members under the changed circumstances. But there was no doubt that this experiment of handing over of the Indian toiling masses to the rule of the Indian wealthy classes would have to be watched very closely. Knowing the pressure that had been brought to bear on every member of that House, they must realise that there was a driving power behind this movement which did not come solely from the mere political aspirations of the people of India. The great constitutional experiment which the Labour Party were so proud to support was a very dangerous thing, and was against the traditional policy of the proletariat in all ages, which had been to support the central Executive as against the local people. The man at the bottom looked to the man at the top for his remedy, as a private might look to the support of his colonel against a sergeant-major.

Colonel Wedgood said that in putting this measure on the Statute book the Secretary of State for India had done something upon which the freedom and happiness of a nation

depended and something upon which history was built. It was true that he and other members had tried to amend the Bill with a view to making it one of which they might be more proud; one which India might be more ready to accept as the goal of her ambitions. They, however, all knew that the present measure was the utmost that could be got through Lord Curzon, and that it was really a triumph for the Secretary of State, who had done something to the credit of the British Commonwealth. He hoped the example which the British Parliament was setting in building up a new Self-Governing Dominion within the Empire would be followed by the other Allied nations which had accepted mandates for the administration of other countries, and that the experiment which had proved a success in every country within the British Empire in which it had been tried would be extended to Egypt, Turkey, Mesopotamia, and even to Persia. (Lieutenant Commander Kenworthy.—"And to Ireland".) Ireland could look after herself. But the Bill was not enough. It would not have been enough even if the amendment proposing a larger franchise and more extended powers had been carried. India, in fact, was not vitally interested in the Bill. She was infinitely more interested in the operation of the Press Act, the Seditious Meeting Act, the Rowlatt Acts, and all the other un-English Acts with which India is held down, and in the amnesty of the political offenders who were in gaol or banished to all over the world. The Bill should therefore be accompanied by a full amnesty of political offenders, and above all by a Declaration of Rights which would put the humblest Indian subject on the same footing with all subjects of the British Crown, and thereby establish within the Empire a people divided neither by colour nor by any differentiation in the rights of man.

Earl Winterton supporting the Bill said the haste with which it had been passed was, in the circumstances, abundantly justified. But he thought it right to utter the warning that they were passing through a period of great danger in regard to the position of the House of Commons, because almost every Bill that was brought forward was declared to be urgent on the ground that if it were not at once passed into law there would be a revolution either at home or abroad. The Secretary of State for India had shown himself to be a Parliamentarian in the best sense of the word, thus affording a refreshing contrast to some of his colleagues in the Cabinet, who seemed to think that Parliamentary experience could be learnt in a day, and treated the House of Commons in a way in which it was not accustomed to be a treated. But he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would represent to the Government that,

while the House was willing to pass this Bill quickly, there was a large body of opinion in the House which regarded the hurry in which Bills were pushed through as injurious to the reputation of Parliament.

Mr. G. Stewart complained that the Bill had been rushed through the House at every turn, and that the Secretary for India had not been fair to hon members in rejecting every proposed amendment and regarding those members who had given notice of amendments as necessarily hostile to the measure. The right hon. gentleman might have given the House enlightenment on certain points, as for example, how far the financial policy of India was to be controlled by Indians. The Bill was inconsiderate to the Indian Civil Service, and although it was possible that, as the Secretary of State had said, most of the objections came from ex-Civil servants, and not from men now in the Service, that was not surprising, because the former were independent men and the latter were not. The Bill would disintegrate India at the moment when we had lost control of the foreign policy of Afghanistan and it would probably be necessary to increase the Indian Army. No provision appeared to have been made for the increased expense which a larger Army in India would involve. In framing the Bill the Government had violated one of the principles upon which the British Empire had been founded and successfully carried on—that of trusting the men on the spot. Of the Englishmen in India, 98 per cent. did not like the Bill. Their opinion had not been properly considered. He did not speak as a non-reformer, and he earnestly hoped that the optimism of the Secretary of State would be justified.

Mr. Denniss said the question how far the fiscal policy of India would be controlled by the Imperial Legislature was of supreme importance to all in this country who traded with India, but had been scarcely mentioned in the debates on the Bill. Many of our great commercial men stated that the Bill was intended to remove all checks upon the fiscal control of the proposed new Legislatures, which would consist to a great extent of the rich men, the manufacturers, and the merchants of India. He believed that the Bill would tie the hands of the Secretary of State and prevent the right hon. Gentleman placing any check upon a fiscal measure which might impose fetters upon British trade with India. The importance of that to the great cotton industry could not be over estimated, and as one of the representatives of the centre of that industry he could not let the Bill pass without uttering a warning as to what was likely to happen in the near future.

Colonel Yate declared that Mr. Spoor had been dancing to the tune of Brahmans and Congressmen of India He complained of the hurried manner in which a Bill of this importance had been passed, and he doubted whether the Prime Minister or the Leader of the House had the faintest notion how far the Bill was going to take them. The Indian Civil Service was highly disturbed over this Bill, and were anxious as to the result of it He was glad that those who desired to retire before the Bill came into operation would be allowed to retire on a proportionate pension. It appeared to him that under the Bill the Secretary of State had attached to himself all the powers of his Council, and had left himself autocratic power without any restraining influence from his Council That would be the effect of abolishing the quorum of five. Moreover, he need only hold a meeting of his Council when he pleased to do so. Every member of the Viceroy's Council might be a native of India How, then could British and Imperial interests be properly presented?

Mr. Montagu—There is no change in that.

Colonel Yate said that if British rule was essential to the welfare of India, at least half of the Viceroy's Executive Council should be British born subjects. They were weakening the Government of India, not only in the provinces, but also in the Central Government. In a four months tour in India the Secretary of State had produced a Constitution to form into one nation 315,000,000 of people differing in race, creed and language—that was an impossible thing to do As in the case of Egypt, they ought to have a Commission of the most experienced men to find out before the Bill came into force all the different nationalities which ought to have their separate Councils Throughout the Bill there was an absence of recognition of the King as Emperor of India Everything possible should be done to increase the reverence throughout India of the King-Emperor, and if a Commission were to go out nothing could be more welcome to the people of India than that it should be under the presidency of the Prince of Wales. The pronouncement of August 20 was made by the Secretary of State in answer to a question. The right hon. gentleman arrogated to himself the position of the King-Emperor. The pronouncement ought to have been made in the name of the King-Emperor

Mr. Montagu's Reply.

Mr. Montagu said the hon. and gallant gentleman would have been the first to criticise if the announcement of August 20 had been made on the advice of the Government by the King, because he would then have told them that they (Govt.) had jockeyed the House into accepting a statement which they would not have been able to criticise because it came from his Majesty. For another reason he wanted to be sure that His Majesty the King-Emperor, who was personally venerated throughout India, could not be associated with an announcement until he (Mr. Montagu) was sure of Parliament carrying it out. It was no use making an announcement in India; what they wanted was an effective application. Whatever might be said against the method by which the Bill had been brought in, it was 3½ years since its first inception. He gladly acknowledged that this seemed to him to be the most responsible and at the same time the proudest moment of his life (cheers). He had been associated with the Government of India not as his hon. and gallant friend had said, for four months, but for six years—four years as Under Secretary and two years as Secretary of State. He had kept before him one ambition, that was, to have the privilege of carrying through Parliament what he believed to be the only justification of the Empire—a step of Self-Government for India

It was quite true what the hon. gentleman behind (Captain Elliot) had said by way of taunt that he once belonged to a party, or a section of a party, called liberal Imperialists, but he never had more than one conception of Imperialists, never had more than one conception of Imperialism in his mind—that there could be no pride for pleasure in a Crown Colony, no pride for pleasure in domination or subordination, nor pleasure in flying the British flag for the benefit of British trade; but that the only Imperialism that was worth having was a trusteeship which has intended to develop the country under the British flag into a partnership in the commonwealth. He thought it was a great thing for India that the House of Commons had passed the Bill up to this stage in a spirit of almost complete, if not complete unanimity, neither snatching more here, nor saving a little elsewhere, but giving it generously and with a set purpose that this should be a transitional Constitution on a road which the House of Commons would to-day determine to follow.

The Responsiblity of Parliament.

If the Bill was accepted, both in its provisions and in what it was intended to be a transitional stage in the development of Self-Government, a great responsibility rested on the Parliament of the future. No constitution seemed to him to be of any use unless it was carried out by those who would be responsible for the Government of India on behalf of Parliament, the Secretary of State in Council, and the Governments, there in the letter and in the spirit. The powers that were reserved to the Government, and were not to be controlled by the representatives of the Indian electors, must be exercised as if they were applicable to a country of growing national consciousness on the road to Self-Government, and not as if we were administering a great estate (cheers). Parliament must see that they did not at one and the same time withold things for a particular reason and refuse the opportunity for curing that reason. It must not say that it was only a minority that wanted this thing, and then complain if the minority tried hard to convert the majority. They must expect to see political life develop throughout India. Do not let them deny to India Self-Government because she could not take her proper share in her own defence, and then deny to her people the opportunity of learning to defend themselves. These were problems for which Parliament took upon themselves the responsibility by the passage of this Bill.

He thought the passage of the Bill portended the end of the old *regime*. Was it too much to ask that the Indian representatives of India would cease to abuse the Indian Civil servants? Let us forget the past and start afresh. He was the representative of the Civil Service in that House, and that was his privilege and pride. It was on him to ask every section of Parliament to see that those Indian Civil servants who worked so unselfishly in India, and who would be our help and mainstay in carrying out the new policy, did their work unhampered by often cruel criticism, particularly when they had no opportunity of defending themselves. Let them begin on both sides with a desire to carry out the policy of Parliament, for it would be the policy of Parliament when the Bill finally went through.

He welcomed with enthusiasm the appearance of the Labour Party in an organised fashion, and the great part it had taken in the discussion of the Bill. He hoped that some of the members would take an early opportunity to visit India. He could not help thinking while listening to his right hon. friend on the front

Opposition bench that he had not yet got a real conception of what the industrial labour development was to-day in India and of how small it was. He endorsed his right hon. friend's welcome to trade unionism in India, and hoped that it would be a great power for achieving a proper standard of life and conditions of labour. But it was no use trying to get a franchise to-day and now for which one had not got the materials. He wanted to ask his hon. and gallant friend, one of the most popular men in the House, who had shown himself to be so close a student of all the intricacies of the Bill as well as other members who had spoken, to give him their help in shaping the new era.

[At this point of the right hon gentleman's speech an Indian visitor in the Stranger's Gallery called out, "Give complete Home Rule to India and remove oppression. An attendant at once informed him that he must withdraw, and he left the gallery quietly.]

Mr. Montagu, proceeding, asked members not to support a particular view because it was held by people who were in a hurry without feeling quite sure that they understood the situation. If Labour members would act not only as the spokesmen of what he might call the extremist party in India, but also as the restrainers of some of the misapprehensions among these people, they would help in the development of political life in India among those who were now looking to them for leadership. Although there were great dangers and anxieties about this Bill, and although he did not minimise the responsibility which he felt, and which the House ought to feel, yet he was certain that there was no better way of consolidating the British Empire than by initiating a measure of this kind and steps in this direction. (Cheers.) Mr. Montagu then ended by expressing his thanks to the witnesses who had given evidence before the Committee that had considered the Bill.

Government of India Bill

House of Lords

2nd Reading

11 Dec. 1919.

LORD SINHA'S SPEECH

Lord Sinha in moving the Second Reading of the Government of India Bill 1919, said that if any arts, eloquence or powers of persuasion were necessary to induce the House to accept the main principles of the Bill, he would despair of the task, but he was so convinced that the great experiment which the Bill inaugurated was likely to prove successful and beneficial not only to India but to the Empire, that he rose with humble and grateful pride to make the motion. The Bill was the immediate outcome of the memorable Declaration of August 20th 1917 practically the whole of which was embodied in the preamble. The Bill was a first step that the Parliament was asked to take to fulfil the pledge then given. He confidently hoped that their Lordships would feel that they were taking a generous and perhaps a bold step, which was not rash, hasty nor unnecessary.

He then recalled in detail the history of the Bill, and paid a tribute to the valuable work of the Southborough Committee, without which, he said, it would have been impossible to frame the Bill. The report of the Joint Committee was almost equally as important as the Bill and should be regarded in India quite as much as the Bill as the Charter of India's progressive liberty. In view of all these facts it was impossible reasonably to maintain that the path then Lordships were now asked to tread had been insufficiently explored. The Bill was the natural and inevitable sequel to the long chapter of previous legislation for better government in India. The ten years since Morley's reforms were inaugurated had been fruitful in experience and rapid development.

Turning to the War, he said, no words of his were needed to give lustre to India's part in the war. The impression that India

desired or demanded the Bill as a reward for war services was absolutely false. The Bill must stand on its own merits. No doubt as a result of the war the status of India had been greatly advanced. She had been privileged to participate with the Dominions in the Imperial War Council and in the Peace Conference in Paris and had been admitted as an original member of the League of Nations, on which so many of their future hopes depended. These experiences had quickened her sense of national unity. It was no longer possible to doubt her rapidly growing sense of nationality. He asked, did their lordships intend to keep India on leading strings or did they believe that the time had come when Indians themselves should be given some control of policy and be put in a position to adopt Self Government.

The present system of Government was identical with the system of sixty years ago. It was purely an official Government. The Provincial Councils had been gradually becoming representative, but their functions were confined, broadly speaking, to criticism only. The Councils did not possess what the representatives of the people asked, namely, some guarantee that the executive would conform to their wishes when they represented the real desire of the majority. That these demands postulated complete self-Government for India at present or even weakened the responsibility of the British Parliament for the maintenance of peace and order he, for one, emphatically repudiated and he was convinced that in so doing he had voiced the sentiment of the vast majority of his countrymen. India was not yet fully equipped for complete self-Government and he would not be so rash as to attempt to predict what she would be. But so long as the present system continued, she would never be fit for self-Government. Only responsibility would fit her to embark with every hope of success upon such a course.

The Bill, he said, was not intended to establish a final permanent constitution in India. It provided for a period of transition. He would not venture to predict the length of that period. Government desired to give Indians immediately some control of policy, lawmaking and taxation, and must do this by a system of ensuring orderly advance. Lord Sinha, proceeded to declare that the Bill attempted successfully to provide for the progress and transition from bureaucratic Government to self Government by gradually enlarging the field until no subjects remained reserved. He was unable to predict that date, but obviously it could not arrive until there was throughout India a widely diffused and tried electorate capable of formulating clean and wise conception of policy and selecting representatives able to guide and voice the views of the population. If it were necessary to train administra-

tors, to give Legislatures real work to do and real responsibilities to shoulder, it was equally necessary to train electors and teach the value and proper use of the vote. Success was achieved then through failures.

It was idle, he said, to suppose that Indian Legislators would spring into being full fledged and they expected mistakes but the Bill provided every reasonable safeguard to minimise the possibility of their recurrence or seriousness of their results. This plan had been given the somewhat terrifying name of dyarchy, but he preferred to call it a system of specific devolution. The Bill interpreted, with scrupulous accuracy, the policy of August 20th 1917.

It would be foolish to disguise the fact that many who were in full accord with the general policy regarded the basic principle of the Bill with misgivings. There might be objections, but there was no practical alternative to dyarchy. All alternative schemes submitted were essentially the same. They purported to give the legislature some responsibility over *all* matters of Government, rather than full responsibility over some. The problem was to give the representative assemblies in India a measure of control over the policy and action of Government so that the control should gradually be increased, as those to whom it was entrusted exhibited fitness for increase, and so that each increase came by ordered controllable processes, so that the process would always be evolution and not revolution. To give some control immediately over the whole field, instead of practically full control over certain defined field, was not a practial proposition and could only result either in complete failure to establish real responsibility to Parliamentary institutions in the Councils of India, or the paralysis of Government which would rapidly and inevitably lead to the complete control by the legislatures of India and complete ousting of the authority of the British Parliament. The hypothesis underlying all these alternative schemes was divided allegiance to Parliament on the one hand, and Provincial Legislatures on the other hand, and the division affected or might affect every issue coming before Government.

The criticism that it was a dangerous expedient to leave so much to be done by rules was unjust. He particularly drew attention to the provisions of clause 3 to clause 11 section 5, empowering Government to secure the passage or rejection of Bills in certain circumstances. This substitution of the Joint Committee for the original plan in the Montford report was a great improvement. Nothing would be lost and much would be gained by the Committee's more straight-forward plan.

Referring to the I. C. S., he said all tribute was due to the work of the Civil Service which had made India fit for this change; the passage of the Bill would not close the story of the ungrudging toil of the Civil Service. India would long need men of the type which Britain had so long given her and he refused to believe that India would not continue to receive from sons of Britain the same loyal and devoted service as she had received to her lasting benefit in the past. (Cheers). He cordially echoed the conviction of the Joint Committee that the Civil Service would accept the changed conditions and devote themselves loyally to making the new constitution a success.

He felt confident that the position he was privileged to hold, as representative of his countrymen, would ensure him the indulgent and sympathetic hearing, and that every member of the House would approach the examination of the Bill in the traditional spirit of British fairness and impartiality and with the earnest desire for the advancement of India's welfare, which had done so much for the betterment of India in the past. There might be Noble Lords who thought that the passage of the Bill would not advance India's welfare, that the system of Government which, with little essential change and with so many beneficial results, had endured through the nineteenth century, should continue essentially unchanged through the twentieth, and that time had not yet arrived to sever leading strings. If they wished to secure the gratitude, the contentment and the loyalty of India, that view could no longer be maintained. The whole fruitful course of British Administration in India, culminating in the recognition of India as a real partner in the Empire, had produced justifiable expectations that we should now agree to treat her as having outgrown her political infancy.

Lord Sinha also avowed that no reasonable Indian claimed that Indians had to-day reached politically the man's estate, but he did claim that they had reached the age of adolescence. This stage of growth was notoriously difficult, but the guardian best served his ward's interests who conserved the relationship of mutual trust and affection and so ordered his control that the aspirations of freedom and self-expression, which inevitably accompanied adolescence, received wise and reasonable indulgence and that active control was exercised only to prevent irretrievable errors or correct undesirable developments. He believed that the Bill would enable the British Parliament to adopt that attitude towards India and he had sufficient faith in the essential wisdom and justice of the Mother of Parliaments to believe that the result of the measure would be to inaugurate the relationship between the two countries which would

enable India in due time to reach the full stature of a prosperous, loyal and grateful partner in the privileges and duties belonging to the great world family of the British Empire.

To Indians who might be still inclined to dispute the substantial nature of the advance proposed, Lord Sinha said, that of course, he did not agree with them but even if there was any proof of their doubts and suspicions, let him tell them in the word of the great Book, if he might do so without irreverence, that what was being given to India was like the grain of a mustard seed which man sowed in a field and which became a tree so that the birds of air came and lodged in its branches (Loud Cheers).

THE DEBATE WAS ADJOURNED TO THE NEXT DAY.

12 Dec. 1919.

The Lord Chancellor took his seat on the Woolsack at 3 o'clock.

The adjourned debate on the motion for the second reading of this Bill was resumed by

Lord Carmichael

He said that it was not so very long ago that he was the Governor of a presidency in India, and that he held views on the subject of the measure which might be thought are advanced than those of most of their Lordships. He did not regard the Bill as perfect. He did not love the India of diarchy any more than the majority of their Lordships of that House did, but he realised that no other alternative had been presented. In any case what was done would be somewhat in the nature of an experiment, and there would be difficulties, and he recognised that there would be danger. But personally he did not much mind what form the Bill took as long as something was done and as long as it led to a better state of affairs in India. He recognised that there were a large number of people there in India of whom it could not be said that they were suitable for Self Government, but a great many were suitable for it, and he held that we ought not to wait until everyone was. No one could regret more than he did the way in which the Indians who were best informed on political matters disliked and distrusted Englishmen. There was nothing that gave him greater anxiety when he was in office in India, but he did not think that this distrust need continue.

He asked Lord Sinha to look at one matter. Many of their Lordships read THE TIMES newspaper, and might have read a letter from Professor Barriedale Keith of Edinburgh University in which

he drew attention to a point which he said was one of the highest constitutional importance and which his Lordship also thought was of very high importance, and which Professor Keith thought might have escaped consideration. He drew attention to the amendment of Part II. Schedule III., by which an addition was made to a clause of the Government of India Act of 1915 saying that a Minister appointed under the Act should not be subject to the original criminal jurisdiction of any High Court. There was a reply in THE TIMES from Sir Edward Chamier, which gave the explanation. No doubt it was an explanation thought good enough by the Government, and it might be the only explanation. He did not pretend to be a lawyer, but he thought this was a very important point. It might be said that the new Ministers should be put on the same footing as the Executive Councillors or Governors. He was not certain himself that the Governors ought to be in that position. He thought that looking ahead the point ought to be fully considered and the public ought to know it was being fully considered. He did not think that in India there had been much attention drawn to it. His knowledge of India led him to think that was the sort of point that some years hence might come up. In India the only people who considered that sort of point wished to be on a level with the other parts of the British Empire, and he did not believe they wanted their Ministers to be in different position.

Speaking as to the general question, his lordship said that he felt strongly that the greatest danger was to do nothing, and the next greatest danger was to do something or anything which seemed in any way to detract from the authority of the Viceroy and the veneration in which he was held in India. This Bill was put forward on the strength of recommendations made by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, and he thought it would be most unfortunate if they went very far from what they had recommended. The Bill was merely a step in the right direction. They were going to take a step which people in European countries would look upon with surprise, and the whole world would be looking to India to see what the result was. It lay and must lie with the Indian people more than with anybody else to make the scheme a success. Indians of whatever class were not as a rule satisfied with the present position. He knew many moderate reformers who felt very bitterly because they were never quite sure when they might, to use a colloquial expression, be "put in the cart." Neither Extremists nor Moderate men had the power of getting anything done. He sympathised with the Moderate men very much. They made suggestions to him or to his officers which were not very practicable. How could they?

They had no experience of administration. Really the worst thing in India was the fact that the officials, from top to bottom, were overworked. From the Viceroy down to the most newly joined official, they were called upon to do far more than ought to be expected of them. He did not wonder that Moderate men asked themselves whether they might not just as well be Extremists. When this Bill became an Act, one of its best effects would be that it would give some sense of confidence to the men of moderate views.

Lord Crewe's Support

The Marquiss of Crewe, a former Secretary of State for India, in support of the Bill, expressed great satisfaction that Lord Sinha, at a time of heavy domestic trouble, should have presented the Bill with a lucidity of statement and a force of conviction which were appreciated both inside and outside their Lordships' House. They were told, and it was a patent fact, that the provisions of the Bill were altogether novel, and that Parliament and the country were being asked to take a "leap in the dark." But they had to remember that all constitutional reforms were a leap in the dark. If was true that when in 1909 Lord Morley and Lord Minto introduced the constitutional reforms known by their names it was never contemplated that those reforms should be intended to lead up to a system of Responsible Government. Events had moved fast since then, and the need of a change had become clearer. There was a general feeling, even among those who were most adverse to the provisions of the Bill, that some step forward was demanded, and would be demanded, even if the declaration of August, 1917, had not been made.

There were those who were in favour of a unitary system of Government by conferring on Indians a far greater influence upon the whole of the Government and by a closer and increased association with the different administrations, and there was the alternative proposal in the Bill of a dual form of Government, giving for all practical purposes complete control to Indian Ministers on certain classes of subjects. The supporters of the Bill believed it could be shown that it would hardly be possible to proceed to complete Responsible Government without the intervention of the dual stage. It was only through the dual system that the requisite training could be acquired by Indian politicians which would enable them to come in a fuller sense to Self-Government. It might be that those who favoured the unitary system were convinced that a completely responsible form of government in India must be relegated to the Greek Calends. Although some of them might not feel much sympathy with that view, it was equally necessary

to guard against the too sanguine hopes of ardent Indian politicians, who believed that full Responsible Government was a matter of a very few years. While believing in a steady advance in that direction, he believed also that it might be generations before India possessed a form of Government precisely analogous to that of Australia or New Zealand. In the meantime, he hoped that the system set up by this measure would have a fair chance for a definite period of years, and that no attempt would be made in India to agitate for special changes during the first few years. All the political energies of the ablest statesmen in India should be directed to ensuring the smooth and successful working of this scheme, and at the same time they should carefully consider in what respects it ought to be amended when amendment became possible. As to the relaxation of the control of Parliament, he was sure that, as in the case of the Dominions before they received complete Self-Government, Parliament would understand that meticulous interference with details of Indian Government ought to be relaxed, and that it would be relaxed. (Hear, hear.)

In considering how this scheme ought to be amended, they would have to make up their minds whether they desired a federation of practically independent States, or whether they should follow the example of a Central Government as a pivot on which the political life of India should move. The possibility of Responsible Government hinged not on the existence of a limited number of competent and eloquent statements but upon the existence of a solid and reasonably informed electorate. The principle aim of India must be to secure an electorate which could be regarded as adequately representative, and for that purpose there was obviously no question as urgent for Indian statesmen to consider as that of the general improvement of education all over the country. The joint Committee left the question of woman suffrage to the different provinces of India to solve.

He should like to pay a word of tribute to some women in India who had not received adequate public recognition: he meant the wives and mothers of the soldiers who went out from India and played so great a part in the War. Those women showed a quiet power of resistance and patience and heroic control which cheered the warriors of their families, and it must have contributed in a large degree to keeping their spirits as high as it remained throughout the War. He was one of those who thought it would be wiser to change the composition of the Council of India from that of a statutory body endowed with special powers, some of them in practice obsolete, to that of an advisory body. The

majority of those on the Committee did not take that view. A large number of Indians would like to see the India Office Indianised. They all welcomed the presence of some Indians as members of the Council, but he questioned whether it was to the advantage of the India Office that it should be manned to any considerable extent by Indian officials. To his mind the advance towards the solution of the Government of India should be made in India itself, and not on this side of the waters. The more they could give India responsibility in India itself the better, but it was burning the candle at the wrong end to attempt to start a separate Indian Administration here. Risks were being taken in a measure of this kind, but he looked forward with confidence to the future. There would be no finer test of the capacity of Indian statesmen and politicians than their attitude towards the treatment of the Indian Civil servants. There would be a number of other matters in which they would be concerned which would be closely and even jealously watched by critics both in India and here, and he hoped that they would pass the test well. Those among their Lordships who might be in that House in 10 years time would, he believed, agree that the measure now before them had been for the benefit of India and for the credit of the Empire. There was very little probability that anybody would desire to divide the House against the measure, but if anyone were to do so, his lordship declared that he would cheerfully record his vote in favour of it.

Lord Sydenham next rose to speak and said that in his opinion this was the most dangerous and possibly the most complicated Bill ever presented to their Lordships' House. It seemed to him that it did not arise from any desire on the part of the people of India, and that it represented the maximum concession which the Secretary of State was prepared to make to the demands of a comparatively small class in the hope of securing tranquillity, and he sincerely hoped that it would secure it. Some of the great Chiefs of India were gravely concerned about the future, and if their interests had been carefully considered he saw no sign of it in the Bill. The persons who had organised the agitation that had led to the introduction of the measure were, he believed, very small in number as compared with the millions of people in British India. Many of the disorders of recent years had been due to a widespread propaganda of an anti British character. The main constructive proposal under the Bill was the establishment of a system of dual Government which would not be tolerated in any civilised country in the world. It could not work well, and we were forcing it upon India at a most critical time. The Leader of the House had warned them

that the Government of India must not be weakened, but everybody must admit that by the amended Bill the Supreme Government of India was made far weaker than before. Control in some very important aspects of policy was taken away, and while powers were vested in the Viceroy he might not be able to use them in the face of a hostile Legislative Assembly. Under the ballot set up there must be corruption on a huge scale. The Bill set up the rule of a small class of oligarchy varied by spasmodic manifestations of autocracy. Yet it was widely acclaimed as a democratic measure, and the Labour Party had been cleverly captured by the Brahmanas. The Bill supplied no substitute for the authority which it destroyed, and in a few years it would undo much of the finest achievements of our people. Thinking, as he did, only of this country and of the people of India, he felt it his duty to utter these words of warning. Considering the way the Bill had been rushed through the Commons, he earnestly hoped their Lordships would give careful consideration to the amendments which would be moved in Committee.

The Earl of Selborne, Chairman of the Joint Select Committee, (which dealt with the Bill for five months,) said they had no responsibility for the Bill or for the policy on which it was based; their business was to turn out the best Bill they could. If he had been responsible, he would not have touched the Government of India at all, while making this great experiment in the Provincial Governments, except to this extent, that he thought it very wise to introduce Indian statesmen into the Government of India. There could be no possible danger in this wide extention of a number of Indians on the Viceroy's Council, because those gentlemen were chosen by the Viceroy on his own judgment: and further, because they therewith removed the statutory barrier to the numbers of the Viceroy's Council. The declaration of August 20, 1917, was unfortunately worded, but it was binding. Nothing could be more fatal than that our fellow-subjects in India should learn to doubt our word. But even if that declaration had not been made, important changes were bound to come. The centralisation of Government in India had constantly increased, notwithstanding the heroic efforts of successive Viceroys. Centralisation of Government was still increasing, with the result that the load had become too great for the machine, but the Indian Civil Service would remain what it had always been, one of the very finest examples of the power of government and devotion of our race. The time had come when provincial autonomy was absolutely necessary. The results of the system of education carried out in India were now coming to their fruition. We had carefully trained a large body of very intelligent and efficient critics, and had given them no work

or profession in life except that of criticism. There was an urgent call to associate Indians in every possible way with the Government of India; the changes must be in the direction of Self-Government. Was the Self-Government proposed in the Bill the right form? On the question of diarchy, he found himself in the sharpest possible conflict with Lord Sydenham. He held in the strongest possible way that the Viceroy and Secretary of State for India were absolutely right in advocating that system of diarchy and the Lieutenant-Governors of the provinces who advocated the unity system were absolutely wrong. They desired to remove all causes of friction and all shams and to fix responsibility everywhere. They desired to leave the Government of India with real weapons to fulfil its responsibility. They had declared in the preamble that further grants of Self-Government ought to depend on the use the people of India made of this grant of Self-Government, and for 10 years there ought to be no change. At the end of 10 years a commission should be sent out to see in each province and in India as a whole what use had been made of the powers given in this Bill. The Indian Civil Service was a magnificent set of men. The way they had been attacked by certain Indian politicians was a disgrace, but what was far worse was the ingratitude they had met with from some critics in this country. Some of the reflexions passed on them by certain sections of the Press in this country were such as one would not have thought it possible to write. He urged that there should be some provision in this Bill whereby, in the event of a Provincial Government passing a measure inconsistent with the Government of India Act then the Government of India Act should prevail.

Lord Macdonnell said the Joint Committee had recommended the creation for the commencement of Second Chambers. He considered the creation of Second Chambers in India as most essential. That was the greatest achievement in the Joint Committee's report. He knew of no country in the East in which a Second Chamber was more necessary, as the wealthy landowners and scions of old families would never contest seats with their inferiors in the polling booths. He wished that boon had been extended to Provincial Governments. Referring to the electoral proposals, he entered his protest against the view that the system of franchise should not be altered for the first 10 years, for it seemed to him that these should be years of experiment and change. The investigations hitherto made did not touch the fringe of the great electorate problem. He suggested that the diarchic system should be postponed, and that as the first step in the reform they should adopt the unified system, which seemed to him essential in the present circumstances. By adopting that system they would avoid

clothing Ministers with full personal responsibility until adequate experience had taught them the A B C of their work. This system would be more simple and natural, and by far the more educative system, and at the end of the first decennial period it might have served its purpose. Ten years were as nothing in the life-time of a Nation. Had any real effort been made to reconcile the interests and the status of the Indian Civil Service with the new dispensation? The Extremists in India knew that the Indian Civil Service was the first bulwork of British rule, and they made it their deliberate purpose to smash that bulwork, because their object was to smash British rule. He was oppressed with the feeling that this matter was being pushed too hastily. There was no step backwards, therefore every step they took should be well considered.

Viscount Middleton said he made no complaint of the manner in which the Government had carried out its pledges. Without criticising the language of the original declaration of the Leader of the House (Earl Curzon), nothing affected his judgment with regard to it so much as the fact that the noble Earl was a party to it. They must all have been convinced that nothing but an overwhelming sense of the necessity and urgency of the case would have caused him to have made a pronouncement at once so sweeping and so binding upon Parliament and the Government Under the Bill only a small minority of people would be represented. It was not possible to do more than that. India has not had a universal Education Act as in England and it was inevitable that political knowledge and interest would be of slow growth. Therefore the conclusion at which the Committee arrived seemed to be wholly justified. While they desired to give a share, and a large share, in the administration of the country to these popularly elected assemblies, and to do so in no grudging spirit, at the same time they were determined that the responsibility should be clearly defined, so that if mistakes were made those who made them should be the persons on whom responsibility should fall. Those who would not be represented in the Indian Parliaments were the poorest of the poor. They were numbered by tens of millions, and even by doing the best they could, it was possible, it might be found that the urban constituencies were stronger than the rural representations, and that rural interests were not as strongly regarded as they should be. It was surely the duty of the Imperial Parliament, so long as it represented those who were not represented themselves, to take care that the immense advances in civilisation in India during the last 100 years should not be imperilled or vitiated by hasty or ill-considered action on the part of the new bodies. Men

of the most diverse views in the Imperial Parliament had agreed that the concessions made to India should be given in no grudging manner, and the Bill would leave Parliament with no feeling of bitterness behind it. It would be sent on its journey with the fullest desire that it should be a success. He sincerely hoped, however, that they would have a Joint Committee of Parliament constantly watching Indian affairs. He believed that the success of the experiment depended very much upon the class of men selected as Governors. It would be well, he thought, that such a man should have had some parliamentary experience.

Lord Meston said that he had been deputed by the Viceroy of India and his advisers to plead the case of the Indian reforms before the Government and Parliament. There was no assembly in the world which had a knowledge of Indian affairs at all comparable with the experience possessed by their Lordships' House, and the many eminent members of it who had held exalted posts in India. Forces which had been very largely subterranean and invisible in the days when so many of their lordships had served in India were now covering the county with a flood which it was impossible for us to stem, even if we wish to do so, and which all our instincts of statesmanship required us to divert into the channels of healthy political life.

Was the policy underlying the Bill the result of panic and of yielding to the noisy, irresponsible demands of a few politicians? This was very far from being the case. There could be no greater mistake, no more serious misreading of the recent history of India, than to imagine that the new Constitution had been wrung from a reluctant Government by noise, demonstration, and agitation. There had, of course, been agitation in India, and it was the inevitable results of our work there. If there had not been agitation our work in India would have failed. It was not a protest against British administration, it was a demand for privileges which we had taught India to expect, and for which we had been training her to qualify, and which many patriotic Indians believed in all sincerity that they were not going to get unless they asked for them in terms of political vituperation.

If some critics were to be believed, the only force behind the political agitation in India to-day was a small crowd of noisy agitators. He begged their Lordships to exercise a wider judgment in that matter. The Government of India was not being dragged at the tail of a revolutionary movement by a negligible group of professional agitators. What lay behind and below the whole of the political difficulties in India was the spirit of nationalism, a spirit bred in the soil, nurtured by our methods and examples,

and spreading rapidly through all ranks and classes of Indian society. It permeated the professional classes with whom it originated. It was also going deep into the trade and moneyed classes, and it was spreading to the landed classes. It was an open secret that most of the progressive and enlightened princes in India were deeply in sympathy with all that was best in that Nationalist movement. As education continued to spread, and the standard of comfort quite properly rose, the rural masses would be shaken out of their lethargy, and it required very little gift of prophecy to foretell that they also would find themselves in the Nationalist movement. It was that spirit of Nationalism which made it impossible for the Government in India to carry on without a declaration of policy as to what England meant to do with India. He expressed the gratitude of the Indian Civil Service for the generous tribute that had been paid to their work. There was a general resolve in the Service to live up to its high traditions and to make the new order a success, and what had been said would stimulate their resolve. There were those who believed that this experiment was a mistake, that what India needed was strong Government on the old lines, and that the Constitution now proposed meant the introduction into India of bitterness and discontent. He agreed that India did want strong, just, and competent Government, and it was for Parliament to see that that Government was secured. The Bill provided for the initiation and training of Indians with all wise precautions. The work of the British Administration was not brought to a close when they had produced order out of chaos in India. Before them lay a more difficult and certainly a higher task in fostering the growth of the Nation. They could not stand still. This Bill might be full of dangers, but a far greater danger than any in the Bill was the danger of doing nothing, and so ignoring the reasonable and natural demands of the Indian people for larger share in the management of their own affairs. They would find the remedy for the present unsettlement and misunderstanding in India in giving India a vision and a wholehearted support in the realisation of that vision. He believed that in trusting the Indian people with a share in the work and responsibility of Government they would bring all the more stable elements in Indian society into genuine partnership with us in her government, and in no other way would they foster the spirit of national pride and esteem which in time would surmount the religious troubles, the tyranny of caste, and all the other evils which made the administration of India increasingly difficult. Lord Meston finally wound up by declaring that he believed the Bill went a considerable step in the right direction.

Earl Curzon, Leader of the House, said this was by far the most important Bill for the Government of India that had been introduced or passed in Parliament for more than a hundred years. The most distinguishing feature of the Bill was not merely the magnitude of the changes it introduced: it was the spirit in which they had been approached. Throughout this controversy there had been an extraordinary absence of bitterness, and the presence of good temper, a friendly spirit, and a patriotic desire to do the right thing in this country and in India. It was true that many doubts were expressed in some quarters about this Bill. On the one hand, great fears were entertained as to what it might lead to, and on the other hand, hopes were entertained of what it might produce. He imagined that the truth lay between these two extremes. The real merit for the success of the Bill in its final form was in the main due to the labours of the Joint Select Committee. The report of that Committee was now in their possession, and he had never read a more moderate, temperate, or more statesmanlike pronouncement. It was a State paper of first-class importance. He thought the action of the Committee and their report had been very bold. They had produced an incomparably better scheme than the old one. As regards the dual system of Government, this was a great and novel experiment. He himself regarded it with great apprehension. In having duality in the scheme the Committee had robbed it of its greatest difficulties. They had placed responsibility on the right shoulders, and they had provided for the close co-operation between the two sections of the permanent Government. He thought they had very wisely refrained from touching the female franchise. The fact was that the women's question cut much more deeply into the roots of National life, customs, and prejudices in India than it did here. He approved warmly of the plan that there should be no change for 10 years, and believed that this change gave the measure a better chance of success than any other alteration could have given. He pointed out next that for the first time a responsible and representative British Committee had conceded to India almost absolute freedom of fiscal policy. That was a change so fundamental and fraught with such stupendous consequences that he was amazed that it had attracted so little attention in this country. It would be a factor in the growth of Self-Governing institutions in India the importance of which could not be exaggerated.

He was glad that the Council of India had been spared. That Council had never possessed sufficient power or independence, and the Secretary of State had tended, when he felt it necessary, to overrule or ignore it. He thought the existence of the India

Council was much more likely to save the Secretary of State from error than to tempt him to make mistakes. As regards Parliamentary pocedure, he re-echoed the approval of the suggestion for the creation of a Standing Committee on India, composed of members of both Houses of Parliament. That was in his opinion one of the best changes made in the Bill. It would keep Parliament in closer touch with Indian affairs, and he believed such a Committee might be of the greatest use both to the Secretary of State and to Parliament itself. As to the effect the measure would have upon particular classes or individuals, he said he believed that even more than in the past we should get the best men for the post of Provincial Governor. He sometimes thought that people in this country hardly realised what a Provincial Governor was, and that he was the vital, and effective head of a most important and far reaching organization. He hoped the Prime Minister, or whoever might have to make the appointments to those offices, would succeed in attracting to them what was best in character and ability in the House of Commons, the House of Lords, and in the public life generally of England.

It was apprehended by some that when the Act came into operation the Indian Civil Servants were likely to sever their connexion with India and go. This, if true, was a grave danger. The real secret of success in India was good administration. Good administration meant a contented people. He could not exaggerate the degree in which the happiness of the people depended upon the character, disinterestedness, and ability of the men at the top. If the standard there was lowered, the reaction would go down and down, and find itself expressed in the last degree in the discontent and unhappiness of the lower classes. He was sure the life of the Indian Civil Servant would be more difficult and less attractive in the future. It had been growing so for the past 15 or 20 years. But he would join in the appeal that had been made to the Indian Civil Servants to stay and carry on their work. In the transition period that was coming, that work was more than ever important. What was wanted was that they should imbue the new Indian Civil Servants with the old ideas. He could not believe that Indian Civil Servants would have any desire to kick down the ladder by which they themselves had risen. Rather did he think that they would in the initial stages be disposed to show deference to those from whose teachings they had derived such advantages.

Lastly there was the people of India themselves. They were now to be lifted for the first time to a high plane of responsibility. The would have to exchange the irresponsible criticism in which

they had indulged, and of which they were such masters in the past, for responsible action. They had many gifts. They made good judges, good lawyers, good speakers. They were wonderfully faithful in the discharge of departmental duties. The question now was: Would they be fearless, upright, capable administrators and legislators? A great chance lay in their hands. They had climbed up to the highest seats of authority. Not only India but a larger world would look to them to justify themselves.

It was a great experiment. He should not quarrel with any one who used the term "a daring experiment." Would India be better governed than it had been in the past? He did not think it would be so well governed. The standards would tend to fall. But the ideas of Nationalism and Self-Determination now abroad taught people that it was much more important that they should govern themselves even though they might not be so well governed than be better governed by others. The way to meet those difficulties was for all classes concerned, British and Indian, to unite in facing them and overcoming them. He urged the native Press in India to make this an opportunity of introducing a higher, fairer, and more judicial tone. Let them all remember not only their responsibility, but that they could not discharge it without the friendly co-operation of our own people and let them endeavour to make this project a success. He hoped Parliament would not forget the responsibility laid upon them. In the last resort Parliament was the great tribunal in which every Indian question was referred. He hoped Parliament would watch with unceasing interest and would do anything in its power to facilitate the greatest and boldest experiment that had ever been made in the history of the British Empire.

Lord Ampthill's amendment moving for the postponement of the debate having been withdrawn the Bill was read a second time.

The following is the full Text of
LORD SINHA'S SPEECH

My Lords, the position I have held for the last months in your Lordships' House is one of which I have been naturally and gratefully but I hope not unbecomingly proud, though I have felt oppressed with a deep sense of personal insufficiency. My Lords, these feelings reach their culminating point today when it involves the high privilege of asking your Lordships to give this Bill a second reading. If any arts of eloquence or persuasion were necessary for the purpose of inducing your Lordships' House to accept the general principles underlying this Bill I would despair of the task before me, but I

feel convinced that the great experiment which this Bill will inaugurate is likely to prove successful and beneficial, not only to India but to the Empire at large. It is because I am convinced that this Bill is wisely framed to place the feet of India on a level road leading to that goal to which she has long aspired, the goal of self-government within the Empire, and to a real partnership in that great Empire which is bound together by unswerving allegiance and enthusiastic homage to our august Sovereign, in whose person is embodied all that Empire means and connotes, I repeat that it is with feelings of humble and grateful pride that I rise to make this motion.

This Bill is the immediate outcome of the memorable Declaration of policy made by his Majesty's Government on August 20 1917. The whole of that Declaration is embodied in the preamble of the Bill ; it had been read to your Lordships several times already, and I will not weary your patience by reading it again. It is the first step forward that parliament is asked to take in fulfilment of that pledge, and I confidently hope that your Lordships will agree that in taking this step you will be taking a generous and perhaps a bold step, and yet one which is neither rash nor hasty, nor unnecessary or ill-considered.

History of the Measure

My Lords, let me invite your attention for a few moments to the immense amount of care and critical examination from every possible standpoint which have gone to the elaboration of this measure. The matter was first broached when Mr. Austen Chamberlain was still Secretary of State for India, and Lord Hardinge, after full consultation with the heads of the various local Governments, put forward certain proposals for post-war reforms. Soon after Lord Chelmsford assumed office in 1916, the need for a public declaration of policy as to the future of India was recognised by the Secretary of State and his Majesty's Government. The Government of India invited Mr. Chamberlain to visit India and confer with them as to the practical steps to be taken in pursuance of this policy. The policy was declared in August 1917, and Mr. Montagu to whom on his acceptance of office the Government of India had transferred their invitation, went to India in the autumn of that year. Before he left he had already been furnished with the results of prolonged and thorough investigation by his advisers of the India Office as to the possible lines of advance.

The Secretary of State and the Viceroy spent the cold whether of 1917—18 in a detailed inquiry in India, in the course of which they visited all the larger centres in the provinces and had the

benefit of the fullest consultation with the heads of local Governments and the members of the Government of India and of non-official opinion of all shades. The result of this inquiry was the Montagu-Chelmsford Report published in July, 1918, and this was further supplemented by the minute and careful investigations carried on throughout India by the two Committees presided over by the noble Lord, Lord Southborough. These investigations resulted in two further Reports—the Franchise Report and the Functions Report. And may I pause here for one moment to pay a humble tribute to Lord Southborough and the members of his Committee for the valuable work done by them, without which it would have been impossible to proceed with, and indeed to frame this Bill.

These three Reports, the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, the Franchise Report, and the Functions Report, have been subjected to exhaustive examination by the Government of India, results of which you have before you in three of their published despatches. You have also two other published despatches of the Government of India dealing with various special aspects of the problem. Yet another Committee, presided over by the noble Marquess, Lord Crewe, closely examined the question of the changes to be made in the system of home administration of Indian affairs, and you have the Report of that Committee before you. Finally the whole matter has been investigated and all the available material re-examined by a Select Committee of both Houses, who, after many weeks of hearing of all the evidence available in this country, both official and nonofficial, Indian and British, and after patient scrutiny of all the documentary evidence, have given you their mature conclusions in the shape of this amended Bill and of their Report upon it. This last Report is, I venture of think, of almost equal importance as the Bill itself, and will be looked upon in India quite as much as the Bill as the charter of our progressive liberties And here again I must ask your Lordships' leave to be allowed to voice the general appreciation of the uniform courtesy, the patient industry and the ripe experience which the noble Earl, Lord Selborne, as President of that Committee, brought to bear upon its investigation. Surely, my Lords, no one in view of all these facts can contend with any show of reason that the Bill which you are now asked to read a second time has been insufficiently explored. This Bill is the natural and inevitable sequel to the long chapter of previous legislation for the better government of India. And for that purpose I will confine myself briefly to the Statutes of 1861, 1892, and 1909.

Constitutional Development in India

From 1837 to 1861 the Governor-General in Council was the sole administrative as well as the legislative authority for British India. The Indian Councils Act of 1861 for the first time associated with the Governor-General's Executive Council and the Executive Councils of the two presidency Governors a small number of additional members, half of them being non-officials, for the purpose of making laws. But these Legislative Councils were no more than advisory committees for that purpose only, and had none of the other attributes of legislatures. Similar provisions were subsequently made for the province of Bengal and the North-West Provinces. A further step was taken by the Act of 1892 which increased the numbers of the Legislative Council slightly, but what is more, enabled rules to be made regulating the course of nomination of nonofficial members in a manner which contained the first faint beginnings of representative principle. Further, it gave liberty to ask questions and to discuss, but only to discuss and not to vote or to move resolutions upon, the financial statement.

Then came Lord Morley's Act of 1909, which still further enlarged the Legislative Council both of the Governor-General and of the provinces. But it did more. It introduced for the first time the principle of election, though not yet direct election, as the means of constituting a portion of the nonofficial members. Further, it gave the Councils power to move resolutions upon matters of general public interest, and also upon the Budget and to ask supplementary questions. The resolutions, however, were to be only advisory in character, which the executive might adopt or reject at its discretion. We see, therefore, that for a period of nearly sixty years there has been a steady increase in the number of members for the Legislative Councils, the introduction of the principle of representation by election, and a progressive increase of the functions assigned to these Legislatures, steadily tending to make these Councils more and more parliamentary in nature, character, and influence.

The Bill before your Lordship's House intends to make these Councils even more parliamentary in character by a further increase in numbers with the object of making them as completely representative of the whole population as is possible and by increasing their functions to the largest possible extent that existing circumstances will allow. Since Lord Morley's reforms were inaugurated ten years have passed—ten fruitful years of experience and rapid development—within which fall the four crowded years of the great struggle in which India has, like other parts of the Empire

whose existence was at stake, borne her share. Of the part played by India in the war I do not propose to speak today. Her record is known to your Lordships and I will venture only to say that no words of mine are needed to give lustre to that record. Moreover, I should be creating an absolutely false impression it any remarks of mine gave colour to the impression that India desires or demands this measure as a reward for her war services. In my view this Bill must stand upon its own merits—upon the question whether or not the great experiment which it seeks to initiate is an experiment on right and proper lines.

There is no doubt that as a result of the war there has been a great advance in the status of India. She has been privileged through her own representatives to take an equal part with the dominions overseas in the Imperial War Conference, and also in the Peace Conference in Paris and she has been admitted as an original member of the League of Nations. These experiences have further quickened her sense of national unity and development, a sense which has been steadily fostered for many years by common allegiance to the same beloved Sovereign, by being amenable to one code of laws, by being taxed by one authority, by being influenced for weal or woe by one system of administration, and by being urged by like impulse to secure like rights and to be relieved of like burdens. My Lords, it is no longer possible to doubt this rapidly growing sense of nationality, any more than it is possible for India to stand aside unchanged from the turmoil of development and growth and reconstruction which has been shaking the world for the last five years.

My Lords, you have been deluged with a mass of blue-books and reports on this subject, and I do not deny that in its details the subject is one of great complexity, but I would submit to your Lordships that the real issue is a simple one. It is this. Do you intend to keep India in leading strings, or do you believe the time has come when Indians themselves should be given some control of policy and should be in a position a make a start at least on the path of self-government?

The present system of Government in India is in essentials identical with that which obtained sixty years ago, and indeed earlier. It is a purely official government, centred in the India Office, able and entitled to impose its will in every detail on the people, the administration of whose affairs has been entrusted to it by Parliament. I am deeply conscious of the debt which we owe to the Government of India, to the local Governments, and to the untiring and devoted efforts of the great services which they

employ, and which have been directed with an energy and singleness of purpose, probably unequalled in history, to the welfare and advancement of the people committed to their charge, and with a success in securing that advancement which certainly no premature attempt at self Government could possibly have achieved.

But, my Lords, during these sixty years you have had Legislatures set up in the provinces, and, including the central government, now no fewer than ten in number, gradually increasing in size, gradually acquiring more power to criticse the action and policy of the executive, and gradually becoming more and more representative of public opinion. But their functions are confined, broadly speaking, to criticism. I do not deny that the influence which they have exercised during the last years has been great, nor do I assert that the official Governments have pursued systematically, or even frequently, a policy of flouting the wishes of the non-official members. They have done nothing of the kind, I believe that, so far as has been consistent with the discharge of their responsiblities to Parliament, the Government in India and the Secretary of State in this country have been studiously careful to pay increasing deference to the representatives of the people in the Councils. But, my Lords, what these Councils do not possess, and what the representative of the people ask for, is some guarantee that the executive will conform to their wishes when they represent the real desire of the majority; in other words, they want to advance from the stage of influence to that of control, while steadfastly maintaing their loyalty to the King Emperor as an integral portion of the British Empire.

In so far as these demands postulate complete self-government for India at once, or even a material weakening of the connection which ensures for India the responsibility of the British Parliament for the maintenance of peace and order and for its immunity from external aggression, I for one emphatically repudiate them; and I am convinced that in so doing I am voicing the sentiments of the vast majority of my countrymen. India is not yet fully equipped for complete self-government, and I will not be so rash as to attempt to predict when she will be. But of this I am certain, that so long as the present system continues she never will be fit for self-government. It is only with experience of actual responsibility that the fitness to exercise it grows. I am also certain that India is fit and ready to-day to embark, and to embark with every hope of success, on the experiment which this Bill roposes, and that this Bill is the only logical and necessary means for carrying out the pledge given by the announcement

of August 20,1917, as the Joint Committee has reported to your Lordships.

This Bill will not and is not intended to set up a final and permanent constitution for India. It provides for a period of transition. How long that period will last, as I have already said, I make no attempt to forecast, but while it lasts we have to provide a bridge whereby India may pass from an autocratic and bureaucratic form of government, which guides her destinies AB EXTRA, to a form of government whereby she will control her own destinies. We have to give the people in India at once some measure of control over the policy which dictates their taxes, and this we have to do by a system which will enable a sure judgment to be passed on the use or misuse to which that control is put, and an orderly and justifiable advance to be made.

Scheme of the Bill.

Let me try and explain very briefly the means proposed in this Bill with these objects in view. We start by dividing revenues and demarcating the spheres of government as between the Central Government and the provinces. We assign to the Central Government unquestioned authority over certain administrative heads, such as the defence of the country, its railways, tariffs, and other activities which cannot be localised; for these it legislates, for these it provides funds, for these it supplies and controls, either directly or through the intervention of provincial governments, its executive agency. Certain other adminstrative heads are handed over to the Provincial Governments, which assume within their own areas full and complete responsibility for financing and administering them. There are limitations of course—there must be limitations—on the authority of Provincial Governments in so far as they remain agents of Parliament, but I need not now confuse the broad outlines with these.

Of these matters which thus become, in the language of the Bill, 'Provincial subjects', a furthur division is made, and while for one portion of them the official side of the Government retains responsibility, the other portion is handed over to the administration of the Governor acting with Ministers chosen from the elected members of the Legislature. Over the matter compressed within this latter portion of the field the Legislature will be given a very real control; legislation for them will be governed by the wishes of the elected majorities, and it will vote the supplies for them. For the administration of these subjects the Ministers will be directly responsible to the Legislature, and though they are liable

to be overruled by the Governor if he considers that his endorsement of the policy proposed is inconsistent with the discharge of his responsibilities for the administration of the 'reserved' subjects or for the peace and tranquillity of his province, they can only remain in office if they are prepared to support and defend in the Legislature any action relative to the subjects in their charge, with the full knowledge that such support or defence, if the Legislature calls their acts in question, may lead to an adverse vote and possibly to resignation or dismissal.

So much for the immediate effects of the Bill as planned. But as I have said, the Bill attempts—and I submit successfully attempts—to provide for progress. It legislates for a transition from bureaucratic to self-government. And the progress is to be effected by the simple means of gradually enlarging the field made over to the administration of Ministers by the gradual transfer of more and more subjects to their administration until at length the time arrives when there are no subjects remaining 'reserved'. I have said more than once that I make no attempt to predict the date when that consummation will be reached. Obviously it cannot arrive until you have throughout India widely diffused and trained electorates capable of formulating clear and wise conceptions of policy and of selecting representatives who will be capable of guiding and voicing the view of the population at large. But here, again, it is by actual experience and by no other method that such training can be given.

If it is necessary, in order to train administrators, to give the legislatures real work to do and real responsibilities to shoulder, it is no less necessary, in order to train the electorates and to teach the value and the proper use of a vote, to give the representatives selected as the result of that vote the opportunity of controlling the course of the administration in a way which will be clear in its results, be they good or bad, to the electors. I say 'be they good or bad' advisedly, for it is human experience that success is achieved by means of failures, and that mistakes, if not irretrievable are the best of lessons, and it would be idle to suppose that Indian administrators will spring into being full-fledged and infallible. If this were to be expected there would be no justification for this half-way house with all its complications of structure. We expect mistakes, but we claim that we have provided in this Bill every responsible safeguard and every device possible to minimize the chance of their occurrence or the seriousness of their results when they do occur. In the first place, we reserve in the charge of an agency still responsible to Parliament those services or heads of

administration upon which the safety and peace of the country depend, and we provide means by which that agency, despite a large nonofficial majority in the legislatures, shall be enabled unfailingly to secure the legislation and the supply which it regards as essential to the discharge of its responsibility. In the second place, we ensure by the association of the new Ministers with an official element in the executive, that the experience and knowledge acquired by long traditions and practice of a great and successful service shall be at the disposal of the Ministers when they formulate their own policy. And, lastly, we ensure by the relations which are to subsist between Ministers on the one hand and the executive Council on the other, that the latter will have in their deliberations the advantage of friendly counsel and a knowledge of the wishes and susceptibilities of the people.

Dyarchy.

This is the plan which has been given the somewhat terrifying name of dyarchy. For myself I should have preferred to call it a system of specific devolution. Your Lordships will not have failed to observe that the joint Committee after many weeks of patient examination of the matter from every point of view, has reported that the plan proposed by the Bill interprets with scrupulous accuracy the policy announced on August 20, 1917, and that it is the best means of carrying out that policy. By the scheme of the Bill they meant in that connection primarily its basic principle of division of functions and consequent demarcation of the source of authority which is to lie behind the provincial executives. But it would be foolish to attempt to disguise from myself or from your Lordships' House the fact that this principle is regarded with misgivings by many persons who are in full accord with the general policy which the Bill seeks to carry out. The objections to this principle are obvious. But is there really any practicable alternative?

Various alternative schemes have been put forward with greater or less authority. The first in point of time was the scheme of the Congress and the Moslem League which was published before the conception of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. More than one alternative was suggested by the official reports of the various local Governments on that Report; another scheme was formulated by five heads of provinces after the local Governments had discussed the proposals officially, and finally, the Joint Committee had yet another alternative scheme laid before them by representatives of the Indo-British Association. But apart from variations of detail, all these alternative schemes are in essence the same. They purport to provide an united or unified executive and to proceed on the basis (as one

authority has put it) of giving some responsibility to the legislatures for all matters of Government rather than full responsibility for some. They postulate a Council or executive body, consisting in part of officials and in part of members of the legislatures, and all holding office for a fixed period. They reject the device of dividing functions and subjects, and they propose that the members of this Government should preserve joint responsibility for all the action and decisions of the Government in the ordinary and usual manner of Cabinet government. Thy postulate that the non-official members of the Government will be selected as representing the views of the majority of the Council, and will in practice necessarily be influenced by the opinions of the Legislative Council (those words I quote from the memorandum of the five heads of provinces). This fact, they urge, will secure that the Government as a whole in its decisions on all matters will to some extent be responsible to the legislatures whose wishes will necessarily strongly influence if not shape those decisions. Lastly progress towards fuller and more real responsible government is to be achieved, on the one hand, by gradually increasing the number of members of the executive taken from the elected members of the Council and by, therefore, handing over to such members a larger range of portfolios, and, on the other hand, by a gradual increase in the deference paid by the executive to the wishes of the Legislatures. I believe that is a fair description of the essential features of all the various alternative schemes which have been put forward.

The problem can be simply stated. It is to give a measure of control to representative Assemblies in India over the policy and actions of the Government, and to give it in such a way that the control can be gradually increased as and when those to whom it is entrusted exhibit their fitness for an increase, but in such a way that each increase comes by an ordered and controllable process, and not per SALTUM, so that throughout the process may be one of evolution, and neither in its first stage nor at any subsequent stage one of revolution.

That is the problem. Now, are you going to solve it by giving to parliamentary institutions in India full control—or practically full control—over a certain defined field, or by giving at once some control over the whole field. I am confident that reflection will show that the latter alternative is not only not good method of achieving the object in view, but that it is not a practicable alternative, and, if it were introduced, it could have only one of two results—either a complete failure to establish any real responsibility to parliamentary institutions or Councils in India, or to a paralysis

of Government which would lead, and lead rapidly and inevitably, to complete control by legislatures in India and a complete ouster of the authority ot this Parliament.

For what is the underlying hypothesis in all these schemes for a unified Government? It is nothing more nor less than a divided allegiance to Parliament on the one hand and the provincial legislature which affects or may affect every single issue which comes before the Government. The official members of the Government will be responsible to Parliament, under whose authority and in whose name they hold their officie; the non-official members of the Government will, as members of a united Government, be similary, in theory responsible to Parliament. But they will, remember, be necessarily influenced by the opinion of the legislative council, from whose ranks they are elected. If the official members of the Executive Government, in deference to orders received from Whitehall and Simla, or in fulfilment of what they conceive to be their responsibility to Withehall and Simla, for the good administration of the province, adopt a policy of which the majority of the legislative council (whether rightly or wrongly) disapprove, what is to be the attitude of their nonofficial colleagues? Assuming that that view coincides with the majority of the legislature, are they to sink their difference and support their official colleagues? If they do, what has become of the element of responsibility to the legislature? Or are they to oppose their collegues and withhold their support? If so, where is the unity of the Government? If, on the other hand, the official members of the Government adopt a course which they honestly belive to be consistent with the discharge of their responsiblity to Parliament in deference to their nonofficial colleagues and the majority of the legislature, they would no doubt PRO TANTO be establishing a system of Government by popular control and rendering the executive amenable to the popular will, but would Parliament for a moment tolerate such government by abdication and would it not rightly call to account a Secretary of State who by acquiescence in such a course might endanger the peace and good government of the country?

Again, even were such a unified system workable at the outset is the road to progress in the grant of responsibility which it opens a satisfactory road? As I have stated, its supporters urge that development lies in the line of increasing the number of nonofficial Councillors, with a consequent increase in the number and scope of the portfolios committed to them, of increasing acquiescence in the wishes of the legislature and rare resort to the veto. With the two latter of these suggestions I have just dealt. As regards the two former processes, since a unified executive must as such be

anwerable for its actions to Parliament and subject in the last resort in all matters of adminstration to Parliament's control, I fail to see how any increase in the number of nonofficial members of such an executive or any enlargement of the sphere of their adminitrative activities can alter the character or lessen the reality of that control. This particular point has been dealt with much more clearly and more cogently than I have been able to do by the Government of India in their dispatch of March 5 of this year, and I would only refer to paragraphs 18 to 24 in that dispatch, which is published as Command Paper 123. For these considerations I submit that your Lordships will accept without hesitation the opinion of the Joint Committee on this the fundamental point of the whole Bill.

Form of Bill

Before coming to the provisions of the Bill itself, I venture to draw attention to two particular points as regards the form of the Bill. In the first place, your Lordships will have seen that the main provisions for constitutional changes are set out in the body of the Bill itself and by means of a schedule—the second schedule to the Act—these changes are to find their proper place in the main Act, the Act. of 1915-16, so that automatically consolidation will follow. That is the plan of the Bill, and it has commended itself to the Joint Committee, and I trust will commend itself to your Lordships also. The second point in connection with the frame of the Bill is this. The Bill itself outlines the main features of the constitutional changes. It leaves these changes to be worked out in detial in the from of rules. Some objection has been taken to this latter feature, but here again I would refer to the White Paper which gives in full the reasons for this torm of legislation in this particular case.

Firstly, it is in accordance with all previous precedents. The matter was debated on the last occasion when Lord Morley's Act came before your Lordships' House, and, as I read the debates, it was generally accepted that that was the proper way of framing the Bill, leaving the details of the constiutional changes to be worked out by the authorities in India, subject, however, to the control of Parliament. Secondly, it secures reasonable dimensions for the Bill, and makes elasticity possible. Thirdly, it is the only method possible for the introduction of new constitutional forms expressly devised for the conditions of a transitional stage. Fourthly, it enables diffierent provisions to be made for diffierent provinces ; and, fifthly (and this is the feature to which I desire to draw special attention) the control of Parliament is fully secured for the exercise of the

rule making power by clauses 33 and 44 of the Bill to which I crave your Lordships' particular attention.

Clause 33 deals with the rules to be made by the Secretary of State himself for the purpose of relaxing his powers of superintendence, direction and control. That clause enacts that rules with regard to subjects other than transferred subjects shall be laid in draft before both Houses of Parliament, and therefore shall not come into operation until they have been approved by both House of Parliament. All other rules shall be subjected to the negative process of being laid on the table of the House. Parliament of course is to be at liberty to petition his Majesty to annul the rules, on which the rules shall be annulled. Clause 44 deals with by far the larger majority of rules which are to be made under this Act, namely, rules by the GovernorGeneral in Council. These rules again, are divided into two categories—first, rules which are only to be subjected to the negative process of being laid before Parliament after they come into operation but being liable to be set aside or annulled by petition to his Majesty in Council by Parliament. It is also provided that the Secretary of State may direct that any rules to which the section applies shall be laid in draft, and that they shall not come into operation, before Parliament had approved them by positive resolution ; and the Secretary of State in exercising his discretion will undoubtedly be advised by the standing Committee of both Houses what the Joint Committee recommends, or by the Joint Committee itself if Parliamemt chooses to reappoint it for the purpose of going through these rules. I submit, therefore, that the criticism that it is either dangerous or inexpedient to leave so much to be done by rules is neither just nor fair.

Explanation of Provisions.

Having dealt with the fundamental principle involved in the Bill, I will not detain your Lordships long with the other features as contained in the separate clauses, especially as the Report of the Joint Committee has dealt with them clause by clause and given the reasons not only for the clauses themselves but also for such changes as they have introduced. The Bill, following the general plan of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, starts with provincial Governments since it is in that sphere chiefly that the scheme is to be developed. Clause 3 sets up in the eight major provinces of India a Governor in Council—a form of government which has long been in force in the three presidencies. But the new local Governments are not merely to be Governors in Council—they will consist of the Governor in Council (whose functions and constitution will

remain unchanged) and of the Governor acting with Ministers, appointed from the elected members of the Legislative Council and holding office during the Governor's pleasure. To the Governor in Council will be entrusted the responsibility for reserved subjects, and the Governor and Ministers will be responsible for the transferred subjects. All matters which in a Council Government would normally come before the Council—that is, everything which is not of purely departmental or minor importance—will as a gneral rule come for discussion before the Governor, his Councillors, and his Ministers sitting in conclave. But the decision on reserved subjects and the responsibility for that decision will rest with the Governor in Council, while the decision and the responsibility for the decision on all transferred matters will rest with Ministers subject to the Governor's intervention and control if he feels it incumbent upon him to reject their advice. This is the provincial executive.

The Legislative Councils in all their eight provinces are to be considerably increased in size and will acquire for the first time a substantial (70 per cent.) elected majority. The Governor will not be a member of the legislature; each body will have a non-official president and deputy president to be elected by itself subject to the Governor's approval; but for the first four years the office of President is to be filled by a nominee of the Governor. Each Council will normally have a life of three years, though the Governor may at any time dissolve the legislative council. The powers of provincial legislatures will as regards legislation be much as they are at present, but in view of the fact that the scheme contemplates an almost complete abrogation of the existing executive orders which require every Bill (save those of purely formal or minor importance) to be submitted to the Government of India and the Secretary of State for previous approval before introduction—a system which has naturally not conduced to initiative and independence in provincial legislation—the necessity arises for somewhat expanding the scope of the existing statutory provisions which require the previous sanction of the Governor-General to certain classes of provincial Bills, so as to ensure that the provincial legislatures shall not infringe on the sphere which is reserved for the Central Government.

Outside matters of legislation, the powers of the Councils are to be enlarged—or perhaps it would be more correct to say that the Bill reverses the position which these bodies have hitherto held. Hitherto legislative councils in India have been presumed by the law to have no functions except those which the law has specifically allowed them. As I pointed out a short time ago legislative councils in India were at the time of their creation strictly confined in their

duties and powers to the business of discussing and passing legislative measures. Little by little the scope of their activities has been increased by the grant of further specified powers. Under this Bill they will be assumed to possess all the normal attributes and powers of a legislative body except those which are definitely witheld or the use of which is restricted.

The most important change which results from this position is that for the first time the provincial budget will be voted by the legislative councils—they will now actually vote and sanction the appropriations proposed by the Executive. All they can do at present is to vote about the budget; that is to say, they can move and vote upon resolutions recommending changes in the Government's financial proposals in the year; but the Government has usually been in a position with its nominated majority to defeat any such resolution if it wished to do so, and in any case was in no way bound to accept it if carried; and hitherto the annual appropriations of expenditure have required no other sanction than the FIAT of the Executive Government. That will now be changed, and, the legislature will have a real voice in the disposal of provincial finances. It would be impossible, of course, to give them at the present stage a final and decisive voice over the whole field. A portion of the Government will not be responsible to or removable by the legislature, and that portion of the Government must be in a position to secure the legislation and supplies it needs for the discharge of its responsibilities. It has not the natural means of an assured majority in the House, and it must therefore be given an artificial means. Thus in 'reserved' finance, the Governor is empowered to neglect an adverse vote on a budget head if he certifies that the proposed expenditure is essential to the discharge of his responsibility for the subject, while in times of crisis, when perhaps a recalcitrant legislature may decline to vote any supplies, he is empowered to authorise such expenditure as is required for the maintenance of safety and tranquillity or to avoid administrative starvation.

There is a further safeguard against irresponsible action by the legislature in the matter of supply—that certain heads of expenditure are not to require an annual vote—in much the same way as the Consolidated Fund in this country. For example, contributions payable by the local Government to the Governor-General in Council; interest and sinking fund charges on loans; expenditure of which the amount is prescribed by or under any law; salaries and pensions of persons appointed by or with the approval of hi Majesty by the Secretary of State in Council; and salaries of Judges of the High Court of the Province, and of the Advocate-General.

In legislation the position of the official Government is safeguarded by the provisions of Clause 13 and Clause 11 (*5*) of the Bill, which give the Governor power to secure the passage or rejection of Bills in certain circumstances. I do not wish to weary your Lordships with detail, but I invite particular attention to these provisions and to the remarks in the Joint Committee's Report in explanation of them. They take the place of the original plan suggested in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report of Grand Committees of the Council, and I am confident that your Lordships will agree that the change made by the Joint Committee is a great improvement and that nothing will be lost and much gained by their more straight-forward plan.

Central Government

The changes made by the Bill in the Government of India are much less extensive. The Indian Legislature is considerably enlarged and is now to consist of two Chambers– an Upper Chamber or Council of State of sixty members and an Assembly of 140 members, the latter with substantial elected majority. The statutory limit on the number of the Governor-General's Executive Council is a minimum of five and a maximum of six (or six and seven if the Commander-in-Chief is included). The Bill does away with the Extraordinary Member, and assumes, as will doubtless be the case, that the Commander-in-Chief will always continue to be appointed a member of the Council. Each member of the Executive Council will be a nominated member of one or other Chamber of the Legislature, but not of both, though they will be entitled to speak in both Chambers. Like the provincial legislatures, the Indian legislature is to have power for the first time to vote on certain portions of the Budget. That is to say, there will be the same provisions for a Consolidated Fund upon which they will not be able to vote ; and further, the Governor-General will always be entitled, if he thinks necessary, to reject every vote on every item of the Budget of the legislature.

It may be urged that this change is inconsistent with the policy which has taken no step towards introducing at this stage the principle of responsible government in the Central Government in the sense of making the central Executive legally dependent upon or subject to the control of the legislature. I am confident your Lordships will agree that whatever technical inconsistency there may be, the change is sound and necessary. What is the position? In the first place, there can be no question of taking away any power which the central legislature at present enjoys. One of the powers which it has enjoyed for the last ten years is power to

propose and vote resolutions suggesting changes in the budget statement, and this power it must retain. Hitherto the Government has been able by means of its official majority to defeat any such resolution(though even if it had failed to defeat it, the resolution would have no binding effect). But in future the Government will not command a majority in the legislature.

Now my lords, which is the sounder constitutional position.—the position which augurs best for a sound judgment by the proposed Statutory Commission which is to inquire into progress ten years hence and for amicable relations meanwhile, that the Indian legislature should be able year after year with no sense of responsibility flowing from a knowledge of practical consequences of its vote by an overwhelming majority, resolution after resolution recommending specific alterations in the Budget, which the Government is forced to ignore ; or that the legislature should be legally responsible for passing the estimates and legally accountable for the results of any modifications they may vote? I admit that the practical difference between the two positions is not great, for if you will look at the clause—it is clause 25—you will see that the Government is necessarily given the fullest powers to reject adverse votes, since its responsibility is not to the Indian legislature but to this Parliament for the proper administration of its charge. The change is really one of form, but I do not seek to disguise its importance on that ground. It is an important change, but one which I am convinced is the logical and necessary result of constituting a representative central legislature.

I have been a member of the Governor-General's Legislative Council, it is true in an official capacity, but none the less closely associated with all the nonofficial members. I can assure your lordships that the cleavage which has unfortunately shown itself so often of late between the nonofficial and the official members of that body is largely due to the non-official's sense of aloofness from the real difficulties and decisions of the Government which the present position has engendered. They feel—they can hardly help feeling—that they are outside the machine and are not a real part of its working. I am confident that all that is required to obliterate that cleavage is an admission, with whatever safeguards and checks that may be found necessary, that the legislature and all its members are an essential and working part of the machinery of Government, that the action or inaction of every member influences the working of the whole.

Allow me to draw your Lordships' attention, so far as the Government of India is concerned, to one more clause, and that is

clause 26, because there also a new feature is introduced in place of the old device of the official BLOC, for the purpose of enabling the Governor-General to obtain the legislation whch he considers necessary for his purpose. The Governor-General is able to pass any law which he thinks necessary for the safety and tranquillity of India, provided that the ordinance will require the sanction of his Majesty before it becomes law. Of course, the power of this ordinance in cases of emergencies, already exists, and it remains as it is' so that for emergency purposes the Governor-General will be able to pass such laws as he thinks necessary, provided that they will be liable, as they are now, to be vetoed by his Majesty in Council.

Other Matters.

With regard to the provisions of the Bill relating to the Secretary of State, I need say litt'e. They make no constitutional changes, but are designed to modernize and make more elastic the statutory provisions—many of which are relics of the days of the Court of Directors—relating to the working of the India Council. Power is taken to adopt the recommendation of Lord Crewe's Committee to appoint a High Commissioner for India, and no time will be lost in working out with the Government of India the details of this purpose if it receive the sanction of Parliament.

There is one further matter with regard to the Council—namely, that the number has been reduced. The minimum was ten and the maximum fourteen. These are now reduced to eight as a maximum. There are to be at least three Indian members of the Council. The salaries are to be £1,200 a year with £600 extra for the Indian members, and the Committee remark that the salary was calculated on a pre-war basis so that the Secretary is not precluded from granting to the Council what other permanant officials are getting here—namely a war bonus.

Part IV of the Bill relates to the Civil Services in India and its provisions are intended generally while enabling a new classification of these services to be made, to safegurd the pay and position and rights to pension of existing members of those services, and to pave as smooth a road as possible for future members. The services, my Lords, need no tribute from me. Their work is plain for the world to see, and it is their work in the main and its great results developing through the years, that have made India fit for this great experiment. But the passage of this Bill does not close the chapter of their ungrudging toil. India still needs, and will long need, men of the type which Great Britain has so long

given her, and I refuse to belive that she will not continue to receive from the sons of Great Britain the same loyal and devoted service as she has recived, to her lasting benefit, in the past. I also cordially echo the hope and conviction, expressed in the report of the Joint Select Committee, that these civil services will accept the changing conditions and the invitable alterations in their own position, and devote themselves in all loyalty to making a success, so far as in them lies, of the new constitution.

Finally, the Bill gives powers to appoint a Commission of Inquiry to report to Parliament on past progress, with a view to enabling Parliament judge what further advances can be made. The Bill provides for one such Commission after ten years' trial. This does not imply the belief that in ten years the process of training will be complete. It is perhaps unusual to legislate for an event ten years ahead ; it would be clearly inappropriate to legislate for a longer period. But perodical inquiries are of the essence of the scheme, and the Bill would obviously be incomplete without some provision of this kind.

So far as Part VI of the Bill is concerned, there is only one clause to which I need draw your Lordships' attention, namely, clause 42, which modifies section 124 of the Principal Act with regard to persons engaged in any trade or business becoming members of the Executive Council or Ministers, provided they do not during their term of office, take part in the direction or management of that trade or business. The changing conditions of the country absolutely require that there should be some such provision made, because, if it is not, the Government will lose probably the benefit of people who are best calculated by their services as commercial or mercantile people to take part in the actual work of Government.

I fear that I have made a large draft upon the patience of your Lordships' House. But even if there are those amongst your Lordships whose position in this House would lead them to view my presentment of this matter critically and with caution as coming from a representative of his Majesty's Government, I am confident that the position which it is also my privilege to hold, of a representative of my countrymen, will have ensured me an indulgent and sympathetic hearing. Above all, I am confident that there is no member of this House who will be deterred by individual opinions or by my personal shortcomings from approaching the examination of this Bill in that traditional spirit of British fairness and impartiality, and with that earnest desire for the advancement of India's welfare, which has done so much for the betterment of India in the past.

There may be those amongst your Lordships who think that the passage of this Bill will not advance India's welfare, who think that the system of government which has, with little essential change and with so many beneficial results, endured through the changes of the nineteenth century, should be continued, unchanged in essentials, through the twentieth century, and that the time has not arrived to sever the leading strings. Believe me, my Lords, that is a view which, if you wish to secure a sense of gratitude and contentment amongst the populations of India, can no longer be maintained. The whole course of your administration of India, the whole of its fruitful results, culminating in the recognition which you have accorded during the past five years to India as a real partner in the Empire, have produced expectations (and I say justified expectations) that you will now agree to treat her as having outgrown her political infancy. I do not claim, and reasonable Indians do not claim, that her people as a whole have today reached politically man's estate. If I claimed this, I could not consistently support this Bill. But I do claim on behalf of my countrymen that they have reached the age of adolescence. The stage of growth is notoriously a difficult age. It is surely human experience that the guardian best serves his ward's interests, and best conserves a relationship of mutual trust and affection who so orders his control at this period that the aspirations for freedom and self-expression which inevitably accompany healthy adolescence should receive his wise and reasonable indulgence, and that active control should be exercised only to prevent irretrievable errors and to correct undesirable developments.

I believe that this Bill will enable the British Parliament to adopt that attitude towards India, and I have sufficient faith in the character of my countrymen, and in the essential wisdom and justice of the mother of Parliaments to believe that the results of this measure will be to inaugurate a relationship between them which will enable India in due time to reach the full stature of a prosperous, loyal, and grateful partner in the privileges and duties which belong to the great world-family of the British Empire.

Lastly, I ask your Lordships' leave to address a few words to those of my fellow countrymen who may still be inclined to dispute the substantial nature of the advance proposed. Of course, I do not agree with them: but even if there was any proof in their doubts and suspicions, let me tell them in the words of the great Book, if I may do so without irreverence, that what is being given to India is like the grain of mustard seed which a man took and sowed in the field, which now is the least of all seeds,

but when it was grown it was the greatest amongst the herbs and became a tree so that the birds of the air came and lodged in the branches thereof.

Moved, That the B ll be now read 2nd time—(Lord Sinha).

Lord Carmichael : On behalf of Lord Harris, I beg to move that the debate be now adjourned.

Moved accordingly, and debate adjourned until next day, 12th Dec. '19.

Government of India Bill in Committee

House of Lords—16 Dec. 1919

On the motion that the House go into committee on the India Bill, **Lord Ampthill** strongly criticized the Bill and said that the Bill failed to pass the crucial test whether it carried India towards self-government, because it created an Indian oligarchy instead of a British bureaucracy. British prestige in India was already irreparably damaged by yielding to the intimidation of agitators.

Lord Islington supporting the Bill said that dualism was the only means of interpreting sincerely the Announcement of the 20th August, 1917, and the gradual development of self-governing institutions in the provinces could only by that means be carried out.

The Bill was then considered in committee, Lord Donoughmore presiding.

Lord Macdonnell moved an amendment to clause I with the object of substituting unitary system for dualism during the first ten years.

Lord Sydenham supported the amendment.

Lord Sinha declared that the acceptance of the amendment would mean the rejection of the whole principle underlying the Bill.

Lord Ampthill declared that dyarchy was grotesque.

Lord Middleton opposed the amendment which was defeated by 44 votes to 5.

Lord Sydenham moved the amendment that the development of Industries should not be a transferred subject.

Lord Lamington supported the amendment and urged the postponement of its transference.

Lord Sinha pointed out that the Bill did not provide for the transference of subjects which would be dealt with by rules. Therefore, the question would arise when rules which would have to be submittted to Parliament were made.

Lord Sinha emphasized that the provision by which certain provincial industries were transferred depended on rules being made

accordingly and being approved by Parliament. He gave an assurance that rules would be submitted to Parliament to enable it to decide whether the provision made sufficed to abolish misgivings owing to the apprehension with regard to the amount of control it was proposed to leave to ministers and, if Parliament so desired, he did not doubt that they would alter rules in order to show that there was no reason for misapprehension. But he strongly deprecated the House making a definite provision in this connection, because it might occasion suspicion that it was being done in the interests of a particular section.

Lord Middleton emphasized that apprehensions were very great. He urged the clearing up of doubts if with regard to what subjects transferred would tend to the successful working of the Act.

Lord Sinha promised that the Government of India would be free to reconsider the question in the light of that discussion before they made rules for submission to Parliament.

The amendment was withdrawn.

Two amendments by Lord Ampthill were withdrawn and one negatived.

Lord Ampthill then moved an amendment providing for communal representation for important communities.

Lord Middleton emphasized that the Joint Committee had deliberately considered it impossible to work out the actual scheme of communal representation and embody it in the Bill.

Lord Sinha said he could not see what more was wanted in the way of recognition of communal elections than was already in the Bill. It was absolutely impossible to specify in the Bill what communities would have communal representation Up to the present there had been hardly any demand for communal elections apart from two communities which the Joint Committee recommended for special treatment. If there were others it was quite open to the Government of India to make provisions for an electorate.

Lord Southborough suggested that it might relieve tension with regard to this and other matters if Lord Sinha were able to state that Government had treated the recommendations of the Joint Committee as a fair basis on which they would base rules under the Act.

Lord Sinha said that was undoubtedly Government's intention. He would not be performing his duty if he went beyond the Committee's recommendations and said that nothing contrary to their advice should be done by the Government of India. The Bill left the matter open.

Replying to Lord Lamington, Lord Sinda said he assumed that, if in the opinion of the Government of India there were commu-

nities requiring communal or other representation, neither the Bill nor the Report of the Joint Committee would preclude its being given.

Lord Crewe hoped that the Government of India would take the view of Joint Committee in favour of reserving a certain number of seats for non-Brahmans.

Lord Lamington asserted that Lord Crewe's statement indicated that there was nothing binding in the Joint Committee's Report.

Lord Sinha reiterated that Government had accepted the conclusion of the Committee as a basis of rules. He did not doubt that the Government of India, in making rules, would respect the recommendations of the Committee.

Lord Ampthill declared that Government was absolutely committed to the system of providing for non-Brahmans by reservation of seats.

The amendment was rejected by 27 votes to 7.

Lord Macdonnell, after a number of minor amendments had been negatived and one withdrawn, moved an amendment providing for the continuance of membership of the Governor-General's Council. He declared that it was absolutely essential that the Council should be limited very closely. It ought not to be in the nature of an assembly. It ought to be composed of men in whom the greatest confidence could be placed. He viewed any enlargement of the Council very apprehensively.

LORD SINHA emphasized that the Joint committee had fully considered the matter The Government of India completely concurred in the proposals to abolish the limit. The abolition was absolutely necessary in view of the fact that the Council would include three civil servants.

The amendment was negatived.

In clause 31, sub-section I, the following words were omitted on the motion of LORD SINHA: 'Tenure of office by any person who is a member of Council at the time of passing this Act shall not be affected by this provision' and the following words substituted: 'The Council as constituted at the time of the passing of this Act shall not be affected by this provision, but no fresh appointment to the Council shall be made in the excess maximum prescribed by this provision'.

Clause 31 as ammended, was then agreed to. Clause 32, sub-section I, was altered in accordance with the amendments proposed by Lord MacDonnell and accepted by Lord Sinha to read as follows: 'Provision in section 6 of the principal Act prescribing a quorum for meetings of the Council of India shall cease to have

effect and the Secretary of State shall provide a quorum by direction to be issued on this behalf.

Sub-section 2, clause 32, was omitted and the following substituted :— Provision in section 8 of the principal Act relating to meeting of the Council of India shall have effect as though months were substituted for week.

Clause 32 as amended was agreed upon.

The last pragraph in clause 33 was altered on the motion of **Lord Sinha** to read :—

'Any rules relating to transferred subjects made under this section shall be laid before both the Houses of Parliament' etc.

Clause 33 as amended was agreed to, also clause 34.

On the motion of **Lord Sinha** the first portion of clause 35 was altered to read : His Majesty may by order in council make provision for the appointment of a High Commissioner for India in the United Kingdom and for pay, pension, powers, duties and conditions of the employment of High Commissioner and his assistants and by order may further provide' etc.

Clause 35 as amended was agreed to.

Lord MacDonnell moved the insertion of a new clause providing for the appointment of a commission to enquire into the effect of the Act on the position of civil servants recruited in England.

Lord Sinha said that the Government could not accept this. He expressed the opinion that the Joint Committee had provided for compensation for any possible loss in regard to the civil service and other public services. If, despite these precautions, it was unfortunately found that the prospects of officers on being recruited in England were prejudically affected it would doubtless be the duty of the executive Government to make enquiry and take steps to remove the grievances.

The proposed new clause was negatived.

On the motion of **Lord Middleton** with the approval of **Lord Sinha** clause 41 was amended so as to read : The Secretary of State with the concurrence of both Houses of Parliament shall submit to his Majesty names of persons' etc,

After minor amendments had been negatived and some drafting amendments by **Lord Sinha** had been inserted the Bill passed through committee amid cheers.

The sitting was then adjourned

THIRD READING—18 Dec 1919.

The House of Lords passed the third reading of the Government of India Bill. Lord Selborne congratulated Lord Sinha on his conduct of the proceedings.

REPORT OF

Lord Crew's Committee

On the India House Reforms.

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1. The Committee was appointed to enquire into the organisation of the India office and the relations between the Secretary of State in Council and the Government of India. We were directed to have regard generally to the proposals made in the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms for the reform of the Government of India and Provincial Governments, and in particular to the recommendations contained in paragraphs 290 to 295 of the Report.

2. Our terms of reference were as follows.—

(1) To advise what changes should be made in—

(a) the existing system of Home administration of Indian affairs; and in

(b) the relations between the Secretary of State, or the Secretary of State in Council and the Government of India, both generally and with reference to relaxation of the Secretary of State's powers of superintendence, direction, and control.

(2) To examine in particular—

(a) the constitutional powers of the Council of India, its relation to the Secretary of State as affecting his responsibility to Parliament and otherwise and the financial and administrative control exercised by the Council;

(b) the composition of the Council, the qualifications, method of appointment and term of office of its members, and the number of Indian members

(c) the working of the Council in relation to office procedure,

(d) the general departmental procedure of the India office;

(e) the organisation of the India Office establishment, and the question of modifying the system of its recruitment so as to provide for—

(i) the interchange of appointments with the Indian Services, and

(ii) the throwing open of a proportion of appointments to Indians and to make recommendations.

(3) To advise whether any of the charges on account of the India Office, and if so what charges, should be placed along with the Secretary of State's salary upon the Estimates.

(4) To advise how effect should be given by legislation or otherwise, to the Committee's recommendations.

(5) To enquire into and report upon any other matters cognate or relevant to the above, which it may consider expedient to take into consideration.

3. At the outset of our proceedings we felt a certain difficulty regarding matters of military administration, which on a strict view might be held as falling within the scope of our enquiry. We were in doubt whether it was contemplated that these matters should be included among the problems which the Committee was constituted to investigate; and we therefore sought and obtained a ruling that they could be omitted from our consideration.

4. In the interpretation of Head 1. of our terms of reference, we have designed our work to be complementary to that already completed by the two Committees which have reported under Lord Southborough's presidency on the new franchise and the allotment of functions. In order to present on a reasoned basis our conception of the functions to be discharged in the future by the Home administration of India, we have found it necessary to assume something as to the functions to be assigned to the Government of India; and with this object in view we have accepted as our starting point the conclusion of the Committee on Functions, in so far as they indicate the relations between the central and local Governments in India.

5. We desire to record our regret that Lord Inchcape was prevented by illness from joining the Committee. We feel that his wide experience and sound judgment would have been an invaluable help to us in our deliberations.

6. The Committee assembled at the India Office on the 5th March 1919 In all we have held 33 meetings and examined 20 witnesses whose names are given in the appendix to this Report. The nature of the evidence taken was determined to a considerable extent by the necessity of eliciting the facts of the existing system. As it was clear that our conclusions might materially affect the Council of India we thought it right to give the members individually an opportunity of placing their views before us. In addition, we have had the great advantage of hearing Mr. Austen Chamberlain in whose term of service at the India Office the scheme of Indian Reform had its inception.

II.

7. We have set constantly before us the declared policy of His Majesty's Government, namely " the gradual development of self governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realisation of reponsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." To make clear our position in regard to the changes which in our opinion should be made in the system of the Home Administration of Indian affairs in order to achieve the end in view, it will not be out of place to recall briefly the steps in evolution which have tended to differentiate the India office in some important respects from other Government departments.

8. There is much in the existing system which has its origin in arrangements suited to the control by the East India Company of its commerical operations in a distant land. These opperations led to the exercise by the Company of governmental powers, in regard to which Parliament from an early date asserted its supremacy. The interaction of the two forces had by 1858 produced a constitution which may shortly be described as follows :—

The executive management of the Company's affairs was in the hands of a Court of Directors, who were placed in direct and permanent subordination to a body representing the British Government and known as the Board of Control. The functions of the Board were in practice exercised by the President, who occupied in the Government a position corresponding to some extent to that of a modern Secretary of State for India. The Board of Control were empowered "to superintend, direct and control all acts, operations, and concerns which in any wise relate to the civil or military government or revenues of the British territorial possessions in the East Indies" (24 Geo. III, sec. 2, c. 25). Subject to the superintendence of the Board of Control, the Directors conducted the correspondence with the Company's officers in India, and exercised the rights of patronage in regard to appointments.

9 The transference of the administration of India to the Crown in 1858 was effected by the Act for the Better Government of India (21 and 22 Vict., c. 106), which has been regulating the Home administration of India since that year, and of which the main provisions were re enacted in the consolidated Government of India Act, 1915-16. In general, the dual functions of the Board of Control and the Court of Directors were vested in the corporate body known as the Secretary of State for India in Council. The substitution of administrative responsibility on the part of the Government for the superintendence it had formerly exercised caused a redistribution of functions in which the lines of

inheritence became to some extent obscured ; but the persistence of the dual principle can still be traced in the corporate activities of the Secretary of State in Council.

10. "The Secretary of State has and performs all such other like powers and duties relating to the government or revenues of India, and has all such or the like powers over all officials appointed or continued under this Act, 1858, had not been passed, might or should have been exercised or performed by the East India Company, or by the Court of Directors.....either alone or by the direction or with the sanction or approbation of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India" (i. e., the Board of Control), "in relation to that government or those revenues and the officers and servants of that Company, and also all such powers as might have been exercised by the said Commissioners alone" (Government of India Act, 1915-16, section 2 (1).

11. The functions assigned to the Council of India were in some respects derived from the position previously held by the Court of Directors. Under the direction of the Secretary of State, and subject to the provisions of the Act, they "conduct the business transacted in the United Kingdom in relation to the Government of India and the correspondence with India." But at the same time they were given a special function, which was presumably intended to act as a counterpoise to the contralisation of powers in the hands of the Secretary of State. In regard to certain decisions, and notably in regard to "the grant or appropriation of any part of" the revenues of India. The concurrence of a majority of votes at a meeting of the Council of India is required. This provision, usually referred to as the financial veto, has, not without reason, been regarded as the symbol of the special status assigned to the Council in its relationship with the Secretary of State. It is emphasised, though in a lesser degree, by the enactment that in all other matters, with two exceptions, the Secretary of State must consult his Council either at a weekly meeting or by the formal procedure of depositing his proposed orders on the Table of the Council Room for seven days prior to their issue, though he is empowered to overrule the Council's recommendations. The two exceptions are, first, that in cases of urgency he may issue orders without previously consulting the Council, provided that he subsequently communicates to the members his reasons for his action ; and secondly, that "where an order or communication concerns the levying of war, or the making of peace, or the public safety, or the defence of the realm, or the treating or negotiating with any prince or State, or the policy to be observed with respect to any prince or State, and a majority of votes therefore at a meeting of the Council of India is not re-

quire i," the Secretary of State may act on his own initiative without reference to the Council, if he considers that the matter is of a nature to require secrecy. Our description of the statutory functions of the Secretary of State and the Council of India is designedly brief, because we feel that the enumeration of legal powers and safeguards can only creat a very inadequate impression of the actual principles which have been evolved in the working of the system. There are some elements which, as we have tried to show, have been derived from the days of a chartered company yielding more and more to Parliamentary control, and others which were grafted on to the structure at the time when Parliament assumed complete responsibility through its Ministerial represntative ; but the whole organism has been moulded by the instinctive process of adaptation to a form which does not lend itself easily to definition in set constitutional terms. We are content for our purposes to envisage the system in its present working and in its reaction to the new conditions of Indian administration.

12. The Council consists of from ten to fourteen members, each appointed for seven years, of whom nine at least must have served or resided in British India for ten years and must not have left India more than five years previously to their appointment. It is in the main a body differing in status but not in nature from the authorities in India whose activities come under its review. The Secretary of State in Council represents in fact the supreme element of expert control at the higher end of the chain of official administration In his corporate capacity he has delegated wide powers to the Indian administrations without divesting himself of his ultimate responsibilities as the governing authority. The main provisions of the Act of 1858, as we understand them, had the effect of giving prominence to these official duties of the corporation it established. But the Secretary of State, as distinct from the Secretary of State in Council, is generally responsible as a Minister for the co-ordination of Indian and Imperial policy. The Council are by law in a position to obstruct his policy, or indeed the policy of His Majesty's Government, by interposing their financial veto if Indian revenues are affected : but in practice they have acknowledged the supremacy of the Imperial Executive by accepting proposals communicated to them as decisions of the ministry, in so far as those proposals raise issues on which they are legally competent to decide. We mention this demarcation of functions, to which we shall revert, to illustrate the way in which the hard outlines of legal definition have been rounded off by constitutional usage. But we are more immediately concerned at present with the collective functions of the Secretary of State in Council in their relations to the Government of India. And in that relation the governing

body was designed to assert an active supremacy. All measures, administrative, financial and legislative, of the authorities in India are referred to it for examination and decision, except in so far as by general or special orders it has delegated powers of sanction. Delegation has been carried out largely as a matter of expediency, with the direct object of increasing administrative efficiency ; it has not implied, and has not been intended to imply, any radical change in the respective functions of the authorities between whom it has taken place. The Secretary of State in Council retains the ultimate authority as the head of the system ; and we have now to see how far the conception of graduated official control—tempered it may be, at various stages by the advice of representatives of the people—can be adapted to the principle of popular responsibility which is to be introduced.

III

13. The features which typify the Reforms Scheme are the transfer of some subjects of administration from officers of the Crown to representatives of the people in the provinces, and the encouragement in the Indian legislatures of an authoritative expression of popular opinion to which the governments will become increasingly responsive. Simultaneously with these developments a systematic delegation of powers, which, indeed, has long been felt to be desirable in the interests of efficiency, is contemplated in order that the free influence of the new forces may not be blocked at the outset by some survival of the system they are intended eventually to supplant. Leaving on one side for the present the provincial aspects, we proceed to discuss the effects of the scheme on the Government of India, where, it will be remembered, there is no transfer of subjects but a marked enlargement of populer representation. The new constitution of the Indian Legislative Assembly, which will give to the non-official members a substantial majority, is bound to make its weight felt with the Government of India. The problem with which we are immediately concerned is to secure that the opinion of the Assembly should carry corresponding weight with the authorities in whom is vested the power of controlling the Government of India. It appears to us that the conception of the Reforms Scheme leads naturally to the acceptance of the principle, which we here state in general terms, that where the Government of India find themselves in agreement with a conclusion of the Legislative Assembly, their joint decision should ordinarily prevail. We set out below what we conceive to be the application of the principle to the main divisions of governmental functions.

14. First, as regards legislation. At the outset, we think it desirable to secure that the authoriry of the Legislative Assembly

will not be restricted by Government intervention through the Council of State save on the direct instructions of the Secretary of State. The authors of the Joint Report lay down that the special procedure is to be applied only in three cases: first, where a Bill is passed by the Legislative Assembly in a form which imperatively requires amendment: secondly, where the Assembly refuses leave to the introduction of a Bill which the Government regard as necessary, or throws out the Bill at any stage; and thirdly, where in cases of emergency the consideration of a measure by both Chambers would take too long if the emergency which calls for the measure is to be met. On each occasion the Governor-General in Council must certify that the required amendments, or the provisions of the Bill as presented to the Assembly, are essential to the interests of peace, order or good government. Following the phraseology of the Joint Report, we recommend that the Governor-General should be instructed that save in the case of absolute necessity no measure should be certified for enactment by the Council of State without previous approval of its substance by the Secretary of State on the ground that the legislation proposed is essential in the interests of the peace, order, and good government in India. We note that the words employed in clause 20 (4) of the Government of India Bill, regarding certification by the Governor General in Council, are "the safety, tranquillity, or interests of British India or any part thereof," which appear to be of somewhat wider import than those in the Joint Report.

15. In normal cases, where legislation comes before the Secretary of State, it must already have received the assent of the Governor-General, and must have been passed by a majority of votes in the Council of State and in the Legislative Assembly. But inasmuch as there is a substantial official vote in the latter body and normally an official majority in the former, it follows that the measure has not necessarily the support of a majority of the non-official members in either Chamber. In order, therefore, to give proper emphasis to the legislative authority of the Assembly, we recommend that whenever legislation has the support of a majority of the non-official members of the Legislative Assembly, assent should be refused only in cases in which the Secretary of State feels that his responsibility to Parliament for the peace, order, and good government of India, or paramount considerations of Imperial policy, require him to secure reconsideration of the matter at issue by the Legislative Assembly. We would complete our conception of the status to be assigned to Indian legislation by a further suggestion. It appears to us that the exercise of the Governor-General's statutory duties in regard to Acts of the Indian Legislature, as defined in section 68 of the Government of India Act, might suitably be regulated by definite principle laid down for his guidance

in an instrument of instructions issued in His Majesty's name. Effect might be given to the suggestion by amending section 68 so as to read "the Governor-General may declare, "according to his discretion but subject to His Majesty's instructions," that he assents to the Bill, or," etc.

16. In examination of the Budget, and in criticism of general administration, Legislative Assembly can express its views only by means of resolutions; and these will continue to be advisory in character, without legal sanction. The Government may accept a resolution either because they agree with it from the outset, or because they decide to defer to the opinion of the Assembly. Where for any reason reference to the Secretary of State is considered necessary, we recommend that a joint decision of the Government of India and a majority of the non-official members of the Assembly, reached by discussion of a resolution, should be given the same degree of authority as similar decisions on legislative proposals, and that the principle we have stated in paragraph 15 should be applied in these cases also.

17. We now revert to the question of delegation, considered as a supplementary aspect of the scheme of Reform. We are in full sympathy with the opinion expressed by the authors of the Joint Report, that previous sanction to decisions taken in India should be required in fewer cases than in the past, and that in some matters it will suffice in future if the Secretary of State asserts his control by means of a veto if necessary. Delegation of powers is so much a matter of technical detail that we consider our function to be confined to the duty of laying down guiding principles for its regulation. The basis of delegation that we recommend is as follows: that without prejudice to the further relaxation of control by the Secretary of State, the principle of previous consultation between the Secretary of State and the Government of India should be substituted in all cases where the previous sanction of the Secretary of State in Council has hitherto been required; but the Secretary of State should from time to time revise the list of subjects on which he requires such previous consultation, and inform the Government of India accordingly. Our recommendations would apply to all projects, both legislative and financial, subject to the reservations that may be necessary for the proper discharge of the Secretary of State's Ministerial responsibilities. In regard to administrative questions as distinct from those involving legislation of finance, the special need for delegation in the sense applied above does not arise. The administrative power of the Government of India in this respect are not limited by any formal restrictions; but as a matter of constitutional practice, reference to the Home authorities is of course made on what are understood to be specially important

administrative matters It is clear that that practice should be continued under the new system. We think it unnecessary to say more on this head than that the degree of discretion allowed in matters of pure administration should be enhanced in general correspondence with the wider authority to be allowed in future in matters of legislation and finance. As regards the general principle we have suggested, we assume that consultation would be real and effective in the sense that the Secretary of State would receive ample notice of the Government of India's proposals, and that a full understanding between London and Delhi would be reached by a free interchange of views.

18. We have stated our conclusion as to the extent to which the co-operative authority of the Government of India and the Legislative Assembly should be recognised and the corresponding degree in which revision from Home should by constitutional practice be limited. As regards Local Governments we have considered it to be beyond our province to explore the possible lines of devolution from the central to the local administrations which might eventually affect the Secretary of State's relations with the latter bodies. Developments in this respect are likely to vary according to the initial disparity and the different rates of progress exhibited in the several provinces; and we are reluctant to commit ourselves to a general forecast which the future might show to be not only vain but misleading. Consequently, in considering the relationship between the Secretary of State and Provincial Governments, we feel precluded from making any series of explicit suggestions which events might prove to be unworkable or possibly obstructive to reform. For the inauguration of the new system, the conclusions of the Committee on Functions afford in our opinion a sufficient guide to the relationship we have to consider; and we assume that during the earlier stages, at any rate, the Government of India will in the main continue to act as the intermediary between the Secretary of State and Local Governments. On that basis, it appears to us to follow from our general reasoning that in so far as provincial action comes under the cognisance of the Secretary of State, either directly or through the Government of India, he should regulate his intervention with regard to the principle which we have sought to apply to the working of the central Government, namely, that where the Government find themselves in agreement with a conclusion of the legislature, their joint decision should ordinarily be allowed to prevail

19. We have been unable to make a full examination of the position of the Secretary of State in regard to the Civil Services in India; and we must content ourselves with recording our recognition of the weight of the views expressed by the authors of the Joint

Report in their treatment of the matter. We desire that the recommendations in paragraphs 15 and 16 of the present Report should accordingly be read as subject to the necessary reservations on this head.

IV.

20 In approaching the main subject of our enquiry, we have necessarily dwelt on certain aspects of the Reform Scheme on the Indian side, in order to throw into relief the changes in the Home Administration to which they point. The conditions of reform obviously postulate a change of atmosphere in the conduct of administration by the supreme executive: but it is in our view clear that to complete the structure at this end the need for something more than a change of atmosphere is imperative We have endeavoured to show that the existing conception is that of graduated official control, amenable in some respects to popular advice, but in broad outline extending in an unbroken series from the subordinate executives in India to the Secretary of State in Council. That series is no longer to be maintained in India, and we cannot justify the retension of its essential features in London. In so far as the new co-operation between the Government of India and representatives of the people finds effective expression in the manner we have indicated, and in so far as obstacles to further expansion are removed by a wide delegation of powers from home, the case for expert control breaks down. Equally to mark the disappearance of official control from the expert standpoint at home, and to establish the undivided responsibility to Parliament of the Secretary of State, we advocate as our first principle the abandonment of the corporate idea of the Secretary of State in Council. Our recommendation is, therefore, that the powers and authority with regard to the government of India now vested in the Secretary of State in Council should be transferred to the Secretary of State, the date of transfer to be determined by Order of His Majesty in Council. We presume that an Order giving effect to our recommendation, if it is accepted, would be issued as an immediate consequence of the passing of the Government of India Bill into law. It is unnecessary, we trust, to explain that our conclusion implies no failure on our part to appreciate the great services rendered by the Council of India in the place they have hitherto filled in the scheme of Indian administration. It will also be superfluous to labour the subsidiary reasons which have helped us to form our judgment, if we have succeeded in making our main argument clear.

21. Our recommendation has not been made without a close regard to the consequences which will follow if it is carried into effect. In the first place, we have satisfied ourselves that there is no

constitutional function of the Secretary of State in Council which could not equally well, under the new conditions, be discharged by the Secretary of State. We propose that he should retain the statutory position described in the words quoted in the earlier part of this Report, and should modify it by whatever process of constitutional growth appears to him best to fit the circumstances. Our second consideration is one of practical expediency. We have distinguished in regard to the Secretary of State two spheres of action : one in which he has hitherto exercised in Council executive functions which henceforward, in our view, he will leave more and more to the Government of India acting in co-operation with the Legislative Assembly, and the other in which he will retain Ministerial control. The latter presents no difficulty ; the supremacy of the Imperial Government must of course remain unquestioned. In the former case, the position would be equally clear if the Government of India were constitutionally amenable to the will of the Assembly. But we must bear in mind that that state of affairs is not yet in view. The Secretary of State will still have to decide on a number of questions, on many of which he will not wish to invoke the full authority of the Cabinet If in such matters he finds himself compelled to overrule the Government of India he will be likely to incur the charge of ignoring, on his own personal initiative, the collective weight of trained administrative judgment. We have also to remember the variety and complexity of Indian problems. The solution that we propose is to provide him with a collective body of continuous and expert advice. We have no doubt whatever that, in the absence of such a body, the Secretary of State would take the fullest possible opportunity of securing in various quarters consultation of the most valuable kind. But the advice he would obtain would always remain informal and the special difficulty of his position would not be met. The body that we suggest would be established on a statutory basis, with a fixed tenure of office, and its composition would be designed to afford the Secretary of State the kind of advice called for by the circumstances which we hold to justify its creation.

22. An alternative scheme as regards the relations between the Government of India and the Home Administration has been put forward by our colleague Sir James Brunyate who has elaborated it in the statement appended to this Report. Briefly, his position as regards the Council of India as we understand it, is that its retention, while it may not be defensible at some future stage when the Government of India have come more completely under the control of popular representatives in India, is proportionately defensible in so far as that Government remain an executive wholly responsible to the Secretary of State. During this period he would retain the

Council of India as the normal complement to the Government of India, with its existing statutory powers other than the right of financial veto, but with definite limitations of its area of functions. As the focus of the Government of India's responsibility shifted from the Secretary of State to the Legislative Assembly, the need for the corporate control of the Secretary of State in Council would lapse. We have given careful consideration to the proposals, and desire to say that it was fully in accordance with our wishes that Sir James Brunyate has placed it on record as an alternative to our recommendations. We reiterate, however, our opinion that the present is the most opportune time, both for political and constitutional reasons, for marking the inception of the Reforms by a definite and unmistakable change in the Home Administration of India.

23. As regards the functions of the body that we propose should be established, we would mark its distinction from its predecessor by the provision that the Secretary of State should refer such matters as he may determine to the Committee for its advice and assistance, and may provide by regulations for the manner in which the business of the Committee may be conducted. There need, however, in our opinion, be little apprehension that its activities will be desultory, or that the tender of advice will not be regulated by clear and consistent principles. The substitution, for example, of previous State consultation between the Secretary of State and the Government of India for the previous sanction of the Secretary of State in Council indicates a line of work which would naturally come before such a Committee. It would thus in all probability develop a routine which will doubtless take over much of the technique evolved in the long term of the Council's existence, though without some of the statutory prescriptions as to procedure which are found to be inconvenient. We anticipate that it will prove useful to retain the principle of discussion in sub-committees, in order to provide the continuous basis of collective advice, particularly on technical matters, which has proved so helpful in the Committees of the Council of India, and which was endorsed in regard to finance by the high authority of the Royal Commission on Indian Finance and Currency which reported in 1914.

24. The functions we have outlined for the Advisory Committee will naturally determine its composition. We propose that the number of members should be fixed by statute at not more than twelve and not less than six; that the members should be appointed, as in the case of the Council of India, by the Secretary of State; and that subject to the provision suggested below in regard to a minimum of Indian members, he should have full discretion in his selection. The knowledge to which he would turn in the Advisory Committee

would be that most naturally supplied by members with recent official experience in India; and we contemplate that with the reservation just named the majority of the Committee will possess such a qualification. In these cases we do not consider it advisible to incur the risk of limiting the field of appointment by making statutory the requirement laid down in sub-section (3) of section 3 of the Government of India Act as to the qualification of recent service or residence in India in the case of nine members of the Council of India. We assume as a matter of course that the Committee would include a certain number of Indian gentlemen The new conditions appear to us to accentuate the desirability of securing the services of some Indian members who would be accepted in India as truly representing Indian political thought. To this end we recommend that not less than one-third of the members of the Committee should be persons domiciled in India, selected by the Secretary of State from a panel of names submitted by the non-official members of the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Council of State. We consider that a statutory provision to this effect would be appreciated in India as signalising the spirit of co-operation between the Secretary of State and representative elements of Indian public opinion. Our recommendation leaves it open to appoint Indians representing special interests or possessing administrative experience, in addition to those selected from the panel.

25. We recommend that the tenure of office of all members should be fixed by statute at five years. We consider that this period represents a tenure which would be sufficiently attractive to men on high administrative qualifications, and at the same time would afford the Secretary of State the full benefit of the members' experience, while ensuring that the experience should be reasonably in touch with current Indian conditions. There would, however, be an understanding that an Indian member would not necessarily bind himself, by accepting appointment to the Cemmittee, to remain in office for the full term of service. In our opinion, provisions for the re-appointment, resignation, and removal of members, which are given statutory expression in section 3 (5), (6) and (7) of the Act, might more conveniently be met by rule-making powers. We think, however, that section 4, which provides that no member of the Council of India shall be capable of sitting or voting in Parliament, should be amended so as to apply to members of the Advisory Committee. Our reason is that the close connection which we contemplate the members will have with the administration of the Secretary of State is incompatable with the duties of a member of either House of Parliament, and that combination of the two functions might in practice be found to lead to grave inconvenience. On full consideration of the status of the Committee and of the

nature of the work which the members will be called upon to perform we recommend that the salary of each member should be £1,200 a year. We purpose that all Indian members, in view of the fact of their domicile, should receive a subsistence allowance of £600 a year in addition to the salary of £1,200.

We make two further sugestions which find natural place at this stage of our exposition, although they are not directly dependent on the disappearanc of the Council of India. The first is that the signification of His Majesty's assent to reserved Bills of the Indian Legislature and of the local legislatures should be made by His Majesty in Council, instead of through the Secretary of State in Council as hitherto, and should be notified by the Secretary of State to the Governor-General ; and that the disallowance of Acts of the Indian and local legislatures, and of Regulations and Ordinances, should similarly be signified by His Majesty in Council. We should explain that we make this suggestion irrespective of our conclusion as to the Council of India, in order to mark the new status of Indian legislation ; but for the sake of clearness we have preferred to state it after our proposals for the remodelling of the Home Administration as it directly implies a small modification of the existing system.

27. Our second suggestion is that the Secretary of State should regulate by executive orders the mode of conduct of correspondence between the India office and the Governments The issue of orders and communications has hitherto been regulated by the somewhat meticulous procedure prescribed by the Act of 1858 ; and we do not think we need justify our proposal to liberate the India Office from the restrictions imposed by a bygone age and to place it on the same footing as other Government Departments in this respect. There may be other portions of the existing Act to which the spirit of this recommendation would equally be applicable.

28. To sum up in brief our recommendations : we propose the transfer of responsibility from the Secretary of State in Council to the Secretary of State, and the establishment of an Advisory Committee of from six to twelve members, appointed by the Secretary of State, of whom not less than one-third should be Indians selected from a panel of names submitted by the non-official members of the Indian Legislature ; members of either House of Parliament to be ineligible for appointment to the Committee ; the tenure of office to be fixed at five years, and the salary at £1,2001 a year, with an additional allowance of £661 a year in the case of members domiciled in India. The statutory changes which appear to us to be entailed by our recommendations are as follows. For sections 3 of the Government of India Act, 1915-16,

would be substituted a clause providing for the establishment of the Advisory Committee. Section 21 would terminate with the words "shall be subject to the control of the Secretary of State" The words "Secretary of State" with any other consequential alterations throughout the remainder of the Act, and throughout the Government of India Bill which is now before Parliament.

V

29. We proceed to the subsidiary heads of our enquiry, of which the first is the organisation of the India Office establishment. We have interpreted this reference to imply that we should indicate general lines of reconstruction, without entering into technical questions of departmental arrangements. We are satisfied that the time has come for a demarcation between the agency work of the India Office and its political and administrative functions, and the step would commend itself to all classes of opinion in India as marking a stage towards full Dominion status. Accordingly we recommend that preliminary action should be taken with a view to the transfer of all agency work to a High Commissioner for India or some similar Indian Governmental representative in London. We suggest that in the first instance communications should be entered into with the Government of India with the object of transferring to the direct control of that Government the Stores Department and also the Accountant General's Department (subject to any necessary reservations, including the relation of work connected with higher finance) and that the Government of India should at the same time be invited to make suggestions for the transfer to their control of any other agency business such as that transacted by the Indian Student's Department.

30. As regards modifications in the system of the recruitment to the higher administrative staff of the India Office, we find difficulty in adopting a suggestion which appears in the Joint Report, that as one alternative the India Office staff might be recruited from the Indian Civil Service. One serious objection is that a preliminary period of training, undergone in India before the new recruit enters on his duties at the India Office, though it would undoubtedly give his work the initial stimulus of local and freshly-felt experience, would inevitably have to be general and somewhat indefinite in character, and would tend to lose the usefullness of its effect just at the time when he would begin to take a responsible part in the administrative work of the Office. Our general attitude towards the question is governed by the fact that authoritive Indian exprience will be represented in the Advisory Committee, and will not be supplemented on the same plane by members of the permanent establishment. We draw a clear distinction between the advice tendered to the Sec-

retary of State collectively by a body of the status we have in view and that submitted to him individually by his subordinates. In the case of the latter, we regard personal knowledge of Indian conditions as a valuable adjunct rather than as an essential qualification. The evidence before us has indicated the great value of bringing the superior officers of the Home and the Indian Administrations into close touch with each other under daily working conditions, and we presume that the system of deputing these officers, on special duty and with definite objects, from one country to the other will be continued and possibly expanded. So far, we have been dealing more particularly with the case of members of the India Office staff As regards members of the Indian Services, the position is easier. The terms of leave and deputation from India make them more readily available for interchange ; they are not hampered in any special sense of ignorance of local conditions ; and experience has already proved in the temporary adjustment of the India Office staff to war conditions, that they can be employed in the Office with success ; The widening of their experience in regard to the political and Parliamentary functions of the Home Administration and its relations with other Departments cannot fail to be of very considerable value. At the same time we fully realise that the work of the Home Administration requires a special outlook and a special technique which can only be acquired by a continuous training under the traditions of the Home Service

For this reason, and also to avoid the effect of discouragement on the permanent staff recruited at home, we would deprecate any systematic reservation of higher appointments in the India Office for members of the Indian Services. To sum up our conclusions, we are of opinion that it is desirable that from time to time the Secretary of State should depute members of the India Office staff on special duty in India, whenever convenient opportunities present themselves ; and should also employ officers of the Indian Services, or non-officials versed in Indian administration, in the superior work of the Indian Office, but ordinarily on a temporary footing or as supplementary to the permanent establishment. We do not, however, think that, it is desirable or possible to arrange any formal system of interchange between members of the India Office and the Indian Services.

31. We can readily understand the aspiration of Indians to be admitted to a more intimate part in the Home Administration of Indian affairs. In considering how best to provide a legitimate opening, we have to bear in mind that representative Indian opinion will find its place on the advisory Committee, and that the permanent staff requires certain qualifications of a kind to which we

have already referred. Administrative efficiency no doubt will be progressively forthcoming among the Indians who will be available for employment at the India Office under the general scheme of interchange that we have outlined above, and we anticipate that full opportunity will be taken to utilise their services freely with those of the British representatives of administrative work in India. We do not consider, however, that it would be in the best interests of the Indian Empire to create special facilities, whereby appointments in the ordinary administrative line of the India Office might be claimed as a matter of privilege by Indians not necessarily possessing the qualifications which would enable them to gain access to the Office through the channels we have already indicated. There is nevertheless a special force in the argument that Indians should be able to take their place in the higer control of the Office, as distinct from the advisory functions of the proposed Committee. We are of opinion that it would be advantageous if occasion were now and then taken to appoint an Indian to one of the posts which stand as intermediary between the Secretary of State and the Heads of Departments, and we should be willing to see an additional appointment of this kind created, to be filled by an Indian, provided that there were other grounds which could reasonably be held to justify such an addition to the establishment.

32. We have now to consider what alteration should be made in the present system under which the whole of the charges on account of the Indian office are payable from Indian revenues. We understand that it is the intention of His Majesty's Government that the salary of the Secretary of State should, like that of all other Ministers of the Crown, be defrayed from Home revenues and voted annually by Parliament Our main principles have already led us to distinguish the political and administrative duties of the Secretary of State acting as a Minister, from the agency business conducted by the India Office on behalf of the Indian authorities. It appears to follow as a general conclusion that the charges incidental to the former should be met from British revenues. They form a normal part of the cost of Imperial administration, and should in equity be treated similarly to other charges of the same nature. We include under this head the charges on account of the Advisory Committee, which is constituted to assist the Secretary of State in the performance of his Ministerial responsibilities. Charges on account of agency work would naturally continue to be borne by India, in whose interests they are incurred. The exact apportionment is clearly a matter of technical detail which is best left for settlement between the India Office and the Treasury. The priciple that we would lay

down is that, in addition to the salary of the Secretary of State, there should be placed on the Estimates (a) the salaries and expenses (and ultimately pensions) of all officials and other persons engaged in the political and administrative work of the Office as distinct from agency work; (b) a proportionate share, determined with regard to the distinction laid down in head (a), of the cost of maintenance of the India Office; the exact sum payable under heads (a) and (b) to be determined by agreement between the Secretary of State and the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury from time to time. Any arrangement made under this scheme would supersede the adjustment agreed to between the India Office and the Treasury as a result of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure, over which Lord Welby presided. The India Office building and site and other similar property paid for in the past by Indian revenues, and now held by the Secretary of State for India in Council would continue to be Indian property. The statutory change necessary to give effect to our recommendation is provided in clause 22 of the Government of India Bill.

33. In considering in their new aspect the functions of the Secretary of State more particularly in regard to his Parliamentary responsibilities, we have not been able to leave out of account the proposal made in the Joint Report for the appointment of a Select Committee of the House of Commons on Indian affairs. The object of the Select Committee is stated to be to ensure in Parliament a better informed and more sustained interest in India, and its composition is to be limited to the House of Commons on the ground that it is in that House that effective control over Indian administration will, in the view of the authors of the Report, be exercised by means of the debate on the Estimates. We are of opinion that these objects would not be furnished by the appointment of a Select Committee. We do not believe that such step would usefully contribute towards the creation of a well-informed opinion on Indian affairs. Members of the House of Commons are already overburdened by the heavy and ever-increasing duties in connection with Home affairs to which their constituents not unnaturally expect them to give priority. If Parliamentary interest in India is focussed in a Select Committee, effective discussion and Control might be confined within even narrow limits than at present, and criticism of Indian administration from the independent standpoint will indirectly be discouraged. But in any case we feel that the proposal is open to a far more fundamental objection. We believe that the appointment of such a body might encourage a tendency to interfere in the details of Indian administration, and that the result might

militate against the modification of control which is the object of the Reforms to secure. In fact we hold that the argument for a Select Committee, however strong it might have been in the past, inevitably loses weight in proportion as India progresses towards responsible government.

34. As it is clear that the form of the Home Administration of Indian affairs should not be given a geater rigidity than the forms of government which are to be granted in India as the first step towards full responsibility, we assume that the statutory commission of enquiry will include within the scope of their review the range of subjects with which we have dealt in our Report.

35. (This paragraph gives a summary of the Recommendations, for which see the Register for 1919, sec. "Govt Reports," p. 199.

36. Our colleagues, Sir James Brunyate and Professor Keith (See p. 140 find themselves unable, for the reasons stated in the memoranda which they append respectively to this Report, to agree with us in our main conclusions. They have been good enough, however, to place at our disposal the valuable benefits of their assistance in framing our Report, and we desire to record our indebtedness to them for their ready co-operation and for many helpful suggestions which have greatly contributed towards a clear statement of our objects and poposals. Mr. Basu's views also differ in some material parts, and he prefers to state them in a separate Note. Mr Gosling was prevented by pressure of other work from taking part in the consideration of the Report.

37. We disire also to acknowledge the valuable aid rendered by our secretary, Mr. W. R. Gourlay, C.I.E. I.C.S., private secretary to the Governor of Bengal, and to express our thanks to Lord Ronaldshay for his ready consent to our retaining Mr. Gourlay's services through the summer. He was ably assisted by Mr. S. K. Brown of the India Office, whose special experience was of great value to us in considering the working of the India Office and its relations with the Government of India We cannot speak too highly of the assiduity and capacity displaced by both these gentlemen during the conduct of the enquiry and also in the preparation of this Report..

Crewe,
Aga Khan,
Esher,
G. P. Collins,
G. E. Murray,
W. Ormsby-Gore.

W. R. Gourlay, (Secretary)
June 1919.

Mr. B. N Basu's Note

On the India House Reforms

[Mr. Basu, Member of the India Council, and also a member of the Crew Committee, gave a separate Note. The following is the Text.]

I agree with the principle laid down in the majority Report, para. 13, that when the Government of India is in agreement with the Legislative Assembly, their joint decision should ordinarily prevail, and with the recommendations contained in paras. 14, 15 and 16 of the Report to give effect to that principle.

2. As regards the basis adopted in para. 16 of the Report on the subject of delegations, namely, that the principle of previous consultation should be substituted in all cases where previous sanction is required, I do not think it will carry us far. I think it would have been preferable if the Report had gone further and specified the directions in which this principle could be put into operation at the outset. My own view is that in all important matters the Government of India will, before deciding to act in agreement with the Legislative Assembly, take the sanction of the Secretary of State, and previous consultation will in practice come to mean previous sanction.

3. The situation, however, has its possibilities. A convention would soon grow up as to which class of subjects should be sent to the Secretary of State for previous advice or sanction, and which for information only. Sir James Brunyate, in the valuable and thoughtful statement appended to the Report, has propounded a scheme, which, if I understand him rightly, anticipates the growth of this convention by attempting to indicate this class of cases. The two methods are to my mind, having regard to the relations between the Secretary of State and the Government of India, the same in essence. If, therefore, the scheme of Sir James Brunyate for regulating the future relations between the Sec. of State and the Government of India is acceptable as being more definite and a more cautious method of progress, I should be prepared to accept it, as, in my view, the checks it suggests in Group A would soon establish themselves in practice. It has the great merit of suggesting a basis on which future action may be taken in the Government of India itself. Sir James Brunyate rightly says that his enumeration of the subjects under Group is not exhaustive. I therefore do not offer any criticism on it, except to point out that presumably it is his intention to

include education and sanitation in Group B so far as they are not finally provincialised.

4. Special difficulties prevented us from going into the question of the relationship between the Secretary of State and the various local governments, particularly as to whether and how far this relationship should be direct or through the Government of India. I am aware that there is a considerable body of opinion in the provinces in India that this relationship should be direct. I am not inclined to go beyond the limited area of such direct relationship that now exists in regard to the Presidency Governments. I am of opinion that the intervention of the Secretary of State whenever it may still be required in provincial matters, should be through the Government of India; this method of procedure will ensure co-ordination and uniformity of treatment and will facilitate a quick adjustment of disputed matters, as a settlement may be arrived at on the spot more speedily. I am aware that provincial autonomy in certain spheres of government is not only desirable but necessary and at one time, owing to provincial finances being left entirely at the mercy of the Central Government, this cry became insistent in India The position, however, will now greatly change and provinces will henceforth be able to develop their resources without the fear of these resources being commandeered by the Central Government. In this connection I may be permitted to raise a note of warning to my own countrymen. We have to bear in mind that some of the most important matters of administration, such as the Army, foreign relations, etc., which bring together governments of a federal type, will, for a considerable time yet, remain in the hands exclusively of the official Government, and will not be available as a cement to bind the different provinces of India into one organic whole. In the meantime, if we give up the present constant association of the provinces with the Central Government, the growing common life of India may again break into pieces and we may lapse back into an India of diverse and mutually hostile states, unable when the time comes, owing to lack of experience in associated work, to take charge of our corporate responsibilities.

5. Apart, however, from the question of co-ordination and association, to which I attach great importance, the creation of a dualised form of government in the provinces, partly official and partly popular, will to a great extent reduce the area of interference of the Secretary of State in the provinces. I should like briefly to indicate the formula that I should propose:—

(a) In central subjects, the provincial government must take the previous sanction of the Government of India.

(b) In reserved subjects, in matters where it desires to adopt the certificate procedure, it must also do the same.

(c) In reserved subjects, where it is willing to abide by the decision of the Legislative Council, it need only "ex post facto" inform the Government of India.

(d) In transferred subjects its duties will be as in (c).

(e) In all subjects where the Local Government desires to overrule the Ministers or the Legislative Council, it should take the previous sanction of the Secretary of State.

Consequently it is only in regard to (b) and (e) that the intervention of the Secretary of State will be required.

I am in general agreement with Sir James Brunyate's proposals so far as they apply to reserved subjects, subject to the qualification that the Government should not be empowered to adopt the certificate procedure save with the express authorisation of the Secretary of State : and in regard to transferred subjects, I am of opinion that while information as to important action taken therein will naturally be regularly supplied to the Government of India and the Secretary of State from time to time (see paras 25 and 26 of the statement) it should be distinctly laid down that these should be essentially for information only and that the Government of India and the Secretary of State should refrain from using such information as the basis for anything which could be interpreted as interference with the decisions taken.

6. Moreover, as regards expenditure, whether in the Government of India or in reserved subjects in the provincial governments I should not recommend any considerable relaxation of delegation except on one condition, that details of all enhancement over the previous year's Budget are shown in the annual statements to be presented to the Legislative Assembly or the Legislative Council. In regard to transferred subjects in the provinces, it will be a matter of devolution and there should be no reference to the Secretary of State, except when the Local Government seeks to interfere.

7. If the question of provincial governments was a matter into which we could go, apart from their relations with the Secretary of State, I should wholly support the recommedations contained in paras 24 and 26 of the very elaborate and instructive note of Professor Keith, except that in clause 4 of para 26 I should state the formula as regards the withholding of assent to Bills of Local Governments in the terms set out in para 15 of the Report, namely, that such assent should be withheld "only in cases in which the Secretary of State feels that his responsibility to Parliament for the peace, order and good government (of the provinces or of any other part) of India, or paramount considerations of Imperial policy require him to secure reconsideration

of the matter at issue by the Legislative Council." The form suggested by Professor Keith may expose a province in India to influences of special vested interests in any part of the Empire, which is not desirable.

8. As regards the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State, I agree with the Majority Report though not quite for the same reasons. My reasons are, firstly that the abolition of the Council will naturally result in the Secretary of State leaving things more and more to the Government of India, and interfering only in matters of Imperial concern, and secondly, it will thus throw a much greater responsibility on the Government of India, which in its own interests will have to share it with the representatives of the people, apart from any question of statutory obligation. We shall thus bring about greater co-operation and responsible association between the Government and the people, and greater reliance upon their conjoint action, and pave the way to the attainment of self-government in India without much dislocation of machinery.

Advisory Committee.

9. But the creation of a statutory Advisory Committee may deflect the course of events. It will retain the demerits of the present system and will lose some, if not most, of its merits. Having expert Indian advice at his elbow, the Secretary of State will be inclined to take a much larger share than he would otherwise have done in the financial, administrative and legislatitve function of the Government of India, much to the same extent as he does now except in regard to matters to be excluded by delegation, convention or Statute ; therefore the freedom of the Government of India will not be secured ; its official or bureaucratic character, that it is to say, its final reliance upon official authority at Whitehall will still continue unimpaired ; and the process of evulotion which the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme so greatly lays stress on, namely its increasing association with and reliance on the representatives of the people, will be seriously checked.

10. Moreover it will not establish "the undivided responsibility to Parliament of the Secretary of State" on which the Majority Report to a great extent relies for its recommendation on this head. For, if the Secretary of State was at all protected from Parliament by reason of his having an expert Council whose authority he could under the Statute in some cases over-rule, he may as easily seek protection behind his Advisory Committee which if constituted on the lines recommended in the Report will be composed mainly of expert officers whose opinions, for purposes of protection from outside, would have much the same weight as of the existing Council.

11. Then again the Advisory Committee, not being associated with the Secretary of State in the orders he will issue, is bound to lose its sense of collective responsibility; the spirit of co-operation and mutual accommodation which this sense of collective responsibility induces will be weakened, and may disappear, and the Secretary of State may be thus forced to rely more on the advice of individual members than on the joint advice of the Committee.

12. The position of the Indian members who will be taken on a modified system of election will also be difficult. There being no corporate responsibility, their opportunities of influencing the opinion of their official colleagues will be less than at present. The Secretary of State will be under no obligation to seek the advice of his Advisory Committee, and naturally, it cannot be expected that he will seek the advice of his non-official—and, in official view—inexpert, Indian members to the same extent as that of his official expert advisers. This may create a very undesirable situation. I have no doubt that a Secretary of State will always try to avoid any appearance of indifference or slight but the situation is not without its possibilities of misunderstanding and friction.

13. I am therefore opposed to an Advisory Committee with no responsibility and no statutory functions. If it should be decided that for some time at least a Council or an Advisory Committee is necessary, I should prefer a Secretary of State in Council, and to make it easy for the Council to disappear when the time comes without having to wait for a Parliamentary Statute, I should accept the recommendation of Professer Keith, that the King in Council, when even he is so advised, may make an order transferring the function of the Secretary of State in Council to the Secretary of State and abolishing the Council. Nor do I see much objection to accept as an alternative, the suggestion of Sir James Brunyate, that the Council should at the end of the first period of 10 years cease to exist unless the Parliamentary Commission reports in favour of its continuance.

14. If the final Parliamentary decision now be in favour of an Advisory Committee distinct from the Secretary of State, the Committee should have statutory powers, so that the difficulties I have suggested as likely to arise may be avoided; and so long as the revenues of India are by Statute vested in the Secretary of State and can be dealt with by him irrespective either of the Government of India or of any popular control in India, I would not abolish the veto of the Council; the veto has, it is true, never been exercised, but its existence must have a restraining influence and must streng-

then the position of the Secretary of State as against the Cabinet. The abolition of the veto may create unnecessary suspicion in India, as an attempt to remove that last obstacle to the inroad of the British Treasury on Indian revenues, especially in view of the fact that the non-official Indian element in the body which would advise the Secretary of State is about to be strengthened.

15. The Report recommends that not less than one-third of the body should be Indian public men selected from a panel, and leaves it open to the Secretary of State to appoint other Indians representing special interests or possessing administrative experience. In my opinion, having regard to the altered circumstances, the necessity of restraining the officials when they may be tempted to overstep the limits of their spheres, of stimulating, advising, and guarding the popular governments, of harmonising the relationship between the official and non-official Provincial Governments and between the Government of India and its Legislative Assembly, the authority which will have the final decision cannot be safely constituted with less than half its members as Indians. I would, therefore, recommend that half of the number should be Indians, and I am prepared to concede, though this is neither desirable nor essential, for I am sure Indian electorates will elect men possessed of the requisite qualifications, that not less than two-thirds of this number should be selected as recommended in the Majority Report, the rest being nominated by the Secretary of State. As regards the other half, it must be evident from the nature or the duties that the Council or Advisory Committee will have to discharge, that it should not consist wholly of officials. The official experience will be primarily and efficiently represented in the despatches that will come from the Government of India, and also in the permanent departments of the India Office; this experience, while essential in matters of ordinary administration in which the Secretary of State will interfere less and less, is not of the same value when he has got to deal with important matters of policy or constitutional usage involving decisions of critical question between the official government and the popular elements. Under these conditions it is not only not desirable but may even be embarrassing to have a preponderatingly official element in the Council of the Secretary of State. What is wanted is not a reduplication of the Indian official point of view but a broadened outlook from the Indian and British points of view. The Indian point will be secured by the increased representation of the non-official Indian element. The British point of view can only be secured by the introduction into the Council of a new element, namely, Englishmen taken from the public life of England. I would therefore recommend that room should be provided for such association by laying down that not more than

one-third of the members should be officials who had held office in India, the rest being men of British experience nominated by the Secretary of State. To my mind a council so constituted will be an ideal flywheel for the new machinery we are setting up. It we revert to the old constitution, of an overwhelming official preponderance in the body which will advise the Secretary of State we shall be courting grave risk. I see no sufficient reason why the members of the Council of the Secretary of State should be, as now, excluded from sitting in Parliament. There would be obvious advantages if they were allowed to do so especially if they become a merely advisory body.

16. This is a feature of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report which has met with universal and unqualified approval in India. The Majority Report has raised an objection to it which it considers fundamental, namely, that an increasing interest taken by Parliament in Indian affairs might encourage a tendency to interfere and might militate against the object of the Reforms, which is gradually to transfer control to the Legislatures in India. We have to bear in mind, however, that this object, specially in the Central Government, is remotely in prospect, and we shall have a long way to travel before reaching it. In the meantime all the more vital concerns of Government will remain vested in an official executive. This executive will have a very difficult part to play. It is casting no slur upon it to say that it is not properly trained or constituted for its new role. Hitherto, it has held all the threads of administration in its hands; it has been alike the source of power and the instrument of its effective use in all directions. Henceforth, while it will still exercise the paramount functions of government, and consequently retain its position of unchallenged supremacy in what are justly regarded as the attributes of power, namely, the enforcement of law and order, it will have in other branches of administration to take a subordinate place as executant of the will of the people whom it is controlling and governing in a different sphere. The Civil Service has shown great adaptability in the past and I hope its fabric will respond to the new conditions in a spirit of loyal co-operation. But the whole situation requires careful supervision and guidance, not alone by the Secretary of State but by Parliament itself. Parliament is now deliberately transferring some of its powers to the Indian legislatures, and has reserved to itself the determination of the future stage of further transference until India has secured self-government within the Empire. Therefore, until that goal is reached India would not only fear any tendency in Parliament towards taking an increasing interest in her affairs but would urgently want it, and would welcome any means to secure it. We cannot at the present moment give Parliamentary representation

to India, though India, which is still governed by Parliament, stands on a different footing in this respect from the Dominions; and therefore the only way to secure in Parliament some knowledge of and interest in Indian affairs is by means of a Parliamentary Committee, which will be annually constituted with importation of fresh blood, and will thus in the course of a few years give the House of Commons a fairly large number of members with some acquaintance with Indian affairs. Even if this Committee, like the Committee of Public Accounts, deals with the preceding year, it will be able by its annual reports to place before Parliament a 'resume' of some of the most important aspects of administration in India, in a form essentially different from the present official Report on the Moral and Material Progress in India. The British public will have the inestimable advantage of having a picture of India in outline presented by an independent body of men who are dissociated from both the official and non-official elements in India and are the chosen representatives of the British people, and the Indian public will have access to an authority which it will regard more or less as impartial.

The India Office.

17. As regards interchange of the superior staff between England and India, I do not appreciate any very great difficulties. The higher officials in the India Office may and should from time to time be sent out to India to serve or assist in the Secretariat, and their place taken here by Indian officials, who should be of Indian descent, if available. I would not claim any special privilege for the Indian; but it is only fair that when the Indian is equally qualified. he should have preferenee, not because he is an Indian, but because the British element will, in the very nature of things, be preponderatingly represented in the India Office staff. This will be a matter of arrangement which will grow into a system and so arranged as not to affect the prospects of the home officials. As regards Indians being allowed to take a responsible part in the higher control of the office, I think it should be definitely laid down that there should always be an additional Indian permanent Under-Secretary of State. Ordinarily he should not be an Indian Official. With an Indian non-Official member in all the Provincial Executive Councils, and probably more than one minister in all the provinces, with also not less than two members in the Executive Council of the Government of India, it will be easy to combine non-official training with administrative knowledge in a non-official Indian selected for the post.

18. I cordially acknowledge the courtesy and consideration shown to me by my colleagues in the course of our discussions.

B. N. Basu.

Memorandum by Prof. Keith.

Dated the 3rd April, 1919, on Head I. of the terms of reference.

The members of the Committee have accepted the duty of advising the Secretary of State as to "what changes should be made in (a) the existing system of home administration of Indian affairs, and in (b) the relations between the Secretary of State or the Secretary of State in Council, and the Government of India, both generally and with reference to relaxation of the Secretary of State's powers of superintendence, direction, and control". This is the fundamental part of the functions of the Committee, and on the nature of the conclusions arrived at by the Committee upon it must largely depend the conclusions of the Committee on the specific questions mentioned in Head II. of the Terms of Reference. The form and mode of working of the Home administration of Indian affairs must be determined by reference to the functions of that administration; it is not possible to decide whether the powers of the Council should be made advisory only or how it should be constituted, unless and until it is known what duties it must perform. It is true that the burden laid on the Committee by asking it to advise on these fundamental questions is a heavy one, but it would be absurd to suggest that as constituted the Committee is incapable of dealing with them, and it is equally clear that it is the need of advice on these issues that justified the calling together of so strong a body.

To enable the Committee to form opinions on these topics, it is eminently desirable that it should have the advantage of receiving the opinions of Mr. Montagu and Mr. Chamberlain, given, of course, informally and not recorded as evidence. But it is also desirable that the Committee should be informed of the views of such Members of the Council of India as may care to express views on these matters, and of ex-Governors such as Lord Carmichael. To evidence of this type should be added that of a representative of the Labour Party as already suggested, and two such representative constitutional authorities as Lord Bryce and Sir C. Ilbert might profitably be asked for their views.

The task of the Committee is facilitated by the fact that it is not compelled to consider the question in *vacuo*, in which case it would doubtless have been impossible for the members to accept the duty of advising. The Committee is entitled to assume that the scheme of reform adumbrated in the Report is to be adopted, and that their duty is to supply material for completing the scheme. Examination of the Report shows that on the question of the relations between the Home administration and the Indian Governments it is, doubtless, deliberately vague, and that it leaves wide room for recommendations by the Committee. Moreover, in certain matters, the Report expresses aspects of the problem without seeking to harmonise them. Thus it is suggested that when certain subjects have been transferred to Provincial Government "the Secretary of State would cease to control the administration of the sub-

jects which they covered". On the other hand, it is expressly contemplated (pp. 179,180) that the Governor in regard to transferred subjects shall not be at first in the position of a purely constitutional Governor, and that instructions for his guidance in his relations to his Ministers shall be laid down by the Secretary of State in Council. Similarly, even in non-reserved matters (p. 195) the Governor in Executive Council is to have a right in certain cases of intervention. As it cannot be contemplated that the Governor is to act without responsibility to the Secretary of State, it follows that the suggestion on p. 233 must be read as referring to normal procedure, and not as contemplating the complete abandonment of the Secretary of State's control. Similarly, when it is proposed (p. 234) that the Secretary of state "should divest himself of control of the Government of India in some specified matters," this proposal is clearly to be read subject to the fundamental rules (p. 157) that "the Government of India must remain wholly responsible to Parliament" It would appear, therefore, that in his relation to Parliament the Secretary of State remains under the reform scheme responsible for the Government of India, subject to his right when any act done in India is called into question to ask Parliament to refrain from criticism, on the ground that the act in question was that of Indian Ministers responsible to an Indian electorate, with whose discretion it was impolitic to interfere.

The duty of the Committee under Head I. would therefore seem to lie in investigating the existing modes of control exercised over Indian Governments and Legislatures, and framing recommendations as to the retention or modification of such control. It may be convenient as a basis of discussion to consider one or two points in this regard in outline.

I.—Legislation.

(A) *Provincial.*—(a) At present it is incumbent on Provincial Governments to submit for the previous sanction of the Government of India and the Secretary of State all their projects for legislation before introduction (pp. 97, 98). So long as the Legislative Councils were merely in effect advisory bodies, the Government possessing an official majority, the necessity of this rule was obvious. But it would hardly be possible to find any precedent for the application of the rule to a representative legislature. It is open to argument that if Ministers are to have any real authority they must be allowed to submit, after consultation with the Governor, their own projects of Law to the Legislative Councils, since otherwise they can not develop responsibility.

(b) Again, provincial legislation is at present subject to the rule that it cannot alter legislation passed by the Indian Legislative Council save with the previous sanction of the Governor-General. Is it desirable that this restriction should be relaxed as inconsistent with the position of a representative legislature? Might it not be sufficient if early information on the proposed measures were given to the Government of India, as in the case of certain tax proposals dealt with at page 172 the Report?

(c) At present provincial legislation is subject to the assent of the Governor, the Governor-General, and the Crown acting through the Secretary of State in Council. Is it necessary for the Sec. of State to retain the intervention of the Government of India, or should the stage of the submission to the Governor General be cut out, leaving it of course open to the Government of India to submit any objections on the measure to the consideration of the

Secretary of State? The Report (p. 106) contemplates that the Governor-General should in future be allowed to reserve a provincial Bill, and, if this were done, the position would of course be in effect the same as if reference to the Governor-General were cut out If the stage in question were omitted, it would be necessary to give the Governor the power to reserve a Bill, and it may be possible that this power should be given in any case.

(d) Whatever relaxation of control may be possible as regards transferred subjects, the question arises to what extent similar relaxation is possible as regards reserved subjects. Should a distinction be made between such matters when submitted to the Legislative Council as a whole and when subjected to the Grand Committee procedure? In the former case might the measures be treated on the same footing as measures on transferred subjects, while in the latter case should the full control of the Government of India and the Secretary of State retained? Should the Governor be instructed never to resort to Grand Committee procedure without the authority of the Secretary of State?

(e) On what principles should the Secretary of State exercise his power of disallowance whether directly or through the Governor? Is provincial legislation to be judged on its merits as they appear to the Secretary of State in Council or to the Governor? Or is the principle to be accepted that legislation passed by a clear majority of the elected members is to be allowed to stand unless it runs counter to some Imperial interest or is flatly immoral? The divergence between these two standpoints of criticism would often be fundamental.

(B) *Indian.*—In the case of Indian legislation, where the complication of transferred and reserved subjects does not arise, the chief question appears to be the extent to which the Government of India should be granted freedom of action in submitting measures for enactment to the Legislative Assembly. Measures to be carried by the Council of State would presumably first be submitted for the approval of the Secretary of State, but is it desirable to retain so much control in the case of measures to be approved by a representative legislature? Again, what criterion of approval should be applied to acts passed by the Legislative Assembly?

II.—Administration

(a) As regards administration, the first question which presents itself is the nature of the relation to exist between the Governor and Ministers. Is he virtually to govern through them, or is he to be only a candid critic? The legal position which he will occupy will be so strong that he will be able, if he so desires, virtually to reduce the powers of Ministers to a minimum, and the actual nature of the new form of Government must depend on the instructions given to the Governor. For instance, he might be instructed to report every case in which he overruled Ministers, giving his reasons for action, so that he might receive the benefit of the advice of the Secretary of State, while in matters of great importance in which he differed from Ministers, he might even be instructed to suspend action pending reference to the Secretary of State.

(b) As regards reserved matters and the executive authority of the Government of India, it may be asked what treatment is to be accorded to Resolutions of the representative legislatures calling for executive action. Should, in any case in which effect can not be given to the Resolution, the

Government concerned be required to report the Resolution to the Secretary of State with a statement of reasons for not acting upon it? And generally should it be a standing instruction to the official governments that in their action even without their own sphere they shall seek the closest possible co-operation with the representative legislatures?

III.—Finance

(a) It is clear that in the past the necessity of supervision by the Secretary of State has arisen from the absence of popular control in India. In view of the new arrangements contemplated for the provinces, would it be desirable to lay down that all proposals for expenditure must first be submitted to the Legislature; that, if approved by that body, they would normally be accepted by the Secretary of State before the Governor exercises his power of insisting on an allotment?

(b) In the case of the Indian Budget, should it be a rule that in any case in which a Resolution of the Legislative Assembly on an item is objected to by the Government, the matter should be reported to the Secretary of State for his decision?

(c) In view of the existence of representative legislatures should the classes of matters in which the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council is necessary be drastically revised so as to bring within this category none but proposals of great magnitude? If so what limits can be suggested either in the case of appointments or of public works?

Minority report by Professor Burriedale Keith on the terms of reference to the Committee on the Home Administration of Indian Affairs

I regret that the divergence of opinion between the majority of my colleagues and myself on certain important matters is so great as to render it impossible for me to concur in the Majority Report. This divergence of view rests on our varying conception of the true line of development in the relations between the Secretary of State for India as representing the Government of the United Kingdom, and the Government of India, which should be followed in order to achieve the progressive realisation of responsible government in India, the goal envisaged in the declaration of the policy of His Majesty's Government made by the Secretary of State in the House of Commons on 20th August, 1917. From some of my colleagues I differ also in holding that it is no part of the duty of the Committee to take into consideration, in framing their proposals, difficulties which His Majesty's Government might experience in securing their acceptance by either House of Parliament, as I hold that Parliament would derive more real help from conclusions based entirely on the merits of the case. I must also express the opinion that the evidence taken by the Committee was far too predominantly official in character, and that the views of political circles in India were not adequately before the Committee. Had it been possible for my colleagues to realise the force and weight of Indian opinion on the issue before us, I cannot but feel that there must have been a considerable difference in the terms of their Report, which, in my opinion, is in too large measure based on the views which were with equal energy and ability urged upon us by several members of the Council of India and officials of the India Office, who have attained official maturity under the Council system, and who, I consider,

hardly realise the true significance of the declaration of 20th August, 1917, and of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. Further, I consider that a fundamental error has been committed by my colleagues in treating as the main subject of our enquiry the position of the Council of India in the scheme of Home administration of Indian affairs. It appeared to me that this question was one essentially of secondary importance, and that it was impossible to treat it with any prospect of a satisfactory conclusion until the problem—appropriately placed as the first of the terms of reference—of the relations of the Secretary of State to the Government of India had been examined with due care disposed of, The conclusions reached, therefore, by my colleagues seem to me to suffer from the fatal defect that they are not based on any clear or consistent conception of the measure of control which in future is to be exercised by the Secretary of State over governments in India.

2. It is a fundamental feature of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, which formed the basis of our enquiry, that the Government of India shall remain an official Government, and be exempt from the principle of dyarchy adopted for the government of the provinces. But it is another essential part of the scheme that, while the official character of the Government shall be rigidly maintained, a new charter shall be given to the legislature by the substitution for the present Legislative Council, of two chambers, in one of which, the Legislative Assembly, at least two-thirds of the members shall be elective. To prevent the occurrence of the deadlocks, almost inevitable between an official government and an elective chamber, special power is given to the Government of India to secure legislation by the second chamber, the Council of State, in which there is a nominated majority alone, but it is clear that the intention of the framers of the Report is that the Legislative Assembly will normally share in all legislative proposals and will have opportunities of criticising expenditure.

3. The fundamental question before the Committee, therefore, appears to me to be the relation in which the Governor-General in Council under the reform scheme is to stand to the Secretary of State. The following among possible answers, may merit notice :

(a) It may be held that the maintenance of the Government of India as an official government does not necessitate any change in principle in the relations which it occupies to the Secretary of State, and that, while delegation of authority in financial and other matters from the Secretary of State may go on, this should be governed by the principles at present adopted, no essential change being involved in the existence of the Legislative Assembly.

This is an extreme view, and I do not think it necessary to say more than that it seems to me flatly contrary to the whole spirit of the policy of His Majesty's Government.

(c) It may be held that, as suggested to us by one witness, the Secretary of State should retain control of the Government of India only in certain defined matters, covering such questions as external affairs and criminal law, but in all other matters he should abandon formally any right to control the Government of India. It is of course possible to hold the view that this might be a suitable method of leading up to responsible Government, the Government of India cut off from normal connection with the Secretary of State might become more and more amenable to Indian influence, and the Im-

perial Government might thus find it easy to consent to a complete change in the official character of that body.

I consider, however, that this scheme must be regarded as inadmissible on the ground that it contravenes an essential constitutional principle by creating a body of officials who are not responsible to an Indian Legislature and yet are not responsible through the Secretary of State to the British Parliament. In practice I cannot conceive that any Secretary of State or House of Commons would tolerate such a state of affairs.

(e) It may be held—and I think that those of my colleagues who favour the retention of a permanent advisory body by the Secretary of State must logically hold—that, while the existence of a representative Legislative Assembly must be taken into account in determining the nature of the control to be exercised by the Secretary of State, the time has not yet come when the attitude of the Secretary of State towards the actions of the Government of India can be based substantially on the consideration whether or not the Government in so acting is carrying out the wishes of the elected representatives of the people. From this position it follows that no clear guidance can be given to the Secretary of State as to the principles which should guide his action, and it will rest with him, in consultation with his advisers (whether, as Sir James Brunyate desires, the Council of India or, as the majority prefer, an Advisory Committee) gradually to work out some line of action.

I cannot think that such a solution of the problem much help in the development of responsible Government in India. It could hardly avoid bringing the Secretary of State into needless controversy with the Legislative Assembly, and it would certainly hamper that process of decentralisation which is admittedly one of the most clamant needs of India.

(d) The true solution appears to me to lie in realising that the reform scheme is a reality, and that it demands a definite decision of the Secretary of State to abandon the use of powers which he has long and doubtless beneficially wielded, but which cannot, consistently with the development of self-Government in India, remain in normal exercise. The principle to be adopted is simple: *when the action of the Government of India is in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the representatives of the Indian people in the Legislature, interference by the Secretary of State is justifiable only when, after careful consideration of all the circumstances, he is satisfied that his intervention is necessary in the interests of the peace, order, and good government of India or of some part of the Empire other than India.*

4. It is clearly impossible to define the classes of cases, in which the Secretary of State may have to intervene, in such a manner as to permit of any restriction by statute or by statutory orders of the supreme right of superintendence, direction and control vested in him by Section 2 of the Government of India Act, 1915. It must be remembered that in India the electorate which will be represented in the Legislative Assembly is a very small fraction of the people of India, and this fact alone makes more delicate and difficult the duties of the Secretary of State But the essential feature of the situation under the reforms scheme should be the deliberate and honourable acceptance of the view that, if the Government of India has the support of the representatives of the people, it lies with those who advise interference to make out a substantial and grave cause of interference.

5. If, on the other hand, it is felt necessary by the Government of India to disregard the wishes of the Legislative Assembly, there will rest on the Gov-

ernment the burden, not merely of satisfying the Secretary of State of the advisability of their action, but also that causes existed which justified them in insisting upon carrying it out, despite the wishes of the Assembly. The Government of India will thus have every reason to bring its action more and more into accord with Indian feeling, while retaining its official character, and a real, if modest, step will have been taken towards the consummation of the ideal, set in the declaration of 20th August, 1917. To go further [illegible] this would violate the principle of the official character of the government postulated by the reforms Report ; to concede less than this would, in my opinion, justly be regarded as falsifying the legitimate aspirations founded upon the scheme and language of that Report. I recognise that my proposals may be deemed dangerously to weaken the power of the Government of India, but I am convinced that this opinion is erroneous, and that the just authority of that Government will suffer no impairment, but rather be enhanced, by being brought into closer touch with Indian feeling. The justification of British Rule in India is that it promotes the interests of the Indian people, and it would be a calamity if any encouragement were given to the idea that the Government of India should not aim earnestly at working in harmony with those who from their position must often be better judges of Indian interests than the most benevolent official Government.

Head I. The existing system of Home administration of Indian affairs, and the relations between the Secretary of State, or the Secretary of State in Council, and the Government of India.

A.—Central Subjects

I.—Legislation

(*1*) *Introduction of Bills*

6. The divergence in principle between my colleagues and myself appears at once in our attitude to the question of the necessity of the Government of India obtaining the approval of the Secretary of State prior to the introduction of legislative proposals into the Indian Legislature. It follows from the principles which I have set out that I would leave a general discretion to the Government of India to introduce legislation into the Legislative Assembly without prior consultation with the Secretary of State save in cases where Imperial interests were obviously affected, namely, bills affecting (*a*) the discipline or maintenance of any part of His Majesty's military, naval or air forces, and (*b*) the relations of the Government with foreign princes or States. In these matters no Bill can be introduced by a member of the Legislature without the sanction of the Governor-General, and there is, therefore, no difficulty in making effective the rule of prior consultation with the Secretary of State. In any other case, of course, the Government of India would be entirely at liberty to apply to the Secretary of State for advice and help, and doubtless it would often do so, but the only rule I would lay down would be that the Government of India should keep the Secretary of State fully informed (by telegram in cases of importance) of all legislative proposals introduced into the Indian Legislature, whether proposed by their authority or by private members.

7. My colleagues, however, are not prepared to make any further concession than the substitution of prior consultation with the Secretary of State for prior consent, and the grant of permission to the Secretary of State to

define the cases where he considers such prior consultation necessary from time to time, on the understanding that he may vary the list by addition or subtraction as he deems fit. The former change is one in which I entirely concur, but it is important to recognise that, while the new phraseology is preferable to the old, there will in substance be no alteration in the effectiveness of the control of the Secretary of State ; the advice of the Secretary of State in the ultimate issue, if it is pressed, is indistinguishable from a command ; no Secretary of State could accept responsibility for his statutory duties towards India if he could not rely on the Governor-General deferring in the ultimate issue to his opinion as the representative of His Majesty's Government. The latter change amounts to no more than a pious intimation of opinion that decentralisation is necessary ; a view which hardly rises above the level of a platitude, and a confession of the incapacity of the Committee to deal with the point at issue. The suggestion, however, that the Secretary of State is to be free to increase his control as well as relax it from time to time can only be based on a distrust, which I do not share, of either the Government of India or the Indian Legislature. A final *reductio ad absurdum* of the position appears to me to be afforded by the fact that any private member may introduce at pleasure measures which the Government of India must submit to the Secretary of State and thus, if it so desired at any time, the Government could secure the presentation of its views in this form without reference to the Secretary of State. The importance of the point lies is the fact that if Bills continue thus to come home for the prior examination there is retained a large amount of unnecessary work to be performed by the India Office to act as a normal part of the machinery of Indian government instead of exercising its role of high control. Moreover it seems to have been forgotten by my colleagues that the value of prior consultation is indefinitely limited by the introduction of a fully representative element in the Legislature, which will result in far freer amendment than hitherto of Indian legislation. Nor can I think that it is altogether consistent with the dignity of the Government of India that it should be subject to a closer degree of supervision than the Governments of the Crown Colonies.

8. The position, however, differs entirely when it is not a question of carrying legislation through the Legislative Assembly, but when it is intended that the Governor-General-in-Council should certify a measure as essential for the safety, tranquility, or interests of some part of British India, or on the ground of emergency, and secure its enactment by the Council of State without the assent of the Legislative Assembly , or when the Governor-General-in-Council purposes to make regulations for some part of British India under section 71 of the Government of India Act ; or when the Governor-General exercises the extraordinary emergency power of legislating by ordinance. In all these cases, in which *ex hypothese* the matter is being withdrawn from the cognisance of the representatives of the people I consider that prior assent should always be obtained, by telegraph if necessary. I suggest therefore that the Governor-General should be instructed that save in the case of absolute necessity, no measure should be certified for enactment by the Council of State, and that no regulation or ordinance shall be passed, unless the Secretary of State has previously approved of the substance of the proposed measure on the ground that it is essential in the interest of the peace, order, and good government of India. Unless the arrangement is adopted, I consider that there is

grave risk in leaving the liberties of British India at the mercy of legislation by ordinance or regulation, and I cannot believe that my recommendation in this regard is really, as my colleagues seem to hold, more than an affirmation of existing usage.

Assent to, Reservation of, Bills

9. It is with much pleasure that I find that the majority of my colleagues concur with my view "that assent should be refused to Indian legislation accepted by the majority of non-official members of the Legislative Assembly only in cases in which the Secretary of State feels that his responsibility to Parliament for the peace, order, and good government of India, require him to secure reconsideration of the matter at issue by the Legislative Assembly." It is hardly necessary to emphasise the real nature of the recognition thus accorded to the importance of the Legislative Assembly as expressing the popular will; on the other hand, the Secretary of State will be bound to act with due regard to Imperial interests in the wide sense of the term, and it is not impossible that, in view of the comparatively restricted character of the franchise, he may be compelled at times to consider whether the Legislative Assembly in a given case really represents the will of the people. This will be a task of great delicacy and difficulty; the occasion for action should seldom arise, since the Government of India can always prevent the passing of legislation unfair to the interests of the classes imperfectly represented in the Legislature; but the principle must be conceded as a necessary concommitant of the imperfection of representative institution in India for the time being.

10. Objection was taken in the discussion of this resolution in the form given above, in which I moved it, to the specification of the majority of non-official members as being the dominant condition of the operation of the proposal. The reason, however, for this limitation is simple; under the reform scheme, as modified by the report of the Franchise Committee under Lord Southborough, of total membership of 120 in the Assembly no less than 26 may be officials, and in a conceivable case the officials with the nominated members and but 20 elected members might carry measures against 60 elected members. In actual practice, a measure may not rarely be carried by a majority, while the majority of non-official members are opposed to it. In such a case it would be absurd to place any fetter on the action of the Secretary of State, but in dealing with the measure he will doubtless give such weight as may be appropriate in each case to the fact that the measure has been carried against the views of the elected members.

11. Measures passed by the Indian Legislature will fall in future into two broad classes, those which will be regarded by the Secretary of State as requiring no special examination or scrutiny, and Bills which will call for earnest consideration in the light of the responsibilities which he will still retain. A simple and effective means of discriminating between these two categories of measures has played a large part in the history of the treatment by the Crown of Dominion legislation, and it appears to me that the moment when India is beginning to enter upon a path which if intended to lead in the future to her achieving Dominion status, is appropriate for adopting the system in India. This can be effected in the first place by providing that the power of reserving Bills which is at present enjoyed by the Governor-General

shall be exercised according to His Majesty's instructions, and in the second place by requiring that the Governor-General shall reserve Bills falling under certain classes, it being understood that Bills not falling in the category will normally not be disallowed by His Majesty, while Bills included in any of the classes specified will be subject to scrutiny of closer nature, and will only come into force on approval by his Majesty's Government.

12. I suggest, therefore : (1) that section 68 of the Act of 1915 be amended by adding after "the Governor-General may declare" the words "according to his declaration, but subject to His Majesty's instructions " (that he assents to the Bill or withholds assents from the Bill, or reserves the Bill for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure thereon"; and (2) that the following instruction be given by His Majesty to the Governor-General :

"The Governor-General shall not assent to any Bill of the following classes:

(1) Any Bill containing provisions which are repugnant to the provisions of the Government of India Act or any other Act of Parliament.

(2) Any Bill containing provisions to which Our assent has been refused or which has been disallowed by Us

(3) Any Bill which he has been specially required by one of our Principal Secretaries of State to reserve.

(4) Any Bill the provisions of which shall appear inconsistent with obligations imposed upon Us by treaty.

(5) Any Bill imposing differential duties.

(6) Any Bill affecting the currency of India or relating to the issue of banknotes.

(7) Any Bill affecting the discipline or maintenance of any part of Our military, naval, or air forces.

(8) Any Bill affecting the relations of the Government with foreign princes or States.

(9) Any Bill whereby persons not of European birth or descent may be subjected to or made liable to any disabilities or restrictions to which persons of European birth or descent are not subjected or made liable.

(10) Any Bill for the divorce of persons of European birth or descent joined in holy matrimony.

(11) Any Bill of an extraordinary nature and importance whereby Our prerogative, or the rights and property of Our subjects not residing in India, or the trade and shipping of the United Kingdom or any part of Our Dominions other than India, may be pre udiced.

Provided that it shall not be necessary for the Governor-General to reserve any such Bill if it contains a clause suspending the operation of the Bill until the signification of Our pleasure there upon; or if he has received instructions from one of Our Principal Secretaries of State either to assent to the said Bill or to withhold his assent ; or, if he is satisfied that an urgent necessity requires that the said Bill be brought into immediate operation, in which case he is authorised to assent to it, but is to transmit to Us, by the earliest opportunity, the Bill so assented to, together with his reasons for assenting thereto.

(3) *Form of Assent to, and Disallowance of, Legislative Measures.*

13. I desire also to recommend—and this quite irrespective of any decision arrived at as to the future of the Council of India : (1) that the signi-

fication of His Majesty's assent to reserved Bills of the Indian Legislature (section 68 of the Act of 1915) and of the local legislatures (clause 10 of the Bill) shall be made in Council, and not through the Secretary of State in Council, and shall then be notified by the Secretary of State to the Governor-General; and (2) that the disallowance of an Act of the Indian and local legislatures, of regulations under section 71 of the Act of 1915, and of ordinances under section 72 of the Act, should similarly be signified by His Majesty in Council. In this view my colleagues concur.

II.—Finance

14. With regard to finance, it is essential to bear in mind that under the Government of India Act (section 67) no measure may be introduced into the Indian Legislature affecting the public debt or public revenues of India or imposing any charge on the revenues of India without the previous sanction of the Governor-General, and that, under the terms of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, it is intended that, while the budget will be introduced in the Legislative Assembly, it will not be voted by that body, which may, however, exercise criticism upon it by way of resolutions. There can, therefore, be no possibility either of private members forcing upon the Government the consideration of financial measures to which it is opposed or of the Assembly coercing the Government by means of the refusal of supplies. There is, therefore, need of some conventions in practice if the association of the Legislative Assembly with the form of government, which is admittedly desirable, is to be carried out.

15. From the point of view of public opinion in India this question suggests itself especially in the form of the demand for fiscal autonomy, which is claimed partly on grounds of national self-consciousness with which all must sympathise, partly because it is believed that by means of protecting industrial activity in India it might be enormously strengthened to the advantage primarily indeed of India, but secondarily also of the whole Empire. The Government of India is credited by Indian opinion with sharing the aspiration of India in this regard, and the proposition has accordingly been pressed upon us that in fiscal matters, if a proposal of the Government of India is approved by the Legislative Assembly the Secretary of State should have no power of intervention. The Government of the United Kingdom can rely, it is argued, that the Government of India will not bring forward any proposals which would run counter to the interests of the United Kingdom. It seems to me, however, impossible to accept such a doctrine as constitutionally tenable. The members of the Government of India, whatever their nationality in the narrower sense of the term, are agents of His Majesty's Government for the administration of the affairs of India; they are not experts in the affairs of the United Kingdom, and they cannot be expected to form an impartial or accurate account of the extent to which fiscal legislation in India may affect the United Kingdom. The only authority which can decide whether or not India is to enjoy fiscal freedom and in what measure is the British Cabinet, subject to the control of Parliament, and it is impossible to lay down any constitutional principle in this regard as obligatory for acceptance by Parliament. If, indeed, India were in the position of ability to stand alone like Canada, or even to accept full responsibility for the control of all her internal affairs, no question would arise as to her right to autonomy in fiscal policy, but as matters stand it is impossible to deny to the

Government of the United Kingdom the means of securing that no hasty steps are taken which might bring the Empire into difficulties with foreign nations, or result in a severe strain on the relations between India and the United Kingdom. On the other hand, I cannot but feel that, though the logical strength of the Indian demand for fiscal autonomy is far from great, every consideration of practical statesmanship, and of the traditional generosity of the people of the United Kingdom, tells in favour of the grant in practise to India of the same measure of freedom as is accorded to the Dominions. But the grant must be frankly made by the Government of the United Kingdom; it cannot with any propriety be conveyed in the indirect form of an acceptance of the doctrine that the members of the Government of India are true representatives of the interests of the United Kingdom in all spheres.

16. I consider, therefore, that in the case of all taxation measures, while the prior assent of the Secretary of State to their introduction into the Indian Legislature should not be necessary, the Government of India should be required to submit for the information of the Secretary of State the substance of any proposals which they intended to introduce into the Legislature, in sufficient time to permit of his making any observations on the proposals which he deemed desirable on Imperial grounds. I cannot share the view of some of my colleagues that it is any part of the duty of the Secretary of State to criticise financial proposals of this on grounds of mere internal interest. I do not share the belief that the Secretary of State is ever likely to have at his disposal at home advice of such quality as to justify him in seeking to become the source of fiscal legislation for India, and interference of this kind would, I am sure, be injurious alike to the Government of India, to the Legislative Assembly, and to the Secretary of State. His one duty should lie in considering taxation proposals from the broad standpoint of Imperial and international relations, and, if he decides on some ground of this kind to take exception to proposed legislation, his intervention would bear an entirely different character and acquire much greater importance than if he normally allowed himself to become the mouthpiece of criticisms by retired officials of the progressive ideas of their successors in office.

17. On the other hand, I regret that my colleagues have determined to claim previous consultation in the case of measures not only of taxation but of expenditure, whether or not involving taxation or borrowing. If it is limited to the case of expenditure involving taxation or borrowing, then, apart altogether from the illogical character of the proposal, it seems to me to be based on a fundamental error, the view that, if India engages in rash borrowing, the United Kingdom will in some measure become responsible for its finances. No countenance should, I suggest, be given to the idea that the debts of India have any significance for the United Kingdom. The argument by which my colleagues appear to have been moved seems to be that, as the Secretary of State plays a part in the process of borrowing money in the United Kingdom, it is necessary that he should control any expenditure which it is likely to render borrowing necessary. If, however, the argument were to be pressed to the logical conclusion, the result would be to insist that all expenditure should remain permanently under the full and detailed control of the Secretary of State. But in point of fact, the true function of the Secretary of State in regard to borrowing should be treated as one of agency only, the work to be transferred as early as possible to an agency in London

of the Government of India, or, preferably, to a State Bank, just as the financial business of the Commonwealth of Australia is transacted through its own Bank. Every consideration of constitutional propriety and practical advantage points to placing on the Government of India, subject to the control of the Legislative Assembly, responsibility for expenditure, and I suggest the adoption of the following principles in the early years of the operation of the reform scheme .

(1) That all the proposed expenditure of the Government of India shall be submitted to examination and criticism by the Legislative Assembly.

(2) That as far as possible the estimates submitted shall be framed to distinguish between normal recurrent expenditure and extraordinary expenditure, as in the case of (1) a reorganisation on an increased scale of, or the creation of, a branch of the public service, and (2) public works of special importance and cost.

(3) That when proposals are approved by the Legislative Assembly the Secretary of State should overrule them only if satisfied that he cannot accept them consistently with his responsibility to Parliament for the peace, order, and good government of India.

(4) That, when proposals are disapproved in whole or in parts by the Legislative Assembly, the Secretary of State should approve them, with such modifications, if any, as he thinks desirable, only if satisfied that he cannot otherwise perform his duty to Parliament.

(5) That, in order to provide an effective substitute for the detailed financial control hitherto exercised by the Secretary of State in Council, it is necessary that—

(1) the Audit Department in India should be given a more independent position and the scope of the audit widened ;

(2) an annual report on the account of the preceding year should be presented to the Legislative Assembly by the Auditor-General, who in drawing up the report, should follow the principles adopted in the preparation of the reports of the Comptroller and Auditor-General in the United Kingdom ;

(3) the report of the Auditor-General should be considered by a Public Accounts Committee of the Legislative Assembly, and any matters arising out of it should be brought by the Committee before the Assembly in the form of resolutions

(4) the report of the Auditor-General together with any observations on it by the Public Accounts Committee, and any resolutions of the Legislative Assembly, shall be transmitted by the Government of India to the Secretary of State, who may issue such decisions on the matters involved as he considers necessary to secure the safeguarding of the revenues of India.

III.—Administration

18. On this head I recommend :—

(I) That administrative decisions of the Government of India, acting in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the non-official members of the Legislative Assembly, expressed by resolution or otherwise, shall be revised by the Secretary of State only when he considers it imperative to do so in the interests of the peace, order, and good Government of India, or of some part of the Empire other than India.

(2) That in any case in which a resolution is passed by the Legislative

Assembly, to which the Government does not deem it desirable to give effect, a special report shall be made to the Secretary of State, in order that he may give any directions which he thinks fit regarding the matter at issue.

19 The first of these recommendations failed to meet with the approval of all my colleagues in so far as it makes the operation of the rule conditional on the majority in the Assembly being composed of non-officials; but I confess that I am unable to see why the Secretary of State's decision should be fettered in any way because a majority has been obtained in the Legislative Assembly by the use of the solid block of 26 official votes. Doubtless in such a case there would be little motive for intervention by the Secretary of State, but there is no constitutional ground for laying down any principle in the matter

20. The second of these recommendations has been criticised on various grounds. It has been objected that in matters of this nature a special report would certainly be made, and that the recommendation is therefore superfluous. I would reply that, even if the assumption were true, there would be no harm in making it a clear obligation, and that in any case the recommendation goes further, since it expressly contemplates that the Secretary of State shall consider each instance on its merits, and issue directions if he thinks fit. This feature of the recommendation is the ground of another criticism, as it is held that such a rule would weaken the position of the Governor-General in Council. I do not, however, accept as valid this objection, since it rests on a conception of the predominant character of the Government of India which I cannot reconcile with any constitutional form of administration.

B.—PROVINCIAL SUBJECTS.

21. The question of the position of the Secretary of State in regard to provincial subjects is one which appeared to me to fall definitely within the limits of the Terms of Reference, and all doubt on the matter was removed by the communication in a letter of May 13th of the views of the Secretary of State on the topic. Mr. Montagu wrote:

"In considering the relations between the Secretary of State and the Government of India, your Committee is concerned—

(1) with the duties of the Government of India in relation to central subjects, for the administration of which the Government of India is, and is to remain, directly responsible; and

(2) with its duties in relation to provincial subjects, the administration of which is entrusted to provincial governments, over which the Government of India exercises, and is to continue to exercise, a certain measure of control."

22. At the same time Mr. Montagu expressed the opinion that, while it was best for the purposes of the inquiry to assume that the Government of India would continue to be the normal intermediary between the Secretary of State and local governments, "if there are special matters in respect of which your Committee find reason to think that the normal arrangement should be departed from, and that local governments should be brought into direct relations with the Secretary of State, I do not wish them to feel themselves bound to such a strict reading of the reference as would debar them from making recommendations accordingly.

23. As it is the purpose of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme that responsible government should first make its appearance in a certain sphere of provincial subjects, I confess that it appeared to me from the first, as will be seen from the memorandum annexed to this report, that this subject was one which demanded our most careful attention, and that the evidence taken by us should be directed largely to this topic in its various aspects. I regret that my views were not shared by the majority of the Committee, and that in the ultimate respect they have been unable even to discuss the proposals which I laid before them; their own views as expressed in paragraph 18 of their report are so hedged with reservations as to evade serious criticism: nor, indeed, in the absence of discussion, am I at all certain that I wholly comprehend the basis or intention of my colleague's views. I desire, however, to deprecate strongly any suggestion that the process of relaxation of control from above is to proceed at a varying rate in the eight Governors' provinces. Nothing in my opinion, would be more injurious to the unity of India than the decision to divide the territory into provinces in different stages of progress to self-government, nor could any method of creating inter-provincial jealousy and ill-feeling be devised more effective than the grant to Bombay of a measure of freedom denied to the Panjab, or the concession to Bengal of rights withheld from Bihar and Orissa. In the absence of the evidence which I desired to have taken the conclusion which I have arrived at have necessarily been formed without full consideration of one aspect of the problem, the suggestion that in certain classes of matters there should be direct relations between the Secretary of State and local Governments. It must be remembered that in certain questions there is already direct communication between the governments of Bengal, Madras and Bombay and the Secretary of State, and that the reform scheme by converting Lieutenant Governorships into Governorships, inevitably raises the question whether the governors of the other provinces are to be placed in this regard in a position of inferiority to the Governors of Bengal, Madras and Bombay. It would doubtless be possible to make out a strong case for placing the legislation of the provinces, at least in transferred subjects, under the direct control of the Secretary of State, who would, of course, be able to consult the Government of India on such legislation in its bearing on the interests of other provinces or of India as a whole. The objection to such a proposal are also obvious, and I assume that the Joint Committee, by which the Bill introduced by the Secretary of State will be considered, will investigate thoroughly the whole topic.

24. The recommendations, which I now submit in the form in which I laid them before my colleagues, are based on two assumptions. In the first place, I assume that, in regard to transferred subjects, there will at once be brought into force a scheme of true ministerial responsibility in general conformity with the proposals of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report as modified by the report of the Functions Committee, which adopts the only sound principle that a minister can only hold office with the good will of the Legislature (technically at the pleasure of the Governor). To avoid misapprehension, however, I must point out that in one respect the report of the Functions Committee presses, to an extent with which I cannot concur, the doctrine of the responsibility of a minister. In cases in which the functions of reserved and transferred departments overlap, or where the action taken in one department is such as to affect the interests of the other, the Governor is necessarily given the final voice to decide what action is to be taken by a transferred department. The Functions Committee hold that the minister must then either accept the decision of the Governor, in which case he "will be responsible for the action taken and will have to defend it in the Legislative Council," or, if he declines to accept the position, must be dismissed by the

Governor who will then be set the extremely difficult task of finding another minister. There is, however, a third course of action open to ministers: they can follow colonial precedents, as admirably set out in the classic memorandum of the Hon. J. Ballance to the Governor of New Zealand of 5th August 1892; acquiesce in the Governor's decision in the particular measure but decline responsibility for it, and remain in office so long as they have the confidence of the Legislature: "If it be the right and duty of the Governor to act in any case contrary to the advice of his ministers, they can not be held responsible for his action and should not feel themselves justified in retiring from the administration of public affairs" Such a doctrine is doubtless incompatible with the full development of responsible government which reduces the functions of a Governor to acceptance of ministerial advice, but it is far more consonant than the view of the Functions Committee with the measure of self government proposed for introduction into India, and if it is accepted by Indian political opinion, it may smooth the way of the working of the reform scheme.

25. In the second place, I assume that the modifications in the relations between the Government of India and the local Governments necessary to make the recommendations effective would be carried out, if the recommendations were adopted.

26. My recommendations are:

I.—Legislation

(1) That the previous sanction of the Secretary of State to the introduction of Bills into local legislatures should be required only in the case of

(a) Bills affecting the discipline or maintenance of any part of His Majesty's naval, military, or air forces.

(b) Bill affecting the relation of Government with foreign princes or States;

(c) Bills which it is proposed to subject to Grand Committee procedure.

(2) That the Governor-General shall be instructed to refer for the decision of the Secretary of State any application for permission to introduce legislation into a local legislature to which he considers it undesirable to accede, and that permission to refuse the application should be accorded only when the Secretary of State is satisfied that the discussion of the matter in the Legislature would be prejudicial to the peace, order, and good Government of India, or to the interest of some part of the Empire other than India.

(3) That the Governor General shall be authorised, subject to His Majesty's Instructions, to reserve Bills of local legislatures and shall be instructed to reserve Bills of the classes enumerated above (para 12)

(4) That assent to Bills passed by local legislatures shall be withheld only in cases in which in the opinion of the Secretary of State the coming into force of the Bill would be prejudicial to the peace, order, and good Goverment of India or to the interests of some part of the Empire other than India.

(5) That the approval of the Secretary of State shall be requisite for the withdrawal by the process of certification of any legislative proposals from the control of the local legislature and its reference to a Grand Committee

[These rules would apply irrespective of whether the matter in question was a transferred or a reserved subject.]

II.—Finance

That the principles set out in paragraph 17 above shall be applied with the necessary modification to provincial finance, and that the approval of the

Secretary of State shall be necessary in any case in which the Governor desires to issue a certificate in respect of expenditure on a reserved subject which has been disapproved by the Legislature, or to authorise expenditure for some purpose for which no provision has been submitted to, or approved by, the Legislature.

III.—Administration

(1) That the Governor General in-Council shall not overrule any decision of a Governor acting with his minister (s) in relation to a transferred subject without the approval of the Secretary of State, and that such approval shall only be accorded when necessary in the opinion of the Secretary of State to secure the peace, order, and good Government of India, or the interests of some part of the Empire other than India.

(2) That the same rule shall be applicable in the case of a decision taken by the Governor in Executive Council when acting in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the non-official members of the local legislature, expressed by resolution or otherwise, in regard to a reserved subject.

(3) That a report shall be made for the consideration of the Secretary of State in any case in which the Governor-in-Council does not consider it expedient to give effect to a resolution of the local legislature regarding a reserved subject.

(4) That disputes between minister (s) and the Governor as to the nature of subjects as reserved or transferred, and as to action to be taken as regards transferred matters consequent on action taken in reserved matters and vice versa, shall be referred, if so desired by minister (s), for the decision of the Secretary of State.

(5) That a Governor shall not, without the approval of the Secretary of State, decline to accept the advice of a minister in regard to a subject under his administration, unless he is satisfied that he can, in the event of the resignation of the minister, obtain another minister prepared to accept responsibility for the policy laid down by the Governor, and that approval should only be accorded by the Secretary of State when he is satisfied that in the interest of India or the Empire it is essential that, for the time being, the control of the transferred subject (s) in question should revert to the Governor-in-Council.

C.—THE PUBLIC SERVICES.

27. I much regret that my colleagues in the case of the important questions affecting the public service in India have not seen their way to take the evidence, and make the investigations, necessary to enable them to come to any decisions on the matter. The two paragraphs following represent the opinions which I formed and which I submitted to them. They are based partly on general constitutional grounds, partly on the knowledge which I have of the Indian services.

28. As regards the public services of India, I am strongly of opinion that there are grave constitutional objections to regulating their conditions of service by an Imperial Act or by regulations made under it, thus withdraing from the legislatures of India the control of legislation regarding these services. Moreover it is essential in the interest of decentralisation that, as far as possible, the Secrerary of State should abandon detailed control of the conditions of service of officers in India, and that changes in the existing conditions should be subjected to the criticism of the legislatures under safeguards against unjust treatment of members already in the services. The

proposal to compel the Secretary of State in Council to create a Public Service Commission, and to assign to it such functions as he thinks fit regarding the public services in India, appears to me to be wholly incompatible with the fundamental principles of the reform scheme, and the proposal to provide by Imperial Act that no office may be added to, or may be withdrawn from the public service, and that the emoluments of any post may not be varied without the concurrence of a finance authority designated by rules made by the Secretary of State in Council is, I think, an injudicious attempt to establish by legislation which cannot be varied by local legislation a principle of undoubted value, but one which cannot properly be given a place in an Imperial Act. These views, of course, rest on the belief that all these matters should be regulated by local legislation, and not enacted as constitutional laws by Parliament.

29. I recommend.

(1) That, as a necessary measure of decentralisation, the conditions of service of officers of the public services should be regulated by legislation, passed, before the coming into operation of the reform scheme, by the Indian Legislative Council in the case of those services for which the Secretary of State recruits the whole or a considerable part of the members, and by the local legislatures in the case of other services.

(2) That such legislation may be repealed or varied from time to time by the Indian Legislature or by local legislatures, subject in the latter case to the previous sanction of the Governor-General if it is proposed to repeal or vary any legislation of the Indian Legislative Council or Legislature.

(3) That legislation as to the public services enacted by the Indian or local legislatures should be refused assent only when the Secretary of State is satisfied that the enactment is prejudicial to the peace, order, and good government of India or diminishes unduly the rights and privileges of existing members of the public services.

(4) That (save in the case of persons already in the public service who should be secured in any right of appeal to the Secretary of State which they now enjoy) provision should be made in the legislation to be passed that no appeal from a public servant in India shall lie to the Secretary of State except in the case of a proposal to remove from the service, or of an order affecting the emoluments [illegible] of, an officer appointed, or selected for appointment, to the public service by the Secretary of State,

(5) That the Indian Legislature and local legislatures should be authorised, with the previous approval of the Secretary of State, to repeal or vary the provisions of section 19 and of parts VII and VIII of the Government of India Act.

Head II.—(a)-(c) The Constitutional Powers, Composition and Working, in Relation to Office Procedure, of the Council of India.

30. As I am unable to concur with the recommendations of my colleagues on these questions also, I have to submit, as embodying my views, a series of proposals, which I laid before the Committee, for the total abolition of the Council of India and for changes in procedure consequential on this step. In the main these suggestions hardly require detailed exposition, but I deem it desirable to explain in some detail the grounds of my opposition to the continued existence of the Council of India or the substitution for it of

a statutory permanent Advisory Committee as recommended by the majority of my colleagues. The recommendations were :

(1) That, in the opinion of the Committee, in view of the decision of His Majesty's Government to take steps to secure the gradual realisation of responsible Government in British India, it is necessary that the powers and authority with regard to the Government of India now vested in the Secretary of State in Council should be transferred to the Secretary of State, the date of transfer to be determined by Order of His Majesty in Council.

(2) That, having regard to the great diminution in the detailed control over Indian Government which will result from the operation of the reform scheme, the Secretary of State should normally be able to rely on the permanent staff of his Department for the assistance necessary to him in the discharge of his responsibility to Parliament, and that in cases in which he feels the need of further advice he should have recourse to the aid of Committees appointed for specific purposes from time to time.

(3) That, in order to facilitate the working of the Committee system, the Secretary of State should form a panel of persons qualified to advise on matters affecting India, by reason of residence therein or knowledge of Indian affairs, who may be willing to undertake the duty of advising the Secretary of State when invited to do so, and that members of the Committee should be chosen from this body. The services of members of the panel should normally be given gratuitously, but travelling expenses and subsistence allowance at the usual Civil Service rate should be allowed to members summoned from a distance to London.

(4) That the proceedings of the Committee should, unless otherwise determined in any particular case by the Secretary of State, be confidential and that it should rest with the Secretary of State to decide whether or not the recommendations made should be published.

(5) That the existing members of the Council of India should receive equitable compensation for the curtailment of their term of office.

31. Owing to historical causes, its inheritance of the duties of the East India Company and of the Commissioners for the affairs of India, the Council of India performs functions far more extensive than duties of supreme control such as *prima facie* would be performed by the Secretary of State *vis-a-vis* so elaborately organised and strongly manned a body as the Government of India. The composition of the Council as representing Indian official experience at once qualifies and tempts it to improve in detail, and in a sense to do over again, work already done in India. That much useful service has thus been rendered in the past is obvious ; no work is so perfect that it cannot be improved by expert revision, but it is open to doubt whether, taken on balance, the value of the process of revision in detail has been worth the losses entailed by it. In the first place the conservatism natural to retired officials has acted sometimes, it may be feared, as a barrier in the way of useful reform. In the second place, the natural tendency to delay in the action of the Government of India has been injuriously fostered by the delays of the India Office under the Council system of procedure. Rapidity in the performance of departmental work in the India Office itself inevitably suffers from the feeling that, as the matter must go before the Council, there is bound to be delay in any event. But, whatever the merits of the system in the past, I am unable to see any abiding place for it under the reform scheme when its proposals have come into operation. The Mon-

tagu-Chelmsford scheme imposes on the Secretary of State a process of progressive abnegation of his power of superintendence, direction, and control of the Government of India, and the abolition of the instrument by which in the past a close and detailed control and revision have been exercised in respect of Indian affairs, is in my opinion requisite as a necessary preliminary to, and a conclusive manifestation of the purpose of His Majesty's ministers to secure, the gradual realisation of responsible government in British India. The suggestion has, indeed, been made on high authority that the Council would serve directly the useful purpose of assisting the Secretary of State to relax his control of Indian affairs, but I am unable to accept so extremely paradoxical a view.

32. I cannot, however, see any advantage in the abolition of the Council only to revive it in the no more inviting form of a permanent Advisory Committee. I gather that in the view of my colleagues this body would in practice perform very much the same duties as the Council and clearly on any other hypothesis it would be impossible to justify a proposal to place on the British taxpayer the burden of an institution, of which the initial cost would be in salaries alone £16,800 a year. But the change in the statutory position of the members would lower greatly the prestige of the Committee and diminish its attraction for men of high ability in the Indian services. Moreover, it would be extremely difficult to secure for it the service of Indians of first-rate ability, who under the reform scheme will find in India the really appropriate sphere for their activities in promoting the political growth of their country.

33. Under the reform scheme, therefore, I have no hesitation in holding that in the performance of his diminishing duties the Secretary of State should be able to obtain all the aid he requires primarily from the permanent staff of his departments (who receive now at least as high salaries as officials in other departments with greater responsibilities), and from expert sources such as the brokers of the India Office and the Bank of England. In matters in which further advice was deemed necessary, *e.g.*, currency questions or other issues involving special knowledge, he would have recourse to Committees appointed *ad hoc*. To enable him to act thus no statutory provision would be either necessary or desirable, but it might in practice prove convenient to keep a panel of persons willing to advise on specified topics, if invited to do so. His procedure might result in more use being made than at present of the expert knowledge possessed by officers of the Indian services, whether retired or on leave of absence, without involving to the Exchequer any greater cost than that of the travelling expenses of officials not resident in the London area. It is, I think, undoubtedly a defect in the present system that, as the Council of India is supposed to provide the Secretary of State with expert information, there is too little encouragement to resort to the advice of those officials who are not in its number, although the limited character of the membership of the Council inevitably prevents its representing fully and adequately the needs of the less important provinces such as Burma.

34. The case for the retention of a permanent body to advise the Secretary of State is supported by the arguments that (1) the Secretary

of State cannot effectively perform his duties without the advice of experts with actual Indian experience; and that (2) if he were deprived of the support of such a body, he would feel himself unable to venture to override the views of so important a body as the Government of India. Neither argument appears to me capable of carrying conviction. The first contention rests on the erroneous assumption that it is the duty of the Secretary of State to do over again the work of the Government of India, whereas his real function is concerned merely with the supreme control over Government in India, and for that purpose all the detailed knowledge of Indian affairs which is necessary can easily be obtained—as in the Colonial Office—from the permanent staff (which, it may be added, will in the future as in the past doubtless include men who have actually served in India) and from Indian officials on leave or retired. The second argument can hardly be taken quite seriously. The spectacle of a Governor-General and his Council, the official subordinates of the Secretary of State, defying a member of His Majesty's Government would, indeed, be unedifying, but I entertain not the slightest doubt that the experiment once made would not be repeated. The only substance in the argument lies in the fact that the disappearance of the Council would put an end to one of the admitted defects of the present system, the tendency of the Council to move the Secretary of State to overrule the Government of India in minor matters, to which testimony was borne by Mr. A. Chamberlain. In the absence of a permanent body anxious naturally to prove its utility by suggesting improvements on the proposals of the Government of India, it would, I trust, become the rule for the Secretary of State to refrain from interference save when he was satisfied that some real principle was involved, in which event his intervention would carry all the more weight because his authority was not frittered away by interference on lesser matters.

35. As regards the precise moment for the disappearance of the Council, I readily recognise that it would be unwise at present to seek to determine a date, and I would, therefore, leave it to be fixed in the light of experience by His Majesty in Council, my assumption being that the step would be taken when the reform scheme has been brought into full operation. The Secretary of State would thus be assured, during the critical period of the coming into force of the reforms, of the support of the councillors on whose advice he has been wont to rely, and, should events in India develop in directions which were unexpectedly full of anxiety, the abolition of the Council could for the time be held over. The position adopted in this regard by my colleagues appears to me to be an effective *reductio ad absurdum* of their scheme for an Advisory Committee. They contemplate in paragraph 20 of their report that, as soon as the Government of India Bill receives the royal assent an Order in Council will be issued transferring to the Secretary of State the powers and authority in regard to the Government of India hitherto vested in the Secretary of State in Council, and (paragraph 28) that the Bill will provide for the repeal of the present clauses affecting the Council and for the establishment of an Advisory Committee. It is, however, impossible that such a Committee as they contemplate should come into being for a considerable period; the Indian members selected on the panel system who are to form an essential part of the whole cannot be chosen until

the franchise for the Legislative Assembly has been decided upon and enacted by rules, and until the elections to the Assembly have been completed, and the members of that body have chosen the panel The Secretary of State will thus immediately on the passing of the Bill be deprived of the services of his Council at the very moment when, if ever, it ought to be of special value to him, and will be unable for a considerable period to constitute an Advisory Committee, under terms of the statute. If, however, my colleagues really believed that in the critical moment of carrying into effect the reform scheme the Secretary of State ought to stand alone, I confess I find it incomprehensible that they should insist, that at a time when his burdens will be far less heavy, he must have recourse to the counsel of an Advisory Committee. I presume that the members of the Council of India who are thus summarily to be deprived of a statutory office of emolument are to receive compensation on an adequate basis, and that this compensation will be paid from Indian funds, but my colleagues in their report have not thought fit to deal with the matter. Nor on grounds of public finance can I see any justification for a scheme which necessitates the payment of compensation by India to those members of the Council who are not offered, or naturally enough do not care to accept, membership of the Committee, and calls upon the British taxpayer to pay for services of inferior character a sum in excess of that hitherto paid by India.

36. There remains, however, one argument which has been adduced in favour of the retention of the Council and the preservation of the right of its members by a majority to control expenditure which the Secretary of State desires to authorise. Difficult questions have arisen in the past, and may—indeed must—arise in the future, regarding the proportion of the cost which India should bear in respect of matters in which the United Kingdom and India have a common interest; obvious examples are presented by army charges and expenses connected with Persia, Mesopotamia, Tibbet and China, and other heads can easily be suggested, such as a contribution to the naval expenditure of the Empire. It is admitted that the evidence shows that, in matters decided by the British Cabinet, the Council of India in the past has felt bound to defer to the superior moral authority of that body, and has *pro tanto* abnegated the unfettered use of the powers conferred by the Government of India Act (section 21); minor instances such as the charging to India of the cost of a ball in honour of the Sultan of Turkey suggest that, even in matters not of Cabinet importance, the scrutiny of the Council has fallen short of any high standard of care for Indian interests. It has been argued, however, that this state of things may not continue, and in special that, if the composition of the Council were revised so that half the members were Indian, the Council might serve as a most useful means of checking the imposition by the United Kingdom of unfair burdens on India, pending such time as the full control of Indian expenditure is handed over to the Legislative Assembly.

37. I have the fullest sympathy with the desire to ensure a just apportionment between India and the United Kingdom of charges arising out of matters in which they have common interests. But I cannot agree that the device proposed for this end could possibly be regarded as satisfactory. The idea that the Council, if composed as at present,

predominantly of retired members of the Indian services, should assume the duty of setting itself up in opposition to the Cabinet of the United Kingdom is not without an aspect of absurdity; nor would the position be substantially different if the majority which overruled the Secretary of State were predominantly Indian in composition. The duty of safeguarding Indian interests in these matters rests with the Government of India and the Legislative Assembly. It is for the latter body in public session, and not for nominees of the Secretary of State sitting in London and debating in strict secrecy, to determine the attitude to be taken by India towards such issues as a contribution for naval defence, and the constitutional weight which would attach to a declaration of opinion by the representatives of the voters of India would be incomparably higher than the value which could be accorded to any decision of the Council of India.

38. But, while I cannot accept the control of the Council as an appropriate method of dealing with difficulties of this kind, I do not suggest that it is desirable that it should rest with the Secretary of State to determine, at the pleasure of His Majesty's Government for the United Kingdom, the measure of the burden to be borne by India. Doubtless any such question would be a proper matter for discussion between the members of the Imperial Cabinet, in whatever form that body survives the exigencies of the war to which it owed its creation. I can foresee, however, that even after such a discussion there may be incompatibility of view, and I can only repeat a suggestion which I have elsewhere made in connection with the treatment of disputes between the Government of the United Kingdom and Dominion Governments, namely, that recourse should be had to the arbitration of a Committee of the Privy Council, so constituted as to represent justly the disputants involved.

39. On the details of the proposed composition of the Advisory Committee, I do not desire to comment at length, having regard to the fact that I consider the whole project radically unsound and earnestly trust that it may not commend itself to Parliament. I would observe, however, that it would seem necessary to make provision so as to secure that, if this body were to be abolished at any time, not more than a small sum should be payable as compensation to the members for the termination of an employment admittedly of a precarious character. I must also record my conviction that there is a radical error in the attempt at the present state of the development of Indian political life to introduce or perpetuate, the idea that the presence of Indians on a Council or Committee sitting in London is the proper means of securing due attention to Indian aspirations. The position of an Indian in such a case is anomalous and extremely difficult, and I do not think that it is really possible for an Indian politician in such circumstances to render services in a manner either satisfactory to himself or profitable to his country. The grant of representative institutions and of a limited measure of responsible Government to India has opened up a new and more honourable and effective method in which Indian politicians can serve the best interests of their native land and of the Empire, of which India forms a most important part. In expressing this view I do not desire to ignore in any way the useful work performed by Indian members of the Council

of India, but to emphasise the unreality and ineffectiveness of the position to which they were condemned by circumstances. I do not share the view of the majority of the Committee that the Advisory Committee, if formed, should, apart from Indian politicians, consist mainly of members possessing recent administrative experience in India. On the contrary, I would suggest that the Committee should be constituted differently from the existing Council, for the simple reason that it will have different functions to perform, and it does appear to me desirable that a body should be constituted with some reference to its duties.

If, therefore, there were a committee, I should prefer to see on it financial experts with Indian and British experience, since the Secretary of State will retain a good deal of financial agency work. Nor *a priori* does the presence of a single military expert on the Committee appear to be sufficient to enable it to deal with defence questions, though this aspect does not fall within the purview of this report.

(*d*) *The General Department Procedure of the India Office*

40. On this head I have to recommend :

(1) That, on the transfer of the authority and power of the Secretary of State in council to the Sec. of State the provisions of sections 5, 13 and 14 of the Government of India Act regarding correspondence should be repealed, and the Secretary of State should regulate by executive orders the mode of conduct of correspondence between the India Office and the Government of India and local Governments.

(2) That in framing such orders the Secretary of State should consider the desirability of adopting the classification of despatches followed in the Colonial Office, and that it should be an instruction to the Governor-General and Governors that all matters necessary for a due understanding of questions of Government in India must be reported in despatches for permanent record and not merely in private letters to the Secretary of State, a similar rule being adopted as regards communications from the Secretary of State to Governments in India.

(3) That, in order to secure the effective training of members of the staff of the India Office to assume the greater responsibilities involved through the disappearance of the Council of India, the practice by which only the minutes of superior officials are submitted to the Secretary of State should be abandoned in favour of the practice followed in the Colonial and other Offices under which minutes by junior officers are included in the papers placed before the Secretary of State for his decision.

41. It is hardly necessary to defend these recommendations in detail; and, painful and recent experience has, I think fully justified the demand that the Secretary of State and the Governor-General alike should be under an obligation not to entrust to the machinary of private letters or telegrams communications which have any official character, however legitimate and desirable may be the practice of keeping in close personal touch by means of informal exchange of views. It cannot too clearly be realised that there should be in each Department of State a true and full record of public business available to the Secretary of state for the time being.

42. I desire, however, to lay great stress on my suggestion that the India Office should depart from the practice by which only minutes of senior officials are presented for the guidance of the Secretary of State. The true

origin of this usage is to be found in the days when recruitment for Government Offices was conducted on principles which secured junior officials without the capacity or intellectul training necessary for the purpose of minuting papers. Under present conditions of entry the maintenance of the rule—however it may shorten the labours of the Secretary of State—is indefensible, it hampers the intellectual development and diminishes the capacity for responsibility of the men affected by it, and it deprives the Secretary of State of the advantage to be derived from contrasted views on topics which *ex hypothesi* are of real interest and importance, since they are submitted for his decision. The continuance of the present practice must, in my opinion, prove detrimental to the attraction of the India Office for men of high attainments, who will prefer to enter other Departments in which seniority is not permitted to suppress ability, if it so desires.

It should be added that I lay the greatest possible stress on this recommendation from the point of view of accelerating the rate of work in the India Office. There is no more effective means of checking the natural tendency of an official to procrastinate (a defect often compatible with real merit) than the knowledge that each paper with which he deals contains a a record, which is patent to all into whose hands it passes, of the time which he has kept it in his hands. Any other system, by obscuring the responsibility for delay, acts as a direct encouragement to a defect which a public opinion, I think rightly, attributes in a high degree to the proceedings of the India Office.

(*e*) *The Organisation of the India Office Establishment and the question of modifying the system of its recruitment so as to provide for* (1) *the interchange of appointments with the Indian Services, and* (2) *the throwing open of a proportion of appointments to Indians.*

43. It was generally felt by the Committee to be impracticable—and there is no ground to suppose that it was desirable—to investigate these questions is any but the most general manner. As the result of this survey, I desire to submit the following recommendations:

(1) That the progressive extension of responsible government to India will render necessary the restriction of the functions of the India Office to the conduct of political relations with India, and the transfer of all agency work to a High Commissioner for India or other Indian governmental representative; that in the first instance, communication should be entered into with the Government of India with a view to the transfer to the immediate control of that Government of the Stores Department, the Indian Students' Department, and (subject to any necessary reservation) of the Accountant-General's Department; and that the Government of India should be invited to make suggestions for the transfer to their control of any other agency business of the India Office.

(2) That, as in view of the relaxation of the control of the Secretary of State over the Governments in India, there may reasonably be anticipated a considerable decrease in the number of the India Office staff, and as the necessity of local knowledge on the part of members of that staff will diminish in proportion as the purpose of the reforms is attained, it is not desirable or possible to arrange any formal system of interchange between the

India Office and the Indian Services. But that it is desirable, during the period of transition, that the Secretary of State should promote close co-operation between the India Office staff and the Indian Services by appointing, temporarily or permanently, officers of the Indian Services to higher posts in the India Office and by deputing members of the India Office staff on special duty in India, whenever convenient opportunities present themselves,

(3) That it is impracticable to reserve any definite number of posts at the India Office for Indians, but that it is desirable that in selecting officers of the Indian Services for appointment to the staff of the India Office, preference should be given to duly qualified Indian officials; and that it would be advantageous if one of the Under-Secretaryships or Assistant Under-Secretaryships were filled by an Indian from time to time.

44. On these recommendations, I need only offer a few comments. I trust that the work of separation between agency and administrative and political functions will be undertaken forthwith, and not permitted to languish indefinitely during an exchange of correspondence conducted with the extraordinary deliberation characteristic of official communications with India. I hope also that the transfer of the work of the Accountant-General's Department will be as complete as possible, though some business may have for the time being to be reserved.

45. As regards the appointment of officers of the Indian Services to the India Office, I consider that temporary appointments should normally suffice, but I desire to express the distinct opinion that the Secretary of State should not feel fettered in any way as to making the permanent appointment to one of the high offices in his Department of a distinguished officer from India; from such appointments notoriously great profit has been derived in the past, and I cannot imagine that any Secretary of State will so exercise his power as to depress unduly the position of the members of his office recruited in the usual manner by the Civil Service Commissioners.

46. As regards the presence of Indians in the India office, it must be remembered that an Indian may compete in the usual examination for entrance to the Civil Service and, if placed sufficiently high in the competition, might be able to enter the India Office if a vacancy chanced to have been announced at the time. Obviously such an event would be extremely rare and there is in my opinion no reason to suppose that any Indian would be very anxious to enter upon a career in this country which would mean practically permanent exile from his native land. In any case, the policy of reserving a vacancy from time to time for Indians would be wholly impracticable even if it were desirable. I think, however, that it would be well, during the transition period, if Indian officials were from time to time employed in the India Office. I regret, however, that I cannot agree with the suggestion, which is favoured by some of my colleagues, that a special post should be created for this purpose. It seems to me wholly unjustifiable to impose upon the British taxpayer a charge of this kind; nor do I think that the Indian for whom the needless appointment was created would find much profit or satisfaction in the performance of his unwonted work.

Head III.—Charges on Account of the India Office.

47. I recommend that in addition to the salary of the Secretary of State, there should be placed on the British estimates (*a*) the salaries and expen-

ses (and ultimately pensions) of all officials engaged in the political and administrative work of the Office as distinct from agency work; (*b*) the expenses of any committees summoned to advice the Secretary of State; (*c*) a proportionate share of the cost of the maintenance of the India Office, the exact sums payable under heads (*a*) and (*c*) to be determined by agreement between the Secretary of State and the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury from time to time.

48. I desire to emphasise the fact that in my opinion the apportionment of cost should rest on a careful discrimination between political and administrative and agency work, a task not altogelher easy, but one in which the parallel case of the division of functions and cost between the Colonial Office and the Crown Agents for the Colonies will afford guidance. Secondly I regard it as of the highest importance that the Treasury should not adopt, at least in the case of salaries and expenses, the plan of granting a lump sum as a grant-in-aid of the expenses of the India Office, but should assert the same control over India Office salaries and expenses that it used to exercise over the salaries and expenses of other Government Offices. I may add that the question of the repayment to India of the whole or part of the very large sum expended in the construction of the India Office was brought to our notice, but that in my opinion the matter is not ripe for any decision at present. I would, however, offer a tentative suggestion that it might be possible in the future to effect a satisfactory settlement by a grant from the British Exchequer towards the cost, providing a fitting domicile in London for the High Commissioner for India.

Head IV.—The Mode of carrying out the Committee's Recommendations.

49. At an early stage in our investigations, I—and I believe the majority of my colleagues—formed the clear opinion that it was desirable that the gradual relaxation of the powers of superintendence, direction, and control of Indian Government vested in the Secretary of State by section 2 of the Government of India Act, should be carried out by constitutional conventions rather than by formal legislation, such alterations in the law alone being desirable which were intended to remove provisions which would prevent the growth of such constitutional conventions. This, of course, was the mode in which responsible government was secured by the Dominions, and after the most careful consideration of the matter I remain convinced that the only prudent course to adopt is to retain the supreme authority of the Secretary of State and to allow its exercise to be modified by constitutional practice.

50. In view, however, of the fact that the Bill to amend the Government of India Act as introduced into the House of Commons contains in clause 23 a general power enabling the Secretary of State in Council to regulate and restrict by rule the powers of superintendence, direction and control vested in the Secretary of State, the Secretary of State in Council, or the Governor-General-in-Council, in such manner as may appear necessary or expedient in order to give effect to the purposes of the Act, such rules to be subject to annulment on an address from either House of Parliament, I deem it desirable to explain briefly the objections which appear to me to render such a form of procedure undesirable.

51. The framing of any such rules will present grave difficulties; a prudent Secretary of State will hesitate to part definitely with any power,

knowing that to regain it in case of necessity he must enact another rule, which might be refused sanction by one or both Houses of Parliament. Moreover, disputes would always be possible as to whether a power of control had or had not been abandoned, and, if the Secretary of State were given by the rules the sole power to determine the interpretation of the rules, the value of the rules might easily be called in question. Again, to take back a concession once made by rule would cause deep resentment in India, and would be a far more grave step than variation from time to time in the interpretation of a constitutional practice the essence of which permits a certain elasticity, admirably suited to the growth of so elaborate and artificial a creation as the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme for the government of India. Nor can I understand the precise relation of the clause, if it became law, to section 131 of the Government of India Act, which provides that "nothing in this Act shall derogate from any rights vested in His Majesty or any powers of the Secretary of State in Council, in relation to the Government of India," and that "nothing in this Act shall affect the power of Parliament to control the proceedings of the Governor-General-in-Council".

52. The difficulty, indeed, of dealing with these matters of high control by means of statutory rules seems to be excellently illustrated by the provisions in clause I (3) of the Bill, which adopts the use of rules for regulating the mode in which the Government of India is to exercise its supreme control over local governments in regard to transferred subjects. The purposes for which the powers of the Governor-General-in-Council are to be exercised are to be defind by rules, but it has been found necessary to add "but the Governor-in-Council shall be the sole judge as to whether the purpose of the exercise of such powers in any particular case comes within the purposes so specified". Of the propriety and wisdom of this addition I have no doubt, but I suggest that its necessity casts grave doubt on the wisdom of the attempt to deal with this matter by statutory rules. I have no hesitation at all in suggesting for adoption as conventional rules of constitutional practice the recommendations made in this Report. If, however, they were to be enacted as statutory rules they would have to be hedged round with various restrictions which would render their enactment of no real value. Moreover, I am unable to see any answer to the argument which would become normal that, unless there were statutory relaxation of authority, the old practice ought as a matter of right to be continued.

53. My own recommendations involving legislation are :

(1) The suggestion regarding the mode of assent to reserved Bills and disallowance of Acts of the Indian and local legislatures and the disallowance of regulations and ordinances by His Majesty in Council (para. 13).

(2) The suggestion for subjecting to His Majesty's instructions the action of the Governor-General in his assent to, refusal of assent to, and reservation of Bills of the Indian and local legislatures (paras. 12, 26.)

(3) The suggestion that the Indian Legislature should be allowed to vary or repeal with the previous sanction of the Secretary of State the provisions of section 19 and parts VII and VIII of the Government of India Act (para. 26.)

(4) The suggestion for the abolition of the Council, all the powers of

the Secretary of State in Council being transferred to the Secretary of State. This will invove the disappearance of sections 3-13 of the Government of India Act, and consequential amendments throughout (para. 30.)

(5) The suggestion as to giving freedom to the Secretary of State to regulate by executive order questions of correspondence by the repeal of the present statutory provisions(para. 40.)

(6) The suggestion regarding the charges in connection with the India Office to be borne by the funds of the United Kingdom (par. 47.)

Head V—Matters cognate or relevant to the above

54. After most careful consideration of the proposed appointment of a Select Committee of the House of Commons on Indian Affairs, I am satisfied that the creation of such a body is not in effect consistent with the conceptions of the functions of the Government of India and the Secretary of State explained in the preceding portion of this Report. A Committee which was accorded such powers, including that of expressing views on current questions of policy after an examination of the Secretary of State, as would result in membership of it becoming an object of ambition, would develop such a taste for interference in Indian affairs that whatever its immediate value, it would menace the progress of self-government in India, which can only, it must be remembered, be accomplished through the deliberate abstention from criticism or interference of both the Government of the United Kingdom and of Parliament. There are other objections to according such powers to a Committee, but they belong to a different sphere and need not here be dealt with. On the other hand, if less power than this is accorded to the Committee, it requires very little knowledge of of the exacting duties connected with internal questions imposed on members of Parliament by the political life of the day, to realise that the Committee would fail totally to fulfil the purpose for which it is destined—the creation of a better informed and more sustained interest in India.

55. Unfortunately, however, my opinion on this topic must be qualified by the knowledge that the majority of my colleagues desire that the Secretary of State should still be guided in large measure in the performance of his functions by the advice of a permanent Advisory Committee. If Parliament, acting on this advice, should see fit to impose on the Secretary of State the moral obligation of constant reference to a body mainly representative of the opinion of official circles in India, I cannot deny that the creation of a Parliamentary Committee with extended powers of intervention and criticism might serve as a useful corrective of the autocratic tendency which reliance on official opinion might tend to generate. I am convinced, however, that the realisation of responsible Government in India will be secured most rapidly and with least strain to the good relations between the peoples of the United Kingdom and India, if Parliament entrusts this grave question to the unfettered judgment of the Secretary of State for India, confiding to him the dicision of the detailed manner in which he will secure the end which it has approved in principle.

56. Our attention has also been directed to the terms of clause 30 of the Bill to amend the Government of India Act, which regulates the mode of making the extremely important rules to carry out the many matters of the first magnitude which the new proposals leave to be enacted in this shape. The clause entrusts this high function to the Governor-

General in Council with the sanction ofthe Secretary of State in Council, and provides for the annulment of the rules so made, or part thereof, on an address from either House of Parliament. I cannot consider that this procedure is constitutionally justifiable. I am clearly of opinion that the responsibility for making the rules must rest directly on His Majesty's Government, and that the rules should therefore be made by His Majesty in Council, acting of course onthe recommendation of the Secretary of State who would, when necessary, obtain the approval of the Cabinet for his proposal. I am also clearly of opinion that the provision for the annulment of rules so made on an address from either House of Parliament is contrary to principle and open to serious practical disadvantage. The making of the rules should be one of the important duties of the Secretary of State, who should follow a deliberate and consistent policy in regard to it, and it should not be possible for either House of Parliament unexpectedly from time to time to intervene.

57. I must also invite attention to two provisions in the Bill which appear to me, if passed as they stand, to affect the validity of the presupposition on which this Report is based, that in regard to transferred matters there will be a form of ministerial responsibility in the provinces. The result of clause 13 (3) of the Bill is to permit the Governor in-Council or the Governor acting with a minister to invade spheres, from which they are intended to be excluded, with legal impunity, while a 'consequential amendment" in Part II of Schednle III to section 110 of the Government of India Act confers upon a minister an immunity from the jurisdiction of any High Court in respect of his official actions, and of offences not being treason or felony, which is entirely subversive of the rule of law, itself the essential concommitant of responsible government. The explanation of the latter enactment is, of course, simple, as it is merely an extension to ministers of the immunity accorded to executive councillors under conditions now obsolescent, and the abolition of the exemption in the case of executive councillors would seem to be the step desirable, not the unparallelled step of exempting ministers from legal control. In the case of the head of the Executive Government of India, in the provinces, there are adequate reasons for an exemption which is enjoyed by the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, though not by the Governors-General and Governors of the Dominions, but these considerations do not apply to officers of less importance. I regret also the insertion in clause 10 (1) of the Bill of the provision that certain Bills shall be reserved, without any statement as to the effect of this requirement, though presumably it means that the validity of a measure, open in substance to no objection, can be questioned because it should under this provision have been reserved and was not reserved. Nor is it obvious why by clause 8 (4) it should be proposed to perpetuate section 79 (4) of the Government of India Act when a much more satisfactory statement of the law is contained in the last paragraph of Section 84 of that Act, which was added in 1916.

58. There is one further topic of great interest which I consider should not be overlooked in a complete survey of the field of our enquiry : the position of the Secretary of State, not as superintending, directing and controlling the process of Indian Government, but as representing *vis-a-vis* the Government of the United Kingdom and, in international matters, the people of India. His position in this aspect receives no recognition in the Government of India Act, and is necessarily a temporary arrangement. In due course India will be represented in London by a High Commissioner with wide authority, or a Minister Resident under the scheme devised for the Dominions by Mr. Asquith's Government in 1912, and communicated to the

Dominion Governments in Mr. Harcourt's despatch of December 10, 1912. In the meantime, however, the duties which a minister in London would perform under a responsible Government of India devolve rightly on the Secretary of State for India.

59. The recognition, however, of the international position of India which British diplomacy, resting on the efforts made by India during the war of liberation, has secured during the deliberations of the Peace Conference, is based in ultimate analysis not merely on the personality of British India but also on the fact that it possesses a national will, which in due course will be expressed by the political organisation of the territory as a self-governing unit of the Empire. While, therefore, I entirely concur with the opinion that the views expressed in international matters by India must be determined by the Government of India, on which will devolve the necessity of securing the carrying out of the international obligations of India, I am of opinion that efforts should be made to bring the representatives of the people into as close touch with the Government as possible on this topic. Various methods of securing this result are conceivable, and I shall content myself with two suggestions, which are based on tne assumption that under the League of Nations' covenant, as finally accepted, India will be entitled to be represented at meetings of the League by there delegates. In that case I suggest that the representation of India should normally consist of the Secretary of State (or some other British minister if the Secretary of State cannot be spared for the duty) and of two members appointed by the Secretary of State on the recommendation of the Council of State and of the Legislative Assembly (the official members of that body abstaining from voting), the view of the British minister prevailing in case of disagreement among the delegates as to the method in which the vote was to be cast. Secondly, I suggest that any proposals which the Government of India desired to submit for consideration at a meeting of the League should, if found practicable, be submitted for discussion by the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Council of State presumbly at, or about, the time when delegates were nominated. It would, of course, always be open for resolutions on the matter to be proposed independently by members in the Assembly or Council, subject to the usual rules affecting the bringing forward of resolutions.

60. A suggestion worthy of serious consideration as a means of securing the greatest possible measure of harmony and co-operation between the Government of India and the Secretary of State was made to us by our colleague, Mr. B. N. Basu, who indicated the desirability of taking advantage of the elasticity in the composition of the Executive Council of the Governor-General, contemplated in clause 21 of the Bill, to secure, the inclusion in its number of men appointed directly from the United Kingdom. There are obvious possibilities in the way of making such appointments from among men with experience, official or unofficial, in law, finance, or commerce in the United Kingdom in such manner as to secure closer touch between the policy of the Government of India and of the Government of the United Kingdom. But the matter has only indirect relevance to the questions referred to us, and I content myself, therefore, with an expression of sympathy for the suggestion of my colleague, whose position as a member of the Council of India and, a

representative of Indian political views renders his opinion on this topic of special value.

61. I should make it clear that the recommendations in this Report are based entirely on the foundation of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, by which the Committee was to be guided, and from the principles of which I have not felt at liberty to depart, and that they ought to be judged solely as efforts to fill up in detail the outlines drawn in that document. I may add that military questions were not taken into consideration by us, and my recommendations therefore ignore entirely that aspect of Indian relations with the United Kingdom, fundamental as the importance of this question is in its own way.

62. In one respect I am glad to be in full agreement with my colleagues in appreciation of the admirable manner in which the Secretary and the Assistant Secretary performed the important duties imposed upon them by the Committee.

Government of India Bill 2nd Reading.

House of Commons—5 June 1919

The Secretary of State for India (Mr. Montagu)—I beg to move: "that the bill be now read a second time."

The House having now somewhat approximated but by no means reached its ordinary aspect on Indian Debates, I rise to discharge the highly important task, a task of which I fully realise the responsibility, of asking this House, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, to read a second time the bill which has been printed and circulated. I desire to avoid going into details upon this necessarily complicated and technical measure. I have flooded the House, in response to requests, and in order to give information to it as far as I possibly could, with a series of elaborate documents and these will obviate, because I will assume that the House has mastered these documents, a large amount of technical disquisitions. But in view of certain criticisms I want once again to repeat the origin of this Bill. When I took office two years ago much work leading up to the preparation of a bill of this kind had already been done. Despatches containing schemes for reform had passed between the Government of India and my predecessor, and out of their proposals and cirticisms of them had emerged this principle, that to my predecessor no reform of the Government of India would be acceptable which did not involve the transfer of responsibility from those [illegible] to the people of India. I took up the work where the Chancellor of the Exchequer left it, and the pronouncement of the 20th August followed, a part of which was that my acceptance of the Viceroy's invitation to proceed to India had been authorised by His Majesty's Government. No sooner was that pronouncement made than I appointed a very important India Office Committee, presided over by Sir William Duke, an Ex-Lieut-Governor of Bengal, a Member of my Council and an Indian Civil Servant—I repeat all these qualifications because it is suggested in some quarters that this bill arose spontaneously in the minds of the Viceroy and myself without previous inquiry or consideration, under the influence of Mr. Lionel

Curtis. I have never yet been able to understand that you approach the merits of discussion by vain efforts to approximate to its authorship. I do not even now understand that India or the Empire owes anything more or anything less than a great debt of gratitude to the patriotic and devoted services Mr Curtis has given to the consideration of this problem. But this Committee presided over by Sir William Duke sat at the India Office from the 20th August until I left for India, accompanied by Sir William Duke, Lord Donoughmore and Mr. Charles Roberts on the 20th of October We held repeated conferences in the enforced leisure of a long sea voyage and discussed the problem almost daily on boardship up to the time when we reached India, where we were joined by Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu and Sir W. Vincent, a Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council- Spontaneously as a necessary consequence of all these deliberations, as a necessary consequence of the terms of the pronouncement of the 20th Aug, as a necessary and inevitable consequence of an unprejudiced study of the question, we reached the conclusion upon which the bill is based, a conclusion reached after listening to innumerable deputations, after six months conference with non-officials, after continuous discussion with the Government in the provinces and at Delhi, with the heads of all the Local Governments. From the time I returned to London, a new India Office Committee presided over by Mr. Charles Roberts and containing a large number of Civil servants who have taken part in this discussion, and whose services I have had the privilege to command, have sat upon and discussed all the criticisms that have reached us on the Bill. Sir Wm Duke, Sir James Brunyate and Sir Thomas Holderness were members. Sir James Meston, the present Finance Member of the Government of India, was home last year and helped in the deliberations of this Committee In recent months it has been assisted by Sir Frank Sly, Mr. Feetham, Mr. Stephenson and Mr. Muddiman.

This committee has been concerned in drafting the Bill and in considering all despatches and telegrams and criticisms upon the scheme originally proposed. After this prolonged discussion and deliberation of almost exactly two years in extent, I now ask with some confidence for the Second Reading of the Bill, which I do not hesitate to say has been as carefully prepared and considered in all its aspects as it is possible to consider a measure of this kind

I ask for the Second Reading of the Bill to-day for two reasons. First of all, there is so much general agreement on all sides in India and here as to its provisions, so much general agreement and such important points of difference on methods side by side,

that I do not believe there is any way of getting on until we examine the details of the measure in a Committee representing Parliament. Second Reading points, I think I shall show, are points on which there is general agreement both in India and here. There are very important differences—which I do not wish to minimise—as to methods and you will never get to a discussion of those methods infinitely technical, until you have a small body constituted which will take evidence and consider the alternative merits and demerits of the different plans. It is our intention if the House gives a Second Reading to this measure to-day, to ask that it should be referred to a joint-committee of both Houses and that that joint-Committee should consider all the questions that are involved. I cannot emphasise too strongly that it is the Government's wish that that Committee should discuss the matter not only from the point of view of detailed examination, but from the point of view of the examination of alternative methods.

Let it have free scope. Let the House appoint a committee to go into the whole question, and, as I have said before, so recently as a fortnight ago, although I believe from the bottom of my heart that you dare not and ought not to do less than we propose in this Bill, I shall be glad to take the advice of the committee on any alternative method which really and actually promises at least as much.

I would say only one thing. We have so many responsibilities in this House, so many important questions needing consideration, that perhaps India looms quite smally to many Members, but this problem to 315,000,000 of people eagerly awaiting, so far as they are politically educated, the decision of this House—to India this subject is all important. Let no man join in this Debate, let no man accept the incalculably responsible task of helping—and we want help, it is a difficult enough problem to require help—of helping on the committee unless he is prepared to go there constructively and not destructively, to help on as perfect a plan as can be devised, and not with the intention to delay or thwart legislation, which in my mind, and in the minds of the House I hope, it is absolutely essential to carry out.

The second reason why I would urge the assistance of the House in the passage of the Second Reading to-day is the impatience—I think the legitimate impatience—with which India is waiting a start upon the policy enunciated now two years ago. That policy was announced and this Bill was drawn up with a view to meeting existing conditions in India, my experience of the Government of India now extending over something like six years of office make me confident that there is no more fallacious platitude, no more obvious fallacy than that which is on the lips of so many critics of

Indian affairs—that it is a country which never changes, a country which undergoes none of the emotions which other countries experience. One old Indian friend of mine, who has been engaged upon public affairs in this country, who has been absent from his own country fourteen months only, and who returned to it the other day, told me when last I saw him that he thought politically it was a different place fourteen months ago. The war, the causes of the war, the objects of the war, the speeches of those who conducted the political aspects of the war, have had their effect from one end of India to the other, and have been preached everywhere, as the documents which I published themselves show.

The pronouncement of the 20th August promised that substantial steps in the direction of responsible Government should be taken as soon as possible There is no use for pronouncements that are not fulfilled, there is no use for pronouncements which take geological epochs to fulfill Doubts are already beginning to appear. It is suggested already—unworthily suggested, wickedly suggested—but still suggested—that we made the announcement and declared the intention of His Majesty's Government in order to secure loyalty from the Indian peoples during the war and that now that we have achieved victory we are not going on with our purpose. I say this to show that, in my opinion, as in the opinion of the Governor of Bombay, delay, inexcusable delay, unnecessary delay, would be fatal to our purpose. For that reason, after two years' consideration of this problem, I venture to suggest to the House that I have shown no undue haste in bringing this Bill before the House of Commons. First it used to be said "oh! you must not introduce the Bill until the opinions of the local Governments have been published and we have had an opportunity of reading them." I promised the opinions of the local Governments and the opinions of the local Governments have been published in accordance with that promise To a very large extent they are irrelevant, because, despite the letters which have been published and the arguments they have used in them, they have produced, at a subsequent date, an alternative plan, about which I shall have something to say later on. But they are published Now when they are published comes the new argument "you are hurrying on the Second Reading of the Bill when we have not had time to read the papers." So first you say "Do not take the Bill because you want the papers." Then when the papers do appear you say "Give us time to read the papers." In other words for the man who does not want to do something, the day on which you ask him to do something is always the wrong day.

I have published also, in order to avoid discussion to-day, two White Papers. One White Paper explains, as clearly and as

concisely as I could do it, the actual effect of the clauses of the Bill. The other White Paper shows what the existing Government of India Act passed in 1915 will look like if these Amendments are made in it, for this Bill has been drafted with a view to automatic consolidation with the Government of India Act 1915, which embraces a very large number of statutes. It is suggested that when this Bill has been passed by Houses of Parliaments it shall be automatically included in the existing Act and will itself disappear as a separate Act. In order to see the effect of that process—the best form of legislation, I venture to think, when you have a previous statute—I have published and circulated a copy, that I hope, will avoid the necessity at this stage of going into details. A few more words I must say as to the form of the Bill. In the first place it may be said—it has been said—that we propose to rely so much on rules and regulations under the Bill that the Bill itself is only a skeleton. I need not remind the House that there are many precedents for that procedure, in fact, in almost every statute referring to the Government I think that procedure has been adopted. But I would also remind the House that deliberately of intention, in accordance with the terms of the pronouncement of the 20th August this Bill does not pretend to give to India a constitution that will endure. It is transitional, it is a bridge between governments by the agents of Parliament, and by the representatives of India. It must be in such a form that it shall be not static but fluid, that alterations can be made in it from time to time, and that you should not form a rigid constitution by statute which could not be altered except by trespassing at intervals upon the over-burdened and over-mortgaged time of this House. Therefore we have resorted to the plan of precedent, of asking that details shall be accomplished by rules. Let me hasten to add that this is one of the points upon which I approach this problem with an open mind. If there is anything in which the House would prefer to be done by statute, let us by all means, in the commitee stage, incorporate it in the statute, although let us try at the sametime to avoid rigidity, which, I believe would be fatal to our purpose. I would add also that it is not our intention to prevent the control by Parliament of these rules and regulations. The Bill provides that they shall be submitted to both Houses. The principle which it is intended to embody in these rules it is intended should be submitted to the joint-committee which it is proposed to set up, and the policy of the rules, if not the actual wording of the rules will therefore be carefully considered at the sametime as the Bill itself I regard that as essential. It has always been said that the Morley-Minto reforms were largely spoiled by the rules made under it I am not at the moment prepared to argue whether or not that is so, but I want on this occasion to avoid any possibility of that charge being levelled. Therefore I

hope that Parliament will not lose control of this Bill until the policy which is to be embodied in the rules has been laid down by Parliament. I come now to the Bill itself. What I would like to do, if I may, is to start afresh and try to take the House with me, if I can and if it is not too ambitious a project—in realising that if you start from the place where the authors of the Bill Start, the form of the Bill and the recommendations of the Bill are inevitable Where did we start ? We started with the pronouncement of the 20th August 1917. I propose to ask : Is there anybody who questions to-day the policy of that pronouncement. It is no use accepting it unless you mean it, it is no use meaning it unless you act upon it, and it is no use acting upon it unless your actions are in conformity with it. Therefore I take it that Parliament or at any rate this House will agree that the policy of the pronouncement of the 20th August must be the basis of our discussion —the progressive realisation of responsible government, progressive realisation, realisation by degrees, by stages, by steps— and those steps must at the outset be substantial. That pronouncement was made in order to achieve what I believe is the only logical, the only possible, the only acceptable meaning of the Empire and Democracy, namely, an opportunity to all nations flying the Imperial flag to control their own destinies.

[An Hon. Member : "Nations!"]

I will come to nations in a moment. I will beg no question. The Hon. Member raises the question of nations. Whether it be a nation or not, we have promised to India the progressive realisation of responsible government. We have promised to India and given to India a representation like that of the Dominions on our Imperial Conference. India is to be an original member of the League of Nations. Therefore I say, whatever difficulties there may be in your path, your Imperial task is to overcome those difficulties and help India on the path of nationality, however much you may recognise—and I propose to ask the House to consider them—the difficulties which lie in the path.

Supposing for a moment there are those who consider that the Empire has justified itself when you give to a country satisfactory law and order, adequate peace, decent institutions, and a certain measure of prosperity under the defence that you have provided ; supposing, in other words, there are people who believe that you have fulfilled your mission when you have run the country as an estate, not as a country at all; even then, approaching it from the other point, there are large proposals in this Bill which command assent from them. There are the proposals for devolution, the proposals for decentralisation. I have heard no critic in these two years who has not told me that it is

absolutely essential for the local Governments to get more freedom from the Government of India. I do not think that any body questions that, from the point of view of administrative convenience, if on no higher grounds, government by despatch, with all its cumbrous machinery, all its necessarily delaying methods, all the difficulties attending upon considering and reconsidering plans and projects over thousands of miles of land and thousands of miles of sea, all that ought to be got rid of. I ask Parliament to assent to this proposition, that you cannot get rid of it unless you substitute something else for it Now and to-day you cannot have a Government more bureaucratic and less dependent upon Parliament without being dependent upon anything else, than you have at present. The only possible substitute for government by despatch, is government by vote. The only possible way of really achieving devolution and making the unit, when you have chosen the unit, responsible for the management of its own affairs, is to make the Government of that unit responsible to the representatives of the people. If you simply say "Let us have an irresponsible Government in a province and let the Government of India not interfere and the Secretary of State not interfere and Parliament not interfere," you have a policy which is merely the enthronement of bureaucracy and the very negation of the progressive realisation of responsible government.

Therefore I go a step further. In order to realise responsible government and in order to get devolution, upon which there is general agreement, you must gradually get rid of a government by the agents of Parliament and replace it by government by the representatives of the peoples of India. In other words you have to choose your unit of government, and you have got in that unit to create an electorate which will control the government. What is the unit that you are choosing to be ? Some people would say "Let us be content with the unit of the local government area—the parish council (I am not using terms of art but terms which have significance for this country), the county council, the rural district council, the municipalities—in other words that you should give responsible self-government in the area of local government. That is already being done under the terms of the joint-Report, but that is not enough, for two reasons.

The first is this ; the policy of complete local self-government was adopted by Lord Ripon in 1883, and we are now proceeding to carry it out, after a delay of something like thirty-five years. It is not enough to answer the new conditions arising out of the world war by fulfilling a promise made thirty-five years ago and therefore that is one reason why you must give something more than local self-government. But there

Not a Clean Slate.

is another reason. You are not writing on a clear, clean slate. You are writing, and rightly in continuation of chapters which have been written before. You are building on foundations that already exist. It is in the province that you must look for your unit because it is in the provinces that the great educational results of Lord Morley's Reform Bill have been achieved. He made the Legislative Councils representative to some extent of the people, with a very small electorate and practically no powers beyond powers of criticism. But it is the existence of those Councils which has awakened the apetite for self-government and have added to the appreciation of self-government in India and it is therefore, to my mind, absolutely inevitable that we should proceed to devote ourselves to taking the Morley-Minto councils a stage further in their development. Therefore it is to the provinces that we go and the provinces are beginning to be the units of local patriotism in India. I do not say that as time goes on you will not substantially modify the size and boundaries of your provinces. Some of them are very artificial. But when you do, it should be in conformity with the wishes of the inhabitants of the provinces and not by executive action.

If I have carried the House with me in the suggestion that the province is the unit in which we shall start a progressive realisation of responsible government, what are the difficulties that we have to face? They were suggested in the joint-Report. I will emphasise them again. It does India no good purpose to attempt to avoid them but they are not arguments against our purpose. They are arguments which we must overcome.

The difficulties are these.

Under the system of education which has been given to India by British rulers, education has not been spread wide You have a very small fraction of the population highly educated and a very large proportion of the population not educated at all. You have secondly great differences of race and religion and great difficulties arising out of the harsh customs and precepts of caste. I cannot help believing that there is no better way of getting over these difficulties than by representative institutions. There is no greater stimulus to education, there is no better way of promoting community of action or of overcoming the acerbities of caste than by setting to the population a task to do together, to work the prosperity of their country. Many of those who write on India assure us of the insuperable obstacles presented by caste. It can only be a gradual process to get over these harshnesses and acerbities to which I refer. But every step you take in this direction brings you nearer

to the day when the population will not suffer as a consequence of differences of caste. It has begun. It is idle to say there is no difference of recent years in the conditions. When you realise the fact that men of all castes find themselves in the same third-class railway carriage, the way in which soldiers write to me that men of all castes mess together, the work which is being done by the members together of the higher castes in helping the conditions and devoting themselves to the social problems afforded by the lower castes—you will realise that those problems are on the way to being solved. The other day I came across a case of a co-operative society run by a Committee consisting of Brahmans, non-Brahmans, Caste Hindus and Panchamas. They met to discuss this movement of co-operation which has grown enormously in India under a tree of three leaves—the Brahmins on one terrace, the non-Brahmins a little lower down, the Panchamas a little lower still. They discussed the business of the Co-operative Society in that way. Do you imagine that, that is going to endure? Some one will have a difference with some one else in discussing the management of affairs and will talk to him. There is no better way of promoting democratic customs than by working them through democratic institutions. Despite all these difficulties, I therefore say, the essence of the problem is to train the electors.

I desire to express, on behalf of the Government of India and the India office and, I hope, of this House, our appreciation of the excellent work done by Lord Southborough's Committee. An electorate has been formed: that is to say, proposals have been made to put 5000, 000 voters on the register. But you do not form an electorate by that mere process. You have to get them to vote and you have to get them to understand what a vote means. You have to get them to appreciate the results of a vote. There is only one way of doing that, and that is to make a vote of some value. If a man is asked to vote and then nothing happens as a result of it, nothing that he can see, nothing that he can appreciate, nothing that either he can reward or punish by the transference or maintenance of his vote, and you will never train an electorate. Therefore it is a necessary step for the training of an electorate that you must give it power through its representative. If the result of a vote is that a certain person is elected, if he cannot only criticise but get things done, if he can do things, if he can be held responsible for the things he does, then the man who wants to turn him out will soon undertake the task of training the electorate to a realisation of the importance of a vote. And therefore in order to train your eloctorate which is the only way in which you can transfer the power from this House and its agents to the people of India, you have to give the electorate which you create men responsible to it to carry out its demands.

If I have carried the House thus far, the next step must be that you have to choose a part of the provincial functions which at the outset will be entrustd to the representatives of the people. Any one who has followed me in what I have said about education, about caste and about religious differences, will realise that it is not right to entrust them with every thing at the same moment. There are some things such as the maintenance of peace and order—I will take the definition which Lord Chelmsford and I suggested in the Report—things in which mistakes are irretrievable, things in which the electorate at the outset should not be able to enforce its demands, things like Land Revenue—which you should keep from the control of the Representatives of the people. Immediately you say that, if there is anyone in the House who has gone so far with me, I do not know whether they realise it, but they have swallowed the awful, terrible, much criticised principle of dyarchy.

An Hon. Member :—Say duality.

Mr. Montagu : Duality. I have endavoured to lead them as I was led myself to realise that the only way to achieve our purpose was to reserve for the present, and for the present only, certain functions of government under the control of the agents of this House and to transfer other functions to the representatives of the people. That is what Mr. Feetham's Committee proposes to do That is what the India office Committee, and that is what the Government of India and ourselves in discussion in India, came to the conclusion was inevitable—to separate the functions of government, to transfer some, to reserve others and to proceed by gradually taking the functions that are at present reserved and transferring them. Having decided that certain functions are to be transferred and that other functions are to be reserved, the question next to be decided is, what is the form of Ministry that you will set up to conduct them ? Is it to be one or is it to be two ? I submit with great confidence to the House that immediately you try and preserve one Ministry, always acting together and sharing responsibility for all acts, you obscure the lesson of responsibility. Let us take a particular reserved function—say police—and a particular transferred function—say education. You say "It is our intention that the people shall have their way at once in education. It is our intention that as far as police is concerned, for the moment those who administer it shall carry out the wishes of the Houses of Parliament as the trustees of the Indian people." If the men in charge of education and in charge of Police are both equally members of the same government, each sharing responsibility for the acts of the other, both are equally responsible for police and education. The one or the other may at any moment have to carry out a policy of which he does not approve. The man responsible to

this House may have to carry out an educational policy of which he does not approve. The man responsible to the Indian Electorate may have to carry out a police policy of which he does not approve If you separate the two functions, if you separate the Government into two parts, when a man who is responsible for education goes to his constituency, he says, "It is quite true that I have carried out a certain education policy, that is quite right. I am answerable for that, and I am prepared to defend it. With regard to police policy, I am not responsible. I am there only in a consultative capacity, with no direct responsibility at all. Your only way of modifying the police policy is so to show the House of commons the excellence of the way in which you have used your educational policy so that in ten years' time they will transfer to you the police policy too, but at present my responsibility ceases with the transferred subject." By that means, it seems to me, you can make clear, both to the electorate and to the individual who exercises power on behalf of the electorate, the extent of his responsibility, and in no other way. The logical sequence to that form of argument would be that you would have two Governments completely separate in the same area, with separate funds, separate finances, separate Legislatures and separate Executive staffs. I would suggest most respectfully to the House that that is impossible and for this reason. I cannot reiterate too often that the basis of this whole policy is its transitional nature. You want to lead on to something else at the earliest possible moment. If you have two Houses, with two staffs, two purses, the net result would be that the people concerning themselves with transferred subjects would never have anything to say on reserved subjects. But if reserved subjects are to become transferred subjects one day, it is absolutely essential that during the transitional period, although there is no direct responsibility for them, there should be opportunities of influence and consultation. Therefore it seems necessary to separate the responsibility, there ought to be every room that you can possibly have for consultation and joint deliberations on the same policy and for acting together for the purposes of consultation and deliberation, as the Bill provides, in one Government.

Colonel Wedgwood: and criticism.

Mr. Montagu: And criticism—This procedure would be absolutely indefensible if it were not for the fact that it is transitional and if it were not for the fact that at stated periods it is proposed to hold a Parliamentary inquiry into its working, with a view to further stages. By that means there is a certain method of progress. By that means everything that happens will come under review, and the attitude adopted by each part of the government to

the affairs of the other part will be one of the prime factors in the decision of the commission that reviews.

I have dealt now with the local governments and the way in which the scheme is evolved. I know it is a very hard thing, I know that it is more than difficult to explain so complicated a procedure, particularly for one who has been saturated for two years past with this sort of argument and discussion But I have endeavoured as shortly as I possibly could to portray the arguments once again. They are portrayed in the memorandum which I have issued, and the Government of India's despatch, which have led up to this Bill.

I do not think the time has yet come for a similar movement in the government of India. I think that there we must take the step of one stage only, namely to make the Legislative Assembly more representative, to give it greater power of influencing and criticising, but not at this moment of responsibility, and we must make the Government of India itself more elastic in its composition, less stereotyped, by altering certain of the Statutory provisions which govern its executive formation. We must also add to its power of dealing with its own work, because we relieve it of the necessity of controlling a large number of provincial functions. In so far as the provincial Government has got to defer to its Legislature by statute, that is to say in transferred subjects, you have a Government which is responsible to the electorate. Therefore there is no necessity to control it by the Govt. of India and you get the devolution which the men who want to perfect administration desire.

Therefore the Government of India will not be concerned, generally speaking, with transferred subjects, and the Secretary of State will not be concerned with transferred subjects Therefore this House will not be concerned with transferred subjects. Therefore so far as transferred subjects are concerned, we shall have parted with our trusteeship and surrendered it to the representatives of the people of India There is much more to be done with the Government of India. We have to release it from necessary administrative control by the India office, and for that purpose, incidentally to this Bill, I am awaiting the details of Lord Crew's Committee's Report, but so far as that is concerned, most of its recommendations, except as regards the composition of the council, will be administrative and not statutory. At the same time, as was mentioned in the Joint Report there is very much reason to believe that the secretariat system wants reconsideration and over-hauling. I think it is understaffed and I do not think it is modelled for the transaction of the complicated business which falls to the office at the present moment. The House will be glad to learn that Sir

Hubert Llewellyn Smith, one of the most experienced British Civil Servants, has been good enough to accept my invitation, given to him on behalf of the Government of India, and Sir George Lloyd also invited him to consider those of Bombay.

Colonel Wedgwood : Does that include the staffs of ministers who deal with transferred subjects, or will they arrange their own affairs.

Mr. Montagu : Ultimately, of course, the ministers will arange their own staffs, but I want them at the moment to take over their Departments as going concerns. This question of the Secretariat, however, is for the Government of India primarily and nothing else.

Before I sit down, there are some very important matters with which I must deal. The first is that of the alternative schemes which have been presented and which have been rejected in this Bill. There is the Congress and Moslem League scheme. I will not detain the House with the details of that. It was prepared before the pronouncement of the 20th August 1917. It does not attempt to realise responsible government but it leaves an irremovable executive at the mercy of a legislature which can paralyse it but not direct it. I do not believe that this House will ever agree to set up a constitution in India which will leave an executive that is not removable at the mercy of a legislature which cannot control it.

Much more formidable is another proposal which comes from the heads of the majority of the local governments. Although I cordially agree with the Government of India in rejecting this proposal, I hope the House will believe that I do not underestimate its importance. It is the work of no arm-chair critics. It is the work of the most experienced administrators of India. It is the work of men who are entitled above all others to have their opinions carefully weighed, and although I believe them to be wrong and desire to show why I believe them to be wrong, and that we shall have to argue this in Committee, yet it is with no sense of disrespect to them that I challenge their conclusions. It is a powerful array. The Government of Madras had no part or share in the elaboration of this alternative proposal, nor had the Government of Bombay, but the heads of five local Governments approved the alternative proposal. Yet the Government of Bengal, Lord Ronaldshay and the Lieutenant Governor of Bihar and Orissa, Sir Edward Gait, preferred the Scheme of the Bill and the joint Reports That is the position. But although I do not want to discredit them, I want to suggest that really their view is accidental in this sense that it must not be assumed, whatever the composition of those Governments, and whoever had been their heads, the same result would have ensured. For instance, the Chief Commissioner of Assam prefers the Scheme of

the majority of local Governments. But the late Chief Commissioner of Assam who left only a few months previously—he came about a year ago—would have preferred, I know, the Scheme of the joint Report and this Bill. The present Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces prefers the alternative scheme of the local governments, but his predecessor would have preferred the scheme of the the joint Report. A great deal depends upon personality.

I. C. S. Governors—their attitude.

But although these gentlemen are entitled to give a very weighty opinion they are not unprejudiced. Where men have grown up under a system they do not like to see it altered. Their proposal is the existing system with another man added to the Executive Council. Nothing much worse than the Morley Minto Scheme—an alleged unity of government, but no real unity of government, because one half of the Government is in their own words "necessarily influenced by the opinions of the Legislative Council", and the other half not. And there is no certainty of control by the legislature because on all subjects, if the Government certifies it is in the interests of his province, he can over-ride it. It is the same system with just another Indian Member added to the Executive Council Let me put it to this House. After all, the Civil Servant in India is not very different from the civil servant in this country. Whoever heard of a political reform in any office in this country coming out of the civil service ? This House is the place for political reform. You will never get it carried out by the civil service. As time goes on that service must carry out the wishes of those who dictate the policy. It must be first in this House and ultimately in India. that that policy which the civil service is to carry out must be dictated.....

Co'onel Yate : why did you send Sir Llewellyn Smith to make reforms in India. Is he not a civil servant ?

Mr. Montagu—I am very much obliged to my hon. and gallant Friend. His intervention in Debate is always valuable. He has given me opportunity of pointing out my arguments. I am using a civil servant to advise me on administrative changes as to how the secretariat can carry out most efficiently the orders and wishes of its political superiors. That is exactly the function of a civil servant. And this is what ultimately, when India is a self govering country, I hope to see the position of the civil service. It is quite true that in what I have said about the local government's alternative plan I have included Lord Willingdon, because, although he is not a civil servant, and *although* he has plan of his own, he would, I am certain, have preferred the plan of the majority of Local governments to the plan of the Bill. But then Lord

Willingdon prefers to rely upon those qualities which he possesses, which made him an astonishing success in the Government of Bombay. He brings all the qualities that ensure for him great popularity and all the qualities which made him in this House a successful whip. He says, in effect, under a Governor such as Lord Willingdon, a more elastic arrangement would be far preferable to the arrangement of dyarchy of the Bill.

Under the scheme as we propose it to the House, if in any province a governor can so influence his advisers—and there are governors and governors, and Lieutenant governors and Lieutenant governors—if the circumstances of a particular province make it possible, there is nothing in the Bill which would prevent a governor trying to discharge all the reserved functions as if they were transferred. He can call his Government together and say "I do not belive much in this dual form of government Let us see if we cannot get on together. Unless I am driven to it I will use none of the powers given to me under this Bill. We will always consult together. I will do my best to work the scheme in deference to the wishes of the Legislature on all subjects and I will only use my exceptional powers on reserved subjects if I am compelled to." Perhaps if he is lucky he will get through his term of office without being called upon to use them Therefore under my scheme Lord Willingdon would get all he proposes in his letter. But suppose there is another Governor who says "I am not going to consult you. I like the good old way. I believe that good government, or what I think is good government, is far better than self-government, than the scheme under the Bill. I know what is good for you better than you know yourselves" Under the scheme of the Bill, whatever the personality of the Governor, the transferred subjects are guaranteed to be under the representatives of the people. Under the alternative scheme, under the wide use of certification and of the local government majority, nothing is guaranteed to them at all. The time, I submit, is not in which you can be content that certain members of your alleged united government should be "necessarily influenced by the opinions of the Legislative Council." What you want, if you are to lead India upon this road, is that the Government on certain subjects must respond to the wishes of the people. In other words, unless you have that and more than the local governments suggest, then there is no progressive realisation of responsible government.

The Indo-British Association.

Lastly I come to the scheme of the Indo-British Association This is a body which gets very angry when I suggest that it does not intend to carry out the pronouncement of the 20th August in any adequate way, and it has done great harm to India by leading

people to suppose that it has more influence on the decisions of Parliament than I hope it is ever likely to have. What are its proposals ? "Financial delegation as between the Secretary of state and the Government of India." As a matter of administration, they are in agreement with the Bill and with the joint Report. But that does not lead to any progressive realisation of responsible government. "The reorganisation of the India office intended not only to remedy obsolete procedure but to obtain more recent knowledge of India" They are in agreement with the joint Report on matters of administration They are suggesting the work on which Lord Crew's committtee is now engaged. But that does not lead to the really progressive realisation in India as between the Government of India and the provinces in domestic matters and the transformation into a federal system." Once again they are in agreement with the Bill and with the joint Report. But that in itself does not lead them nearer to the progressive realisation of responsible government Then there are two points about municipal and local government and elementary education. These are not constitutional and constructive programme ; "in every province place one or two districts in charge of a wholly Indian official staff and extend that, if it proves satisfactory, into a division and finally into a whole province." The scheme is a scheme of bureaucrats for the consumption of bureaucrats, intended for the enthronement of bureaucracy "Let me, if I am in charge of a province, be not controlled in any measure by my legislative council." I got some where—I will refer to it if I am challenged —the qualifying statemens "That the powers of the provincial Government are to remain unimpaired." They are not to be interfered with by the legislative council or by the Government of India or by the India office. In other words the Lord Sydenhams of the future can remain upon their throne, untrammelled by control from above and undismayed by criticism from below. How is that to lead to the progressive realisation of responsible government...

Brigadier-General-Croft . Was he a successful Governor.

Mr. Montagu—I do not want to express an opinion on that. His record is available. I am not concerned with the authorship. It does not matter who is the author. I am only concerned to test the programme and see whether it fulfils the policy of the progressive realisation of responsible government. And when I find that the Association puts forward a policy which pretends to carry out the pronouncement but which more or less involves bureaucracy, I am entitled to criticise with all the strength in my power. What is the use of ousting a British Civil servant and replacing him by an Indian Civil servant ? The district officer is the very backbone of

the administrative machine. I venture to predict that the Indians themselves would be the last to wish to see the complete disappearance of the district officer, but we do no good by establishing Indian bureaucrat instead of an English bureaucrat. Of the two bureaucrats, having regard to his training, I infinitely prefer at the present moment the English bureaucrat. If that is the best alternative scheme addressed to this House and if we really desire to carry the pledges made to India, then it is far better to carry out the Bill as it stands than to pay any attention to this scheme. We shall never get on with all the work that we have to do in India unless we have settled, as this Bill will settle, the constitutional question and its interminable discussion. I say it "will settle" What I mean is that I hope we shall receive from the joint Committee an agreed Bill, that all these alternative schemes will be considered in far more detail than is possible this afternoon, and that somehow or other a statute will pass as a consequence of the Second Reading this afternoon, which will launch India on the road to complete self-government. There is so much other work to do in India that if we can once get a growing constitution for it to win for itself that goal which we have pronounced, we can turn our attention to the spread of education —to the perfection or at least to the improvement of education—we can turn our attention to the development of her great resources and her great industries, we can consider the reorganisation of her defences. But before we can do anything and in order to make these things possible it seems to me to be essential to start her on the road of self-government.

I implore this House to show to India to-day that Parliament is receptive of the case for self-government and only seeks an opportunity of completing it by the demonstrable realisation of the success of its stages. There is too much race prejudice in India at the present time. It is beyond this House to correct it. It does not exist only in India ; it exists in South Africa too But Parliament can help to correct it in the Constitution. If we hold on to power in India and stand fast to the policy of subordination, race friction will continue and ought to continue. If we surrender our trusteeship to the great Provinces of India as speedily as they are ready to take it over, then Indians will have something better and more worth doing than fiercely and impotently to criticise those who are at present the agents of Parliament.

Perorations on Indian affairs have a tendency to great similarity, at least the perorations of my speeches on Indian affairs always seem so. I cannot however—and I say once again—believe that Parliament is going to afford any obstacle to the partner ship of India in the British Empire.

We have recently been sympathetic to the national aspirations of

Arabs, of Czeko slavs of Serbia. Here is a country desirous of achieving nationality, once again I repeat, an original member of the League of Nations, developed under our protecting care, imbued to a greater and greater degree with our political thought. Let us pass this Bill and start it, under the aegis of the British flag on the road which we ourselves have travelled, dispite all the acknowledged difficulties of the case, of caste, of race, of religion and of education. If you do that, if you pass this Bill and modify it until it becomes a great statute, I can say—we can say, as I should like to say with the authority of the House to the peoples of India · "The future and the date upon which you realise the future goal of self-government are with you You are being given great responsibility today and opportunity of consultation and influence in other matters in which for the present we keep responsibility. You will find in Parliament every desire to help and to complete the task which this Bill attempts, if you devote yourselves with wisdom, with self-restraint, with respect for minorities" That is the message which it seems to me—I say with all deference—this House should send to the Indians to-day when you are starting to fulfil the pronouncement of the 20th August. That message cannot be sent unless the House is determined to pass without delay and with every desire that it should be improved before it is passed, a statute which means the beginning of self-government, responsible government in the Indian Empire.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Government of India Bill

Debate on 2nd Reading

5 June 1919.

House of Commons—5 June '19

Debate on the Govt. of India Bill—2nd Reading.

Sir Donald Maclean : The Debate to-day is an eloquent comment on the Debate which occupied the House for a day and a half of its time. Tired and weary Members have listened to a speech which is worthy of the theme, and delivered by a Minister who has not only competent knowledge, but has brought to a very heavy task a zeal and an industry which fully fit him for the work which he has so well discharged to-day. But what about us ? What a range of subjects we have tried to grapple with this week, and here what a speech this afternoon ! It is not only the question of the British Empire and of India which is at stake, but the whole question of the East and its relation to the West, because on the decision which this House will ultimately give with regard to this great measure—and that of another place—will turn the fate of Europe in its relations to those vast nations which populate the East. Railways, electricity and the swiftly developing means of transport and communication have largely abolished those physical difficulties which made it so easy and apparently true to say that

"East is East, and West is West.
And never the twain shall meet"

That is gone. The world, if it is going to be a world worth living in, must be a world in which all developed communities can join in a common League of Nations. Lest anybody here should think for one moment that this measure is a reckless leap into the political dark, may I just remind them and myself of what our relations have been stated by authority to be to India, certainly ever since 1858 Many Members of this House, and undoubtedly a very large number of people in this country, are alarmed at the prospect of the development of even the very limited scheme which has been adumbrated here to-day, but the whole test of British government, of Dominions far beyond these Islands, has been this: In times of difficulty and of stress are you going to adopt coercion or attempt conciliation ? No one doubts for a moment that the conditions in India are difficult to-day. There is the great Magna Charta, as the Indians regard it, in the statement issued in the name of Queen Victoria in 1858, when it was said that, "Neither race nor religion shall be a bar to the holding of any office under the Crown." When was that issued ? Within a few months of the close

of the Indian Mutiny. What was the state of India then? There are piping days of peace in India to-day compared with what followed for a long time the close of that terrible chapter in the history of India known as the Indian Mutiny. And yet that was the policy laid down by our rulers then as to our future relations to India. Sixty years have gone by and to what event have we fulfilled the promise the undertaking which lay beneath those noble words? Something has been done certainly. In 1861 certain steps were taken. In 1883 there was a further march towards the fulfilment of some part of our promise and in 1892; and in 1907 there came the Morley Minto reforms, wherein at last the elective principle was accepted definitely and power to disscuss the Budget and to interpolate and also to pass Resolutions, was given. That is little more than ten years ago. Here once more we find a perfectly regular and far too long delayed additional step in bringing to the people of India the year-long promises given by this country to that Dominion.

The point I want to make and urge again is this: It is no new thing that we are attempting to-day—nothing of the kind It is a step, and a very safe step as I believe, safeguarded in all sorts of directions, which I think this country may take with confidence, notwithstanding the disturbed state of portions of India. We shall hear a great deal, no doubt, about the Rowlatt Act, and the condition of things which it was proposed to remedy. The Southborough Commission went out a few months after the Rowlatt Committee finished its investigations. They heard evidence and came unanimously to their respective conclusions I have very much faith in the conviction that if the state of India was such as to entirely unfit it to be granted this moderate step forward, Lord Southborough and his colleagues would never have felt justified in submitting as they did the two Reports which are now on the Table of this House. If anything is to be done, and something must be done, time is of the essence of the usefulness of the step. My right hon. Friend referred to a remark of Sir George Lloyd on that point and I would rather like to elaborate that, and to inform the House a little more fully of exactly what he did say. Sir George Lloyd was one of us here for a number of years. He sat on a different side of the House from that on a which I sat, and held different opinions. After stating some facts he remarked in the communication to which I refer:—

"Under those circumstances I am only concerned to express my profound conviction held before I arrived in India and deepened still further in the few months I have been in India that time is a factor of vital importance in the whole question of reform I am convinced that delay is a greater danger even than an imperfect

scheme and those of us on whom must fall the heavy responsibility of putting a reform scheme into actual operation would be better able to work an imperfect scheme with the good will and confidence of all concerned than to operate a more perfect scheme, if one could be devised, if confidence and good will have been broken and alienated by disappointments and by delays."

If there was one other argument needed as to the impossibility of leaving these reforms where they are I would emphasise what the right hon. Gentleman has said by the one word "Paris." How few of us realise, and certainly it has taken me some little time to do so, what that means India has been represented in the great council of nations in Paris, shaping not only the future of the belligerents but unquestionably of the world. Is it to be suggested, when these things have happened, and when India has borne a noble and worthy share in the great world-conflict, that we are to approach this question in a niggardly, distrustful, alienating spirit? Such an attitude as that would be frankly contrary to the whole tradition of the rule of the British race, and I am certain the majority of both Houses of Parliament will, after careful consideration—which, of course, ought to be given—come to the conclusion that some such measure as this is necessary. I hope with the right hon. Gentleman, after such study as I have been able to give the proposals, that such alterations as will be made in the limiting sense, but rather on the lines of indicating trust rather than distrust of our fellow-citizens under the Imperial Crown. My right hon. Friend has used the word "diarchy." If for every new project we are to have a Greek term, then, while there is a movement for the abolition of compulsory Greek in the universities, possibly we may have to introduce compulsory Greek for Members of Parliament. I do not know why they do not use a good Saxon word, or a word with a good old fashioned Latin root. Why call it "diarchy," which almost seems to suggest something connected with dacoity! The question is whether you are going to set up a dual system, and instead of a Governor and Executive Council, not elected but selected, you are going to have reserved services and other services transferred to an elective Chamber under this system of dual working. We know the difficulty of attempting anything new. I am quite certain hon. Members who wish to do so should get up here and theoretically demonstrate the complete impossibility of working the scheme. That is not the way the British Government have carried on. The British people have never, thank Heaven, been debarred from attempting to do justice by theoretical difficulty and that is why we have had such success. We have made legislative attempts when specialists and experts have demonstrated to the full satisfaction of themselves that nothing could be done.

The measures which are suggested in the Bill are, I think we will all agree, more fit subjects for careful consideration by a Joint Committee than for the very slightly informed criticism of the majority of Members of this House, amongst whom I certainly include myself. What we have to do here in the course of debate, so far as we can grasp the facts which are cognate, is to show our agreement with the fundamentals of this measure so that the Committee when it gets to work will have behind it the authority at any rate of this House in the arduous task on which it sets out As far as I can gather the proposals in general terms may be described thus. We here in the House of Commons representing the supreme power are going to have a good deal less to do through our representatives than we had before. The Secretary of State hopes to have less to do with the Indian Government and the Indian Government hopes to have less to do with the provinces and the Governor of the province hopes to have less to do with the domestic problems of his immediate area. I see that an hon Member opposite disagrees with that, but that is how it strikes me. I think that is a thoroughly sensible idea. What are the safeguards? As far as I understand the subject, you are not really going to touch the central Government. The only thing you are going to do in that respect is to add one more Indian member. All the great controlling power will be left alone all the questions of law and order are to be under the complete control of the central Government in India. Furthermore, as far as I can see, the Civil Service is going to be left alone and is going to remain entirely under the control of the Government of India. I am sure we will all join, and certainly so far as any tribute from me is worth anything, I desire to pay a heartfelt tribute to the splendid services which the Indian Civil Service during all these generations has rendered to India. They have performed marvellous work. I do not think the world as a whole has ever seen anything like it. For the present, at any rate, that is going to remain untouched. The real change comes in the provinces, and on all questions which are not transferred such as law and order, and I suppose education—[An Hon. Member: "No, no!"]—the Governor maintains almost despotic power, I hope I am not going too far in saying so, or at all events a very powerful position over his Ministers under the new elective system He has the power of veto, and what that power is we will see when the rules appear My right hon Friend, when he referred to the question of legislation by rule, did not know how sore a subject he was touching so far as we were concerned.

The new elected chambers are to be on a limited franchise of 5,000,000 voter out of 300,000,000. [An Hon. Member: "Two hundred millions!"] It does not make any difference really to the argument. Even there very great safeguards are being introduced,

and if you go through the scheme you will find it safeguarded at every step. The only point is whether you have not got too many of them. In rough outlines there is the scheme which is put before the House of Commons to-day. Is it supposed that we shall give any grudging assent to the request which my right hon Friend makes, on behalf of His Majesty's Government—and that is the point—a Government which represents parties in the State who have been hitherto associated with strong opposition, as far as I can see, to any development upon what I would consider sound democratic progress in regard to India and our Crown Dominions beyond the seas? They joined in that historic declaration of 10th August, 1917. It comes to us with that tremendous force, and I do say this in conclusion, that we seek to maintain India as an integral part of the British Empire. There may be in India, as there are in this country and in every country, bodies of men who seek something far other than that, but as far as I have been able to judge the responsible men of India, their ambition is to be a self-governing dominion within the ambit of the British Empire. That is an ambition which we can to some extent facilitate by the generous passage of such a measure as this, and the success of Acts of Parliament of this kind does not depend so much upon the mere words that constitute the Bills as on the spirit in which they are not only put upon the Statute Book, but are administered. If that spirit is a broad-minded and generous spirit, even an imperfect mesure like this can go a long way to reach the goal which I am sure we all wish to attain.

Sir H Craik: I hope my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State will not think it is merely conventional, and on the other hand, that it is not presumptuous on my part if I offer to him my most sincere congratulations on the statement of the Bill which he has presented to us this afternoon. These may perhaps be more acceptable to him, because they come from one who has generally diffred from him, and who is perhaps disposed to look with greater caution and with somewhat more of fear on the somewhat more advanced steps which he may be disposed to take in this Bill. I cordially echo the words which were said by my right hon. Friend the Member for Peebles (Sir D. Maclean) in regard to the acceptance that we should give to this Bill. Of the general spirit which animates it I have not the least doubt, and I hope we may be able perhaps to come to some common understanding about it, but I think my right hon. Friend has perhaps not devoted himself so closely as he might have done to the very abundant documents which have been thrown at us by the Secretary of State I do not think he would have said, had he read them, that the question was altogether about how far you might extend. He would have seen that a great part of the discussions about this Bill must be methods

of adjustment and of balance of discussions between experts equally anxious to attain the end which he generally desires, but who will not by mere vague aspirations as to extension come to any practical settlement. He quoted a letter from Sir George Lloyd, but in the first two paragraphs of that letter he says :

"Owing to industrial disturbances I was unable state my view with regard to the scheme of constitutional reforms under discussion. I have arrived in India too recently, and since my arrival have been too preoccupied with the local condition of affairs in Bombay, to form any mature judgment upon the rival merits of the scheme put forward by my predecessor's Government and that proposed by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy."

It leaves the main question unjudged, although we would all agree that time is the essence of this matter and that it brooks of no considerable delay. I am a fairly old Member of the House, but I never rose to address the House with a greater sense of responsibility than on this occasion. I know the difficulties of this matter. It is not because I attach any importance to views of mine, which must be largely second hand, but because I feel that any words used here may carry far beyond what their real worth may be, and may, by some want of tact, or misplaced emphasis, cause ill-feeling between ourselves and our fellow-subjects in India I am sure everyone of us will desire to speak with the greatest caution in this matter. My right hon. Friend need not fear that I shall plead for delay I am only anxious that you should get on as fast as possible. I am not, of course, going to make the absurd and wicked suggestion that you made your declaration on the 20th August, 1917, with any idea of capturing loyalty—loyalty that could not have been captured except by the affection of our fellow citizens, and I am afraid that for once in regard to the form of this Bill, although I cordially agree with the right hon, Gentleman the Member for Peebles in objecting to legislation by Regulation in ordinary matters, I think if he will study the whole circumstances he will agree with me that the right hon Gentelman the Secretary of State has no other alternative but to carry these measures into effect very largely by Regulations to be issued hereafter.

My right to speak on this is because for a quarter of a century I have been in weekly correspondence with Civil servants in India over very various district scattered all over. I have visited India, but I do not attach, and I hope no sensible man will attach, very much weight to these cold-weather visits to India. But they do have a certain value to all of us if we take them in the proper way if we take them, not as a means of forming judgments for ourselves, but only as a key to understand what we read, and as

giving that tincture of reality which is necessary wholly to perceive the force of what we are told. I do not think any man can move through India without finding that whatever he has read or heard or known about India is strengthened by such a visit. One mixes, perhaps, first of all with the wealthy Parsee merchants of Bombay. One may come next to the smoother elements of Bengali society, where dangers at least do not appear so much on the surface. You pass, perhaps, into the more sentimental atmosphere, still guided by those wise guides who know its movements down to the very bottom, of the sacred City of Benares. Afterwards, perhaps, you can compare the more fighting element of Sikh society in Amritsar. Nothing teaches us more the work that has been done by our brothers in India than to go up to the frontier provinces. I remember passing the Peshawar, being received by the Governor there, the late Sir Harold Dean. Naturally, these Governors are rather afraid of the type of Paget, M. P., and he perhaps doubted that I was not coming to teach him instead of trying to learn from him. That doubt was soon broken down, and we became the closest and most confidential of friends. I rode with him into the market every morning, where he well knew that he was an easy object of murderous attack. I was sent by him up the Khyber Pass, that strangest of all scenes, where you pass through mountains occupied by the British pickets on certain days of the week, in order to assure the passage of the great caravans from Central Asia. I drove up in the sole company of two files of Khyber Rifles, and I passed through the middle of a caravan stretching for a mile and a half on the road, and at last reached Lundi Kotal, and found three of my fellow Englishmen holding that fort within sight of Jellalabad, where they were surrounded by hostile tribes, and where their life was passed in solitary wardenship. I understood then something of the responsibility and something of the hardship, and something of the strain and stress of Anglo-Indian life. I apologise to the House for occupying so much time with these perhaps senile recollections.

What is the situation in which we stand in passing judgment upon the Bill which my right hon. Friend has brought forward? Let me say at once that I accept without grudging and without reserve the declaration of the 20th of August, 1917. I think it carried out what was the spirit of previous declarations. It might be objected, of course, that that was no Resolution of Parliament. It was made on the eve of an Adjournment, and was merely a declaration of a Minister confirmed by no Resolution of the House. But we need not argue about that. I do not think anyone will object to acquiesce in the spirit—if you do not like the words—of the declaration of 20th August. We must, by assenting to that, carry forward the political education of our fellow-citizens of

India. That will be our duty. It becomes our duty because we believe profoundly in the advantage of a constitutional Government. Our faith in Constitutional Government in spite of all our doubts, difficulties, and hesitations, makes it our duty to do all we can to develop that education But is it unduly cautious, if, perhaps from the habit of a life-time, I say we would have been on stronger grounds if we had been able to find that the mass of the population, and not merely a small handful, were pressing us on to this movement? I do not say that because merely a handful are doing it we must hold back, but we must remember that the educated and literary part of India forms a very small part of the population compared with the whole people I am sorely tempted to quote a sentence from Burke who says;

"Half a dozen grasshoppers under a fern make the field ring with their cries, while large cattle lie under the shelter of the British oak chewing the cud in silence. Do not suppose that the noise comes from the large creature of the field."

I would rather some of those silent masses had really been educated up to the stage of making this demand, and making it with greater force than can be made by what is after all, a very, very small minority of the nation. We must remember, also, that we have in India what the right hon. Gentleman has referred to as vast differences of nationality, of language, of religion, of caste. It is no use saying that we must treat India as a nation. India with her fifty or more languages, with her differences of caste, her varieties of religion—these things cannot be got over lightly by saying that we must treat India as a nation and grant her independence. I remember during my visit to India discussing at a station with a commander of one of the Imperial forces of one of the native States, the probable future of the Government of India. One of us said to a native officer. "In the days of our grandchildren, will we still be here, or will you do without us?" The native officer, pointing to the inscription which is at every station in India—"Water for the Hindu gentlemen" "Water for the Mahomedan gentlemen" —said, "So long as that remains necessary, we must keep you here" We have to settle secular differences, deep-rooted differences that divide the great masses of Indians, and we cannot lightly throw over our trusteeship, wipe out the whole matter and leave the struggle to be fought out by those for whom we have made ourselves responsible.

We have also this to consider. We have to look to the fact that there have been recent experiments, and I am certain that my right hon. Friend would agree with me that those recent experiments have not always been completely successful. We had the experiments of Lord Ripon is 1883. They never led to any great

results, and even now, as the right hon. Gentleman says, after thirty-four years, they are only beginning to take some sort of shape. We have the Morley-Minto reforms. I have looked through these various reports. All the different authorities on every side pronounce the Morley-Minto reforms an almost absolute failure. They have established a system of constant criticism without power and without responsibility, and, besides that, they have established a system of representation which is really a shame. Critic is never so likely to foster discontent or to be so captious as when it is entirely devoid of responsibility. Those experiments, at all events, have not proved great successes. Further than this, we have to remember that we have to look back upon three years of very great and serious disturbance in India. The Secretary of State did not in his speech to-night refer to all those disturbances that occured in the year 1916, nor to the results of the Rowlatt Commission and the consequent Acts restraining disturbances, but there is no doubt we have the right—and it is not any grudging spirit which makes us assume that right—of looking carefully at your proposals, when those proposals are made after three years of very dangerous disturbances in India, and while those responsible for the government of India fear at any moment the outbreak of disturbances. These are not things that can be lightly passed over I do not say that these dangers either justify us in refusing reforms, or justify us even in delaying reforms, but they do justify us—nay, they make it our duty—to look with caution, and with critical eye, on the reforms that are proposed.

We start all these experiments with the conciousness that with all the successes that have been achieved, in one sphere of Indian administration we have nothing but failure, and that is in our Indian education. We have built from the top instead of building from the foundation. We have attempted to found universities of the very worst possible type, by competitive examination and by curriculii and degrees, and all the paraphernalia of universities, instead of the living spirit, which would have brought them closer, made an alliance with the Indian spirit, and developed the real genius of the Indian nation through the university. No one who goes through the village schools or the little technical schools can say we have done anything but achieve failure. The village schools are really beneath contempt. They touch merely a handful. They are imperfect in their methods. I am not talking of reading and writing—that is only a small part of the curriculum. What I regard as the main part of the education is getting hold of the younger generation, forming and shaping their character and making them useful citizens, teaching them to be clean and fully developed, physically and intellectually, and, above all things long ago we ought to have made education far more technical. Unfortunately, the system was established just at our worst

period, when we thought about nothing but competitive examinations and degrees, and payment by results, and all the rest of it, where we never sought, even at home, to form character, to develop aptitude or to make our younger generation into really good citizens. That is one of the great difficulties we have in starting a new system of reform, that we have never laid the real foundation that would have enabled popular interest in politics, and the development of the representative system, by a well conceived system of education. That is the one great failure in our Indian administration, and we have paid a very heavy penalty for it.

Now we come to the suggestion as to the shape which reforms should take. We all agree, as I have said, that some reform is necessary, that reform must be generous, that it must carry out, not only the words but the spirit of the declaration of 20th August, and, further, it must be prompt, for the matter brooks no delay. My right hon. Friend referred to one very interesting and very able precursor of this system of reform, and I am glad to join in the compliments paid to our mutual friend, Mr Lionel Curtis, who belong to a very active, and a very important body of young men, whom I should be the last to criticise. I am proud to know him, and to pay that respect to him due from age to youth. He and others have been doing good work, and part of that good work has been done in India. But we must remember, much as we owe to the proposals made by Mr. Lionel Curits, yet they have been set aside. I do not think my right hon. Friend found it possible to adopt these proposals in their integrity. He found certain great difficulties. These proposals—to describe them in a single word—were to the effect that independent Government to a certain extent should be assigned to the small States within the provinces under the tutelage of the British Government. The difficulty was in the tutelage, for it was anticipated that very soon there might be a collision between these small States independent in certain aspects and the wider Government. That, then, was set aside.

Now we come to the proposals of the right hon. Gentleman. In regard to certain things he is perfectly right in saying there is common agreement We are all agreed as to the need for decentralisation. We are all agreed that the present system of representation is absurd, and that if you give representation at all it must be a responsible representation. The right hon Gentleman, the Member for Peebles (Sir D. Maclean) said that 5,000,000 was a very small number out of all the millions of India. Yet 5,000,000 is a very considerable advance upon a very few thousands. We all agree in the matter of decentralisation. The difficulty arises when you come to the detailed proposals of the diarchic

Government, or by whatever name you choose to call it, by which there are to be reserved and transferred subjects, and in which these subjects are to be handed over to the Government to be administered by Ministers chosen and responsible to the legislative Councils, and very much independent of the Governor and his executive. I am sure the right hon. Gentleman must, as well as anyone, admit that there are very serious difficulties in this. I am not giving here a final opinion, but this, after all, should be the most feasible, workable, and practicable scheme of all the reforms. My right hon. Friend, I am certain, will agree that there are certain self-evident difficulties about it. That is admitted in more than one statement that has appeared, above his own name or written by his own hand. All that is said may be perfectly true, that of the competing scheme this is the better, because its advantages outweigh its manifest disadvantages. Here is the alternative scheme of the four Provincial Governments, but this my right hon. Friend criticised very severely and with great skill. I admit that in the alternative scheme there would be no division between transferred and reserved subjects, that there should be an increase in the native elements in the Executive Council, and that that increase should bring with it responsibilities and perhaps open the door hereafter to still further increase. I am quite aware of the difficulties. They might create discontent amongst these and those they represent, and perhaps upset the Government. On the other hand the thing might incidentally, under such strain, develop into greater power. It is quite true that this alternative scheme may be open to objection. The right hon. Gentleman has so stated. On the other hand, he must remember that his own scheme has been very severely criticised. Lord Ronaldshay and the Government of Bengal have refused to join in that alternative Government. My right hon. Friend will agree that Lord Ronaldshay and the Government of Bengal did not agree with the alternative system proposed, yet it would rather strain the words of the despatch of Lord Ronaldshay to say that they evinced entire agreement with the proposals of the Report. My right hon. Friend will agree that the despatch does not necessarily argue support on the part of Lord Ronaldshay.

I feel sure the House will reserve its judgment. We are quite ready to go a little further. What our duty is in conjunction and collaboration with the right hon. Gentleman to try to find out what is best to devise, what will best do that which we ought to do. I say very humbly that I think I see the danger. I distrust, and very strongly distrust, some of the recent experiments. I have doubts as to the practicability of some of the proposals. I cordially agree that settlement, and some quick settlement is desirable, and that we must not always be guided by mere abstract constitutional principle. I am very glad the right hon. Gentleman has—and he will correct

me if I am wrong—adopted as a practical measure—though I think really it is capable of no constitutional defence—a system of communal representation. Anyone who knows cannot but feel that communal representation is really not consistent with any broad principle of constitutional government. All the same, the right hon. Gentleman would say that, in the circumstances, and as things stand now, it is necessary in India.

Colonel Wedgwood: I think it may be necessary to let the Muhammadans and Hindus arrange the matter themselves.

Sir H. Craik: I think the words of my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State are the more practical form.

Colonel Wedgwood: I thought you were against it all

Sir H. Craik: I want just to put forward, as one essential element in your procedure, to keep a fair and just attitude towards the Civil Service. Trust its members. Do not despise their rights. My right hon. Friend himself has experienced something of the spirit in which they are ready to approach this question I think we will deal with it. I think he has received—in fact, I need not make any mystery of it, because, I myself have passed on to him documents from the Civil servants. I think he will agree that these show the same spirit of loyalty in their views on the proposals now made that have been traditional in their profession. The right hon. Gentleman compared the position of the Civil servants with that of the English service The analogy is not complete. The Indian Civil Service is a service that has far more responsibility, far more initiative, and I as a man of the home service am proud to acknowledge it. It has been the duty of the Indian Civil Service to form opinions upon the larger question and to give those opinions. They were completely different from the home service, who merely administer and whose business it is not to from opinions upon the great questions. I trust my right hon. Friend will remember that the position, even financially, of the Civil Service is very serious. It has been brought before successive Governments since 1911. In 1912 a Commission was appointed. It reported in 1915, but not the slightest action has been taken towards improving the position of the Civil servants. Their leave has gone. Their work has enormously increased. Their liberty is diminished. The expense of the journey home has enormously increased, and made it almost impossible for the Civil servants with reduced pay and increased expenses to come home, except at long intervals. Their wives and children are separated from them. The least that can be done is to give some attention to the needs and just claims of that profession.

Let me in conclusion, read only a few words from the paper which I placed in the hands of my right hon. Friend.

"We have examined——"

say the Civil servants—

"these proposed constitutional reforms from the standpoint of men who will be asked to put them into execution. We desire to lay emphasis on this point, for throughout this Report its authors presume, and rightly, that the members of all services will do their loyal utmost to make this or any other similar scheme a complete success; the tradition of giving their best to the country under all and any circumstances will, so far as present members of the services are concerned, be maintained to the end of their service, to the exclusion of the wishes and opinions of the individual. Our attitude, therefore, is not that of the destructive critic, it is that of the man who desires to perfect and improve details only, and we would ask that the opinions given be interpreted strictly in the spirit in which they are offered."

"We are strongly convinced that the success of this scheme, or of any other, depends entirely, not on our efforts, but on the attitude adopted, and the part played by the responsible educated Indian. In past years such men have not accepted to the full their duty in connection with the political progress of their country; many have, it is true, asked and occasionally agitated openly, for reform and advance, but others—we believe the great majority—have been content with our own guidance, that is either with things as they were, or with any reforms which their rulers (for there is no escaping the word) thought fit to introduce. On our part, speaking as officials, we feel, and for years have felt, that our own official policy has been too slow and circumspect; Government has hesitated, deliberated—and then pigeon-holed—when it should have gone boldly forward."

That is a spirit different to that which has sometimes been attributed to the Civil servant in India I am certain that the right hon. Gentleman will carry out his reforms best if in a generous spirit he listens to and accepts the co-operation of these people in the future.

Mr. Bennet:—The hon. Member for the Scottish Universities who has just sat down has spoken with his usual diffidence as a cold weather visitor to India. There is much in his statement with which I agree, but perhaps he will allow me to say that on one or two points I differ from his conclusions In the first place, I think that the Morley-Minto reforms have not been the entire failure he has taken them to be. I think he somewhat underestimates the use that local administration has been in India. I do not think that the educational system has been the entire failure it has been represented to be. No one will claim that it has been a success, but any one who has had any large acquaintance with the Indian members of the various local administrations, or with the subordinate members of

the judiciary and members of the legal and medical profession in India who have had their training and their teaching entirely in Indian universities, will say that they have been a complete failure. I do not pretend that they have been a success. We have had a very searching and critical account given by the hon Member who went out to India as a member of the Industrial Commission. We are aware of the defects of that system, and there is no doubt it will in time undergo the reform that it needs.

I think most of us will follow the example of the Secretary of State for India in restraining from criticisms, or attempting to deal with the details of the great measure he has laid before the House to-day. We shall find in them our best criterion by asking two questions. (1) Are the political confessions made in the Bill honest and genuine, and (2) are the executive safe-guards which it offers sufficient? I think that the Bill will pass safely through an examination in the light of those two principles. The right hon. Gentleman admits that under the scheme referred to a good deal of the effect which would have resulted has been nullified by Regulations It is, however, reassuring to see how fully alive he is to the danger of that policy if repeated, and it will be a satisfaction for the House to know that under the new scheme the Regulations which will be prepared will be somewhat of a statutory nature, that is to say, they will be subject to the approval of the House and to any criticisms which may be offered in this House.

We have also a great and valuable innovation in the instrument of Instructions to the Government. No one can read over the Act itself without seeing how much of the operation of that Act will depend upon the Instructions, and I hope the House will give the most careful consideration to these instructions because very much will depend upon them. We have been told, because five of the provincial Governments in India differ from the principle of dualism, that we ought to postpone the consideration of this Bill. I agree with the right hon. Gentlemen in the arguments which he puts forward in defence of the scheme of the Government of India against that of the provincial Governments, because I cannot see in the scheme put forward by the provincial Governments anything like an open way to the development of popular responsibility. Although it takes some courage to stand up against the advice of five provincial Administrations in India, at the same time I think the right hon. Gentleman is justified in the scheme he has chosen as against that of five provincial Governments.

This House and the opinion of this country, in looking at this scheme, will have to abandon certain conventional ideas. In this city there must be a good many examples of ancient wisdom in the old ideas and conventionalities in regard to the relations between

England and India which have to be abandoned. For instance, there is the old saying that in the East you must be either the hammer or the anvil. We ought to look at this great problem without thinking which is the hammer and which is the anvil. We are not going to hammer the disaffected of India into loyalty for us and our government, and we must find some other method of doing it. Again, there is the old conventionality that we won India by the sword and we can only keep it by the sword That is rather defective history and bad policy. I should take no pride in India and in my position as a citizen of this Empire if I felt that India was to be kept only by the sword, and I believe that view prevails in all parts of the House

There are difficulties which have been put forward, and which, in my opinion, have been made more of than they are entitled to. You hear of lions in the path, and you can always see that if your imagination tends that way. One lion in the path is the religious difficulty in India. We all know that there is such a difficulty, but it is possible to exaggerate that even in India, and those who press that difficulty upon the notice of the people in England forget to tell us how many States there are in India in which Mahomedan rulers peacefully exercise sway over the Hindu population. Many of us who have been in India must have had some experience of those political conditions I know in one State of a very influential Mahomedan Nawab who governs through a Hindu Minister, and one never hears of any differences between that ruler and his people. Then, again, we hear of insuperable obstacles to the establishment of anything like modern constitutional government in India. Here, again, one does not underestimate the obstinacy of certain sections of the community, but we are conscious that that problem is to some extent solving itself, and that at all events the predominance of the past is not as uncompromising and absolute as it used to be.

In regard to that matter there are signs which I regard as most encouraging. We have the attitude of the Brahmins. The Brahmin has been held up rather as a somewhat dangerous, grasping and unsatisfactory person, but I do not think he has been quite fairly treated. The Brahmin is to some extent by prescription a privileged person, but in the practical affairs of life one does not see much exercise of that privilege, and at any rate, the Brahmins are taking their part in a way most creditable to them in the uplifting of the oppressed classes in India We hear of the many millions of oppressed people and movements have been put for raising the oppressed classes. To whom we should give credit for originating that, I am not quite sure, but I think the Christian missionaries have had something to do with it. The point I want to make is that the most efficient measures that have been taken in India for the social amelio-

ration and the education of the oppressed classes have been taken by the educated Brahmins. They are a class of people who are held up to prejudice and distrust by a privileged oligarchy: but they have done more than any others in India to raise the depressed classes. Only the other day I heard of an organisation which deserves to be known and to be respected wherever it is is known, called the Servants of India Society. This society organised, in connection with one of the great religious fairs in the United Provinces, a medical and nursing service for the benefit of all who might be taken sick or who might be in need of help amongst the hundreds of worshippers who assembled at that religious fair. Cholera broke out, and the Servants of India Society took the lead in organising measures dealing with the cholera. I am speaking of these people because the Brahmins have been held up as real obstacles to the setting up of anything like democratic institutions in India. I plead for a fair judgment even upon them.

We are told that it is hopeless and dangerous to put more power into the hands of the people of India, because the certain result of doing that would be to decrease the efficiency of the administration. There have been times in recent years in which thoughtful Indians have had some reason for asking whether British administration at all points was any more efficient than it ought to be. Let us at all events realise this, that we may pay a little too dearly for absolute efficiency, and it may pay us in certain circumstances to be content with something short of perfection. Lord Cromer, whom I can scarcely regard as a dangerous adviser in matters of this kind, always acted upon the principle that he would employ the natives of India where it was at all possible, in spite of the fact that the native was comparatively inefficient. "This is a point," he said, "on which the Government of India has always gone wrong. You lose more by the effect upon popular content than you gain by having the work better done." At a congress I attended two and a half years ago I was struck by the fact that all over the huge building there were mottoes, and I think the most predominant motto there was "Efficient government no substitute for self-government." I think the idea was Mazzini's. It was recognised by the Italian population of Lombardy under Austrian domination. They fully recognised that the Austrians were efficient governors, but they did not love them any the more for that, and were very glad to get rid of them. You may pay too much for your efficiency. We frankly recognise that there will be a danger of a certain falling off in the efficiency of the administration while the new methods and the new regime is acquiring strength and getting into operation, but we ought to be prepared for that if, on the other hand, we get an increasing con-

tentment amongst the people of India, and a satisfaction with the rule which England has imposed upon them.

When an attempt is made to put the situation in India before us, it is sometimes put in a way which cannot fail to alarm us. Most of us have had a pamphlet sent to us which was intended to prepare us, I suppose, for the decision that we are to come to to-day. That pamphlet, I think, is the product of the Indo-British Association to which the Secretary of State has referred. I do not want to answer that pamphlet, but I think it might very fairly be described as a caricature of recent events and movements in India. It puts everything out of perspective, and everything out of proportion, and presents India to the English public merely as a hotbed of sedition in the political phenomena of which there is nothing worth attention beyond the ravings of an hysterical woman and the plottings of a disloyal minority. That is not the India with which we have to deal. We have to deal with a very different India, so long as we are sure that the executive are armed with sufficient powers to control it, and we can find in the difficulties and even the dangers which confront the Administration in India no reason for denying the opportunities of progress and self-development. I think the attitude of mind of men who, on the eve of decision being taken on a question fraught with the greatest importance to the development of the Empire, can do nothing better to enlighten us than to send a scare-crow pamphlet, for it is nothing better, show a deplorable want of statesmanship and of good faith.

The hon. Baronet (Sir H. Craik) spoke of the grave and serious occurrences in India during the last three years, and I do not think I am misrepresenting or exaggerating his argument when I say that he looks upon recent occurences as a reason why we should be very careful and very cautious in the measures that we adopt in India. That is a very fair and reasonable argument, but it is not a reason for timidity. Timidity may produce greater danger than a bold and resolute policy.

Sir H. Craik : I said that this is not a time for timidity nor for delay.

Mr. Bennett : We are glad to have those two points put by the hon. Baronet. We have two good examples which we can follow. We have the example of Canning who had to deal with far more serious troubles and problems than even the Government of India has had to deal with in recent years, and the fact that he did not regard that as a reason why he should withhold from the people of India the benefits of university education. It was the crowning point of Canning's policy of clemency to give to India those

university institutions of which we have heard to night. The other example is that of a recent Viceroy who, notwithstanding the attempts upon his life, and notwithstanding that he suffered and is suffering, said that it would not deter him from going on with the liberal policy which he contemplated. I am sure those are examples which should help and encourage us. We have to go forward. I might quote a passage from a contemporary historian whose work has already become classic when speaking of the measures adopted by the Emperor Theodosius. He speaks of Theodosius as "The far-seeing statesman who, seeing the tide of democracy setting in, goes boldly forth to meet it, and with liberal hand extends the privileges of citizenship to the worthiest of those who have been outside the pale, and from the enemies of the constitution turns them into its staunchest defenders." That is the policy which the Secretary of State for India has taken in hand. He courageously goes forward to meet the rising tide of democracy in India, and he may count upon converting a good many of those which at this time are hostile to British rule or, at all events, are not helping us as they ought to do. He may, and we hope he will, convert them into helpers and loyal subjects of the Crown. We or others will spend a good deal of time upon the details and machinery of this Bill, and in regard to that may I remind the House of what Lord Morley has written regarding the second-rate importance of the machinery of political institutions? He recommends us to engrave in letters of gold on the portals of the great offices of State at Whitehall Matthew Arnold's words; "When shall we learn that what attaches people to us is the spirit we are of, and not the machinery we employ?" We may have doubts and difficulties as to the machinery and as to matters of detail, but if we are right "in the spirit we are of" I have no fear of the consequences.

Colonel Yate: I think the House may congratulate the hon. Member who has just spoken on his very interesting address, and I am sure we all join with him in hoping that the Bill we are now considering will have the result that he hopes for in converting the present agitators into our good and useful colleagues in the Government of India in the future. One word in regard to the Indian Civil Service, which was dealt with by the hon'ble Baronet (Sir H. Craik). I confess I was disappointed at the expressions used by Secretary of State regarding the Civil Service of India. If I remember aright he said he was sending out a representative from this country to bring the Indian Civil Service down to its proper position; to put it into its proper position, and to put it more into the position of the Indian Civil Service at home than of the Indian Civil Service in India. We must all remember that the Indian Civil Service was the greatest ambition of many people in this

country and one of the greatest examinations in our universities was that for the Indian Civil Service. It is also the greatest ambition of Indians when they come here to be trained to pass for the Indian Civil Service The Indian Civil Service occupies a very unique position in the world, and I do not want to see it brought down to any lower level than it occupies at the present time. Therefore, I hope, my right hon. Friend will not maintain the position he took up when he spoke about it.

Mr. Montagu : Sir Llewellyn Smith is going out to India for no other purpose than to collaborate with the Indian Civil Service in advising the Viceroy and the Government as to the reorganisation of the Secretariat of the Indian Government Departments. I agree with every word the hon. and gallant Gentleman says as to the Indian Civil Service. My only argument was that when the time comes they would lose their responsibility for the initiation of policy but would carry out the policy which was dictated to them when it was transferrred from this House to the people of India.

Colonel Yate :—I hope the Indian Civil Service will never lose its initiative It is to its initiative that we owe a great deal. It has maintained our Government in India for a century. I do not want to touch on any details of the Bill under discussion. We acknowledge that nobody understands it, for nobody has had time to study it. The right hon Gentleman told us that he had flooded the House with literature. Look at the quantity we have had within the last week or two. It has been impossible for anyone to study it. I do not know why these voluminous Blue Books were kept back. I do not know why these Reports were not published at the time they were received. I must leave it to the Secretary of State to explain the reason for the delay. It is a great pity we did not have them months ago. The only really important question at this important stage of the Bill is whether self-government in India is to be founded on unity of administration, or whether what the right hon Gentleman calls the principle of diarchy is to obtain. Diarchy is a system of dual Government. The right hon. Gentleman is responsible for the word. There is no word in any language in any part of the world like it, and the very fact that no word exists anywhere for such a system of government is proof that there has been no one irresponsible enough to suggest such a system before this. It is an absolutely unknown system.

What is the proposal ? It is that in each Province in India—we ought rather to say in each country in India, for if you compare the Continents of India and of Europe without Russia, you will see they very nearly coincide; the population of India 315,000,000 and that of Europe without Russia is 312,000,000; India represents, like Europe, many countries with divergent conditions, but those

divergent conditions are far greater in India than in Europe, the difference between the Bengali on the East of India and the Baluchi on the West is far greater than the difference between the Bulgarian on the East and the Britisher on the West. When one thinks how absolutely impossible it is to introduce one franchise and one system of government for the whole of Europe and for the various countries constituting Europe without Russia, we can easily understand the difficulty of introducing one franchise and one system of Government for all the varieties of race, language, and creed that exist in India. It may be asked. What is the meaning of this system of diarchy? It is that in every province of India, however different the creeds and languages may be, you are to have two executive councils, one composed of British official members and the other of Indian unofficial members. These two exclusive councils are to be opposed to each other and to fight each other on questions affecting the Budget, the allotment of funds, and everything else.

The danger is this, that these questions will be fought out under the pressure of the Indian Press. The virulence of criticism and gross misrepresentation indulged in lately by the Indian Press has been so marked that I recently put a question to the Secretary of State as to what was being done to stop it. The right hon. Gentleman, wrongly as I think, put the onus of protecting the servants of the Government of India not on the shoulders of the Government of India or himself but on the Provincial Governments. I think he is wrong. It is the duty of the Government of India and of the Secretary of State to defend their own servants from the gross attacks made upon them of late months by the Indian Press. Under the system of diarchy this abuse of the British side of the Government will be increased and will tend to make the Government of India impossible, as it is trying to do now. That is the danger we must think of. Remember that under this system of diarchy acccusations will be levelled day after day against the British Government for allotting too much money for the preservation of law and order, too much money for the reserve services, and not enough money for the transferred services. There will be continually increasing friction. The Viceroy claims that the Bill will prevent that. But we must remember that the fate of the unofficial members of India will depend on the manner in which they oppose the official members.

The alternative scheme which is proposed by the great majority of the Provincial Governments of India, by men who really know what Government in India is, would give us a unified system of Government. I know well the value of the Indian mind to the British mind and of the British mind to the Indian mind. I know there could be no better thing for India than to have them all

sitting together round the table in equal numbers, acting together and sending their decrees forth as from one unified whole—one united Government which you cannot divide. We have got a Coalition Ministry in this country. Could we have the same in India ?

Colonel Wedgwood :—Responsible to an elected Chamber ?

Colonel Yate :—What should we do if we had two Cabinets in this country, one on the Government side and the other on the Opposition side both under the same Prime Minister, Would it work ? Would they not fight against each other ? The thing is impossible. The Government could not go on for a day Yet that is what the Secretary of State is trying to impose on India. The real point before us now is whether self-government in India is to be founded on unity or on disunity. We are to have a Joint Committee of both Houses set up to inquire into that. I confess I was afraid when this Bill was first brought forward that it might be said that if the Bill were read a second time it would establish the principle of diarchy and no amendment should be moved. I put a question to the Leader of the House yesterday, and he assured me that that was not the case. The question I put was as to whether it would be within our power, after the Second Reading of the Bill, to introduce amendments to give effect to the alternative proposals submitted by the majority of the Provincial Governments in India to the system of diarchy embodied in the Bill. The Leader of the House replied that it was certainly the intention that it should be within the competence of the Committee and the Bill has been drafted accordingly.

We all wish that this Bill should now go forward as quickly as possible. But one very important point is as to the composition of this Committee. Yesterday I asked the Leader of the House if he could tell us who was to be on this Committee, and he replied that it would not be appointed until after the Second Reading of the Bill. I am sorry for that. I believe there are precedents in existence in which Committees have been appointed before the Second Reading and the names given to the House for approval. I wish that had been done in the present case. There are many Members of this House who have no knowledge whatever of the technicalities of the Government of India. To them the details of this Bill must be absolutely unintelligible, as they are no doubt to the majority of the people in this country. But on the results of the findings of the Joint Committee you must remember the peace and welfare of India for generations to come will depend. The Committee has the most serious inquiry before it. We do not know what their report may be It may throw India back into chaos, into the state of trouble which existed sixty years ago. We know about the riots

and risings in India during the last few months. We have seen agitations carried on there in support of anarchy which have shown how easily the whole population of India may be led, and it proves more than ever how extremely careful we must be before making any great changes in the Government of India. The Joint Committee of both Houses might cause endless trouble, and I would therefore appeal to the Leader of the House to see that on this Joint Committee all views are impartially represented, and that all parties may have an equal chance of giving evidence before it, especially those Members of Provincial Governments of India who have experience and knowledge of the Government of India, and whose representations will be of such great value.

Colonel Wedgwood. If the hon. and gallant Member for Melton (Colonel Yate) had read these Blue Books with which he has been overwhelmed, and which came out three weeks ago—

Sir H. Craik: No!

Colonel Wedgwood: Yes, the Blue Books came out about three weeks ago, before the last Indian Debate.

Colonel Yate: The Secretary of State told me that they were published on 28th May.

Colonel Wedgwood: That was the subsequent ones published since the Blue Books. The Blue Books were out before the last Indian Debate, because I read them before it.

Sir H. Craik: You have not read them all.

Colonel Wedgwood: I have read the Southborough and Feetham Reports.

Sir H. Craik: There have been others since then.

Colonel Wedgwood: There have been two others since then, but they have been White Papers. It would be difficult to take part in this Debate unless one had studied those Reports.

Sir H. Craik The letter from the Government of India dated 5th March, 1919, was only issued about five days ago.

Colonel Wedgwood: But the Feetham report on the diarchical system of government proposed by the Secretary of State has been in your hands for three weeks. That apparently, was not read by the hon and gallant Member for Melton before he made his speech to day. If he had read it, he would have appreciated the difficulties of the situation, if you try to give responsible government to India and at the same time try to safeguard the present bureaucratic government in that country, It is a wonderful experiment that is being made at the present time. This is, perhaps, the most important Bill that has been introduced

into this House since the days of the great Reform bill of 1832. Indeed, when we consider that it affects 315,000,000 people, against the 31,000,000 affected by the great Reform Bill, it might be said to be the most important Bill ever adopted in the House of Commons. It is a constitutional measure of the very first importance, quite incomparable with the Morley-minto reforms or the reforms of earlier date. This is the birth of India as one of the self-governing Dominions of the British Empire. We are only shown in this measure the outline of the first stage of that great development, but every one who votes for this Bill to day is voting definitely for the placing of India in years to come in exactly the same position as Canada, Australia or South Africa inside the British Empire. That amounts to a complete change in the present system of Government in India. You cannot have bureaucracy and democracy running side by side. All that can be done is to make the change from pure bureaucracy to democracy gradual. That is what the right hon. Gentleman has attempted to do, both in his Report and in this Bill.

I am in a rather difficult position as regards this Bill, because I think it would have been wiser to have been more courageous. This Bill, if passed, will not end agitation in India. Directly this Bill is passed I hope that agitation will transfer itself from outside, from violent methods and from passive resistance to those councils when they are formed, but I hope that agitation will continue, because, unless it continues on sound constitutional lines in these new Parliaments just as agitation continued in our Parliament after the Reform Bill of 1832, we shall not see India achieve a reasonable and satisfactory from of government. Inasmuch as this Bill is not proposing a satisfactory form of government The dyarchy can be excused or justified as a transition measure, but only as a trasition measure. We might have started India further ahead in the stream of time. All Governments every where depend upon the command of the power of the purse. It has taken us 700 years in this Parliament to acquire to command of the power of the purse. During those 700 years kings have lost their crowns and their heads, Parliaments have been smashed up, and civil war after civil war has rent the country.

Brigadier-General Croft: And now we have lost that power.

Colonel Wedgwood:—I want to avoid starting India in the thirteenth century when we might start her in the twentieth century. I want to prevent in that country all the agitation which the command of the purse involves, and all the bitter feeling which must arise between Indians and ourselves until we do relax the power of the purse by a generous measure of reform immediately, and trusting to the, innate sense that every civilised people has, and

which I think the Indians have from what I know of them, that the safest way of conducting your country is to look to and carry on internal reforms, progressively developing the industries, sanitation, health, education and what I might call the mental development of the country. We should rely upon the natural tendency to use the weapons which we put into their hands for progressive development rather than confine them, as we do during the next ten years, to a perpetual constitutional struggle between the grantors of the constitution and those to whom it is granted, which will mean bad blood rather than good blood between us and India. That is particularly to be deplored just now, when we owe such a deep debt of gratitude to that country for so loyally supporting us in the War.

The power of the purse is the keynote. In this Bill that power is practically retained entirely in the hands of the bureaucracy. If you take the Indian Legislative Assembly—may I thank the right hon. Gentleman, or whoever drafted this Bill, for calling it the Indian Legislative Assembly and not the Imperial Legislative Assembly, because this is the first realisation in an Act of Parliament of that nationhood of India which we want to stimulate and encourage so long as there is true national spirit and not a factious national spirit—in that Indian Legislative Assembly that there is going to be an elective majority. But that elective majority has, in fact, no control over finance, because the Council of State, which is above it, has power to override it, as I read the Bill, on matters of finance. I would draw the attention of the House to Clause 20, Sub-section (4), which says:

"Where the Governor-General in Council certifies that it is essential for the safety, tranquility, or interests of British India, or any part thereof . . . that any law shall be passed, the Council of State shall have power to pass that law without the assent of the Legislative Assembly."

So that the Budget Resolutions as I read the Bill can be passed over the head of the Legislative Assembly by the Council of State Therefore, so far as control over the power of the purse is concerned, in that Legislative Assembly it does not exist at the present time, but is reserved entirely for the bureaucracy. That is one of the safeguards which my right hon. Friend opposite (Sir H. Craik) may think necessary. It may be necessary, but it is regrettable, and it should be changed at the earliest possible movement in order to avoid friction. Then take the Local Legislative Councils, which, as I read the Bill, will grow in importance and strength and gradually sap the strength of the Central Council in Delhi. In the Local Legislative Council there is again a majority of elected members, but again a second substitute for our House of Lords has been invented, with powers far wider than those of our

House of Lords, the substitute in this case being an extremely new invention called the GrandCommittee. That presents itself to the minds of hon. Members here as a place where we write our letters while other members are snoring. That it is not a Grand Committee intended by this Bill. It is a very carefully picked body selected from the local Legislative Council. It is picked by the Governor, and will consist of men who can be trusted to vote as he wants them to vote These men are set up in Grand Committees whenever the Legislative Council proves refractory, and, as in the Council of State at Delhi, its legislation supersedes the legislation passed by the merely local Legislative Council. There again the power of the purse is hamstrung by the decision of the Grand Committees. More than that, in regard to the subjects reserved to be dealt with by the bureaucracy as opposed to the transferred subjects like education and sanitation, which are transferred to Indian self-government, all the finance required for the reserved subjects is specially excluded from the purview of the elected Legislative Council. Worse than that, if the demands for these reserved subjects, for instance, the demand of money for the police force increases—that is to say, if the bureaucracy thinks the wages of the police are too low or the force is too small in number they can increase the pay and number of the force, they can double the annual items for the police, and they may make a demand upon the elected Legislative Council to make good the deficit.

If the local Legislative Council tap new sources of revenue for education as they undoubtedly will do, under this Bill they have no sort of security, if once they find a new source of taxation that that money will not be filched from them by the demands of the reserve services For instance, if they raise, £1,0)0,000 in Bombay for education the demands for money for police or public works will come along, which will swallow that increase, and they will get all the unpopelurity of having raised the new tax without satisfaction of being able of seeing it spent according to their own wishes. The refore the control of the purse is very small indeed. They have the right to raise money as they like for the transferred subjects to increase taxation for them, but they are always subject to a first charge on their revenues for the central Government at Delhi and also to a second charge on their revenue for the reserved subjects. That puts the power of the purse very low indeed and gives you a representative Government which is almost devoid of any responsibility for finance. while as we know, finance is the keystone of the whole thing. The power of the purse is one point of view from which I look at this new constitutional proposal, but even more important than that—after all, almost automatically, and

indeed certainly when the ten-year provision comes along, the powers over finance will have to go—is the basis upon which your representation has to stand. The character of your Legislature will depend almost entirely upon the franchise which fixes the voters for that Legislature—the franchise and also the system under which members are elected to that Legislature.

As a basis upon which to build in future years, I think the franchise suggested in this Bill and in the Report of Lord Southborough is indeed a very poor one. For the Indian Legislative assembly the franchise is indirect. I think it is 631 electors who elect the seventy members of that Council. Indirect election is unknown in English history. It was resorted to in Russia for the Duma, and it was resorted to, I think, in Germany in certain cases but in English history we have never had indirect election at all, and certainly any Legislature which is based upon indirect election will carry very little weight and will not have that firm root that we are accustomed to see in all the British Empire. [An Hon. Member: "America"] That is not for electing the House of Representatives or anything of that sort. It is merely a question of the primaries, and even in America they are working round to the direct primaries for the nomination of the President I am more surprised at this indirect election for the Indian Legislative Assembly because in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report direct election was recommended. Why has it not been adopted? The reason given to me, and it seems to me to be probably a reason which will carry much weight in this House, is that the constituencies will be too large, that if the franchise had been a very high property franchise for the Indian Legislative Assembly it would have been possible to direct election, but directly you have 5, 000, 000 electors, as is proposed, for the local Legislative Councils it becomes unwieldy if there are only going to be seventy elected members in the Indian Legislative Assembly at Delhi. The constituencies would be too enormous—7, 000, 000 of population to a constituency and perhaps 100, 000 voters, because out of seventy elected members of the Indian Legislative Council some thirty or forty are communal members representing districts, so that the proper members of that Parliament would be perhaps only forty, and the constituencies would be enormous and the electorate very large.

That criticism is quite true, but the cure for it, of course, is to make the Indian Legislative Assembly of a respectable size. Instead of having seventy elected members there ought to be many times that number. There is no country of the size of France or England which has not got a House far larger in proportion to population than you are proposing to give to this great central Assembly at Delhi. We have 700 Members of this House and it is not easy

even here to pick men of brains and character and ability sufficient to fill the front Government bench. When you are dealing with an absolutely new country like India you should surely provide a sufficient field for political education in your central Assembly rather than restrict it to this narrow number, and thereby provide an excuse for having indirect election. Although I have never been in India I have seen so many Indians of the extremer political sort that I think I can speak for them perhaps as well as any other Member of the House. The Indians look upon this indirect election for the Indian Legislative Assembly and the small number of the members of it, as an insidious attack upon Indian nationalism. They want to see the central Legislative Assembly develop its function and become a Parliament such as ours They do not want to see India split up into seven provinces being increased in number indefinitely. They do not want to see India divided up. They want to see a national consciousness, which we all know at bottom is an extremely good thing They may differ between the North and South of India as much as the Norwegian differs from the Greek. But given united institutions and united aspirations and loyalty to the same throne, there you have bonds which in time will mould that people together. We want them welded together. We do not want to go on any longer with that absurd idea of "divide et impera." We do not want to rule by trickery or division. We want to rule by the love of the people in their hearts for the country which has been the mother and father of all free self-governing institutions.

I said the chief bolt is the indirect election for the central assembly. When you get even to the local provincial councils you find there, too, that evil forces have been at work to spoil the scheme as originally proposed. There, too, you find a franchise based on property. That franchise rules out 5,000,000 people classed as literate in the census It also rules out all the soldiers who have fought for us in the War. Only the officers and non-commissioned officers get votes under this Bill. Many of these people are literate because the Army in itself is an education in many ways. It rules out all women. It rules out, in fact, some five or six million people classed as literates. I do not say their status as literate is a very high one, but people who do not read and write often have a very acute perception as to their rights and wrongs and interests which people who spend their money and time on reading magazines do not always possess. These people are ruled out owing to the property qualification. They are ruled out particularly in the towns. The ryot is not excluded from the franchise to anything like the same degree as the populations of Cawnpore and Calcutta—who are in the same stage

that industrial people were in a hundred years ago or more in this country. They are crowded together, with scandalous wages, under conditions in which we do not keep cattle in this country. These people are all deprived of the vote owing to this property qualification. It might be possible, when the Bill is going through without really injuring those safeguards about which so many hon. Members are so anxious, to extend the franchise by giving the option to any one who is literate to claim a vote. Then you would be certain you were not forcing votes upon people who did not want them. To make a claim for a vote in writing would be proof not only that a man was sufficiently literate to have a vote, but that he had a desire for a vote and a desire to take part in the Government of his own country. I beg that something of that sort be done for those who have fought for us and that they be not excluded from the gift of the franchise to the people of India.

But there is more than that about this Indian franchise. The real complaint I have to make against this Bill, as whittled down from the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, is the enormous increase in communal and interested representation. Communal representation means that if in a mixed population of Mahomedans and Hindus the Hindus outnumber the Mahomedans by ten to one there be should special representation given to the Mahomedan minority.

(An Hon. Member:—Quite right, too.)

Colonel Wedgwood:—It may be necessary but it cannot be quite right, if you really want to get responsible and representative Government. Any people who are elected by a special class confine themselves to looking after the interest of that class and do not look after the interests of the country as a whole. We often complain about Labour Members of Parliament. We say they represent the narrow point of view of their own trade unions, and it is exactly the same with communal representation. What we want is that every Member elected, whether for this House or for any Indian Legislature, should try to look at all subjects from the point of view first of the country, and not merely from the point of view of one class. That is a fundamental doctrine when you are considering the setting up of a constitution. You do not want to have sectional interests, you want to have people who will look at all sides of a questions, and try to make up their mind what is in the interest of the whole community. There is another real objection to communal representation, even from the point of view of the special community represented, whether it be Mahomedan or Sikh, or Christian Indian, or Eurasian, or whatever it is. Directly your Christian Indians have their own representatives they no longer have votes for the general representa-

Christian Indian voting for him, takes no account whatever of the interests of that particular section of the electorate. Their interests are looked after by one or two Members in the House who can easily be got round. But for the 98 per cent of the members of the Council, the Christian Indians, or it may be the Sikhs or Mahomedans, are a matter of no intererest whatever. They have no vote. We are discussing this Bill now, and we are more influenced by the retired Anglo-Indians who have votes in our constituencies than we are by the interests of the whole of India

[Hon. Members: "No, no!"] Human nature being what it is it must be so

[Hon. Members: "No!"] You cannot look at things entirely from an impersonal point of view. I defy you in any parliament to find people who look after the interests of those who have not got votes in the same way that they look after the interests of people who have got votes I can give you two examples which are most opposite from the British Empire itself. In Cape Colony the blacks have votes on a property qualification. There are, generaly speaking, not more than a hundred such black votes in any constituency but whether the representative of that constituency is a Nationalist or a Unionist or a Bothaite, whatever his qualifications may be, he considers the interests of the blacks because those hundred men may hold the casting votes between him and the partisan of the other side So in Cape Colony you have the interets of the blacks looked after because although they have no special representation the very fact that they have votes makes their members look after their interests. If you go to New Zealand you see exactly the other thing You see the communal representation that I deplore. The Maoris have no votes for any white representative in that country at all.

Lieut—Colonel Meysey-Thompson. They have their own representatives.

Colonel Wedgwood. Exactly. They cannot vote for a white man, but they have three or four Maori representatives who are supposed to look after their interests The whites do not care in the least about the interests of a few Maoris.

Lieut.-Colonel Mysey-Thompson: oh! no.

Colonel Wedgwood: They do not look after their interests as they would if the Maoris had votes in their constituencies. On the other hand, the Maori representatives are of very little use in the Legislative Council because they are few and they can easily be got round—easily corrupted. There you have two examples of communal and general represeniation, in both cases looking after the interests of small minorities. It is obvious that where you have

general representation the interests of the minority are far better looked after than with communal representation. That is the broad ground upon which, in the interests both of the general legislation of the country and of the small community desiring special representation, it is advisable to have the firm foundation of a universal franchise, rather than these fancy franchises giving representation to small minorities There are also special members given to the chambers of commerce, special members to the European community special members to the universities. In this Bill there are stacks of special representotion, which is entirely undesirable.

Colonel Yate They would not be elected at all without it.

Colonel Wedgwood : Does my hon. and gallant Friend think that a member of the University of Bengal, for instance, has a better title to representation than the ordinary ryot? It is perfectly obvious that educated people in India have very good chances of bieng on the local councils and in the Indian Legislative Assembly. They have a far better chance that the educated classes in this country get at the present time. There are plenty of opportunities for your Tilaks, Ghandis, and so forth, to sit on the councils in India, because they would be elected by the people. I may point out that they would sooner be elected by 10,000 than b 1, 000 people. In this House one feels much more satisfied at being returned by a large electorate, rather than for one of the small rotten boroughs we used to have in the old days. One's position is enormously strengthened by the strong electorate behind one. I am quite aware that there is a large anti-Indian feeling which seeks to decry the beginnings of responsible Government in India, but that is not the way to look at this scheme. We should encourage it forward and not hamper its efforts to get responsible Government in that country. The franchise upon which the whole of this scheme depends is bad, and I hope it will be amended as the Bill goes through In any case, I hope that the people of India, when they see this Bill before them, will direct their attention and attacks particularly against the franchise, and deal with the higher question of the relation of reserved and transferred subjects as of less importance than getting a fair and universal franchise in India, which shall give votes, not only to property, but to those who can read and write, to women and to to soldiers who have returned from the War. Although we talk about the Montagu—Chemlsford Report and the Southborough Report, we can from the Bill itself get no idea as to what the representation is to be, what the constituencies care to be. We have only been told that one of the transfered supjects is to be education. I do not know what the others be certainly transfered will be. We do not know exactly what the

reserved subjects are to be though we have been told that police is to be one. The whole of the 'guts' of the measure is reseved for rules and regulations over which this House has practically no control. It is as though we had passed the great Reform Bill of 1832 without the famous Schedules as to who should be disfranchised, what places were to lose one Member, and what places should be enfranchised. It is as though we had passed it without any reference to the forty shilling freeholder but had left it to the Government to decide when the Bill had passed into law. Everything is left to rule and regulation, and these are to be made by the local Governments. The local Governments in India have already shown clearly enough by the Paper they have issued to us within the last two or three days, what their views on these reforms are. They and they alone, as is obvious on reading Lord Southborough's Report, have whittled down the Montagu-Chelmsford Report till we get the Southborough Report. They and they alone, have now issued this new declaration as to what they regard as carrying out the promise of the 20th August, 1917. A more fraudulent carrying out of that promise would never have been put before any intelligent community. These people are to have the framing of the rules and regulations. I do not think the House need be surprised if Indians themselves have not the slightest faith in any rules and regulations which may be framed in that way. Fortunately, it is obvious in the Bill that these rules and regulations have to be approved of by the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman's speech to-day, and his whole conduct in connection with India, leaves one confident that the rules and regulations of which he of his own initiative would approve would be liberal and sound enough. But we know how strong the permanent officials are, we know how strong is the bureaucracy in India, we know how well supported they are even in the Indian Council and even among the intimates of the right hon. Gentleman; and I cannot but be afraid of what will happen when these rules and regulations come to be part of the Act of Parliament, rules defining what the qualifications shall be for a man to be elected, what the procedure in the various Chambers shall be, what subjects shall be reserved, what subjects shall be transferred, what powers the Governor shall have in overruling his Legislature, what powers the Government shall have in nominating and fixing the responsibility of Ministers. When all these powers are left to the people who have to suffer by the change, to the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, who naturally regard any change as deplorable from their point of view, I think the poeple of India are rightly suspicious of this gift horse, and will look it anxiously in the mouth.

Mr. Montagu—I am sorry to interrupt the hon. and gallant Gentleman, but I would point out that the rules and regulations

or at least the policy to be embodied, will, according to the pledge made on the part of the Government to-night, be considered by the same Joint Committee that considers the Bill. The hon. and gallant Member or anybody else will have the opportunity of putting evidence before them and of suggesting amendments either in the Southborough Report or in the Feetham Report. The policy of the rules is to come before this House through the medium of the Joint Committee

Colonel Wedgwood: I am very much obliged to the right hon. Gentlemen. That is what I wanted. I was afraid that these rules and regulations would not be ready in time to be considered by that Joint Committee If they consider them, I think we shall be able, I will not say to give satisfaction to opinion in India, but at any rate to let people in India see that these rules and regulations are not the "ipse dixit" of the bureaucracy, but are indeed the work of this House and of the House of Lords. The position of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy will indeed be very difficult when this bill becomes law. The position of the bureaucrat has got to be changed insensibly somehow into the position of the constitutional sovereign. The Governor of a province is, under this Bill, partly constitutional King and partly Prime Minister. He has got, before these reforms come to an end, to be a wholly constitutional King whose Ministers are responsible to him and whose Ministers are supported by the chamber. He has got to drop the idea that he is the Prime Minister responsible for initiating the actions of the Government. That is what my right hon. Frirnd meant when he said that initiation would cease. The initiation must in future come from the Ministers responsible to elective assemblies, and the greatest difficulty will be to make that quite clear to the bureaucracy. The position of the Governor in future is to be that of a man who acts on the advice of his Ministers. It is an entirely different position from that which he at present enjoys, and the change which has to come during the next ten years will be very difficult. I think we might get some guidance from the success of men like Lord Ronaldshay and others who have been trained in constitutional positions, and have not been bureaucrats, and have gone out to India in responsible positions as Governors. They have got on much better than bereaucrats who have simply passed to the position of Governor on promotion. Their outlook on life is different; there sense of responsibility is different. The role of Governor in India in future is going to be, perhaps, the one requiring the most faci, the most scrupulous attention to constitutional practice and the widest interests of any post in the service of the British Empire. It will be much more difficult than the position of Governor of one of the Australian States or even of the Governor-

General of one of our great Dominions, because the Governor will have to tide over the interval between British rule and Self-rule.

The President of the Board of Education (Mr. Fisher) said: The problem of Indian Government is so vast and complex, so remote from the ordinary day to day occupations of a member of Parliament, and the human factor is so difficult to assess, that however careful may be our plans, and however confident we may be that those plans are the best which we can devise, we cannot help having a feeling that, perhaps, in some respects, results may ensue which we cannot foresee and which will be undesirable. But I think that my right hon. Friend may be satisfied with the course which the Debate has taken. From all sides of the House we see general agreement that it is no longer possible for the Government of India to adopt a perfectly negative non-possumus attitude towards the great intellectual movements which are sweeping the continent from end to end. We see general recognition of the fact that speed is half the battle, and that, accordingly, as the old Latin proverb goes, "He who gives swiftly gives twice," and to that position we have, I think, added the statesmanlike quality which has always characterised Englishmen.

The right hon. Baronet, the Member for the Scottish Universities (Sir H. Craik), expressed some hesitation with respect to the Bill on the ground that it was advocated by so small a fraction of the vast Indian population. I think that we are apt to underestimate the power actually exercised by the intellectual classes in India. It may be, indeed it is, true that the politically-minded class in India is a small class when we compare it with the great mass of the Indian people, but every day it is gaining power and influence. I will give the House a few illustrations which came to my personal knowledge. I was in India when I was a member of the Public Service Commission for two years preceding the War, and I remember being advised to consult a young Englishman who was teaching in a missionary college in the Punjab as to the state of feeling of the students in his charge. I asked him whether the students were interested in politics. He answered me. "They talk of nothing else." The other day I was speaking to a friend who had recently arrived from India, and he told me that he was visiting a girls' school in Madras, and he found them holding a debate. He was asked to act as Chairman. The subject of the debate was whether it was expedient that Indian education should remain under Western control. A third instance is: a young Indian, who had received an education at Oxford, told me that when he returned to his little village in the United Provinces, after three years absence, he found himself plunged in a different world. He had left a village belonging, so far as its ideas and civilisation went, to the time of Abraham—

a village of peasants with no cares except the ordinary humdrum cares of ordinary rural Indian life—and he came back to find a flaming political people listening with avidity to the vernacular newspapers that were read out to them, talking about politics, thinking about politics, and aspiring to take their own part in political life.

These are circumstances which must emphatically affect our view of Indian life. The old image of India as being silent, stationary, unperplexed, and unvexed by all the agitators of political life, if it was ever true, has now long ceased to correspond with the realities of today. The Indian population, it is true, is a population of dreamers and visionaries, occupied far more than we Englishmen ever realise with the problems of the other world. Nevertheless, politics are coming to India, and they are coming to India to stay. Ought we to be sorry, to be ashamed, to attribute this growth of political spirit in India to any mismanagement on our part? I notice that the right hon. Member for the Scottish Universities passed a very severe censure upon Indian education. He thought that it had been mismanaged, and he described it in no unmeasured terms as a disaster. I do not share that view. I think that if we Englishmen were to render ourselves responsible for conducting the Government of India we were bound in honour to give the Indians all that was best in our civilisation. I think that Lord Morley was perfectly right when he took the momentous decision to educate the Indian mind upon Western lines. After all, how can you give an honest education to a race if you do not believe it? And it is greatly to our credit that we have succeeded, through our system of education being introduced into India, in bringing about those aspirations, those hopes and those sentiments which we now as statesmen have seriously to consider.

I remember, a long time ago, having a conversation with a great historian, Sir William Hunter. He was speaking of the influence of the English missionary in India, and he said to me that he thought that English Missionary enterprise in India was of special value, because it brought before the Indian mind the disinterested element in English life. Our system of education also has brought before the Indian mind the disinterested element in English life, and so far from bringing about disaster, I think that it has conferred conspicuous practical services upon India. When I was examining into the conditions of the Indian Public Service I found everywhere most remarkable testimony to the loyal, devoted, intelligent services rendered by the Provincial Service in India, a body of men, over a million in number, serving the British Government, using the English language, educated in our schools, and co-operating with our officials in England in carrying out our great civilising work. Where would

that great body of officials be but for the system of education in India? I was struck also with the universal testimony as to the admirable work rendered by the Judicial Service in India. Some years ago the lowest judge in the judicial hierarchy of India was the subject of general criticism. It was said that he was dishonest, and that his judgments could not be relied on. There is nothing of that kind now.

I notice that some little criticism was passed upon my right hon. Friend for having, as it were, deluged the House at the last moment before the introduction of this Bill with Blue Books, which Hon. members had no time to sift. It was, I think, an inference that my right hon. Friend was censured as having desired to rush this Bill through before it had time to receive adequate consideration. The fact is that this Bill is drawn to supplement the policy contained in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. That Report has been in the hands of Hon. Members for something like a year. There is nothing in this Bill which is not contained in that Report. That Report is not only a very able and eloquent State Paper, but it is also one of the greatest State Papers which have been produced in Anglo-Indian history, and it is an open-minded, candid State Paper, a State Paper which does not ignore or gloss over the points of criticism which have since been elaborated in the voluminous documents which have been submitted to us since then. And my right hon. Friend not only has given us this great State Paper which we have had ample time to digest, but he has also published every document which has come from India as soon as he possibly could. There has been no intention on his part, or on the part of the Government, to withhold any information from the purview of the House. The hon. and gallant Member for Melton (Colonel Yate) passed some criticisms upon one of the salient features of this measure. He was very severe upon my right hon. Friend's proposal for dual government in the provinces. That, of course, is only a part of a large scheme of reform, but since criticism has been chiefly centered upon this kind of dual government, I should like to say a few words upon it. The hon and gallant Member's criticism was upon this thesis: He maintained that if you divided the portfolios in the provinces into two Departments you would inevitably get a great increase of hostile criticism directed against the allocation of finance. But we have this criticism already; we have had it for many years. One of the cardinal points of criticism in India is the allocation of finance between what may be called the security services on the one hand and the educational and social services on the other. My lamented friend Mr. Gokhale, one of the greatest and purest characters I have known, and a great statesman and parliamentarian, was constantly insisting upon this point. When

I was in India the papers were full of criticisms, pointed, bitter and severe, upon the assumed extravagance of the Indian Government upon the Army and the Police. I do not think there is anything at all in my hon. Friend's criticism upon this point.

The Diarchy

As to the system generally, the diarchical system, I confess that when I first came to study it I was very sceptical but the more I thought over the problem, the more I went into the difficulties, the more I have studied the alternative plans proposed, the more clear I am that it is the only solution which will really be found practicable. After all, what is it that we intend? We intend gradually to introduce the Indian people to Responsible Government. We wish the stages by which that introduction is to be effected to be gradual, to be tested. We wish to know whether in effect our experiment is suceeding. How are we to know that, unless we adopt some such plan as that suggested in the Bill? Let us suppose that we take the alternative which has been offered by the local Governments. You would have a portfolio of education going now to an Indian, then to an Englishman, and then again to an Indian. When the time for review comes, who will be able to say whether the department of Education, has or has not furnished adequate evidence of Indian administrative faculty? Your test is obscure, your test is made of no worth whatever, unless you make your Indian Ministers carry out a concerted policy over a number of years—a policy capable of being tested, something in the nature of a political experiment. Apart from that, if you adopt the unity system, will you really help your Government? Will you be simplifying, as is imagined, the problems as presented to the Government? The more I think upon these problems the more I am convinced that the answer to all those questions will be in the negative, that it will be far easier to have harmony in your Government if your Indian Ministers are allowed a pretty free hand in the management of their own Department, if they are recognised and clearly recognised to be responsible to their Legislatures.

This Bill not only proposes gradually to introduce a system of responsible Government into India. It has another object. It proposes to increase decentralisation in India. That is a very old problem. Some years ago there was an important Royal Commission on Decentralisation which made a number of fruitful and useful suggestions, some of which have been carried into effect. Proposals are contained in the Bill for devolving authority from the Secretary of State to the Government of India, and from the Government of India

to the provincial Governments. That can be accomplished in two ways. My right hon. Friend in his lucid speech referred in detail to this matter. At the present moment over-centralisation in India is due to the fact that in the last resort this Parliament has the right to criticise the administration. Therefore, the Secretary of State cannot relax his authority and the Viceroy of India cannot relax his authority. In the first Clause of the Bill provision is taken for the allocation of powers as between the central authority and the provincial authority, and that is to be done under rules. This Bill does not propose to define what functions are provincial and what are central in any way comparable to what was done in the Dominion of Canada Act, when the functions of the federal and provincial authorities were accurately and, as was thought then, exhaustively defined. We are leaving this allocation of functions to be determined by rules in the light of experience, and that I think is a thoroughly wise decision. Furthermore, whereas in federal constitutions disputes with respects to the functions of provincial and central Governments would be brought into the Law Courts, it is expressly provided by Clause 13 of the Bill that the Law Courts shall have no cognisance of such questions. That, again, appears to me to be a singularly wise decision The time undoubtedly will come when the pressure of public opinion will demand a more accurate allocation of powers, and the time will probably come when the pressure of public opinion will require that all disputes in respect to the functions of central and provincial Governments shall go to the Law Courts. I am profoundly of opinion that the framers of this Bill have been wisely inspired in the course which they have chosen to take with respect to this very important matter. We cannot at the present moment make up our minds once and for all as to what parts of our highly-centralised system it would be safe to devolve, and we must leave that to careful experiment. Reference has been made to caste distinctions and in the peculiar circumstances of Indian civilisation that is a matter which calls for caution.

The hon. and gallant Member for Newcastle under-Lyme (Colonel Wedgwood) criticised this Bill on the ground of its insufficiency, but I think that he was doing something less than justice to its authors in that criticism. This is a great Bill. The hon. and gallant Member did not exaggerate when he described it as one of the most important measures that has ever been brought before the consideration of this House. It is a measure, the effects of which, if it is passed, as I trust it will be will be felt for generations to come. It opens a new era in Indian public life, and it offers new hope to Indian political aspirations. It promises to add to the cause of good and progressive and enlightened Government all those

moderate forces of Indian political opinion which might be alienated by procrastination. It is a most important Bill, and for that very reason it is necessary that it should be accompanied, in the interests of Indians themselves, by safeguards which will enable the experiment to be tried with the greatest prospect of brilliant success. I know that the measure of my right hon. Friend has attracted some criticism on the ground that it does not go far enough. Criticism has been passed upon the restrictions of Ministers in provincial Governments in the discharge of the functions entrusted to them, and it is said : why could you not give the Minister in a provincial Parliament a perfectly free hand with respect to the Government there? The answer is surely simple. Let us suppose he is dealing with Excise and with the liquor trade of his province. Can he take a step which does not have some effect upon that which belongs to the reserved functions ? The same applies with regard to estimates and finance, and obviously there must be some correspondence between the two offices of Government otherwise the machine would not work. It is, in other words, anessential condition of the mixed form of Government, of the transition form of Government which is being set up, and which I believe will be carefully worked, that there should be checks and safeguards.

I think we are sometimes inclined, when we are examining measures for the development of popular liberties in India, to be guided by a standard which perhaps may be sometimes over austere. Much has been said but none too much in praise of the incomparable work of the Indian Civil Service in India—that great service which has conferred shining benefits upon the civilisation of India, that great service which exists, so far as I know, no where else in the world, a body of men living in a country where they have no family interests to serve, where they are under no temptation to do jobs for their friends and their relations, a body of men animated by the pure spirit of disinterested endeavour for the good of the populations entrusted to their charge. Where is there such a Government as this anywhere else on the face of the globe ? Our Government here sometimes falls under the suspicions of being guided by motives less austere. We had the other day a Debate upon party funds and party honours, and it was said that the pure stream of Ministerial patronage was sometimes polluted. I am not concerned to argue that question, but in India you have a body of men dedicated to the public service freed from all embarrassing ties, and holding to a standard of efficiency and austere virtue which cannot be matched in any country in the world. Is it not natural that when an Indian civilian comes to criticise a scheme which will have the effect of transferring, perhaps at some distant day, large blocks of

administrative work and administrative responsibility to Indians, he should fear that the standard of austere efficiency will be probably relaxed ? That may be so. I am not prepared to say that this experiment may not be attended by some relaxation of efficiency. But after all, let us remember that our system in India is an English system, and that an English system is difficult to work by those who are not bred up in the English tradition. I think there may be some relaxation of efficiency, but I say that that relaxation in efficiency, if such there be, will be purchased over and over again by the confidence and support which the Government will receive from the co-operation of these electoral classes in India.

I have only one word more to add. Almost every speaker who has addressed the House on this subject has emphasised the necessity of swift progress. We are all conscious that if we do not carry this Bill through we may miss an opportunity such as will never recur. I believe that from the bottom of my heart. I believe that, unless we seize this opportunity, unless we pass this Bill, unless we see to it that this Bill is not whittled away in any serious particular, we shall be confronted with a grave situation in India. I cannot forget the fate which befell the Report of the Indian Public Service Commission which I had a humble share in framing. There was a Commission which travelled over India, working for three years upon the problem of the Indian public administration. Indian public opinion was greatly excited, discussions were held from end to end of India, the public Press was full of the proceedings of the Commission, violent antagonisms were excited, political opinion was worked up to a high pitch of excitement, and the Commission produced a Report. I have every reason to believe that that Report, if it could have been acted on at once, would have satisfied reasonable opinion, or the great bulk of reasonable opinion, in India. But what happened ? The War came, and the Government found it impossible to act upon the Report. The Report was shelved. Nothing has been done, and I believe there is hardly any recommendation in the Report which has yet been carried into effect. The result is that concessions which would have been satisfactory three or four years ago are flouted now as utterly insufficient to meet the political demands of the people. Do not let us repeat that. It may be said we have many excuses for delay. I know, indeed, that the political landscape in India is troubled and stormy. There is the deep-seated anxiety of the moslem population with respect to the fate of the Turkish Empire ; there is the reaction after the strain of war ; there are the high prices ; there is general distress ; there is agitation on the Rowlatt Bills ; there are sedition mongers going about the villages saying that the Sirkar proposes to take half the dowry of the

women, half the earnings of the men, and half the sum which is set aside for marriage settlements. These flying rumours among the villages in India may give cause for legitimate anxiety, quite apart from the clouds on the Afghan frontier. My right hon. Friend has been wisely advised in going on with this great measure. He knows, and the Government know, that to recede at this moment from the solemn pledge which has been given to the people of India by the Declaration of 20th August would fatally and justly undermine our character for fair dealing and justice and would alienate, and justly alienate, the good will and the patriotism of the loyal population of India.

Mr. Spoor.—In rising to take part in this Debate on behalf of the Labour party, I would like to say that we do not at all events give a qualified approval to the Bill that has been introduced this afternoon. I believe that every member of the party realises what has been urged already to night, that this is one of the most important measures that have ever been submitted to the British Parliament. We feel with regard to it that it is a partial measure of justice, and we support it because of that and because we believe that, as has been indicated here to-night, it is possible that the weak points in the Bill may be considerably strengthened when the Bill is thoroughly gone into in Committee. It is a Bill which, although unsatisfactory in itself, does seem to contain immense possibilities and it does not point, we believe, in the right direction. If I may be permitted, I would like to congratulate the right hon. Gentleman, the Secretary of State, upon having at last broken from the traditions, and the policy, or want of policy, that have characterised our rule in that country for far too long. The whole problem of India is a gigantic one. Apart from the many vast religious and racial problems that exist, there are very serious enonomic complexities, and it is to that side of the question which, so far, has been hardly touched upon in the course of the Debate to night, that I would for a moment or two like to address myself. We have to remember that Britain is responsible in India for one-fifth of the total population of the world—a population that has at present no effective voice in the direction of its own destiny. We have to remember that the difficulties to which I have already referred that concern our Government of the country, are complicated at the present moment, because we have just emerged from the very terrible struggle of the last four and a half years.

We are glad that the Government have declared their policy. We are glad that that policy, summed up in two words, is Home Rule for India. What one feels, to be quite fair about the whole question, is that we owe to that great country a debt of reparation.

Though India may be, as has been said again and again, the brightest jewel in Britain's crown, we have got to remember that there are certain aspects of our misgovernment in that country, certain aspects of our commercial exploitation of that country, that will be perhaps the blackest pages in British history. We have to remember, too, that we went to India for commercial purposes, we have remained there for commercial purposes, and we have persistently exploited the Indian people from the earliest days by our control in that country Reference has been made to-day in the course of the Debate to the latter days of the 18th century and the early days of the 19th century, when India was looked upon as a veritable El Dolorado for the British investor, and the whole record going through the whole of the last century tells the same story. Methods were adopted which can only be characterised as ruthless in order to prevent or limit Indian competition with British manufacturers. and there has been for a fairly long period a very considerable decline in Indian industries with all the consequent suffering that that decline involves. The first quarter of the last century, from 1800 to 1825, there were five famines in India ; in the next quarter there were two; in the third quarter six ; and, in the last quarter, 1875 to 1900, there were eighteen famines. I know it is very difficult to interpret these cold figures in human terms, but the Labour party always endeavours to do that, and we try to realise what this enormous loss of millions of lives really meant to that country, and how far the unrest that exists at this moment in India is due to the ruthless, and sometimes reckless, commercial exploitation of that land.

We cannot escape the truth that the people of Britain have grown rich out of the slaves of India, and, judging by our present position, judging by what is happening there at this moment, it does look as though we have not profited by our experience or gained much in our humanity. Indeed, a day or two ago a question was asked in this House with regard to the wages in the textile mills of Bombay at the present time, and the answer given is one that should really give pause to all who have any feelings of humanity left in them, and who take in India a self-righteous pride regarding our capacity to govern millions of subject-people. Men are working twelve hours a day, women eleven, and children six, and adults are working for eight rupees a month, which is equal to about 3s. a week. Reference has been made to-night by one who spoke in the Debate to the insanitary hovels, to the congested areas, to those awful housing conditions that intensify plague, and make the ravages of disease still more terrible. When we remember that in the great city of Bombay there were, accordingly to the last returns, nearly 750,000 people living in one room tenements, when we re-

member, according to the last returns, the infantile death-rate in the great city of Calcutta in 1915 was 540 per 1,000, and in 1916 it was 675, we cannot but feel there has been something seriously wrong with the method of Government. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Edueation tried to paint a rather brighter picture of educational activity in India. I was very glad to hear him say some of the things he did, but one cannot forget that the teachers in the Government schools of India are receiving something like 5s. 6d. a week for salary, and when one remembers that, side by side with that, rent and living have enormously advanced during the last thirty years, we are able, I think, to visualise the terrible economic problem that faces the great majority of the Indian people.

Let us turn to the other side of the picture. I have here returns taken from newspapers of recent date, showing the dividends that British-controlled companies are paying, and have been paying recently over there. Dividends ran up to 300 per cent. and 400 per cent., while India's teeming millions are still working under conditions of slave labour. Only a week or two ago in this House, in the last Debate, reference was made to the Bengal Iron Company, whose shares before the War stood at something like 5s. and which to-day stand at £5 10s. What can one expect when the Indians see that glaring disparity? Can we anticipate or hope for anything else but very, very serious diseffection and trouble? There is industrial conflict going on in India similar to that in almost every other country in the world. It is more intensified there because the conditions are even more extreme and severe. There are many elements of a very complex character which enter into the situation, but one cannot but feel that that situation is enormously aggravated on its economic side in the fact that work is done by slave labour to-day, in this twentieth century, under the British flag which is a disgrace to civilisation. I feel quite sure that the right hon. Gentleman who has introduced this Bill with a sincere desire to achieve real improvement and real reform will agree with me when I say that. For far too long some of the unimaginative profiteers of this country have run India, and have run it badly. I submit we are under such a debt to India that we need to pay back at the very earliest possible moment.

The Bill that has been introduced this afternoon and the speech that accompanies its introduction shows that the Secretary of State fully recognises the difficulties of the case. The measure is one that shows imagination. It realises that the protest which for long has been inarticulate in India has at last found expression, and political expression, and that public opinion has so increased in volume

there and in direction and intensity that action is being compelled. The passing of the Rowlatt Acts that we debated a week ago is in itself a sufficient indication of the extremely grave character of the existing situation. What is it the Indian people ask for? Really, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I must confess to a certain amount of amazement to-night when I heard an hon. Gentleman on the opposite side of the House urging a more conservative policy, and urging that whatever we did we should be careful not to move too rapidly. We had, he said, to go very very cautiously. What does Indians ask for? India does not ask to be separated from the British Empire. But India wants what we ourselves have always said we believed in for all parts of our possessions—responsible self-government. It is a very significant thing that the only country where religious differences have cut so deeply—it is, I say, a remarkable thing—that these gulfs have been bridged in a way that would have been thought altogether impossible a few years ago.

The intensity of that wave of nationalism, the reality of it, is perhaps better seen in the fact that Moslem and Hindu have come together than in anything else. What is it this Bill gives? It certainly does give, as has been claimed by the Secretary for India, a certain limited measure of responsible Government in the provinces, but the central Government there retains complete autocratic power. The vast majority of the people of India remain voteless. All the women remain voteless. I am rather surprised seeing that we in Britain have definitely admitted the right of women to vote on equal terms with men, that the right hon. Gentleman is not prepared to carry that particular principle into operation in the Bill that he has introduced. I hope it will be possible even in Committee to effect that reform. The limited scope of the Bill, the fact that it gives so little in comparison with what the people have asked and are asking, of course means that the people of India will be very, very disappointed. I was much interested in the speech that was made by the Education Minister. It does appear to me that it is just there one comes right up against the real solution, not only of the Indian difficulty but of most of the difficulties existing at present in the different countries of the world.

The Labour party regrets that in this measure education is only given a secondary place instead of a primary place. We say that if you will give to India compulsory education, the day is not far distant—it may be very, very much nearer than people sometimes imagine—when India will be fully competent to govern herself. When one thinks that education in India costs to-day, I believe, about three-half pence a head, one realises the immense amount of arrears that have to be overtaken before anything like a satisfactory

system can be secured. In thinking of India one cannot but think of her great past. As I said a week or two ago, it is a surprising thing that so many British people seem to be blind to the fact that we are dealing with one of the greatest civilisation so far as age is concerned, so far as its contribution to the world's common stock of ideas is concerned, of which we have record in human history. People talk about India and India's illiteracy. That is an appalling comment upon our Government during the last two generations; for, after all, it was India who gave to the world one of the most wonderful religions that the world has ever had, a religion that, to quote the words of Sir Edwin Arnold.

"Kept Asia sweet and clean for twenty centuries."

It may be that that religion has largely left India now. It has travelled North and East, but it still exerts enormous influence over countless millions of the people who inhabit this globe. I have been thinking as I have been sitting here to-night of one well-known figure of the Labour movement, well-known a few years ago, and unhappily not with us now. I have been thinking how the man who was much misunderstood, much misrepresented, much undervalued by the people who did not know him, James Keir Hardie, of how Hardie again and again raised his voice and used his pen in the interests of India. I know there are those, perhaps in this House, and certainly among Anglo-Indians, who looked upon Keir Hardie as nothing else but a seditious malcontent. Well, if to stand for the rights of the people against the power of the oppressor, to stand for truth and cleanness and honour against untruth and dishonour—if this be the mark of the seditious malcontent, then I imagine—and I hope—that their are many such in this House to-night, and that not the least of these is the right hon. Gentleman whose measure we are discussing. I quote Keir Hardie's words because it has some bearing upon the speech we have just heard from the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Education. Speaking of the Indian people he said:

"Their ability is not open to question. A great intellectual awakening is shaking this ancient Empire to its foundation. A sympathetic interpretation of the facts will bind the people more closely to us and lead to their becoming a loyal self-governing part of the Empire. Repression will only intensify their determination to secure self-Government and may lead finally to the loss of what has been described as the brightest jewel in the British crown. It is for statesmen to choose which path they will follow."

We are glad to believe that the Secretary for India has chosen the right path by this Bill, although we also believe that he travels along it with undue caution. At all events, this Bill must not either

now or in Committee be weakened in any essential particular or else it may mean that we shall have trouble of a much more serious character than we have had in India as yet. Only a few hours ago, I heard one of the most distinguished Indians living in this country say, in reference to this measure, that it is the irreducible minimum. If it is in any way lessened in its effectiveness and power the Indian people will not accept a continuance of the existing state of affairs. He said to me :

"You may bring your machine guns ; you may bring your aeroplanes and you may bomb us from the skies, but you will have to exterminate the whole of the Indian people, rather than we will submit to conditions which are tyrannical, cruel and unfair."

Everybody who thinks of the immense seriousness of the situation now, when the whole world is in a state of uncertainty and the whole of Europe is involved in a conflict of ideas that many of us cannot see our way through, and one realises if ever the time is ripe for certain action with regard to India, that time is the present. If we fail now, we may have a revolution there, and if we do, God only knows what the result will be. If, on the other hand, we succeed, and if this Bill becomes a Statute, much strengthened and improved and in a much more democratic form, if we succeed in this we shall establish the beginnings of a partnership on terms of mutual confidence and good-will between India and the rest of the Empire, a partnership that will not only benefit those who at present live under the British flag, but one which, we believe, will hasten the cause of liberty, right, and of human progress throughout the entire world.

Sir J D Rees : The tributes which have been paid in the House to the merits of the Indian Civil Service are pleasant hearing to the only member of that Service in this House, and I wish to thank the Secretary of State, whose speech I did not misunderstand, because he made a most handsome acknowledgment of the position of the Civil Service, and I should like, on behalf of the Indian Civil Service, to thank him and the President of the Board of Education, and the others who have testified to the work which that Service has done in India. This Debate is now taking a certain character. It seems to me that all the criticisms that have been levied against the Bill were based upon two misunderstandings. In the first place, hon. Members criticised the Bill adversely, and they wanted to go faster.

My. hon and gallant Friend the Member for Newcastle under-Lyme (Col.onel Wedgwood) complained that universal suffrage was not admitted at once, and the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down complained that female suffrage had not been given to India. May I point out that those reforms were never recommended, and

they certainly seemed to me to totally overlook the portions of the policy with which we are dealing, and to which I have just called attention.

Another error which vitiates all the criticisms I have heard to-night is this : I do not think any of those I have heard speak to-night, and I do not think officers serving in India, realise to what extent the Government of India is the Government of all India. It has been spoken of to-night as if it was a separate organisation unconnected or only loosely connected with the local Governments, and upon that was founded the objection that there was no real advance towards responsibility in regard to the central Government, and that what was done was only done for the local Governments. If the House once realises that the central Government is the Government of all India, and that local Governments are only its agents, with very restricted powers, they will realise that once a great advance has been made with local administration it is also an advance in the central administration, and that all the democratic advances which are made in this measure are advances in the Government of the whole of India, and not solely in the Governments of the provinces.

Why, Sir, the Governments of the provinces have exceedingly restricted powers. They cannot create an appointment at the most paltry salary. They have sitting amongst them, but not of them, an officer of the central Government called the Accountant-General, who is not only not under their orders, but whose business it is to see that they do not spend a single rupee without sanction, and he keeps them down under the Government of India all the time. That is what it is now proposed to alter. If it is realised that the central Government is the Government of all India it will be realised that the advances made in the local Governments are advances in all India, and that Government is immensely democratised by the measures before the House, and that the features of this Bill in that respect are not open to the criticisms which have been made. The hon. and gallant Member for Newcastle-under-Lyme repeated, with variations, a speech he made the other day, and I much regret it. Somebody has said that there were fifty languages in India, but I have had to do duty as interpreter in five of these languages in the South of India, where it was part of my duty to report and examine the native Press and the Indian newspapers, and report to the Government what was in them. I learned this, that anything that is said in the House of Commons about India travels to an extent which is by no means realised, and a special responsibility attaches to every utterances of a Member of Parliament concerning Indian affairs. The people in India who read extracts from speeches made

by my hon. and gallant Friend Colonel Wedgwood, such as the one he has made to-night, do not know that since he took the Bolsheviks under his comprehensive umbrella that he is in the habit of running amok down the floor of the House and assaulting all and sundry who come in his way. They will say, "He is a Member of Parliament. He must be a serious man. What he says must be entitled to attention." Therefore, it is a deplorable thing that the hon. and gallant Member—of whom I am a personal friend, and whose eccentricities I bore until he took up the Bolsheviks—should have spoken as he did to-night. It is a deplorable exhibition he has given to-night, and it is most regretable that he should have allowed himself to say what he did. Amongst other things, he complained of the indirect franchise for election to the central Government. Lord Southborough's Committee admitted that they would have liked a direct franchise ; but they are not ready on the spot with a direct franchise. They are not ready, like the hon. Member who has just sat down, to demand the immediate introduction, by order, into an Asiatic country of a complete democratic system which has taken us hundreds of years to develop in our own country.

The hon. and gallant Member also complained that there was no franchise for the literate. Therefore, he said that the franchise was a bad franchise. I am heartily glad that literature or literateness, or whatever may be the right expression, forms no part of this franchise. Nothing more liberal or more unfortunate from a democratic point of view could be imagined than that suggestion, made in good faith but in complete ignorance. The masses of the people of India are small cultivators. They pay most of the revenue. They are not literary but they are the backbone of India. They are the chief tax-payers. They are remarkably sensible, courteous, polite, highly civilised, gentleman-like people in all their ways and habits. They are perfectly capable of understanding what we want, and of giving a vote for the member they want, and to think that they should be excluded from the new franchise because they cannot read and write is an absolutely absurd thing and shows how prejudice, when it seizes a man or a Member of Parliament, deprives him of the power of understanding the beggarly elements of the issues which he is attempting to debate. I do not apologise, since it is in order, for dealing with this matter, because it is an exceedingly serious thing that on the Second Reading of the most important Bill regarding India that has ever come before this House, the word "fraudulent" should be used, the words "evasion of pledges" should be used, other charges totally unsupportable should be made, and the intentions of the Goverument and of this House should be misrepresented. The hon. Member repeated to-night a great many

things he said the other day. He scoffed at an electorate of 5,000,000. Is it not a very big thing to make an electorate of 5,000,000 by way of a beginning. It is more than the population of this country when it began to have responsible Government.

He complained that members are to be elected not upon an education but on a property franchise. A property franchise is extremely useful in India. The property franchise only died here the day before yesterday, so to speak. It enables you, by giving you the names of people who are taxpayers, to form some sort of electorate. The honorable and gallant Member also spoke about the working classes in Bombay, Cawnpore, Calcutta, and their franchise. I do not know what he means by the working-classes in India. I object to that phrase, in this country or elsewhere. What does he mean by the working-classes? The people I have described are the working-classes. The small cultivator works very hard, and he certainly belongs to the working-classes. Cannot we get this cant out of the discussion, and really deal with the vital issue. Then he complained of the representation of the Chambers of Commerce. Would he leave out of account commerce in India? If Lord Southborough's Committee had not recommended, and if the Secretary of State had not adopted the suggestion that Chambers of Commerce should be represented, what then? Commerce in India represents in imports and exports hundreds of millions to this country. Are they to have no representation in the new Parliament in India? It is not only the Chambers of Commerce representing European commerce —though I think that is a noble thing and worthy of all representation, and I deeply deplore the remarks which my hon. Friends made on that subject—but the Chamber of Commerce of the Indian merchants are equally represented in this new system.

The honorable and gallant Member went on to talk about giving votes to the plutocracy. Does the House realise that the inhabitants of the East are poorer than the inhabitants of the West? Their income is very much less, their wages are very much lower, and if we did not need very much in the way of houseing, hardly anything in the way of clothes, and if our food cost next to nothing we should be very much better off than we are to-day on one-tenth of the wages we get. It is despairing to hear an honorable Member like the honorable Member for Bishop Auckland (Mr. Spoor) complaining about the wages in India evidently comparing them with British trade-union rates. His complaint really is not against the British in India but against the Almighty, who made the East quite different from the West in climate and population and in all its other conditions. I suppose it is the popular thing to say, "Let us double the wages in the East like we have doubled them in the West." We have doubling

them in the East since we went to India. Wages all round have doubled. But if you want to double them again, are you going to tax these people who you say are so bitterly poor in order to pay these higher wages to the working classes? Heaven knows who are the working classes. Are you going to put taxes on them for the purpose of giving trade union rate of wages to some people who have never heard of trade unionism, and would never understand what you meant. The honorable Member referred to the franchise recommended by Lord Southborough's Committee. That is plutocracy: putting the vote into the hands of the landlord class. These cultivators of a few acres are landlords, with an emphasis on the lord. I have been a Member of this House for thirteen or fourteen years, and when a subject comes to be discussed ones ears are often offended by the arrant nonsense which is talked.

The honorable Gentleman who has just addressed us said some things with which I heartily agree. He spoke of the high civilisation of the people of the East. There I am with him, indeed, I am not sure it is not a higher civilisation than our own. Ours is a high standard of wants and theirs is a lower standard of wants and that kind of tranquill which obtains there may be of a higher class than our own. But when the honorable Member went on to talk about our exploiting India I came to the conclusion to ask him before he next speaks to read the Report on the Moral and Material Progress of India He will then see how much better off are all the inhabitants of India than they were before we went there, and only because there has been peace and prosperity and that British trade for which the honorable Member expressed such profound contempt, but which is the real basis of the whole British Empire. He talked about exploitation and the need for reparation. But it is known to anyone who, like myself, has lived in India for a quarter of a century that what has really happened there has not been the production of famine, but its prevention, for since we made the railways we have been able to correct the deficiency of corn in one area by bringing it from another. The only famine India is the famine of money, and not having enough money to pay prices when they rise above a certain level, and to meet this we have introduced a system of gratuitous relief on which the people live until prices fall again. This magnificent achievement has practically abolished those famines from which people died in their millions before our time, and to describe that as a black feature in the history of our country is totally at variance with the real facts of the case. I am, indeed, glad to leave the speech of the honorable Member, and I would only add, in regard to the speech of my honorable and gallant Friend the Member for Newcastle-under-Lyme, that I really think he must know

better ; therefore it is perfectly inexcusable for him to repeat statements totally unworthy of him and of the British Parliament.

I do not pretend to have studied the Blue Books which have been presented to us of late. If any man told me that he had mastered those books since we have received them, I should think he was either a superman or that he was qualified to be placed in a very select category along with Anamas and Saphira. The mass of material in these books is enormous. It covers the whole field of the British administration and it is with a feeling of despair that one gets up in this House and endeavours to pick out the eyes of such a mass of material. When a Bill of this importance comes before the House of Commons there is always some compelling cause behind. During the years I have been here I have seen extraordinary changes take place. I remember the Prime Minister, who is now, I think, the greatest bulwark against Bolshevism, and I follow him heart and soul on that account—I remember when he was regarded as a rash reformer, to put it very midly. I have seen that great change. But there has been such a development of democratic feeling since I have been in this House—and its rapid rush has been accelerated by the war into an absolute cyclone of progress—that such have been the changes that if there is any man here who is so much a compound of privilege and prejudice that he cannot realise what has occured, then I say such a man is perfectly incapable of understanding the situation or of offering criticism on this Bill. The underlying fact is this, that the House of Commons is determined that it will not stand in future the application of widely differing or, indeed, different principles of government to the Asiatic parts of the Empire from those which it is demanding for itself at home. I believe that to be the case. I believe this Bill give expression to that decision. One may like it or not—that has really nothing to do with it—but the point is this : Will the House of Commons suffer a Government to deport those who are obnoxious to the Government ? Will it stand a pure bureaucracy or autocracy any more ? I do not think it will. Therefore I say we have to consider this Bill and do the best we can to carry out its principles. I believe it does carry this out. I am glad its reception has been uniformly favourable, the opposition only having come from quarters which I may say are distinguished more for eccentricity than for sanity of judgment.

I saw the other day there was published a manifesto by certain distinguished gentlemen of the Indo-British Association. There seems to be some magic virtue in the number "seven." The Government of India consists of seven. Seven senior statesmen of the Indo-British Association signed their Manifesto to the "Times".

They remind me of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus. They commit themselves to this extraordinary transparently self-destructive proposition. They say, "We are opposing this Bill because we receive touching and frantic appeals from the oppressed classes in India, and, therefore, we are impelled to oppose the passage of the Bill." But their whole case is this, that these classes are not capable of formulating complaints or of giving expression to them. It is no wonder that the printer when he was faced with a communication of this sort said, "This is too much for me," and struck out the word "communal," substituting for it "commercial." It was not, perhaps, appropriate to the context, but it was really not so absolutely transparently self-destructive as the word these gentlemen had themselves put in. I really feel, as an Indian Civil Servant—as a member of the Madras Civil Service which has rather distinguished itself by its obscurantism—that I started life with a double dose of original sin, and nothing has saved me but a daily bath in the democratic waters of the House of Commons. Had these seven gentlemen of the Indo British Association, who are opposing this measure, been exposed to the same influences as I have been, they would be supporting this measure to-day instead of wondering at me as a man who is not standing up for the Civil Service to which he belonged. Why are none of these gentlemen who are opposing the Bill, why are not each of the 'seven sleepers', members of this House? It is because they cannot get in on that ticket. Not even if they accompanied their oriental tickets, as I suppose they would, with an English ticket, professing great love for democratic institutions, do I think they would face the electors of the present day. Therefore they are content to stay outside and complain of what they cannot get here to oppose.

I have read great portions of these Reports. I think I have read all of them, and have only broken down when at the end of each Report I found a dissenting minute, a merciless minute of equal length to the Report, by Sir Sankaran Nair. If it were in order on the Second Reading, I should like to move an Amendment providing that anybody who writes a minute equal in length to the Report made by the whole of his colleagues, should be rendered incapable of ever holding office again. I have tried, out of respect to the House, to pick out, if not all the eyes of these Reports, some few of the points on which, as an old Indian Civil servant—I suppose this is a kind of a swan song of the Civil servant—perhaps I may be allowed to make a few remarks. One very extraordinary feature of these Reports is the increased influence and importance of the Governors of our Indian Provinces. There is no harm in that. The people of India do not object to a Governor 'qua' Governor;

they dislike the Governor 'qua' Civil servant. The Civil servant knows too much and is probably a fine old crusted specimen of what used to be called in my time the Anglo-Indian. However that may be, I should like to point out to this House how successful the Secretary of State has been in the appointments he has made to Governorships since he has been in office. For him to have been able to induce Lord Willingdon, a most admirable Governor, to remove from Bombay to Madras—where I know, although I was there myself, they want a little waking up and a little new blood—and to enter upon another term of office, is extremely satisfactory. The right hon. Gentleman recommended to His Majesty the appointment of Sir George Lloyd, whom we here all knew well. Sir George has proved a signal success since he arrived in Bombay. As my hon. Friend the Member for Sevenoaks (Mr. Bennett) pointed out the other day, he arrived in circumstances of the extremest difficulty. He deported a person who most richly deserved it very soon after his arrival. I sincerely hope that the House in all quarters will support the Governor of Bombay in the action he has taken. He was right not to prosecute this man, who showed the most malignant hatred of his fellow countrymen and who, I know, does not retain the confidence of those who formerly backed him. I hope that Sir George Lloyd's action in deporting him will be supported as a courageous act. The office of Governor in an Indian province now is going to be one of extreme difficulty. Up till now the Governor has had to do this and do that, and was always in the picture. Now along comes the Governor with the Ministers, and there will be no close time for the Governor in this preserve. I hope the House of Commons will realise the exceedingly great difficulty in which these high officers will be placed, and will give them strong support in all their acts. The Secretary of State, I understand, has arrived at the conclusion that for these offices men in the flower of their mental and physical vigour alone should be appointed. I applaud that decision on his part, although, as one who is on the threshold of middle age himself, it might condemn me to inactivity.

The Secretary of State made one remark which I did not quite follow. In referring to the transferred subjects I understood him to say that these would be made over to Ministers, and that we should have no more to do with them. I understand that the Governor will in certain contingencies have to come in, and will be practically responsible for the transferred subjects being properly carried on. If that is the case, that will bring in the Government of India and the Secretary of State himself. At any rate, whether or not I am right in this, the position of the Governor will be a very different one from what it was when I used to be private secretary to several of them. I

do not mean to say that they did not work hard then. They did. I have the profoundest regard and respect for those who were my chiefs. There was a very humorous writer about forty or fifty years ago who drew pictures of all the chief characters in India which were none the worse for being humorous. He said that a Governor might be a decayed noble man, but he must be plum and be able to wear a white waistcoat and the Ribbon of the Star of India. A Governor now requires a much greater equipment than before. I was private secretary to three Governors and in the secretariat I have served with many more Governors and Viceroys, and on their Councils. I hope that this House, when the Bill comes into force, will give the most generous and complete support of their officers.

I am glad that this Bill has been introduced, and I hope it will be put through wihout waiting for it to be made perfect. We prefer a speady peace, to a perfect peace indeed, we know nothing about a perfect peace except by hearsay. Just as we prefer it at once to having it perfect, so we want to have this reforms brought in at once, rather than wait until they can be made absolutely perfect and watertight in every direction. My own advices from India confirm me in this opinion, that among moderate thinking men in that country there is not a consensus of opinion but at any rate a very largely held opinion,that the democratic advance is real though safeguarded, that to the electorate is real responsibility conceded, while, above all, what is of the utmost importance, that the supremacy of parliament is not at all impaired.

I said just now that the Government of India has concurrent jurisdiction right through the Provinces, and anything that is done in the provinces is done in the Government of India. The House of Commons must deal with all the Governments of India as one, and it must acknowledge the advances made. I remember once, when I was a member myself of the Government of Madras on the Governor-General's Council, complaining about the amount of the revenues of Madras which were taken by the Government of India for the general purposes of the year, and I said, "You might really think the revenues belonged to them." The Finance Minister immediately took me up, and said. "They do ; the whole of the revenues of India belong to the Government of India, and the Government of Madras which would represent, perhaps, 40,000,000 inhabitants, has no right to one rupee." The whole of the revenues of India are the revnues of the central Government of India. I remember that at the moment, and I am not sorry I repeat it, because I think the want of knowledge on this point has vitiated every criticism I have heard against the Bill. I am sorry, though, that Madras

continues to be a sort of milch cow, and I hope the arrangements calling for a more equitable contribution from the Provinces which are contemplated, will be made. I describe Madras as the milch cow of India, and, as I say that it reminds me of that celestial animal which, having supplied milk, butter, cream and cheese to the whole Indian Pantheon, mildly asked when they were going to begin to milk it. That is not the attitude of Madras. It does not supply all these delicacies to the whole of India and wonder when they are going to begin milking. It is milked freely, and I hope something will be done to equalise the burden.

I must say a word about the question of caste. I come from Madras, and it is the Madras Government which has raised the chief difficulties about the caste business. They say that the Brahmins—that means the Brahmins and the upper castes—are an intellectual aristocracy. They are an aristocracy of birth too, but they are even more an aristocracy of intellect. They are fit for government. I am sorry to say the Madras Government—I believe they are totally wrong—has given way to the outcry against the upper castes, which I feel convinced has been organised for the purpose of putting up opposition to these reforms. Suppose the right hon. Gentleman was to say when the Reform Bill came in the other day, "Very well, you may have your reforms, but you must cut out anyone who has been to a university. He must not have a vote, or any man who has been to a public school, or any one who belongs to the intellectual, educated classes, is not to have a vote or is not to have an appointment, and is to be cut out of the whole scheme." That is what is practically proposed by the Madras Government. They want to provide that half the seats which are provided are to be ticketed and docketed and earmarked and set aside for those who do not belong to the upper classes. Call them Brahmins if you like. It is a very good expression for the upper castes, but that is what it really means. That is really a most extraordinary proposition to come from a Government, and it really surprises me that they do not see that it really is the result of an organisation that these so-called lower castes—they are not low castes at all—are being put up on this sham fear of an oligarchy in order to fight my right hon. Friend and his reform proposals. Of course it may be that these high castes, the educated and intellectual men, hang together. Such things have happened in our democracy, which was not born yesterday. It is very extraordinary if something which, you may call an oligarchy if you like, though it is not an oligarchy, shows somewhat similar tendencies. But do not support action which would be very much like laying it down that, out of 700 candidates for Parliament, 350 must be persons of little or no education, lest the others should get the best

of them on all occasions, which they probably would do. It would be very desirable to let a little fresh air into this subject and clear it of all cant. The fact is that, as the Chinaman is chiefly disliked for his industry, the Brahman is envied and feared for his brains. The President of Board of Education referred to education in Indiia. Although my right hon. Friend behind me (Sir H. Craik) represents a university, I am so bold as to think that he was not right in what he said to-night about education and as the President of the Board of Education also represents university, I throw my lot in with him, and declare that our education in India has not been a complete failure. but on the contrary has raised the character of the public service and has conferred many other benefits in other directions. Of course we may not have reached that stage at which we are always told that everybody should aim, when education is run solely for its own sake without any regard to the material advantages resulting from it. Personally, that seems to me to be an unpardonable platitude, I believe that in this country education is chiefly valued for its material advantages, and I do not suppose that many students at universities or public schools go about singing to themselves how charming is the life of a philosopher. The Indians in this respect are not very different from ourselves, and if we apply to them the standards that we apply to ourselves in this respect we shall have a much nearer understanding of them. In regard to the franchise, Lord Southborough's Committee are blamed for making the franchise too rural, and not sufficiently urban. To save time, I may explain that an Indian town in nothing more than a large village. ... ...

Captain Ormsby-Gore : I am one of those who sincerely welcome this Bill, and do not share the views put forward by the hon and gallant member for Newcastle underLyme (Colonel Wedgwood) when he said there will be no gratitude for this Bill in India. I think he absolutely misinterpreted the feelings of the great majority of his Majesty's loyal subjects in the Indian Empire. Of the men who fought in the War, and have taken part in public life in India, I believe the vast majority welcome this Bill, and are anxious to take this opportunity and realise that the work put in by the Secretary of State and his visiting Commission and later on by Lord Southborough and his Committee has been solid work, well thought out and wisely constructed, and that the scheme that is now brought is a generous scheme put forward by and on behalf of the British people, not as a result of agitation or demand, but as a measure which we feel to be just and right at this juncture in the history of the Empire. The important thing to go forward from this House to-night is that, whatever delegation of power we are now giving for the first time to the people of India, we give with a whole heart, and

I believe that it will be received in a good spirit. That is what I hope will characterise the proceedings in both Houses of Parliament in the Joint Committee. After all, the British Cabinet in August 1917, made a promise to the people of India, which was fully understood, and we must do nothing to whittle down or go back on that promise. It is perfectly futile, in dealing with anybody, to make promises and not to fulfil them, or, if we fulfil them, to fulfil them in a grudging spirit. I hope that this Bill will go on the Statute Book very much is the form in which it is to-day, and I hope that, when it comes to be worked in India, it will secure the co-operation in the gigantic task of increasing the material, moral, and intellectual prosperity and progress of India, of large masses of the people of India who hitherto have not taken any share in its public life. I rejoice that the franchise is wide. It is no use pretending that it is not. It enfranchises 5,500,000 of people who have never exercised the vote before, and that is a big step when you are taking an initial step.

This Bill has two main features. In the first place, it proposes to devolve certain powers now exercised by the central government of India to provincial governments, and at the same time, though it has not been sufficiently mentioned in this Debate, it devolves powers which are exercised by Whitehall on to the government of India. I am certain that that is quite as important as the devolving of powers from the central government of India to the provincial governments. In regard to that devolution from the central government, I hope that Hon. Members will not press for too wide a measure of devolution, because, to my mind, the one thing at which we must aim at securing in India, and which is of supreme importance to India is the conception of India as one country from the Himalayas to the most southern end of that great country. That is the conception which we want to give to India—above all to weld all these races and languages into a single national consciousness. That is the great task before us, a task which it is going to take many years before it is accomplished. And I hope that the devolution from the Central Governments to the Provincial Governments will not create or foment local differences but will insure that the best public men in India, whatever provinces they come from, may seek to serve in the provincial Government of India and in the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State. Those are the classes whom we want to see there. We want to see the best products of public life in India taking up that part of national life which is concerned with government.

The other part of the Bill is the reform scheme, and the House may congratulate Lord Southborough and his colleagues on a well reasoned

practical scheme which does not do what my hon. and gallant Friend the member for Newcastle under Lyme (Colonel Wedgwood) is always longing to do—get hold of a doctrine and run it to its logical conclusion irrespective of realities. We want to get away from doctrinaire applications. One of the causes of what an Hon. Member from the Labour Benches deplored this evening—the poverty of industry in India—has been the maintenance of Free Trade in India against the wishes of its people. Let us see henceforth that the people of India should determine their fiscal system and whether they want to adopt high Protection, moderate Protection, or even Free Trade, which I think would be folly in the case of India, let them adopt it. It is for them to work out their own salvation. We have forced this, to my mind, absolutely indefensible system on the people of India and they should be able to stop it. My sole idea in this Debate is to help forward this Bill, and to make it, if possible, a better Bill and I hope that I shall not be deemed guilty of destructive criticism if I refer to what I consider the weak point of the scheme. The weak point seems to be in the system which I regard as quite inapplicable, of division of subjects. You have at the present moment too large a category of reserved subjects.

The functions of government in India are going to be divided by this Bill into three. There are All Indian subjects which are administered by the Government as agents of the Central Government of India. In the second category are provincial reserved subjects, and in the third are provincial transferred subjects, which are handed over completely to Ministers responsible to the Indian electors. Everything, to my mind, is to be gained by making the middle category, the category of reserved provincial subjects, as small as possible. That is to say, the greater number of subjects, if you feel that you cannot transfer them to the Minister and the popular assembly, should be retained as all India subjects. Very little advantage will be got out of devolution, except devolution of those subjects which you can transfer to popular control, and the main reason why I say that is because I think it absolutely essential that if those local electorates and legislatures and those provincial Ministers are to become really responsible and learn for the first time in the history of India the difficult tasks of Parliamentary government control and responsibility, they should have responsibility in regard to finance. It is only when the action of a Minister touches the Indian taxpayer, only when the Indian Ministers have to bear the full responsibility for any mistakes they may make, that benefit can result. Unless mistakes can be brought home to them by the people of India, and there is no effort, I hope there will be no effort, of British officials or of the British Governor-

to protect Ministers from the Legislative Assembly, or from the electors, the benefit will be lost.

The responsibility delegated, wherever it is must be really delegated it must be made absolute, and the Governor must stand aside and see made what he knows to be mistakes in order that the lessons of self-government, and the duties and difficulties of self-government, may be learned from the start. Democracy is the best form of government because, as Aristotle says, it soon proves its own corrective. If a lot of Ministers make a mess of things they are turned out of office very soon. That is why I hope that the category of reserved provincial subjects will be as small as possible. There are several of them in the list, as submitted by Mr. Feetham's Committee, which I feel perfectly confident ought to have been retained as all India subjects, and several which I think might be transferred to popular control forthwith. That category looking at it from an outside point of view as one who has studied these Blue Books, is the weak point of the scheme. The other thing is the position, the personal position, of your eight Governors. Your eight Governors have indeed a task which, as it stands now, only eight supermen can do. That task is going to be gigantic. They will require to be not only administrators, but also politicians of quick sympathy, untiring energy and perpetual tact. It is very hard to combine administrative experience with the political play which a Governor will have to perform in India in these days. I do hope it may be possible to devolve from the Governors to the provinces a vast amount of the administrative work they have to do now to some Deputy-Governor or subordinate who is an administrator —an experienced administrator working under a political chief. Your Governors in future, I maintain, will have to be political chiefs with a first rate administrator always at their hands to carry on the administrative work. There is one other thing in regard to this devolutionary system that I feel I must say something about, although it may perhaps, be anticipating the Report of Lord Crewe's Committee.

I feel it ought to go forth form this Debate to the Joint Committee that we cannot maintain, and ought not to maintain, along with this reform scheme the same meticulous control by the India Office over the central Government of India. Although it has been rather overlooked in the Debate, we are making big changes in the position of the Government of India in its relation to the Legislative Assembly of India. You are giving a big majority of non-official elected members in the Legislative Assembly. I do not care whether you leave to the Viceroy the right to withdraw members and safeguarding procedure of that kind, but once you have set

up that Legislative Assembly with a large elected majority, the Government will have to pay attention to the Assembly. From the first day it meets, and every day it continues to meet, that Assembly will grow in power and authority, just as when you give a Minister an Advisory Committee or Council; if it is there he has to consult it. It is the way a constitutional Government works out. By the tact that you are evolutionising the constitution and character of the Legislative Assembly and the Central Government of India, you are putting that Government into a position in which it is bound in practice to be more and more responsive to that Assembly and to the electors whom that assembly represents. When you are doing that you cannot, unless you are going to put the Government of India into an impossible position, at the same time keep the control that has gone on through the Council of India in Whitehall in the past on every little item of expenditure, and all the personal cases with all the elaborate machinery of the biggest office in Whitehall as regards the building. I am more and more convinced that the Secretary of State, while he remains responsible to Parliament for the peace and order and good Government of India, will have to be prepared forthwith not merely to give fiscal autonomy, but also to delegate very largely the control of the work which is carried on by Whitehall over the Government of India. I want the Government of India to be strong in prestige and increasingly sensitive to the opinion of its Legislative Assemblies. I want to see a united and progressive India and I want to see the experience learned by Indian administrators from the Government in the local Legislatures applied at the earliest possible moment to the central Government of India. That is what I wish.

Let me repeat what I have said about the attitude of this House. I hope the right hon. Gentlemen will not attempt to set up a Select Committee on Indian affairs in this House because I believe it will merely mean that only the Members of that Select Committee will take an interest in Indian affairs. What I want to ensure is this; That his salary is placed on the Estimates so that it can be brought on in Committee of Supply any time, and if possible, two or three times in the Session. We want to secure more interest from the great body of the Members of this House in Indian Imperial affairs and the Secretary of State and the Members to realise the gigantic responsibility of the people of these islands who have acted for the last hundred years as trustees for the people of India, now that we are starting the people on the course towards self-government to take a deeper interest and have a fuller realisation of what India is. That it is a vast Continent, one-sixth of the human race, stretching from the snows of the Himalayas across the Valley of the Jamna and Ganges, rolling its waters down to the burning plains

of Bengal. There, in that vast continent, with its vast aggregation of people, who have become almost by accident of history mixed up in their destinies with the destinies of the people of this country and this Empire we have a great opportunity of leading them forward and assisting them to build up institutions of freedom such as we know and cherish in this country, and above all, we have at this moment an idealistic movement, and let us give them what they gave our fore-fathers centuries ago, some of our ideals not only of current progress, but in raising level of culture and knowledge of the vast masses of population, so that they may give forth to the world a similar contribution to civilisation such as they gave centuries ago. We know India chiefly for the work of the writers of the Vedas and of its early philosophers. We know her great literature of the past and the magnificent monument of architecture she has given. We have given her good government for a century. I do not believe we have been the oppressors of India as the hon. and gallant member said. We came and found India oppressed by a declining dynasty. We have given and are now giving a singular proof of our good intentions and of the object which followed the linking up of British and Indian civilisation, and my profound hope is that this marriage of civilisation, this effort of this House today to send on its way with real good will and real godspeed the first measure of self-government to a new Dominion—I say that we look to that Dominion to rise once more to the heights of old and give us signal contributions to philosophy, literature, science, art and progress, in order that humanity may be made the richer throughout the world.

[Then followed Brigadier-Genl. Croft, a Sydenhamite, who denounced the Bill and attacked Mr. Montagu. We omit his speech as it is not of any value.—*Editor.*]

Mr. Neil Maclean: I have listened with some suprise to the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Croft)—especially to that portion in which he referred to this Bill as a revolutionary measure. In the opinion of those who sit on these benches it is by no means revolutionary, it is not even an advanced measure ; it is not even Liberalism gone mad, it is not even Liberalism at all.

When the hon. and gallant Gentleman tries to draw an analogy between India as an illiterate country and Russia as an illiterate country, pointing out that the disturbances in Russia exist because of her illiterate population having political rights and that the same thing is likely to happen in India because of the illiteracy of the people there, he is going off at a tangent. There were corruption, murder and atrocities in Russia before the present Government took charge, and the people were just as illiterate then ; therefere, it is not the illiterate politicians who have control of Russia who are responsible, as the hon. and gallant Gentleman assumes, for those murders and atrocities, any more than it was the illiteracy of the people under the Czarist regime that was responsible for the atrocities committed then. There is something deeper, which I am afraid the hon. and gallant Gentleman has not yet realised because, I will not say of his inability to understand, but because, he does not study the conditions that led to these matters he has been quoting to the House to-night.

I agree with him in one respect, that is with regard to the education of the people of India. I feel with him that the education of the people of India, as of the people everywhere, is the one thing that is going to lift them out of the rut into which so many of the people have fallen. I would say to the hon. and gallant Gentleman that the illiteracy of the people of India is not their fault. It is the fault of Hon. Members sitting in this House, of those who have been in the Government of this country for ages past, who have denied education to the people of India and consequently have left them in the illiterate state they are in to-day. If we examine the figures we find how great is the responsibility that rests upon us and how we have failed to meet that responsibility in the past. We find that in 1882 the population of British India was 208,000,000 yet only £240.000 was spent on education, a sum equivalent to one farthing per head of the population. In 1910, almost a generation later, with the population increased to 237,000,000. we were spending only £630,000 on education, equivalent to three-farthings per head of the population. It is rather significant that in 1917 the right hon. Gentlemen the President of the

Board of Education, suggested that the expenditure on education in this country should be increased by £3,829,000, while in the same year the sum proposed to be spent in the whole of India among all these hundreds of millions of people was £3, 623,000, or less than was proposed as the increase for British schools. I studied political affairs for some time before I came into this House. The hon. and gallant Gentleman did not protest then against lack of education and illiteracy, and it is no use protesting now that because Indians are illiterate we ought not to give them this Bill. The vocation which the hon. and gallant Gentleman has so gllantly followed takes away a considerable amount more money for its upkeep and maintenance than education. The increase of education amounted to £3830,000, while the increase for military purpose amounted to £8,600,000. One is almost justified in assuming that instead of being a democratic country ruled by people who believe in democratic institutions, this is really a militarist country forcing India at the point of the bayonet. It was said in reply to a question in the Bombay Legislative Council in December, 1917, that there were in Bombay 21, 556 villages with populations over 250, and 17,493 of them had no schools whatever. This left 8,763 villages which were supplied with schools. The whole of Bombay came under British rule in 1818, and some hon. Members think we are giving too much in these hundred years to India in the shape of this Bill. In Baroda, where they are not under the same control as in Bombay, we are told the enlightened ruler in 1893 began experimenting in the matter of introducing compulsory free education in ten villages. In 1906 primary education was made free and compulsory. In 1909 only 8·6 per cent of the total population was at school, as against 1·9 per cent in British India. At the end of 1914-15, each town or village had at least one institution and 100 per cent of the boys and 81·6 per cent, of the girls of school-going age are under instruction. In 1909 Baroda was spending 6d, per head of the population on education, whereas in other parts of India we were only spending something like ¼d.

I have a fault to find with the Bill in so far as it is not going to give to responsible Ministers in the Provincial Legislatures control over the financial aspects of education. So far as the allocation of the funds is concerned, all other things are to be of a secondary nature to what the Governor of the Council considers to be a primary or first charge upon the revenue. I am not altogether in favour of the Bill. I mean in its details. I welcome the measure as a skeleton, but I hope flesh and blood is going to clothe the bones of the skeleton before the Bill leaves the Committee. I do not see that you are going to give Indians a very large measure of Self-Government where you allow a Governor to have the power

of vetoing any measure which he considers or which is considered under rules to be something which ought not to be passed. That, to my mind, savours too much of autocracy. I do not consider that a Council in which the majority are to be nominated is really a democratic body. This Bill is packed from the first Clause to the last with what in this country the electors, and even the most conservative statesmen, would consider to be undemocratic proposals for the people of this country. With regard to the Grand Committees, if any measure comes before any of the Provincial Councils, the Governor may pass it on to a Grand Committee, which has powers to pass or reject it also without the assent of the council. In another place we are told that the Governor himseif has power to put certain questions, or recommend certain measure which shall be discussed by those whom they affect in the local legislature. So far as they affect the government of the people in the provinces and do not affect the unity of India they ought to be taken out of the hands of a Governor or of a Grand Committee, and placed under the control of the elected representatives of the people of that particular place. That is the same with regard to finance. We have in this country a Minister who can state the amount of money he requires for the particular Department, and who knows that when that money has been raised by taxation it is going to be spent by his Department for the purposes for which his department stands. But in these proposals we find that instead of department being allowed to budget for its needs the tax comes into a central fund, and the Department receives an allocation according to the Governor's idea. If something arises which the Governor believes is imperilling the peacefulness of the particular province in question, he can take a proper measure of financial support out of that common fund, and take a large sum of money from the educational or any of the other Departments which should be drawing that money.

Therefore I see in the measure as it stands faults which I hope will be removed in the Grand Committee, so that there will not be autocratic power left to one or two individuals who are Governors or to Committees which may be nominated by these Governors. The whole future of India is wrapped up in the amount of education you can give to the people of India. Let us give the people of India a form of education that will enable them to be educated along lines of their own philosophy, their own art, with all their national ideals kept constantly before them. Give them that power and I am confident that if it permits all those posibilities for the Indian people you will have steadily growing up one of the strongest supports that can be given you by a people who will stand by you in any time of peril that may be before you.

Mr. Montagu's Reply.

Mr. Montagu :—By leave of the House, I may say a word in reply to my hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Wedgwood). Assuming that this House, as nearly as every speaker has admitted has accepted tee announcement of 20th August, 1917—never mind if it was obtained in a way to which my hon and gallant Friend objects—then every single point that has been raised in the Debate, to the whole of which I have listend, is a Committee point. My hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Melton (Colonel Yate) condemned in strong terms the plan which I prefer, which I think essential just as he prefers that of the local Governments That is a question which can only be settled by discussion before the Joint Committee and I give the assurance that this Committee will not only be perfectly free, but I will do my best to supply all evidence that they can possibly want. There are deputations of Indians and Europeans in this country who have arrived specially for this purpose. Sir James Meston, the financial Member of the Government of India, is on his way home to express the views of the Government of India. We shall also have in this country very shortly Sir Michæl O'Dwyer and others who will present the views of some of the local Governments who differ from us. We cannot really get on with these matters until this kind of evidence is before the Joint Committee. I never meant to question the great Indian experience of many members of the Indo British Association. They include among their number a man who stands out as the most eminent of Indian Civil servants of his time, Sir John Hewett. What I did say was that by their interpretation of the pronouncement of the 20th August, 1917, in my opinion they had done great harm by putting before the world a policy which do not accord with that announcement. I do venture to say that I have as much right to rely for advice upon those devoted Civil servants still in the service who have helped the Governors up to this time as I have to rely on those whose chief claim is that they have ceased to be Civil servants. Lord Morley is reported to have said :

"It cannot be easy for any man to wake up to new times after a generation of good, honest labour in old times."

This is really what seems to me to be the matter with those to whom I have referred. It is not their experience exactly; it is that they have a natural prejudice for the institution under which they have won their spurs and the gratitude of the whole Empire. As to what my hon. Friend (Mr. N. Maclean) said, he also raises Committee points. There is the question of transferred and reserved subjects. That is a Committee point

"I must add a few final words in replying to other criticisms. I can assure hon. Members—I am surprised that the hon. and

gallant Member for Melton fathered the ridiculous story—that there has not been any attempt to prevent the presentation to this House at the earltest possible moment of papers and documents. The dates on which these papers appeared were of vital interest because I wanted to get this Bill forward and I was pledged not to proceed until I had got the papers. As soon as I could get the papers printed I placed them before the House.

Again, I beseech the House to let us have the Second Reading. I should not, however, be doing my duty if I sat down without a word in reply to the hon. Member for Bishop Auckland (Mr. Spoor) who is a new comer in Debates on Indian affairs In the discharge of my duty as the representative of the Government of India and of those public-spirited Englishmen who are working to-day in India, I must enter the strongest possible protest against his description of the past and the present in India. We are not exchanging a regime of tyranny at all. We have given to India the best government for one hundred years past and more, which devoted Englishmen in the most selfless task in the history of the world could give to that country. We are engaged now merely on the higher task of substituting for good government self-government. That does not mean any stigma on Government methods in the past in India.

Motion for Adjournment

Lieut-Colonel Meysey-Thompson. I think we ought to have an opportunity of expressing our views on this subject, and I do not know if I should be in order in moving the Adjournment. That is a matter of vast importance to India and the British Empire, and I do not think it ought to be put without the very fullest discussion by all those who have any claim to any knowledge of the Government of India and its institutions. I will be guided by the right hon. Gentleman as to whether he prefers that I should say tonight what I have to say or to give another day for discussion. [HON. Members : "Divide !" and "Agreed !"]

Mr. Montagu : I am very grateful to the hon. and gallant Member. I am quite sure we shall get on better by proceeding with the Second Reading to- night, and, therefore, would beg of him to say what he wants to say on the Second Reading now, and let us have a decision on the Second Reading. I am very sorry that when I got up I did not notice the hon. and gallant Member rising. I waited before I did so and I think he is very nearly the last hon. Member who wants to speak.

Lieut.-Colonel Archer-Shee : May I appeal to the right hon. Gentleman to let us have the Adjournment to night, because this is a matter which concerns not only a new Constitution but really an Empire of 300,000, 000 of people ? There has never been any question of this sort.

Mr. Deputy-speaker (Mr. Whitley) : The hon. and gallant Member for Handsworth is in possession.

Lieut..Colonel Archer-Shee : On the point of Order May I ask the right hon. Gentleman to move the Adjournment ?

Mr. Deputy-speaker : Do I understand the hon. and gallant Member for Handsworth to give way ?

Lieut.-Colonel Meysey-Thompson : I beg to move "That the Debate be now adjourned."

Lieut.-Colonel Archer-Shee : I beg to second the Motion.

We have had only one day for the Second Reading of this Bill, which is of the highest importance not only to India but to the whole British Empire. The Bill was only delivered within the last few days, and only yesterday did we receive the India Act with the

Amendments proposed by this Bill. The House is going on Recess to-morrow, and a great many Members have left, while the House in the afternoon has been three quarters empty. I think it would be an absolute scandal to have a measure of this kind allowed to go through without further discussion on the Second Reading, and surely the occasion demands that we should give it proper consideration and that Members should have proper time to study the enormous number of publications put before us as to this most important matter. Here is a Bill which affects the lives and the future of the whole of the British Empire, and we ought to have at least two days on the Second Reading.

Mr. Fisher : May I make an appeal to the two hon. Members who are anxious to adjourn ? I quite appreciate the force of all they have said. It is a most important measure, the importance of which well deserves an extended Debate but on the other hand there is one consideration, which, perhaps, has not occurred to them. This Debate and our procedure are being watched by the whole of India, and I think it is possible that if the Adjournment were accepted and the consideration of the Second Reading were held over until after the Whitsuntide Recess, an erroneous interpretation might be placed upon the action of this House. I think it might be thought that this measure was being obstructed in the House of Commons. We know that that is not so. We know that that is not the intention of the hon. Members, but I think that that construction might be placed upon the Adjournment if it were carried, and in these circumstances I do appeal to the two hon Members to reconsider their Motion.

Lieut.-Colonel Meysey-Thompson : With all due respect to the right hon. Gentleman, I do not think, that such a construction would be put upon the adjournment I think, on the contrary, that the whole of India would take it as a compliment if an additional day was given to the discussion. I suggest to the Secretary of State that, as certain gentlemen are coming home from India who are competent to advise on this, it would be all the better if the discussion were postponded over the Recess, so that we might get further information and study further this great question, which is of such vital importance to the Empire.

Mr. Tyson Wilson : May I join in the appeal which has been made to the two hon. Gentlemen to withdraw the Motion for the Adjournment ? Almost every view and opinion held by Members of this House has been expressed, and I feel quite satisfied, so far as Labour in this country are concerned, that they would raise no objection to the Second Reading being taken to-night. I believe that if the Bill is postponed till after Whitsuntide it will have an extremely bad effect in India. I am almost certain of it. We are all getting letters appealing to this House to do something to

improve the Government of India. I am quite satisfied, in my own mind, that anyone who objects to the Second Reading of the Bill being taken to-night will be doing a bad service not only to this country but to India as well, and we wish to do what we can under the special circumstances, to try to appease people.

Mr. G. Thorne : I rose a moment ago to join in the same appeal that was made by my right hon. Friend opposite. The objection raised by my hon. Friend below the gangway that many Members are absent does not seem to me to be a good reason for the Adjournment. Those Members might have been present, surely just as much as those of us who are here, and, as has already been stated there has been a full evening's Debate, and everything that has been urged as to the importance of the measure seems to me to indicate the absolute and imperative necessity of carrying the Second Readding now, so that it may go immediately to this Joint Committee, and have that full and detailed consideration that is so earnestly required. I, therefore, urge my hon. Friends not to press the Motion.

Lieut. Colonel Archer-Shee : May I say one word in explanation? Even if we pass the Second Reading to-night, the measure will not go to the Committee until after the Recess, and surely no time will be lost by giving another day after the Recess.

Captain Ormsby Gore : I do appeal to my two hon. Friends not to persist in this Motion; it really will have the worst possible effect. Here is a Bill to give effect to a promise made nearly two years ago. This Report has been published for months, and we have had people working on it for months The Eleven o' clock Rule has been suspended and if any hon. Member wants to say anything, let him say it now, and let us get the Second Reading, and show India that we are in earnest about this. The right hon. Gentleman has been all too patient in waiting for the publication of documents with which we have been inundated. This House and country want to go ahead, and do not want any obstruction.

Brigadier-General Croft : May I point out that earlier in the evening some hon. Members felt strongly about this as they could not possibly be here this evening, having long ago made arrangements to go away—[Hon. Members: "Holidays!"]—as is usually the case before an Adjournment, and no important measure is usually taken the day before an Adjournment. They drew up a signed request to the Leader of the House that he should give a second day, and it was only because he could not be found anywhere that the paper was not placed in his hands.

Colonel Greton : It is really the fault of the Government that they are driven into this corner. They always treat Indian questions as if they should come forward at the last moment before the Ad-

journment. It has been the practice for years to endeavour to keep Indian questions out of sight of this House by putting them down, at the eleventh hour or before some Adjournment. I suggest that there is nothing to be lost if this Bill is thoroughly thrashed out before the Second Reading is given. The Government have nothing to lose by it, and if the measure is right they are going to get rid of opposition which might appear in a drastic form in the Committee stage. I must confess I am not impressed by the right hon. Gentleman's argument, which is used by any Minister who wants to get the Second Reading of a Bill. It is part of the trade. It may seem to the Minister, though not to those who take an independent view, that the matter is one of such vital importance that it ought not to be left to the Committee to decide. In spite of the enthusiasm of some hon. Members to get this Bill to-night, I hope the House will not be persuaded to hurry over the measure. We might easily lose the Empire by making a mistake now. The matter is one that requires further and thorough discussion.

Mr. Sturrock: I desire to repudiate with all the strength at my command the arguments put forward by hon. Gentlemen opposite in defence of the slackers. Every Member of the House knew perfectly well that this Bill was coming up for decision, and those who have gone off this afternoon to the country and have extended their holiday beyond what they were legitimately entitled to do, went away with an easy conscience, quite convinced that the Bill would get a Second Reading. I know something of India, though I have not taken part in the Debate, and I protest that this great measure has an interest, not only for this country, but that the decision of the House is awaited in India, and indeed all over the Empire, with the utmost anxiety. That that decision should be held back for weeks to please certain obstructionists who do not like the measure, and who are simply out to delay its progress, I for one protest against.

Mr. Stewart: Only one hon. Member rose to continue the discussion, and I think if the Secretary of State had seen him he would have given way. But I do think we have a right to protest against the Government of India Bill being put before the House in this way. We have had two days academic discussion on Home Rule and federation which might have been deferred to the adjournment. I think the Government are very much to blame, but, under the circumstances, I think my hon. Friends would be well advised to let the Government have the Second Reading.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

Original Question again proposed.

Lieut-Colonel Meysey-Thompson—I am rather surprised at the right hon. Gentleman for I should have thought, with several

speakers on hand, that at this late hour he would have agreed to postpone further discussion. My right hon. Friend appeals to me saying it might be misunderstood in India, but I do not agree under those circumstances I think I ought to give way, and I will content myself with making one or two remarks. I am sorry to see that the hon. Member for Newcastle under Tyne (Colonel Wedgwood) is not in his place, because he made a statement in which he said that in New Zealand the Maoris had been badly treated. I think that is an absolute misrepresentation of the facts for I happen to know that the Maoris have been treated better than any other Colony with which we have to deal.

We protected them because we found that certain profiteers were buying up their land and stocks, and we gave them representation in both Houses of Parliament. We brought in legislation dealing with this subject, and they are now actually increasing instead of diminishing; therefore on this point the hon. and gallant Member's statement is absolutely reckless, as his statements generally are. The hon Member who spoke from the Front Bench stated that England is responsible for the want of education in India, and that therefore we cannot blame the Indians for a want of education, and at the same time refuse to give them a large measure of representation. We have been doing our best to educate the Indians, and we very wisely began by educating those who were most fit to receive it. That is the correct method, and I think it should be done by degrees. I do not think the hon. Member opposite ought to say that we are responsible for the want of education in India when we have done our best to give education there. With regard to the charge that our policy in India is one of militarism, I think India is one of the least militarist countries in the world.

Mr. N. Maclean: I did not say they were militarist, but what I said was that the amount of money spent for maintaining the troops in India, as compared with the small increase we were spending on education, would lead one to assume that they were a militarist nation.

Lieu.-Colonel Meysey-Thomson: I accept that explanation and am sorry that I misunderstood the Hon. Member. Of course we are all anxious for the best government of India, and the whole question is how are we to get it. That is the only point on which we differ. We are as keen on this side for the best government of India as the right hon. Gentleman himself is. I understood the right hon. Gentleman to sum up his point of view and that of the Government by the statement that we were more responsible for giving progressive government than good government. There I join issue with him. The most important thing is to get good

government and that applies to India as to everywhere else. I do not care a bit as to the form of the government in comparison with efficient government. A great deal has been said with regard to the Civil Service. I look upon our Civil Service in India as the finest service in the world. I know of no body of men more self sacrificing, more conscientious, or more hard-working than the Civil servants in India. I have never heard from anyone, either English or Indian, who was a responsible person—of course, there are irresponsible statements made by people from time to time—who did not agree as to the absolute integrity of the Indian Civil servants as a whole, and their duties well. With regard to the question of devolution, I should like to see a large measure of devolution from the Central Government in India to the Governments of the Provinces, but not quite on the lines suggested by the right hon. Gentleman. I think the Department Commissioners and the local Governments have been hampered in the execution of their office by the Central Government at Calcutta, and also by the Secretary of State at home, and I do think that those who were there and knew the requirements of the Province should be given as free a hand as possible. I understand the right hon. Gentleman to say that he is advocating a very different system, and that was to have a very large representation of the people in those Provinces, and to devolve power from the Central Government in India to the Councils. We must move cautiously, and be sure that we are not making a grave mistake which may have most serious consequences to the Government of India and the safety of the Empire.

We wish to progress and advance as much as any one here, but we do say this: be sure of each step before you make an irretrievable move. My right hon. Friend has referred to the pledges given in August, 1917, but let me point out that they were his own pledges. Before he went to India he announced that he was going out to inquire into the condition of things there and to formulate a policy. He also made a statement as to what he wished to do, and therefore his position was prejudiced before he arrived. He led the people of India to think that they were going to get certain reforms if they asked for them, and the consequence was that they did demand them. The danger is in taking any step which will disappoint the people. But there is another and a bigger danger, and that is to lead the people to suppose that they are getting these reforms because of their agitation. They must not be allowed to feel that. It is somewhat analogous to the position of a coach drawn by high spirited horses. If you give the animals their own way they may smash up the coach and kill all the passengers, and if you give way with regard to the 350,000,000 inhabitants of India you may bring about consequences which cannot be foreseen. A great deal too little is said in criticism of the

Indian Government with regard to the benefits we have conferred upon that country. We hear a great deal about the shortcomings of the Government : but cast your minds back for a short period and see what we have done. Thuggee and Dacoity, plague and famine, were rampant in the land. Millions of people perished therefrom until the British Raj came and made provision against famine each time it was threatened We thereby prevented famine and all its horrors, and we also put down Dacoity and Thuggee, thus giving security to life, a security which India had never, in all the thousands of years of her history, enjoyed. She was never so prosperous as at the present time. Let us, therefore, pay a just tribute to the work which the British have done in India, and not waste so much time in criticising the details of government. With regard to this Bill it is admitted that we are taking a leap in the dark. We have been warned by the right hon Gentleman of various results which might ensue and which might be more or less disastrous. I do therefore suggest we should exercise great caution in making this advance and whatever we do let us not sacrifice the cause of good government and of progress. This is too serious a question to be played with. If we allow disorder to rule in India the consequences may be terrible not only to the white people, but to natives themselves. It may be the beginning of the break-up of the British Empire which will be bad for Indians, for us, and for the Empire as a whole. I should like to have had a further day for the discussion of the Bill, because all these points require very careful consideration. I speak absolutely without any prejudice of party or of race, but in what I believe, from my knowledge of India, to be the interests of Indians themselves and of the British Raj.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill accordingly read a second time.

Resolved,

That it is expedient that the Bill be committed to Joint Select Committee of Lords and Commons.—(Mr Montagu.)

Message to the Lords to acquaint them therewith.

The Government of India Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed,—"That the Government of India Bill be committed to Select Committee of Seven members to join with a Committee to be appointed by the Lords." —(Lord E. Talbot).

Colonel Yate :—I rise to object on behalf of the Provincial Governors of India. When the Bill was first brought in by the Secretary of State for India, I put a question to the Prime Minister as to whether it would be within the powers of the joint Committee of both House on the Government of India Bill, after the Second Reading, to introduce an Amendment to give effect to the alternative proposals submitted by the majority of the Provincial Governors in India in opposition to the system of diarchy embodied in this Bill. The answer was, "It is certainly our intention that this should be within the competence of the Committee," and the Bill has been drafted with this in view. As the House will remember, the majority of the Provincial Governors have objected to the principle of diarchy advanced by the Secretary of State and have made an alternative proposal, and I feared that that alternative proposal might not get a proper hearing before the Committee. The Leader of the house, however, reassured me, and I mentioned this when the Bill came before the House on the next day. I stated that I was satisfied with assurance given me by the Leader of the House, and in the Debate on the Second Reading of the Government of India Bill would now go forward as quickly as possible, that we all wished to see this Bill brought forward on the basis of the announcement of August, 1919. I emphasised further to the Leader of the House the great importance of the Joint Committee had to thresh out the Bill. I pointed out that the Committee had a most serious enquiry to undertake. I said :

"We do not know what their report may be ; It may throw back India into chaos."

The Governors of Provinces in India are the men who have the real experience of what India requires. The Secretary of State as we know, has only the experience of two cold-weather tours in India. I was a Governor of a Province in India myself, and I am the only one here who is able to speak a word on their behalf. I openly supported their view in opposition to the system of diarchy introduced by the Secretary of State, a system never heard of in the world before, and which almost all these experienced men have decided against I would ask the Leader to consider what chance these Governors of Province have of getting their opinions adequately dealt with in the Committee that it is now proposed to set up ?

In the Debate on the Second reading of the Bill, with the excep-

tion of the Secretary of State and one other Minister, I think there were ten hon. Members who spoke. I myself, I think, was the only one who spoke in favour of the alternative system proposed by the Provincial Governors One other or two others committed themselves in no way. The remaining speakers committed themselves definitely in favour of the proposal of the Secretary of State Of the seven to be appointed to this Committee, six are professed supporters of the Secretary of State in this principle of diarchy. They cannot give an impartial opinion on this matter because they have already stated that they are in favour of the Bill's proposal. I and possibly one other Member spoke against the proposal but I and that o ther Member have been deliberately left out of this Committee, and the Secretary of State has selected six men who are absolutely pledged to support him in it. Then, finally, he has gone and put himself on it. I wish to bring to the notice of the Prime Minister that, so far as I am aware, it is an unheard of thing for a Secretary of State to appoint himself to a Committee of his own. Secretaries of State and their assistants have been present and watched their Bills, but they were not members of Committees and they did not vote. Here is a Committee which is to be, in fact, a Judical Committee, deciding on evidence that it is to come before it, and the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State is not only the advocate, but the judge and jury and all. Can any one of the Provincial Governors in India consider that the proposal he supports has had a fair hearing, when he has been appointed to go before a Committee of which out of seven members are pledged to vote against him ? It is an impossibility. So far as impartiality is concerned, the nomination of this Commitee is a mere farce. We have heard of packed juries. We have here a packed advocate, a packed judge, and a packed jury as well. I, therefore, lodge my protest against it, and ask the Prime Minister definitely to reconsider this matter, and to appoint a Committee of men who are not pledged to vote one away or the other but who will hear the evidence in an impartial spirit and will give their judgment accordingly.

The Secretary of State for India—(*Mr. Montagu*). I think I can lay before my hon. and gallant Friend a certain number of arguments which may at least modify his feelings. This Committee was not nominated by me ; it is brought before the House on the authority of my right hon. Friend the Leader of the House. Our desire was to get a Committee as representative as possible of the House on this particular subject. It is quite true that the majority of the representatives from the House of Commons expressed a preferance for one sort of scheme in the Debate, and just because the Debate was an indication of the feeling of the house so it seemed that those responsible for the nomination of the Committee found that in order to represent the House they had to

appoint a majority of the same colour as those who expressed their views on Second Reading. The Committee represents all parties. The Leaders of the parties in Opposition nominated or suggested their own members. That accounts for two out of the seven members. My hon. and learned Friend expressed a strong preference on Second Reading against diarchy. He was chosen because he had always taken a great interest in Indian affairs in this House. That accounts for three members. As to the others, they all took a part in the Debate. They all have studied the subject. Two of them have spent long years in India, and one is the only representative of Civil Service of India in this House Therefore they seemed to those responsible to be entitled to nomination In regard to myself I can assure my hon. and Gallant Friend that he is quite wrong. In every precedent that I can find, with one exception, on a Bill going to a Select Committee, the Member of the House in charge of that Bill was a member of the Committee.

Since the Bill was read a seceond time I have received suggestions for amendments in it. Before the Committee I want to move Amendments to the Bill, and it seems to me that I could be of great service if the House will agree to my nomination, for the simple reason that I can be a link between the Committee and the Government of India. I can see that their views are considered. I am the representative by my office not only of the Government of India, but of the local Governments. Nobody is pledged to any system. I have stated over and over again that I am guided by a whole hearted desire to get a Bill which will be sound. I have stated that I do not think we ought to do less that is proposed in the Bill, but any alternative method will be equally welcome, both to the Viceroy and myself, if it carries out the pledges which I think we have made in the past. The hon. Member asks, "What about the local Governors, where are they?" I would remind him that the seven gentlemen nominated from this House are to sit with seven representatives of the House of Lords. I do not know whether the hon, and Gallant Gentleman has noticed their names. We have Lord Selborne, Lord Midleton, Lord Sydenham, and Lord Crewe, all of them, I think, with experience of Indian affairs, and certainly not *parti pris* in favour of this Bill. In the proposed Joint Committee we have submitted to the House names which are not unrepresentative of the two Houses and of the feeling in the two Houses. There are two Liberals, one Labour representative, and five Conservatives. Looked at from that point of view it cannot be said that any influence that I have had to bring to bear has been weighted in favour of my own party. Looked at from the standpoint of the views of the House on Indian affairs I do not think it can be said that they

are not represented proportionately. May I add for my hon, and Gallant Friend's satisfaction that there is in this country to day probably the most eminent of all the five local Governors, Sir Michael O' Dwyer ? He has come home opportunely at the conclusion of his term of office, and I can assure my hon. and Gallant Friend that as the local Governments are not represented in either House except by the Secretary of State, and as the local Governments are not represented on the Committee any more than the Government of India, care will be taken that their views are represented before the Committee. The Government of India is not in agreement. It has suggested modifications which with great respect I and my advisers have received. The local Governments, if they had been asked, could not have suggested a better witness from their point of view than Sir Michael O' Dwyer.

Therefore there is no possible chance that the Committee, which I can assure my hon. and Gallant Friend has been chosen with care, will not represent all points of view from both Houses, and there will be every opportunity of receiving the views of all parties.

Question put :—

"That the Government of India Bill be committed to a Select Committee of Seven Members to join with a Committee to be appointed by the Lords."

The House divided : Ayes, 336 ; Noes, 23.

India & Indians Abroad

International Labour Conference

WASHINGTON, U.S.A.

At the plenary session of the Peace Conference held on the 11th. April 1919 under the Presidency of M. Clemanceau (French Premier) and attended by the Peace Delegates including Lord (then Sir S P.) Sinha and Maharaja Bikaner, it was settled that an International Labour Organisation was to be introduced into the Scheme of the Peace Treaty and of the League of Nations, and that the first International Labour Conference was to be held at Washington (U.S.A.) on the invitation of President Wilson of America (for further account see the Indian Annual Register, 1919, Sec. *India Abroad*, p. 100). It was also settled that the Conference would consist of 4 members for each State, 2 being Government representatives, 1 for workers and 1 for the employers. Messrs. Joshi and B. P Wadia were the representatives of the People and Messrs. Kershaw and A C. Chatterji represented the Government of India Mrs. Athavale represented Indian Women at the non official women's International conference ; she was working on behalf of Prof. Karve's women's University in India. Mr. W. B. Wilson, secretary of U. S. A. Department of Labour, was elected chairman.

Various questions concerning Labour were discussed in successive sittings On the 19th November, 1919, the conference met as 2-45 P M. to concider the report of the committee for the Employment of Children.

Sir Malcolm Debvigigue (Great Britain), chairman of the committee in presenting the report and moving for its adoption said that the committees unanimously recommended that 14 years be fixed as the minimum age for the employment of child Labour in industrial matters as distinguished from agriculture or commerce. He then said :—

I now come to two matters which caused the commission considerable difficulty and on which it was not able to reach unanimous conclusion.

The first of these was the question of allowing some exception through the transitional period in the case of those countries where the age of leaving school under the educational law has not been fixed at as high an age as 14. It was represented to the

commission that in those countries the immediate adoption of the proposal of the commission would leave a gap between the time at which the children would leave school and the time at which they would be admitted to employment, which otherwise could not be filled, and that it would not be possible, within the limit of time allowed by the draft convention, to make the educational arrangements which would be necessary to fill that gap by a continuance of the child's education. The commission recognised that this was a serious difficulty, but they came to the conclusion, by a majority vote, that the date fixed in the draft convention—that is, the 1st of January, 1922, two years from the present time, should stand. The Conference will no doubt hear from the representatives of those countries to whom the question is of especial importance their view of this aspect of the question.

The other matter was the question of the modifications, if any, to be allowed in the case of those countries with special climatic or industrial conditions. A sub committee was appointed by the commission to consider the matter, and that sub committee made a thorough examination of the question, and we have the advantage of hearing the views of the representatives—Government employers, and workers' delegates of the countries affected.

"The countries fell into two groups; on one side was Japan, on the other side were the other oriental countries, India, China, Persia, and Siam. The Japanese Government delegate submitted proposals on behalf of his Government and after considerable discussion they were accepted with a certain qualification which the Japanese delegate was able to accept. I desire on behalf of the commission to recognise the spirit in which we were met by the Japanese delegates.

"As regards the other group, the commission was placed at a considerable difficulty by not having any materials before it on which to come to a satisfactory conclusion. So far as India was concerned—and India, of course, was the principal country in this group—the Indian delegates were in the unfortunate position that the proposal of the organising committee had not reached India at the time when the delegation started on their way. It was represented to the commission that the Indian Government had the matter under consideration at the present moment in connection with the question of the introduction of an educational system and that decision had not yet been arrived at.

"Two proposal were submitted to the commission. One proposal was that the commission should fix a limit of age for adoption by this group of countries, if they saw fit, and that limit of age was fixed, for certain specified industries, at 12. The other suggestion

was that, without coming to a decision one way or the other, they should recommend that the matter be brought up again at next year's conference, by which time it is hoped that the proposals of the Indian Government would have been received and that then a definite convention suplementary to the present convention might be framed.

"The commission had to decide between these two proposals, to make up their minds under which of the two best results would be secured. On the one hand, the adoption by the commission of a definite limit of age which might not be approved by the Indian Government would leave the question exactly where it is at present, and no advance would have been achieved. On the other hand, the proposal to defer the matter for one year in order that the proposals of the Indian Government might be received would, at any rate, secure a further consideration of the matter, and the posibility—the probability, perhaps—that a supplemental convention could be secured. The commission would, I think, have preferred the former course, if they had felt that a definite result would have been obtained by it. But after hearing the representatives of India, the government delegates and the employers' delegates, they felt that the weight, the balance of advantage lay with the second proposals, and it was finally carried by a considerable majority; that is, the proposal which is embodied in the commission report. I regret that on these two points, question of the period of transition and the question of the application of the convention to this group of tropical countries, the commission was not able to arrive at an unanimous decision, but we hope that it will not prevent the adoption of the general proposals which they have put forward

"It is not necessary, I think, to say much about the remaining provisions of the draft convention. A new text was adopted by the committee in place of article 2, with the consent of the representatives of the French Government, at whose instance the provision was originally inserted and if the conference desire further explanation of the provision no doubt the delegates from France will be happy to give it.

"If these proposals which are submitted by the commission are adopted they will, under the terms of the standing orders, be referred to the drafting committee and will be brought up in the shape of a definite convention for decision by the Conference at a later stage.

In moving that this course be adopted, that the proposals be approved and referred to the drafting committee, I desire again to emphasise the spirit of conciliation which animated the com-

mission throughout its proceedings. I can testify that there was a single-minded desire to achieve definite results, and we venture to ask for the favourable consideration of the Conference, and we shall be proud if the Conference, by adopting our proposals, have allowed us to lay the first stone in the edifice of labour legislation which the International Labour Conferences are going to erect. (Applause.)

The President.—Miss Margaret Bondfield of the British delegation.

Miss Margaret Bondfield (Great Britain) :—On behalf of the British workers' delegation, I beg to move the amendment printed on the order of the day circulated this morning, to add to the convention a new clause, No. 5.

"In the application of the convention to India the following modifications may take effect :—

"Children under 12 should not be employed :—(a) In factories working with power employing more than 10 persons ; (b) in mines and quarries ; (c) on railroads ; (d) on docks.

"The reason why we move this amendment is because we feel that there has not been presented to us any reasons which seem sufficient to omit India entirely from the provision of this convention. We understand that the main argument which has been very forcibly and ably put by the Indian Government representatives is that the Indian Government had no time to consider this matter. That may be an explanation entirely justified by the delegates who are here, but personally I think it is no excuse for the Indian Government. This question of child-labour has been discussed by the whole world, and we do not think the Indian Government should be so detached from world discussions as not to be prepared with recommendations on this subject in 1919.

"With regard to one of the other main objections, namely, the nature of the Indian industries, we have carefully drafted this amendment to exclude all those industries that could be considered purely native industries or that are small industries. It is specially drafted only to refer to those industries which are being modelled on western ideas, which are to some extent under control of factory legislation, and which are—I think, probably will be right in saying—mainly supervised by western people, by Englishmen, by Scotchmen, by Irishmen, by Welshmen, and so on and so forth. Our main point is that in textiles, in engineering, in all those great industries where a factory act has already been applied, it should be quite possible to have the western safeguards ; and it is that point that we particularly wish to impress upon the Indian Government.

"I would repeat, that where western methods of industry are being introduced into an eastern country they should be simultaneously accompanied by western safeguards.

"With regard to the question of mines, railways, and docks, the nature of the employment, it seems to us, will be a sufficient reason for safeguarding the employment of children on those properties. Another strong reason used is that there would be so much objection on the part of Indian parents if anything is done to prevent the employment of children. We have all had to fight that in our respective countries. I perfectly well remember being mobbed in my own country when I advocated the abolition of half-time in the textile mills. The parents, they said, would never consent to being deprived of the right to work their children whenever they chose. We don't think that is a purely eastern argument ; we have met it in the West. We have conquered it in the West by educational methods and organisation and we do not admit that as a sound and valid reason. I recognise there is a very serious objection, and that is the fact that in India the educational machinery is so entirely defective. That, of course, is another grave responsibility of the Indian Government, but I venture to suggest that one of the quickest way of securing the speeding up of educational provision in India is by the prohibition of child labour. And it is not sufficient to let the children be taken underground out of sight or into the factories, out of sight, in order to dispose of that problem.

"We want very earnestly to urge that one of the quickest ways of expediting the provision of educational facilities is by the prohibition of child labour below the age of 12. I don't want to lengthen out the argument. We submit this amendment in all seriousness. We recognise that, just as the main convention would have to be considered by the Indian Government and would probably be turned down, it is quite possible that the Indian Government will consider this if you embody it in the convention and will turn it down. There is nothing to prevent them from turning it down. There is nothing to prevent them, if this is carried to-day, from bringing forward their own proposals at the next convention alternative to this proposal. But what I feel might be accomplished by carrying this proposal in the open Conference is that it might give the Indian Government some idea of the world opinion on this matter, which would help them to make up their minds to really do something in time for the next Conference. I beg to move the amendment.

The President : The question is on the amendment to the draft proposed by the commission and moved by Miss Bondfield. Is there further discussion ;

Mr. Atul Chandra Chatterjee (India): Mr. President : I wish to assure the Conference at the outset that it is a far from pleasant duty to oppose this amendment. I appreciate to the full the generous and the humanitarian sentiments that have prompted this amendment moved by Miss Bondfield. I can assure her, on behalf of myself as well as of my colleague, Mr. Kershaw, the other Government delegate from India, that we have both the same odject at heart as Miss Bondfield has, only we differ about the method that should be adopted.

"No one is more anxious than I am personally to see a steady betterment in industrial and social conditions among my countrymen, for I feel very deeply that on such gradual and progressive development the entire future of India depends. I hope fervently that the recommendation and deliberations of this Conference will give a powerful impetus to social improvement in India, but because I feel that we should do something practical, and that the recommendation should lead to immediate practical effects in India, I feel compelled to oppose this amendment.

"I shall not weary you with any discussion on the merits of the case. Miss Bondfield has urged that the usual argument that the people of India themselves do not want any improvement is no especially oriental argument ; that she has met with the same conditions in Europe. But I do not know if Miss Bondfield realises that in India even the parents have at present, in the vast majority of cases, no education at all ; and it takes a much longer time to accomplish the same object of educating public opinion in India in these matters than it took even Miss Bondfield, with her fellows and numerous co-workers, in England. I can tell you as an Indian that amongst the educated classes in India there is an earnest desire for the introduction of compulsory education in India. I have myself, as a private individual and as a Government Officer, had much to do in establishing schools and persuading the people to send their children to school, and I can tell you that I have had the greatest difficulty in this respect amongst what are known as the lower castes in our country. We are all doing our best, but we cannot accomplish wonders without some lapse of time, and we only ask for a little time.

"It is not quite correct to say that we have stood absolutely still in the matter of introducing compulsory education in Indian. During the last year or two very definite progressive steps have

been taken in the matter. The different provincial legislatures in India have passed measures enabling local authorities to adopt compulsory education in their areas. And to my knowledge various towns are now arranging for the introduction of schemes. But time is required by them, not only for making arrangements with regard to finances, but also in order to secure teachers, in order to secure buildings, and in order to get equipment. Until there are adequate educational facilities available for children in India, and until such children can be compelled to avail themselves of the facilities, the raising of the age of employment will only throw such children on the street. In a country where children develop much earlier than in the north or in the west, and where the customs of the country do not enable the mothers to look after their children with the same freedom and capacity as they could do in the west, the result would be more disastrous to the children than otherwise.

"I wish again to refer to what Sir Malcolm Delevingue has mentioned with regard to the special dissdvantages which the Government of India and the delegates from India have experienced during the present session of the Conference. The questionnaire sent out by the organising committee did not reach India until very late. The draft conventions and recommendations which have been put forward by the organising committee did not reach India even when the delegation left the country.

"The Conference will realise how difficult it has been for the Government of India to give any consideration to such recommendations or reports as to give any instructions to the delegates; but as I have already said, question has received the earnest attention of both the Government and the public in India, and all that the Government of India want is that they should have time to gauge and to influence public opinion.

"I must state that the number of children employed in factories in India is a very small fraction of the total industrial population of India, and these children are all employed on light and subsidiary occupations and are all halftimer. The Government of India is not, therefore, likely to be influenced in the discussion of the matter by any consideration that any raising of the age limit will affect the economic conditions or the industrial development of the country.

"Miss Bondfield has suggested that where western methods of industry are introduced in India, western factory legislation should also be adopted. I can assure miss Bondfield and also the Conference that the whole history of factory legislation in India shows that

that has been the sole object of the Government as well as of the legislators in India.

"I wish the members of the Conference to realise that in discussing this amendment they are not discussing what the exact age for employment in India should be, but rather what the procedure should be in getting a definite age fixed for India. The commission in their report have recommended that the Government of india should be asked to put forward their own proposals at the Conference next year. I submit that this delay of only one year will not prejudice the settlement of the question. In fact, it will probably insure a speedier and more satisfactory settlement than if the amendment is accepted, and this Conference should make cut and dried proposals to India without a full examination of all the special needs and circumstances of India and I wish to say that the Government of India is anxious to consider any proposal in the most sympathetic spirit, and I venture to hope that this Conference will deem it only fair that the Government of India should be given an opportunity to put forward their considered proposals.

The President : Mr. Warrington Smyth, of South Africa.

Mr. Warrington Smyth (South Africa). Mr: President, I should like, on behalf of the members of the Commission, which studies this question, explain in a few words why we adopted the course that we did in regard to our recommendations for India. Now, Mr. President, in discussing the question of India it is, I think, essential for us to remember the conditions which exist in that great country. You have there an enormous population of 300,000,000 of people. You must imagine to yourself an enormous country extending over tropical countries, and deserts, mountain snows ; and in all those climates and over all that country are the great population of India, varying as much in their characteristics, in their national development, in their civilisation, and in their traditions as the climate of the countries in which they live. In fact, the astonishing thing to anybody travelling in India is the large number of languages, the large number of separate castes and traditions. Now, Mr. President, those very facts—that this enormous country is split up into so many languages, so many castes and so many traditions and religions—those very facts make it impossible to adopt at short notice any system of compulsory education for children. Yon can see for yourselves that the problem is an immense one. Not only must you consider the different religions, but the caste question almost lies at the bottom of the whole of the Indian difficulties. That one caste will not mix with another; that one

set of children is born into a certain caste, who can have nothing to do with, and can never rise into another caste ; those things in your educational system have got to be considered and thought out. Each child must be taught by a co-religionist of its own caste in the language which it knows. The problem, therefore, before the Indian Government as regards education, which is, as every speaker has admitted, closely mixed up with this question of employment—the problem before them is, I say, a very great one.

"Now, sir, the very idea to day of education in India is hardly understood. You may travel for days—nay, for weeks—in India and never see a white man, and may never see a railway. To those people modern ideas have not permeated at all, and those who to-day hold the advanced views of educated men like my friend the last speaker can be counted in thousands among the millions of that great country. Consequently, Mr. President, education, modern ideas, modern developments, are only surface deep in India, and the Indian Government, however advanced it may be, has the immense problem before it of trying to create public opinion among those masses before it can advance. If you were to go to them to-day with a scheme of education of the very best kind, you could not get them to accept it because their intellectual outlook is entirely incapable of understanding what you are aiming at, and it would only be thought that you were making some attack on their religion, their caste, their tradition.

"Take, for instance, the question of mines, Mr. President. The coal mines of Bengal are, a large number of them, shallow. They are worked by families of workers who come from the country around—fathers, mothers, and children. They all come in a family party. You would think they would work underground by day. Not a bit of it. They all go down at night, because then it is cool to carry on their work ; and they go down—mother and father, women and children, daughters and babies in arms. Now, you cannot apply regulations about underground work offhand to a condition of mining such as that.

"Under those circumstances, Mr. President, the majority of the commission came to the conclusion that the best thing to do was to give the Indian Government an opportunity of putting forward their own ideas and their own scheme with regard to this question of lowering the age at which children may be employed. To lay down offhand a rule about 12 years of age woul not be worth the paper it was written on.

"I suggest that the practical, the sensible way, to deal with

the matter is to ask the Indian Government to let a future Conference of this body have its views and have its plans and ideas. Therefore, Sir, we appended our names to the report which has been made to you, and, therefore, I suggest to this Conference that we cannot unravel the great problem We cannot even indicate to Indian Goverment how to do it, but they, of their own accord, are engaged in investigation with regard to these questions. They know themselves how far they can go in the matter of obtaining, for instance, even fairly accurate statistics with regard to their own factories, the extent of which are still unknown to-day.

"In all those things the Indian Government is far better able to tell what they can do and what they cannot do, what they can try to do immediately and what they can try to do by degrees.

"Under those circumstances, Mr. President, I suggest to this Conference that the recommendation of the commission might be accepted in regard to India, believing as I do, in their desire to see that the children are not worked in factories and that the age is raised gradually in all countries, believing that that will be the best course to obtain the co-operation of the Indian Government and to obtain some real degree of advance and success,

The President : Mr. Joshi of the Indian Delegation.

Mr. Narayan Malhar Joshi (India) : On behalf of the workers in India I rise to support the amendment put before this Conference by Miss Bondfield. I can assure the Conference that it is not a very pleasant task that I have undertaken, namely, that of criticising the attitude of the Government delegates in this Conference, especially of such an international character like this. But I have to do my duty toward those people for whom I stand in this Conference. Sir, Mr. Warrington Smyth, from Africa, has placed before you a picture of India from which you are likely to imagine that India is an uncivilised or, at the most a half-civilised country. But let me request this Conference to remember that India is being governed by the British Parliament and has been for over 100 years, and in some proviuces for over 150 years. The British Parliament than which there is no more democratic institution in the world, is responsible for the Government of India. And can you believe, if you are told that under the Government, for over 100 years India could not have made any progress than that which has been pictured to you by Mr. Warrington Smyth.

"I am quite sure the representative of my Government, as well as the representatives of the British Government here, will not

accept the statement given to you here by Mr. Warrington Smyth in defence of the Government of India. Then, I wish also to bring to your notice another fact, namely, that factory legislation in India is not quite unknown, It does not stand on the same footing as China, Siam, or Persia. We had for many years factory legislation which is being improved from period to period. Therefore, when you consider the case of India, lay aside from your mind the impression that India, first, is a country which is depicted to you by Mr. Warrington Smyth and secondly, that factory legislation is new to that country. We have factory legislation and in short, I wish to describe to you what protection is afforded to children by that factory legislation. According to our factory act, children under 9 are not allowed to be employed, but children between 9 and 14 can be employed for six hours. My friend, Mr. Chatterjee, calls it a light work. Let me remind this Conference that it is going to pass a convention of eight hours a day for adults, and you are going to perhaps accept the statement that in India the climatic conditions are so different that children of 9 can work for six hours, and seven hours in some factories, and that can be considered light work.

"Now, to describe to you the present factory legislation, the protection afforded by the present factory legislation, I shall request you to consider what the amendment is. The amendment that the age should be raised from 9 to 12. We do not ask for the persent to apply the whole convention to India. We suggest a very moderate application. We ask you to allow the workers of India to reach the final goal stage by stage, and we propose to you the first suggestion, namely, let us go from 9 years to 12 years.

"Then we do not ask you, as you ask in the general convention, to apply this age limit to almost all industries. We ask you to fix this age limit only for those industries which are worked with factories and in which not less than 10 persons are employed. Then we also ask you to apply this age limit to certain well organised industries, such as railways, mines, and docks, where supervision by Government Inspectors is very easy.

"Now let us see what are the arguments offered before this Conference in opposition to the amenment of Miss Bondfield.

"The first and perhaps the most important is, that in India there is no education and the children will go on the streets if you do not allow them to be employed. I admit there is great force in this argument, but let me tell you again that the picture laid before you by Mr. Warrington Smyth is not true

in the least. Let me ask you, of this Conference, if there was education any wher in the world before it was first in India? Do not believe, therefore, for a moment that the people in India are against education. Therefore, the idea of education is not new to India. Indians were educated, Indians wrote books on most difficult subjects many thousand years, at least two or three thousand years, before perhaps any other people began to write books and think on these subjects.

"Therefore, the idea of education is not certainly so new to Indians as depicted to you by my friend, Mr. Warrington Smyth. Then he said it will take time to educate public opinion in India; otherwise the Government cannot introduce education. Let me again tell you that the Government of India is not very much influenced by public opinion in the country. It is to this present day an autocratic Government. If the Government means to-morrow to introduce certain legislation in the country, they can do it even if the whole public opinion of the country oppose it. Therefore the argument that the Government waits to educate public opinion holds no water at all. Let me again tell you that Indian public opinion as expressed by the educated Indians is not certainly against education. Let me tell you a fact: That a Bill for compulsory education in India was introduced in the Legislative Council of the country some 10 years ago, and the opposition did not come from the educated people of the country, but the opposition came from the Government itself. I therefore think that the argument that people must be educated before education is made compulsory need not carry any weight with you at all.

"Then Mr. Chatterjee also said that it is difficult to persuade people to accept education. Let me tell this Conference that in the same India of which this Conference has spoken there are some parts where compulsory education has been given for several years, and people in those Provinces have not rebelled against their Government—I give you that assurance. Therefore, we need not consider very much the objection that people in India will object to compulsory education being introduced.

"Sir, there is no doubt that you cannot educate a vastcountry like India within one year. I admit that. And therefore I ask you, what will happen within one year if we wait? What is the use of waiting for one year when we know full well that you cannot introduce a general system of compulsory education in a vast country like India? It will be of no use. If the Government of India could not educate the people during the past century or more, I am quite sure they will not be able to

introduce a general system of education within one year. Therefore, I think we shall not gain anything by giving them one year's time. If we think that children of 9 and 10 and 11 should not go to factories and work there for seven hours and six hours, let us raise the age limit.

"I can give you an additional reason. If we are anxious that Indian children should be educated, then I may tell you that if you once raise the age limit the opposition from at least one section of the opponents of education will melt away at once, and that is the opposition of the capitalists. If the age limit is raised, I am quite sure the opposition to compulsory education in India will melt away in a moment.

"I now leave the argument about education. I have one other argument. The second argument is that India has got different climatic conditions. I admit we have got more of the sun and some other climatic conditions. But are you willing to believe that in India children of 9 years of age are as well developed as children of 14 years of age in western countries? Do you think that climate can make that great difference, that children of 14 in Europe? I need not say anything about this argument. Only I put it to you whether that is possible. Mr. Chatterjee said that it is a question of procedure. The Government's argument is that they have no notice. All of you must have received a copy of this supplement report in which the views of the Government of India are given. That one fact will prove to you that the question was before the Government of India. They considered the question. They sent their reviews to this Conference, but when the question of raising the age is to be discussed here we are told that that report must be forgotten. We must close our yes to that report. I hope this Conference will not accept that statement.

"I admit there was not a very long notice, but there was notice to the Government that the question of the employment of children was to be discussed by this Conference. This was known to the Government long ago, and if they were really serious about this question I am quite sure they would have come to certain couclusion. Decisions, even in India, even in a vast country like India, are taken by Governments on very vital matters at shorter notice than was given by this Conference.

"Then there is the argument that the draft convention was not before them, but let this conference remember that we are in considering the draft convention The India Government knows that the draft convention which was to be sent to them or, which was sent after wards, was not to be applied to India. The Govern-

ment of India knew perfectly well that India's case will be considered specially.

"Perhaps some of you will know that the clause for the special countries was put in the treaty at the suggestion of the Indian representatives at the Peace Conference, and therefore the Government of India knew that the general convention will not be applied to India and India's case will be considered specially.

"Therefore, they certainly need not have waited for the general convention at all. Their duty was to consider what was best for India and to make those proposals before the Conference. I, therefore, hope that all of you will agree with me when I say that the argument that there was no notice really carries nothing in it. There was notice to the Government of India. They had considered the question. They had sent their views to you. They clearly said there that they are not prepared to do anything in the matter, and then you are asked again to wait. I do not know for that reason. My only guess is, if you will allow me to be a prophet for a while, that they wanted to get a postponement for one year, and if possible, to get further postponements.

Let me again repeat that the question of education is not going to be solved within one year. The Government of India knows that, but they wanted time. They still want time. Then there is another thing.

"We are asked to believe that the Government has not considered this question, because they had no notice. But the Government delegates are likely to accept certain definite proposals as regards the hours of work. Government had time to consider such an intricate question as the hours of work, but they had no notice to consider the simple question of the raise in the age of children's emplyment. And on top of this, we are assured —and I must accept the assurance—that no economic considerations weigh with Government, and may we hope even with the employers in considering the age limit of children in India.

"I therefore request this Conference not to wait for one year more. In the first place, we will not gain anything by waiting one year more, because the education question will not be solved in one year and, secondly, the question is not such a light one as many of you are likely to believe, If you can save the children of 9 and 10 and 11 in India from work for one year, it would be a great benefit to them; and I therefore strongly believe that you will give your serious consideration to this question and will not postpone this important matter for a year, because there will be no benefit by postponing it.

"I shall only speak one word more. We are told that if this

Conference makes a definite suggestion for raising the age limit for children to a definite period, the Government of India may not accept the proposal; but I submit to this Conference that Great Britain has played a very important part in bringing this international labour organisation into existence, and I am quite sure the Government of India, which is responsible to Great Britain, will not treat a convention passed by the Conference with lightheartedness. I am quite sure—and you will agree with me—that a convention of this Conference will carry great weight with the Indian Government; and as long as we are quite sure in our minds that our proposal is a very reasonable and a modest proposal we can also be sure that the Government of India will accept it.

Report of the Indian Home Rule League of America

(November 1919)

The average American has very queer notions about India. Those who know her geographical location (and there are a good number who do not) have visions of jungles, cobras, and half-naked aborigines about whom one Mr. Kipling has written so many "delightful" tales. The average intelligent and progressive American has also, most likely, heard some missionaries talk of the Heathens, their idol-worship and their curious customs and manners. To these sources of knowledge about India may be added the American Cinema, with its presentations of weird and fantastic religious ceremonies, of native Princes who with villainous intent lure sweet American girls, and who are finally defeated by the heroic American youth. This vilification of the Indian character is constantly going on. Counteracting influence is of but recent date.

From what is heard in India about the Vedanta and the Theosophical Societies of America we are apt to exaggerate the magnitude of the interest taken in Indian problems by Americans. The Theosophists at the most number 10,000; and as for Vedantists, it may be an exaggeration to say that there are one thousand in the whole of the United States. Outside of these two groups, are some who take interest in the literature and religion of India, but their number would not run even to the million mark.

This interest, scanty as it is, we owe to three of our great men who visited the shores of America in the last twenty years—Vivekananda, the philosopher, Jagadish Chandra, the scientist, and Rabindranath, the poet. Of these, without question, Ta-

gore has made the greatest popular appeal. But the interest awakened by him and the other two scholars has not been of active help to India People have learned of the wonderful philosophy and poetry of India, of the beautiful side of Indian life, but they are still ignorant of the dark side. In an editorial in "Young India," Lajpat Rai recounting the lack of real political publicity for matters Indian in the United Sates, observes.

"Except within the last five years, no Hindu has ever attempted to lay the true conditions of life in India before the outside world. Shortly before the war a group of Young Hindus started a kind of political propaganda among their countrymen on the Pacific coast of the United States. Their chief aim was to educate and organise their own people. They had neither time nor money to undertake general propaganda and they did not attempt it on any scale. Still they did now and then lift the screen and let the American world have a peep into real India"

The writer refers to the work of Lala Hardayal and his revolutionary co-workers who later on formed the *Gadr* Party. This was before Hardayal's transformation to moderation. (See his letter confessing conversion of faith in this volume)

In 1916, by a fortunate accident—an act of Providence and the foreign authorities—Lala Lajpat Rai who was in Japan and planing to return to India thought it safer to return to the United States. His arrival marked the beginning of a systematic propaganda for India in the United States. The Lala, in spite of strict war regulations, immediately began to lecture, to write for the press, and to awaken public interest in India among his friends and acquaintances. A year after he had landed in the United States for the third time he organised the India Home Rule League of America.

History of the Indian Home Rule League of America.

On October 22, 1917, three Indians—Lala Lajpat Rai, Keshava Deva Shastri, and Narayan S. Hadiker, a young Hindu student, met in Chicago, formulated the scheme for establishing the Indian Home Rule League, and drew the first constitution which reads :

"Whereas, the Indian Home Rule Movement is being pushed on vigorously in India and England with the help and co-operation of eminent Englishman and English women, and

"Whereas a large number of Hindus in this country (U.S.A.) deeply sympathize with the movement and are anxious to further it as much as lies in their power, and

"Whereas the war utterances of President Wilson in favour of

the rights of notionalities to determine their own form of Government have made it clear that the people of this country sympathize with the efforts of subject and small nationalities to achieve autonomy—

"Therefore, it is desirable that an Indian Home Rule League be formed and established in this country to include all such Hindus and Americans as sympathize with the cause, and are prepared to give their moral and material support to it"

Its objects outlined

(1) To support the Home Rule Movement in India.

(2) To co-operate with Indian political organizations in India and in England.

(3) To further friendly intercourse between India and America.

These objects were later revised and while the substance is the same a few explanatory words have been added which make the meaning and purpose clearer. The present objects, as given in the Constitution of the League, are :

1. To support the Home Rule movement in India by co-operating with such political organizations as the Home Rule League, the All-India Moslem League and the Indian National Congress, both of India and England.

2. To secure the power of self-determination for India through constitutional methods

3. To strengthen and support all democratic institutions that aim at making the world "safe for democracy."

4. To further all kinds of friendly intercourse, social, cultural, educational and commercial, between India and America.

5. To supply authentic information on the vital problems of modern India to the American people by the publication of a monthly magazine or by such other methods as are deemed proper by the Council of the League.

Ten weeks after the framing of the Constitution a report was presented by its officers of its progress Though the workers refrained from active propaganda due to war conditions the rusults that they achieved might be said to be truly remarkable. Within this short period :

1. Headquarters for work were established.

2. Sympathy and co-operation of many influential Americans was enlisted.

3. Two hundred members were enrolled, of which 34 were active, paying $10 each, 32 were associates, paying $3 each, and the rest were ordinary members paying one dollar each.

4. Two numbers of "Young India," the official monthly organ, were published and distributed.

5. A book-shop was formed which would be a source of income to the League.

6. Branches were established in Detroit, Chicago, Minneapolis and Berkeley, and

7. The League had a total income of about Rs. 2,500 in memberships, subscriptions and donations. The total expenditure was Rs. 1,785.

Work done.

Lala Lajpat Rai was elected President and Treasurer of the League and Editor of "Young India", Dr. J. T. Sunderland, an American missionary, was elected Vice-President, Dr. K. D. Shastri, organizing Secretary, and Dr. N. S. Hardikar, executive Secretary. All these officers, with the exception of Dr. Shastri, who recently returned to India, still remain in office. A council of seven was formed to advise in matters of important policies and principles.

Since this work had been launched in a war-year no active propaganda was undertaken. All that the League could do was to hold occasional lectures, continue publication of "Young India" and distribute circulars. Among other things, two resolutions were passsd by the Council of the League which are worthy of note. The first resolution, sent to President Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George, declared that :

"The Council of the India Home Rule League of America places on record its entire and unqualified repudiation of any sympathy for Germany and her war aims, and its hearty endorsement of the war aims of the United States and the Allies, as expounded by President Wilson. It pledges its loyal support to the war efforts of the United States and the Allies. The Council hopes that in fulfilment of the war aims of the Allies, Great Britain will, after the war, concede Home Rule to India and confer to her the status of a self-governing Dominion similar to Canada, Australia and South Africa."

The other, which was read before the Theosophical Convention held at Krotona, California, in the last week of July 1918, by a representative of the League, read:

"The Council of the India Home Rule League sends its fraternal greetings, to the annual convention of the Theosophical Societies

of the United States of America, now being held at Krotona, Los Angeles. It places on record its deep appreciation of the sympathy shown by the members of the said societies with the Home Rule for India movement, and expresses its grateful acknowledgment of the interest taken by them in making its objects known to the American public."

As soon as the war ceased and the armistice was signed, the India Home Rule League began active work. On the very day of the signing of the armistice the following telegram was sent to President Wilson:

"Members of the India Home Rule League of America beg to offer respectful congratulations to the Government of the United States on the magnificent victory which the United States and the Allies have won over the Teutonic Powers. They hope that this victory of democracy over autocracy will be followed by an immediate grant of autonomy to India and other countries under the rule of the Allies."

To the Secretary of States for India, at London, another was sent which read:

"India Home Rulers (of) America respectfully offer (their) sincere congratulations (to) Great Britain (and) hope that India's claim (to a) substantial step towards Home Rule (will) be favourably considered."

During the year ending October, 1919, the League accomplished the following work:

1. It has enlisted the sympathy of a large number of strong American organisations and of prominent American citizens. The League can claim the friendship of many senators, editors, and men active in public work. Among these may be mentioned: Senators William E. Borah, William M. Calder, A. B. Cummins, A. B. Fall, Joseph I. France, A. J. Gronna, W. S. Kenyon, P. S. Knox, R. M. La Follette, M. McCormick, G. H. Moses, G. W. Norris, J. A. Reed, L. Y. Sherman, S. P. Spencer, and others; Oswald G. Villard, Editor of the New York "Nation," Norman Thomas, Editor "The World To-morrow," Robert M. Buck, Editor, "The new Majority," Charles W. Ervin, Editor, "The New York Call", among editors; Frank P. Walsh of the Irish Commission, Julia Lathrop, of the Children's Bureau, Department of Labour, Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labour, Owen R. Lovejoy, General Secretary, Child Welfare Association, Frederick Howe, former Port Commissioner of New York, Jacob H. Schiff, multi-millionaire, and a host of other prominent men in the United States. Their names add strength to any organisation and the

League is to be congratulated for securing the interest of so many of America's finest men and women.

In addition to its numerous sympathizers, the India Home Rule League succeeded in increasing its membership to over 1,000. Of these a great majority—about 80 per cent.—are Americans and the rest Indian students, and business and workingmen resident in the United States.

II. It has extended its activities all over the United States through its branches in :

(1) Berkeley, California. (2) Chicago, Illinois. (3) Cleveland, Ohio. (4) Columbus, Ohio. (5) Dearborn, Mich. (6) Detroit, Mich. (7) Indianapolis, Indiana. (8) Kansas City, Missouri. (9) Louisville, Kentucky. (10) Milwankee, Wisconsin. (11) Minneapolis, Minnesota. (12) Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. (13) Rochester, New York. (14) Urbana, Illinois.

III. It has increased the sales of its book-shops, and has improved its publication 'Young India.' Nearly all the book-publishers in New York have given their co-operation in the execution of orders for books. Many sales are being made to leading American Universities and libraries of books recommended by the League. In the publication of "Young India," both the size and quality have been greatly improved upon. The value of the magazine as a truth disseminator has been enthusiastically attested to by many prominent Americans. Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of the New York "Nation," says :—

"I find 'Young India' indispensable in my work. We file it regularly and frequently refer to it. It seems to us a model of a magazine that is frankly propagandist."

Senator A. J. Gronna, writes to the League.—

"The world war has left us in a bewildering condition and we must face the situation calmly and with deliberation. but to one whose sympathy is extended to people in the ordinary walks of life, the question of "Young India is one which merits the consideration of all liberty-loving people. If the condition of your people could be generally known throughout the world undoubtedly there would be a sentiment in favour of liberal policies with reference to your people."

Senator Norris says:—

"The magazine throws great light into the dark places of civilization. You are doing a great work and I most earnestly hope that success may crown your efforts."

Many kind words have been said about "Young India," but the

British Government in India has thought it best to prohibit the entry of the magazine into India.

IV. The League has given national publicity to conditions in India through articles in hundreds of newspapers and magazines. Some of the periodicals in which they appeared are:

La Follette's Melting Pot, Justice, Gales's (Mexico), Milwankee Leader, New Majority, The Nation, The New Republic, the World To-morrow, the Dial, the Literary Digest, the Messenger, the Forward, the Butte Bulletin, The New York Evening Post, the New York Call, the International Labor News Service, the Gaelic American, the Irish Press, the Irish World, the Irish Standard, etc.

Many articles have also appeared in foreign-language papers—Spanish, German, Swedish, Jewish, Russian and Japanese.

Then the League has published many handbills for distribution in different public meetings that are held from time to time in New York, Chicago and the various cities in which it has branches. It has printed and circulated 30,000 circulars entitled "Getting Together of India," 5,000 copies of "India's Right to Home Rule," 5,000 copies of "India's Message to the working men of America," 3,000 copies of "India's demand for Justice," 5,000 copies of "A letter to the Theosophists from Mr. A. P. Warrington," 1,000 copies of "A letter to Unitarians from Dr. J. T. Sunderland," and a thousand copies each of the circulars entitled, "India's View of Democracy," "Coercion in India" and Rebellion in India," "British Raj in India," by Mr. H. M. Hyndman; 5,000 copies of "Self-determination for India" by Mr. Tilak and "Fight for Crumbs" by Lajpat Rai.

Information Bureau.

V. It has established an India information bureau and has co-operated, with the recently formed organization of Hindu laborers in America, the "India Labour Union of America."

The information bureau has for its objects:

1. To furnish reliable information of all kinds about India—political, educational, commercial, etc.

2. To serve as a publicity and advertising medium between India and the United States.

3. To supply teachers of Hindu language and topics in general

4. To supply lecturers on subjects relating to India and arrange lectures.

5. To provide a reading room furnishing all Hindu newspapers and magazines, and a library of books on India.

6. To undertake Translation from and into Hindu languages.

7. To teach English to working-men of Hindu origin in America with a view to increase their efficiency and to make them better American citizens.

During its year of existence the bureau has translated many letters for American business houses; has opened a class in English for Indian working-men; and a reading room for the public. It has on its shelves about 25 Indian newspapers and magazines of India, and has started a news bulletin service to American papers, as well as one to Indian papers. It has served as a centre for all information about trade, education and industry in India.

In New York and vicinity there are over a hundred Indian laborers. Many of these have been organized, through the efforts of representatives of the League, into a Labour Union. The Union holds regular weekly meetings, distributes its literature at all public gatherings, and helps to distribute circulars and pamphlets for the India Home Rule League. Recently 50,000 circulars entitled, "India—a Graveyard," and giving facts and figures about Indian economics and politics, were printed, and most of them have been distributed. Several weeks ago the Union sent a Hindu Lady, Mrs Parvatibai Athavale to Washington to represent Indian working women at the "International Congress of Working Women." Mrs. Athavale originally came to this country to collect funds for Professor Karve's Hindu Women's University near Poona. Her attendance at the international Congress gave her an opportunity of putting before the Assembly the following proposals:

1. That this International Congress of Working Women call upon the Government of India,

(*a*) To make extended provision for the general and industrial education of Indian women.

(*b*) To take steps for better housing of Indian women and provide them relief at public expense, in their period of confinement.

2. That it institute a number of scholarships by which women pioneers may be enabled to come to this country (U.S.A.) for training, education and organization.

3. That it protest against the shameful treatment which the Indian women are subjected to in the British colonies where they are sent under the slave system of Indentured labor.

Dinner Meetings.

VI. The League organized four successful dinner-meetings

in New York, in which prominent men and women interested in India discussed the present situation in India to appreciative audiences.

The first dinner was held on October 15, 1918 in the Civic Club, and was presided over by Dr. J. T. Sunderland. The attendance was about 125. There were speeches by Mr. H. R. Mussey, Managing Editor of "The Nation," Mr. B. W. Huebsch, the publisher, Dr. K. D. Shastri and Lala Lajpat Rai.

The second dinner was held at the Grand Hotel on November 20, 1918 to celebrate the first anniversary of the India Home Rule League. A few extracts from the glowing account by a reporter will give an idea of what the occasion was like.

".....It was a Hindu Vegetarian dinner, in every respect a success and which testified to the growing popularity of the Cause of India among the advanced and liberal thinkers of the Metropolitan.

".....Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard of the New York *Nation*, who, Mr. Lajpat Rai declared, represented the very best of what was democratic in America, acted as toastmaster, and struck the keynote of the occasion when, in introducing the first speaker, he said that 'this was a loyal gathering held to uphold one of the principles laid down by the President of the United States, viz, the principle of self-determination. And if a principle is a principle, it remained a principle for all occasions. If self-determination is applied and would include Philippines or Ireland or any other country claiming it justly, it should also be made to apply to India.'"

The other speakers of the evening were Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Miss Henrietta Rodman, a pioneer in many civic movements, the Rev. Dr. J. T. Sunderland and lastly Mr. Lajpat Rai, who was introduced as a "prophet who will one day be honored all over the world." The reporter writes of this last speech as being "Sometimes sweet in its sympathetic simplicity, pulsating as it was with passionate love for his people; and then again it was a scathing indictment, accentuated by a keen ironical wit, such as few orators of the present time possess."

The third Home Rule Dinner was held at the Central Opera House, New York, on January 31, 1919. Honorable Miss Jeannette Rankin of the House of Representatives came over from Washington to preside at the function and made an excellent speech. The other speakers were Rev. Richard Roberts, an English minister in charge of a church in Brooklyn; Mr. A. P.

Warrington of the Theosophical Society, Miss Henrietta Roban, and Mr. Lajput Rai.

Rev. Roberts expressed full sympathy with the objects of the Home Rule League and Mr. Warrington made a fine speech in which he gave the story of Mrs. Annie Besant's life-work in India, why she has taken the cause of Home Rule for India and what she is doing for it. Mr. Warrington made a forceful appeal to the Americans to support the cause of Home Rule for India, for India was the spiritual teacher of the world and without political freedom she could not make her full contribution to the progress of humanity.

The fourth dinner was held at Hotel Aberdeen on October 13, 1919, under the chairmanship of Mr. B. W. Huebsch The dining hall, which accommodates about 300, was packed with people. Lajpat Rai told in detail of the recent Punjab tragedy and read some of Pandit Malaviya's yet unanswered questions to the Government. He gave a summary of the political progress of India during 1919, the Satyagraha movement, the efforts of the Indian leaders in England and the awakening of a feeling of bitter resentment against the recent acts of the Government. The other speakers of the evening were Mr. Gregory Zilboorg, Secretary of Labour in the Kerensky Government, Russia, Mr. Francis Hackett, Literary Editor of the New Republic, Sen Katayama, the well-known Japanese Socialist, and Mr. Charles N. Wheeler of the Irish National Bureau. Then there was Spanish music and Japanese dancing—all making it a truly international affair. Contributions amounting to Rs. 750 were made to help in the work of the League.

Lecturers.

VII. It has held numerous lectures in various cities and has sent its speakers to present the case of India before various audiences. Early in 1919 a lecture tour was begun by a speaker of the India Home Rule League, who in the course of his trip, addressed thousands of people all over the East and the Middle West. Ten States were visited. Many organizations pledged their support to the work of the League and passed resolutions demanding self-determination for India. India's case was presented before Delegates of the Illinois State-labour Party Convention by Dr. N. S. Hardiker and a resolution demanding self-determination for Ireland and India was adopted. Much work was done at Washington, D. C. and many senators were addressed at private gatherings and in meetings.

Writing on the results of the India Home Rule League's work, a friend in Washington said :

"Of course there is just as much misinformation about India down here as there is anywhere else, but, so far as my observation goes, Dr. Hardiker got everywhere a courteous reception, a chance to tell his story, and usually some comment at the end which showed that he had at least made an impression. When the India Home Rule League decides to open a real campaign down here on the Indian question, there are a number of men in both House who can, and will, talk intelligently on the subject,"

India was also given a prominent place in the Programme of the Irish Societies in the United States. Regular speakers are furnished by the League, and many calls have come from all over the country for speakers who will tell the tragic story of India and its relation to Irish History.

VIII. Last, but not least, it has awakened interest in India among the Senators and Congressmen of the United States Government. Frequent mention has been made of the case of India by Senators McCormick, Gronna and France, in their speeches in the recent debate on the League of Nations in the Congress.

Through the kind efforts of several of our sympathizers in the United States Senate, a hearing was recently granted the India Home Rule League before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Mr. Dudley Field Malone, a well-known barrister, was secured to represent India's case, and made a very excellent speech. (See p. 14). The most impressive reference to British rule in India was made by Senator Joseph I. France on October 8th and 9th, 1919. Much of the material embodied in his speech was supplied to the Senator by the India Home Rule League.

The plans, principles, policies, propaganda—all the various phases of the life of the India Home Rule League of America centred around the personality of Lala Lajpat Rai. He edits "Young India," presides over the Council meetings and guides and instructs his loyal followers in the carrying out of the numerous activities of the League. He is the responsible person who must shoulder all blame and must meet all difficulties connected with the work for India.

During the two years of its existence the League has had to face many unusual, delicate and difficult situations. While a great majority of its members are naturally the most interested, the most active and the most helpful, the sympathy of most Americans is spasmodic and momentary and to keep it alive and

active, it has to be constantly goaded, whereas the Indian feel it is their cause and if they do not exert themselves for their own sake, who will ? But the main difficulty with the Indian members is that they are very individualistic and very often rebel against the leadership even of men like the Lalaji. With the enthusiasm and impatience of youth and influenced to a certain extent by the atmosphere of freedom of the United States, they want India to progress politically by leaps and bounds They begin to complain bitterly when Lalaji counsels progressive steps in the realization of our political goal, when he urges them to undertake only what is practicable in order to be of most effective use to their motherland and not to be led by mere theories. He wants them to live for India and not act rashly and die a martyr's death in the Andamans. Of what avail are bombs and revolution by armed force when the prime necessities for the masses in India are education, internal social reform and food and clothing. Education and reform are not brought by revolutions. They are everywhere always matters of more or less slow progress. Many of our young men in America have found the fiery enticing catchwords of the revolutionists pleasing, and to teach young India that patience, perseverance, industry and self-sacrifice only can bring us nearer the goal, has often proved to be a difficult task for Lalaji.

Financial Position.

During the first year the League was entirely supported by donations, membership dues and subscriptions to "Young India" from Indians and Americans. The total amount thus realized was not very large, but it was sufficient to carry on a limited amount of activity, as much as was possible under war-time restrictions The bulk of the receipts were from Indians who gave all they could from their earnings by hard work. One of these donors deserves special mention as an example of the unique sacrifice of an Indian student, Mr. D. C. V. Rao, who is at present one of the most active workers in the League, donated his entire earnings for the summer months of 1918, which amounted to 175 dols. There have been many donations bigger in amount but none equal to it in sacrifice.

Efforts to make the work of this organization known in India and to appeal for funds were futile, due to the strict censorship of mails, but somehow Mr. Tilak heard of the financial condition of the League and he sent 5,000 dols, through an American lady, who personally carried the draft when she returned to the United States from India. This amount and many voluntary

contributions, subscriptions and donations made the existence of the League possible up to the present.

At the present moment the League has limited funds at its disposal. Its editorial staff works for nothing. Most of the other help is voluntary. The only paid officer is at present the Secretary, who is devoting all his time to the work of the League, and who receives a bare living wage - just enough to let him exist.

The forces against India's freedom are mighty and untiring. To combat them successfully, active educational propaganda should be carried on all over the world. The objects of the India Home Rule League are very definite. As Lala Lajpat Rai has explained them :—

"Our work is that of education and consolidation. We are more than ever convinced that our success will ultimately depend upon our consolidated and united action backed by the public opinion of Great Britain and the United States. The main field of our operations lies at home. It is there that we have to build, educate and consolidate But that does not relieve us of the duty of doing the same kind of work abroad wherever our countrymen are to be found in numbers We have the moral backing of the world opinion for our cause. We must work to secure that moral backing. The only possible way is to educate and enlighten the people of the world by disseminating knowledge of India and Indian conditions."

Speech of Senator Malone

Before the Foreign Relations Committee of the American Senate.

August 29, 1919.

Mr. Malone: I come here, Sir, to-day not as counsel in any technical or legal sense to speak for the people of India. I come as an American citizen; I come, however, as their chosen representative, largely because it has been decreed, I understand, by this Committee that only American citizens are to come here as representatives.

The Chairman: That is in conformity with the Senate rules.

Mr. Malone: Otherwise, I should ask you to hear the most distinguished citizen of India in this country, Mr. Lajpat Rai, who is here to-day. So if my discussion of Indian affairs is inadequate, it is due to the fact that I have only the casual understanding that an American citizen could have of affairs in India.

However, I speak to-day for a people who represent one fifth of the population of the world, who are 350,000,000 in population, and who have a territory about two-thirds the size of the United States. And there is no question of political expediency or advantage to America, and at the present time surely no question of commercial advantage to America. So that the plea that I make is based upon the humanitarian purpose for which we are supposed to have gone into the war, and the humanitarian purpose which is alleged to be the purpose of the covenant of the League of Nations, and I do respectfully submit that if the covenant in its present form is passed it may break the hearts of the world. The hearts of 350,000,000 people in India and millions in Ireland and millions in Egypt will be broken if it is passed in its present form, and we come here with a specific request and that specific request is this: that this distinguished Committee so amend the League of Nations as to make it obligatory on every signatory to the covenant and to that treaty to provide democratic institutions for the people who live under the government of any

signatory. Ireland, Egypt, and India are very much in the same position with relation to Great Britain in these circumstances, and yet, though as a man of Irish origin I regret to say it, India has a strategic position superior to that of Ireland in this respect, that England asked—and the request was granted—that India should be permitted to sign the treaty; and England designated Mr. Montagu and an Indian citizen to act as signatories for India. Therefore India is one of the nations whose signature is on the treaty. Therefore, India is in a better position strategically than Ireland or Egypt, who do not appear on the treaty.

Now I have no illusion about England wishing to grant any democratic advantage to India in giving her this distinction. I am persuaded that England merely wanted to get one of her six votes down on a document, and India provided one of the six. I cannot speak for England for many reasons, but I believe that she wished to get the vote and she did not ask India to choose her representatives to sign the document. The Government of India is only the agent of the Government of England. In the Montagu-Chelmsford report, issued by the authority of the British Parliament in 1919, it is specifically admitted that the Government of India by England is an absolute despotism. The chief body which actually represents the people of India is the Indian National Congress which, of course, under the circumstances, is unofficial. It met, however, very completely and very fully but unofficially last December after England had appointed two representatives, and passed the following resolution (reading):—

"That this Congress urges that in justice to India it should be represented by an elected representative or representatives, to the same extent as the Self-governing Dominions at any conferences that may be held to deliberate or settle the terms of peace or reconstruction."

Pursuant to that resolution, the Congress appointed three men to represent the people of India at the Peace Conference. One of them applied for passports, and England refused the passport. Then this representative of the three delegates, appointed of the National Congress for India and the Indian people, wrote to the President of the Peace Conference, M. Clemenceau, which letter, it may be said in passing, received no reply. In that letter he had a paragraph that I think is cryptically significant of the whole situation. He says:—

"It is unnecessary for me to dwell upon the imperative importance of solving the Indian question for the purpose of insuring the future peace of the world and the progress of the people of India. India is self contained, harbours no design upon the

entegrity of other States, and has no ambition outside India. With her vast area, enormous resources, and prodigious population, she well aspire to be a leading Power in Asia, if not in the world. She could, therefore, easily be a powerful steward of the League of Nations in the East for maintaining the peace of the world and the stability of the Empire against all aggressors and disturbers of the peace whether in Asia or elsewhere."

And if there be anything to the suggestion of a "yellow peril" at any time, a happy, contented self-governing India, an India that has proved her worth to civilisation in the present war, would have a stabilising influence if she had her institutions self-chosen.

'But with India politically enchained, it is impossible for her to occupy her proper place among the nations of the world or to develop and realise her potentialities, so as to be able to render decisive assistance to the League of Nations in forcing the supreme object of its creation, viz., the peace of the world.

Gentlemen, India will be either stable, contented, and happy and a bulwark against any possible yellow peril—if there be such a thing, which I doubt very gravely—she will either be that or else continue discontented, with growing poverty, with growing suffering. Six million Indians died in the last three months of 1918 from devitalisation and from Influenza because of the exploitation of India by England, not for India but for England, the drawing of resources out of India making it impossible for her to maintain an adequate food supply.

We face the world to-day with two alternatives, either a stable, happy, nation, a bulwark against any menace, or a discontented India, the basis of future exploitation. And then there will be turned upon a region God knows how many wars that she may have, because I remember in one of the liturgical hymns about India. there is a description of war, which, when translated literally, means a desire for cattle. The coinage of India at that early time was cattle, and the native population very literally in describing war gave the definition of war as a desire for cattle.

Now, if there should be a desire in the minds of the growing nations of the world to use India as a ground of exploitation, India discontented, unstable, unhappy, and unfree, will provide a fine field for future trouble.

Now, gentlemen, it has been said publicly and privately that the question of India is a domestic question for England to decide. No question, gentlemen, to my mind, of my nationality, of any

people, whether they be 1,000,000 or 350,000,000 can be a domestic question, if the whole world is called upon in more or less common council to decide upon it, and it has the machinery which will make the liberty of mankind not a domestic but an international question.

But in the second place, specifically the case of India cannot be a domestic question since England has made India a signatory to the treaty. Therefore, the Government must consider their situation. Now, either she is to be an honest-to-God signatory to the treaty or she is not. If she is, what is her position? Why gentlemen, her position is as good as my country under a mandatory. I do not know just exactly what a mandatory is, I have not been able to find out, but it is supposed to be some kind of a trusteeship, a guardianship, for other people until they are able to stand on their own feet and govern themselves. But if India is a territory—is to be looked upon as a territory, not a mandatory, because she can never speak under present conditions except through England—if she had a dispute with Canada she could not appear and appeal to the machinery of the League in its present form, because she could speak only through England. She is merged in England. She could not speak except through England. So if she had a dispute with Canada, England could if she wished have her appeal before the council under the present machinery, but India herself could not do it. So she is neither fish nor fowl in the present circumstances. She was signed to that treaty for English, not for Indian purposes.

But we wish to take advantage of the strategic position which England has given her to clam the rights of an honest-to-God nation that has signed the treaty, and it does seem no extraordinary thing in America after the war that we should ask that every nation signed to the treaty with the altruistic purposes which those nations claimed to have should free every people serving, living and trying to live under their own government.

I am not here in any anti-British spirit; I surely am not. Mr. Chairman, I am not here making any argument against the English people. I am making arguments against the present Government of England over 350,000,000 people.

I should like to point out in conclusion what India did during the war. India gave 1,475,000 men to the war. She contributed dollers 1,000,000,000 in money, more than any other Dominion of England. Besides untold quantities of stores and provisions, she suffered war losses of 100,000 men. The vitality of the people

was so low, as I said, that during the last three months of 1918 she lost 6,000,000 people.

The average income of an Indian citizen is Dollers 10, and his taxes are 1·60. There is not much opportunity for accumulating wealth in India under these conditions, with an income of Dollers 10 and taxes of Dollers 1·60, virtually 20 per cent.

That the British Government is not prepared to apply the principle of self-determination to India is proved by recent events. The system which England has already spoken of as the system of democracy which she proposes for India is not even a fiscal autonomy for India. It is not even a provincial autonomy for India. And while the forms are highly altruistic, the substance is very practical and leaves India just exactly where she is.

The people of India ask that having served in this war substantially, having suffered death on the battlefield and death at home, and having believed that the purpose of the Allies was democracy, we shall stand in the International Court of Equity all of us with clean hands and that we of Americe who meant what we said shall see that England stands also there with clean hands. And the specific request that we make of this honourable Committee is that there be such a change in the covenant as will make it specifically imperative on every signatory to the document that all people under each signatory shall be provided with democratic institutions.

I beg to read a resolution which Mr. Rai has handed me, and which I omitted, passed by the Indian National Congress in December last :—

"In view of the pronouncement of President Wilson, Mr. Lloyd George and other British statesmen, that to ensure the future peace of the world the principle of self-determination is to be applied to all progressive natious be it resolved that this Congress claims the recognition of India by the British Parliament and by the Peace Conference as one of the progressive nations to whom the principle of self-determination should be applied."

There can be no justification whatever for withholding the application of this principle to India. The plea of unfitness usually advanced by ignorant people or vested interests is untenable and untrue. The civilisation of India is admittedly much more ancient and venerable than that of Rome or Athens. British statesmen themselves have often declared that India was civilised centuries before the modern nations of Europe emerged from barbarism. Indian society has been held together for

thousands of years without foreign aid or intervention. Peace, order and good Government existed in India for hundreds of years and its annals compare favourably with any period of European history. Even democratic forms of Government flourished in various parts of India centuries before Alexander the great invaded Hindustan. All educated Indians passionately protested against the imputation of unfitness as a calumnious libel upon their capacity for self-government on democratic principles. I am thoroughly convinced that the pressing problems of the poverty of India, physical degeneration, industrial regeneration, economic development, technical and primary education and delicate questions of caste and custom can never be solved by men exclusively wedded to Western civilisation but can be successfully surmounted by Indians alone. I submit Europeans are disqualified for the task : Indians alone are fit for it.

Gentlemen, you know what is said : There are so many accusations that India is not fit for self-government. India is not, under those circumstances, fit for self-government such as the English or Western civilisation would impose upon her. But India is fit for self-government, for governing her own institutions, her own people speaking through England, if you will, an England which would recognise the culture, the conditions, and the diversity of institutions of India, The only barrier to self-determination, Mr. Chairman, in India is the continued rule such as India has been given. The fact that men speak different languages is no barrier to self-determination of India through self-chosen institutions. That does not prevent their coming together in a country, in a desire for political freedom. The wonderful work that has been done in the Philippine Islands in 20 years by the United States in preparing that people substantially for self government makes the present treatment of the people of India, with their thousands of years of culture and art and character, untenable.

And gentlemen, I submit that this is not a fiction—this argument. You deal with a concrete situation. You are now at a critical time, and may I say, Mr. Chairman, that I am at least one American who sees no reason whatsoever why a piece of machinery like the League of Nations, which it is hoped by its chief advocate will provide the machinery for the peace and the liberty and comfort of millions of mankind for centuries, should be rushed through without a complete discussion by the people of every nation ; surely not by this country, who asked to do our share toward the completion of that covenant without regard to any political consideration.

We should see that this document and every provision in it is thoroughly discussed, completely opposed and argued for. A year or two years spent on the discussion of a piece of machinery which is supposed to guide mankind for centuries would not be long, and we can pause and think it over and stop to consider the meaning of it. I have asked to-day merely the consideration of this Committee—and you have been very generous in your time, sir—to the one problem of India. Will there be an India content and free under democratic institutions, which shall be demanded and required by our nation, or will it be an India open for future exploitation, for wars, and, for graveyards for her sons?

I wish to leave briefs for all members of the Committee.

The Memorandum

The following is the Text of the Memorandum submitted by Mr. Malone, Senator, U. S. A., to the Foreign Relations Committee, U. S. A., Senate, on behalf of India.

To

The Hon'ble Members of the
Foreign Relations Committee, U. S. Senate, America.

Sirs,—Under instructions from representative Hindu organisations in this country having a membership of Hindus and Americans, I have the honour to submit the following brief for the favourable consideration of your Hon. Committee in connection with the ratification of the Peace Treaty now pending before you.

India is a dependency of the British Empire. Its Government is by a statute of the British Parliament vested in the Secretary of State for India at Whitehall, London, as one of the many departments of the British administration. The civil and military Government of India is delegated to a Governor General in Council, appointed and nominated by the said Secretary of State without any reference to the people of India. The Secretary of State is the final authority in all matters, executive, administrative, and legislative, and even judicial, in so far as he or the Governor General of India under him appoints all the presiding officers of the courts of justice in India. The Legislative function of the Government of India is vested in a Legislative Council of sixty members, the majority of whom are servants of the Crown, appointed by the Secretary of State or the Government of India. Thus no legislation can be introduced or finally carried in that assembly which is not approved or accepted by the Secretary of State. The Government of India is only the agent of the Home Government. That the Government of India is an "absolute" despotism has been admitted in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report issued by the authority of the British Parliament in 1918 (see Articles 7 and 34).

By virtue of her services during the War the Peace Conference at Paris accepted India as a "belligerent power with

particular interest" entitled to be separately represented by "two delegates in addition to the representation of the British Government by the Panel system." But the Government of India does not represent the people of that country, not being elected by them nor being appointed by their consent, owing no responsibility to them. India was at the Peace Conference represented by two nominees of the British Government. Thus India's representation at the Peace Conference was not a representation of the Indian Nation through properly elected ministers or representatives. Consequently the Indian National Congress, the unofficial Parliament of India, in its session held at Delhi in December last, passed the following resolution :

"That this Congress urges that in justice to India it should be represented by an elected representative or representatives to the same extent as the self-Governing Dominions, at any Conferences that may be held to deliberate or settle the terms of peace or reconstruction. In view of the shortness of time and in aticipation of the request being acceded to by His Majesty's Government this Congress elects as its representatives Lok Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Mr. M. K. Gandhi, and Mr. Sayed Hasan Imam."

In pursuance of this resolution Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, one of the representatives appointed by the said Congress, applied for permission to attend the Peace Conference. But he was refused passports. Cosequently under rule 11 of the regulations promulgated by the Peace Conference he submitted a written representation to the President of the Peace Conference to be laid before the Conference for favourable consideration. Paragraphs 3, 4 and 5 of the said representation run as below.

It is necessary for me to dwell upon the imperative importance of solving the Indian question for the purpose of ensuring the Peace of the World and the progress of the People of India. India is self-contained, harbours no design upon the integrity of other States, and has no ambition outside India. With her vast area, enormous resources and prodigious population she may well aspire to be a leading Power in Asia if not in the World. She could therefore easily be a powerful steward of the League of Nations in the East for maintaining the peace of the world and the stability of the British Empire against all aggressors and disturbers of the peace whether in Asia or elsewhere. But with India politically enchained it is impossible for her to occupy her proper place among the Nations of the world, or to develop and realise her potentialities, so as to be able to render decisive as-

sistance to the League of Nations in enforcing the supreme object of its creation, viz the Peace of the World. Apart from this consideration India herself may become an apple of discord among the Great Powers of Europe, and there is every reason to anticipate that. In future, Europe will have keen competitors in Asia and in America, if not for the conquest of India, at least for the produce of India, occasioning jealousies and rivalries culminating in wars. This will happen so long as India has no power to determine her internal and commercial policy without interference from Whitehall—an interference which is viewed with suspicion in India, in Europe and in Asia. From the point of view of the peace of Asia, and from the point of view of the peace of the world, it is, therefore, absolutely necessary that India should be self-governed internally, and be made the bulwark of liberty in the East. There can be no doubt that such an objective is worthy of the highest and noblest statesmanship, accords with the principle of right and justice, and harmonises with the declared aspirations of the people of India.

Internally there can be no contentment or peace amongst a fifth of the propulation of the globe unless the people are free to carve out their own destiny.

After this world-wide War for liberation of mankind from the menacing domination of Germany, and the dawn of a New Order, it is superfluous for me to urge that no civilised nation should be governed by any other nation without its consent, upon theories of trusteeship propounded ostensibly for the benefit of the ward. India therefore demands as her birth-right the application of the principle of Self-Determination, or the purpose of empowering her people to tackle and solve the complex problems of India according to the genious of her people. The task is beyond the capacity of aliens. However talented and benevolent they may be, Governors. saturated with ideals of Western civiliration, without real and genuine sympathy with Indian civilisation, are unfit for, and should not undertake the guidance and destiny of the great Indian people. The Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League, two political institutions recognised throughout India as the most representative spokesmen of British India, have preferred this demand in the following resolution passed at Delhi in December last :—

"In view of the pronouncement of President Wilson, Mr. Lloyd George and other British statesmen that to ensure the future peace of the world the principle of Self-Determination be applied to all progressive nations, be it resolved that this Congress claims, the

recognition of India by the British Parliament and by the Peace Conference as one of the progressive Nations to whom the principle of Self-Determination should be applied."

There can be no justification whatever for withholding the application of this principle to India. The plea of unfitness, usually advanced by ignorant people or vested interests, is untenable and untrue. The civilisation of India is admittedly much more ancient and venerable than that of Rome or Athens. British statesmen themselves have often declared that India was civilised centuries before the modern nations of Europe emerged from barbarism. Indian society has been held together for thousands of years without foreign aid or intervention. Peace, order and good Government existed in India for hundreds of years, and its annals compare favourably with any period of European history. Even democratic forms of Government flourished in various parts of India centuries before Alexander the Great invaded, Hindustan. All educated Indians passionately protest against the imputation of unfitness as a calumnious libel upon their capacity for Sel-Government on democratic principles. I am throughly convinced that the pressing problems of the poverty of India physical degeneration, industrial regeneration, economic d evelop ment, technical and primary education, and delicate questions o of caste and custom can never be solved by men exclusively wedded to Western civilisation, but can be successfully surmounted by Indians alone. I submit Europeans are disqualified for the task; Indians alone are fit for it.

India and the League of Nations.

The Covenant of the League of Nations has been signed for India by the Rt. Hon. Mr. Montagu and H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner, neither of whom derived any authority from the people of India, who have never been consulted about the constitution of the League of Nations. Any decision therefore arrived at by the League of Nations will not be binding on the Indian Nation.

The people of India refuse to attach any weight to a League of Nations which does not provide for the application of the principle of Self-Determination to the nations that are held in subjection by the signatories of the Covenant. The Covenant of the League of Nations as at present settled makes no provision for requiring its signatories to apply that principle to their own dependencies. The British Government has refused to apply that principle to India, now or hereafter, by the announcement of their policy made on August 20, 1917. They still adhere to that policy. That announcement is directly opposed to the principal

object of the War, and to the main purpose of the League of Nations. The announcement runs as follows:

"The policy of His Majesty's Government with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of Responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible, and that it is of the highest importance as a preliminary to considering what these steps should be that there should be a free and informal exchange of opinion between those in authority at home and in India. His Majesty's Government have accordingly decided, with His Majesty's approval, that I should accept the Viceroy's invitation to proceed to India to discuss these matters with the Viceroy and the Government of India, to consider with the Viceroy the views of local Governments, and to receive him with the suggestions of representative bodies and others."

"I would add that progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. The British Government and the Government of India on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian people, must be judges of the time and measure of each advance, and they must be guided by the co-operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will thus be conferred and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility."

"Ample opportunity will be afforded for public discussion of the proposals which will be submitted in due course to Parliament."

The Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League have protested against the language of this announcement in the face of which the inclusion of Indian as a number of the League of Nations can be of no benefit to her or the world. The Government of India has been so far administered in the interest of the British Empire to the neglect of purely Indian interests, and the Constitution of the League of Nations provides no gurantee that it would be otherwise in the future. Only recently J. Austin Chamberlain admitted that in the past she had been a drawer of water and a hewer of wood for the rest of the Empire. Consequently, it is respectfully urged for the consideration of your Hon. Committee that the Covenant of

the League of Nations be so amended as to make it obligatory upon all its signatories to immediately recognise the right of India and other dependencies of the British Empire like Ireland and Egypt to determine their own form of Government.

The Constitution of the League as settled in the Peace Treaty leaves several important matters vital to the peace of the world unprovided for. It makes no provision for the settlement of disputes between the people of India and the people of Great Britain. The Government of Great Britain and the Government of India being identical there can never logically be any dispute between India and Great Britain which could be referred to the League of Nations or to the International Court of Justice comtemplated by the Covenant of the League of Nations. The people of India are no part of this League and the Government of India is only an agent of the Government of Great Britain. Thus India, although a member of the League of Nations, is practically in a worse position than the territories to be administered by the mandatories of the League. While the people of the latter can legitimately complain to the League of Nations for the redress of their wrongs, for the change of the mandatory, or for the recognition of their independence, India can never do so against any action of Great Britain in India or relating to India. Thus while theoretically India is politically independent in the meaning of article 10, virtually her position is worse than that of the countries to be administered by the madatories.

What then, is the meaning of the expression "existing political independence" in Article 10 in relation to India? Suppose there is a dispute between India and Canada. How can that dispute be brought before the League of Nations, when bothIndia and Canada are under Great Britain? India, being governed by Great Britain, can never place any of her disputes before the League of Nations independently of Great Britain. India's existing political status is nil. But her inclusion as an original member of the League of Nations entitles her to claim that the question of her political status is not a domestic question of Great Britain but one between her and Great Britain. India is thus entitled to point out to the other signatories of the League of Nations that she cannot perform her duties as a member of the League, nor accept any obligations, as such, without the League helping her to an independent political existence. Viewed in this light the question can very fitly be considered by your Committee. India, being

an original member of the League, cannot be considered to be a territory under the control of Great Britain, within the meaning of clause B. Art 23.

India made very substantial contribution to the success of the War. She sent 1,457,000 men, coutributed about a billion dollars in money, besides untold quantities of stores, provisions and equipment, so far that she was bled white to her own loss. Even in normal conditions about a half of the Indian people (i.e. 150 million) are insufficiently fed, not getting "a full meal a day", vide Lord Sinha's statement made to the Overseas Press in 1918. But on account of the War drain their sufferings were terribly multiplied. The vitality of the people was so low that during the concluding months of the War she lost 6 millions from influenza alone, while her war casualties amounted to 100,000. Many Hindus enlisted in the U. S. Army and fought to free other nations in Europe. They respectfully urge upon your Hon. Committee that their own country be allowed the privilege of Self-Determination.

Considering the average annual income of an Indian ($10) India is a very poor country. Her poverty has increased considerably by reason of her economic exploitation by the British Nation. She not only suffers from taxation without representation, but also from the burden of a huge military army which is being maintained mainly for Imperial purposes. In 1884 India's military expenditure was only 57 million dollars, in 1914-15 it was over 125 million dollars, 1918-19 it was 145 million dollars and for 1919-20 it has been fixed at 206 million dollars, which is 40 per cent of her total revenues, while the Government expenditure on education has never exceeded more than 20 million dollars. The industrial backwardness of India has been testified to in mournful language, both by the Montagu-Chelmsford report and the report of the Industrial Commission only recently issued.

That the British Government is not prepared to apply the principle of Self-Determination to India is also proved by recent events. Since the armistice fresh coercion laws have been enacted in spite of the unanimous protests of the Nation, and when the people organised a Nation-wide strike in connection therewith they were put down by the military using machine guns and throwing bombs from aeroplanes, resulting in the death of hundreds and injury to a still larger number. Martial Law was proclaimed, which has sentenced, up to June 20, 73 persons to death, 147 to transportation for life and 204 to

rigorous imprisonment. Most of these are prominent men of the Punjab which province contributed the largest number of soldiers. A number of citizens were flogged in the streets. Many papers have been suppressed and the security deposits on many others have been forfeited.

America joined the War in order to destory Imperialism and militarism, and to establish Democracy all over the world. The main object of the League of Nations is the same, because peace cannot be established without it. Under the circumstances the people of India respectfully point out that not only the present constitution of the League fails to secure that object, but on the other hand it practically gurantees the perpetuation of Imperialism and despotism which America's participation in the War was intended to destory and the restoration of which the League of Nations is intended to prevent.

Dudley Field Malone

On Behalf of the People of India.

August 29, 1919.
New York City.

Mr. Tilak's Representation
TO THE
Peace Conference.

From,

BAL GANGADHAR TILAK,
ELECTED REPRESENTATIVE OF BRITISH INDIA,
10 Howley Place, Maida Vale, London, W. 2.

To.

MONSIEUR GEORGES CLEMENCEAU,
SENATOR, PRESIDENT OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE.
Paris.

LONDON, *March 11, 1919*

SIR,

Under the Rule XI of the regulations promulgated by the Peace Conference and by virtue of the resolutions of the Indian National Congress quoted below, I have the honour to request that you will be pleased to place this representation before the Conference for favourable consideration.

2. I beg to assure you that all India has heard with unmixed gladness that "the Conference assembled to fix the conditions of Peace" includes India as a "belligerent Power with particular interest" entitled to be separately represented by two delegates in addition to "the representation of the British Empire by the panel system." But, unfortunately, under the existing autocratic system of Government, British India cannot be represented by a Minister responsible to the people. India may be politically divided into two parts: one composed of British India and the other of the Native States. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir has been selected and nominated by the Government of India to represent the Native States, and S. P. Sinha (now Lord Sinha of Raipur) has been selected and nominated by the Government of India to represent British India; but this has been done without consulting the people of India, or obtaining their approbation. On this point the consensus of Indian opinion was faithfully expressed by the President of the Indian National Congresss held at Delhi in December last, when he declared that "it will remain a matter of regret that British India will not be represented at this great Conference by a person appointed by the Government on the recommendation of the elected representatives of the people."

[Here follows the Congress resolution.]

Upon the decision of the Peace Conference to concede separate representation to India, I addressed a letter to the Prime Minister of England, suggesting the formation of a penal of twelve persons elected by representative institutions in India to give effect to the decision of the Allied Powers and the wishes of the people of India. But the Secretary of State for India replied "that he is unable to support the request." In view of the great conflict of opinion between the Government and the people regarding the constitutional reforms proposed by Government and those demanded by the people, this refusal is very regrettable. Under the circumstances, I feel constrained to avail myself of the opportunity afforded by Rule XI to submit these observations for the consideration of the Conference. It is impossible to discuss the arguments in support of the people's demand in a brief letter; but I am ready and willing to appear before any person or committee to substantiate the reasonableness of the demands, or to furnish any information or explanation that may be required, provided passports are granted to me. As a matter of fact, I applied for a passport before the Indian National Congress resolution reached me, for the purpose of attending the proceedings of the Conference in the capacity of a Journalist: but the British Government decided against me, upon the gratuitous assumption that "my wish to secure admission to the Conference as a visitor and spectator cannot be attained."

Importance of Solution.

3. It is unnecessary for me to dwell upon the imperative importance of solving the Indian questions for the purpose of ensuring the future Peace of the World and the progress of the people of India. India is self-contained, harbours no design upon the intergrity of other States, and has no ambition outside India. With her vast area, enormous resources, and prodigious population she may well aspire to be a leading Power in Asia if not in the World. She could therefore easily be a powerful steward of the League of Nations in the East for maintaining the peace of the world and the stability of the British Empire against all aggressors and disturbers of the peace whether in Asia or elsewhere. But with India politically enchained, it is impossible for her to occupy her proper place among the Nations of the world, or to develop and realise her potentialities, so as to be able to render decisive assistance to the League of Nations in enforcing the supreme object of its creation, *viz.*, the Peace of the World. Apart from this consideration. India herself may become an apple of discord among the Great Powers of Europe,

and there is every reason to anticipate that, in future, Europe will have keen competitors in Asia and in America, if not for the conquest of India, at least for the produce of India, occasioning jealousies and rivalries culminating in wars. This will happen so long as India has no power to determine her internal and commercial policy without that interference from Whitehall—an interference which is viewed with suspicion in India, in Europe and in Asia. From the point of view of the peace of Asia, and from the point of view of the peace of the world, it is, therefore, absolutely necessary that India should be self governed internally, and be made the bulwark of liberty in the East. There can be no doubt that such an objective is worthy of the highest and noblest statesmanship, accords with the principle of right and justice, and harmonises with the declared aspirations of the people of India.

4. Internally there can be no contentment or peace amongst a fifth of the population of the globe unless the people are free to carve out their own destiny in the same way as Canada, Australia and other British Dominions, while remaining a member of the family of free-nations in the British Commonwealth. Indeed, there can be no real progress without liberty. All capacity for initiative is paralysed, Self-confidence is undermined. In countless invisible ways subjection demoralises nations and retards both their moral and material progress.

After this world wide-war for liberation of mankind from the menacing domination of Germany, and the dawn of a New Order, it is superfluous for me to urge that no civilised nation should be governed by any other nation without its consent, upon theories of trusteeship propounded ostensibly for the benefit of the ward. India therefore demands as her birth-right the application of the principle of Self-Determination for the purpose of empowering her people to tackle and solve the complex problems of India according to the genius of her people. The task is beyond the capacity of aliens. However talented and benevolent they may be, Governors, saturated with ideals of Western civilisation, without real and genuine sympathy with Indian civilisation, are unfit for, and should not undertake, the guidance and destiny of the great Indian people. The Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League, two political institutions recognised throughout India as the most representative spokesmen of British India, have preferred this demand in the following resolution passed at Delhi in December last:

"In view of the pronouncement of President Wilson, Mr. Lloyd George and other British statesmen, that to ensure the

future peace of the world the principle of Self-Determination be applied to all progressive nations, be it resolved that this Congress claims the recognition of India by the British Parliament and by the Peace Conference as one of the progressive Nations to whom the principle of Self Determination should be applied."

5. There can be no justification whatever for withholding the application of this principle to India. The plea of unfitness, usually advanced by ignorant people or vested interests, is untenable and untrue. The civilisation of India is admittedly much more ancient and venerable than that of Rome or Athens. British statesmen themselves have often declared that India was civilised centuries before the modern nations of Europe emerged from barbarism. Indian society has been held together for thousands of years without foreign aid or intervention. Peace, order, and good government existed in India for hundreds of years, and its annals compare favourably with any period of European history. Even domocratic form of Government flourished in various parts of India centuries before Alexander the Great invaded Hindustan. All educated Indians passionately protest against the imputation of unfitness as a calumnious libel upon their capacity for Self-Government on democratic principles. I am throughly convinced that the pressing problems of the poverty of India, physical degeneration, industrial regeneration, economic development, technical and primary education, and delicate questions of caste and custom, can never be solved by men exclusively wedded to Western civilisation, but can be successfully surmounted by Indians alone. I submit Europeans are disqualified for the task; Indians alone are fit for it. The fitness of Indians is asserted by the Indian National Congress, and is recognised by the British Labour Party.

[Here are quoted the respective resolutions.]

6. It must be admitted that opinion is not unanimous in India regarding the whole of the reforms proposed. Unanimity in detail is unattainable in a population of 250 millions in British India. During the brief occupation of Belgium by the Germans a few were found even there who were not ashamed to proclaim that they were content with German Government. Conflict of views, therefore, is inevitable in India. Nevertheless such divergence of views as manifests itself is not due to any doubt of the capacity of Indians for full Self-Government, but rather to the various degrees of desire to proceed on the lines of least resistance, or anxiety to enlist official sympathy and disarm official antagonism, arising from the natural reluctance of the bureaucracy to part with power or facilitate the democratisation of the Government of

India. The capacity of Indians to adjust their differences is demonstrated by the Concordat between the Hindus and the Muhamadans announced in 1916 at Lucknow and alluded to in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report (Report, para, 27). Once the principle of Self-Determination is conceded, all conflict of opinion will vanish, and the people would formulate a scheme acceptable even to those who profess to differ at present. As matters stand, in spite of the offiical attitude, an overwhelming majority of the people are united in their demands—the dissentients being numerically negligible. They clamour for the principle of Self-Determination, and characterise the present proposal of Government as "disappointing and unsatisfactory," even as the first step towards the ultimate goal of representative and responsible Government.

7. I am loth to discuss the minima demands of the people and the maxima proposal of the Government. I feel, however, that a brief statement of the proposed official reforms and of the popular criticism and claims will reveal the fundamental defects of the proposals and the paramount necessity of Self Determation for an honest, true, and satisfactory solution of the great Indian problem.

Government of India

8. Under the various Acts of Parliament consolidated by the Government of India Act 1915 (5 & 6 Geo. 5, ch. 61) British India is governed in the name of His Majesty the King-Emperor of India by the Secretary of State for India as one of the many departments of British administration, with assistance of the Council of India. Subject to the control of the Secretary of State, the civil and Military Government of India is delegated to the Governor-General in council in India. The Government of India consists of an excessively centralised system of administration exercised over a territory as extensive as Europe minus Russia and over a population numbering 250 millions, consisting of about twelve co-related sub-nationalities of Aryan and Dravidian descent. The functions of Government are divided into executive, legislative, and judicial departments. But the Executive is not responsible to the Legislative. The Legislative has power to criticise the Budget, to interpellate, and to pass resolution which are not binding upon the Government. But it is in no sense the Grand Inquest of the Nation. Moreover the majority of the Legislative Councillors are officials. The Government of India is theoretically responsible to the Secretary of State, and he is responsible to the Parliament. But this independence and power are considerably fettred by the Council of India which has the Power of the Purse under Section 21 of the Government of India Act, 1916. It is difficult to comprehend how the principle of ministerial responsibility can be

enforced by parliament in the case of the Secretary of State, with the power of the purse consigned to the Council of India. The present Secretary of State has himself condemned the system in these terms :" The whole system of the India Office is designed to prevent control by the House of Commons for fear there might be too advanced a Secretary of State" (Hansard, Vol. 95, No. 93)., The result is that we have an autocratic government over an immense area governing one-fifth of the human race under an exceedingly centralised system. The whole system has been denounced as inefficient and paralysing even by Provincial Governors, and by none more emphatically than by the present Secretary of State for India, who stigmatised it as " too wooden, too iron, too inelastic, too antediluvian to be of any use for the modern purposes we have in view. I do not believe that anybody could ever support the Government of India from the point of view of modern requirements." (Hansard, Vol. 95, No. 93). After thisdenunciation it is surprising and lamentable to find that in the proposed reforms he contemplates no modification in the irresponsible powers of Government of India and actually recommends some relaxation of the control by Parliament. The principles he lays down run as follow :—

" Provinces are the domain in which the earlier steps towards progressive realisation of Responsible Government should be taken. " (Rep., para 189).

" The Government of India must remain wholly responsible to Parliament, and, saving such responsibility, its authority in essential matters must remain indisputable pending experience of the effect of the changes now to be introduced in the Provinces. In the meantime the Indian Legislative Council should be enlarged and made more representative and opportunities of influencing the Government increased " (Report, para, 190).

Some measure of decentralisation is proposed, and in the Provinces, under a system of "Diarchy," the partial control of the Executive is to be introduced and for thisreason he declares that—

" In proportion as the foregoing changes take place, the control of Parliament and the Secretary of State over the Government of India and Provincial Governments must be relaxed." (Rep., para. 191.)

9. The net result of this change will unquestionably be to make the Government of India still more autocratic, for it is well known that officials have been impatient of the control of Parliament and of the Secretary of State and have been clamouring for emancipation from their control. But if the central Government remains autocratic and if the head is to be despotic it is hopeless

to expect the body to be democratic. Whatever changes may be introduced, the Provincial Governments can never be really and effectively liberalised and democratised while the Central Government remains bureaucratic and irresponsible. The people of India are entirely dissatisfied with these measures of reform and have demanded partial responsibility in the Central Government immediately and full responsibility within fifteen years.

[The resolution of the Congress and Muslim League on the Government of India is again quoted.]

They also demand the entire abolition of the Secretary of State's Council of India.

10. Passing from the Executive to the Legislative, it is proposed in the Government scheme that the present Indian Legislative Assembly be enlarged to 100 of which two-thirds are to be elected by the people. But the liberality of this alteration is nullified by the creation of a Second Chamber, denominated "the Council of State" consisting of fifty members, of whom twenty-nine are to be nominated by the Governor-General in Council. This looks like taking away with one hand what is given by the other. The creation of the Council of State as a Second Chamber is universally condemned.

The Government of the Provinces.

11. British India is divided into provinces for the purposes of administration. These provinces are the equivalent of the Constituent States of the United States of America, though they have not the same powers and independence. For all practical purposes there are nine provinces The provinces of Bombay, Madras and Bengal are governed by a Governor and an Executive Council. The provinces of Behar and Orissa by a Lieutenant-Governor in Council, the provinces of Punjab and the United Provinces and Burma by a Lieutenant-Governor without an Executive Council, and the provinces of Assam and Central Provinces by a Chief Commissioner without an Executive Council. All the Provinces have Legislative Councils. In all these Legislatures the elected members are in a minority, except in Bengal where the elected number is twentyeight, against nineteen officials and four nominees. Although these Legislatures have various powers of criticism and interpellation, and of passing resolution which do not bind the Executive, they have no control over the Executive which is in no way responsible to the members, nor have they any control over the provincial finance.

12. The report of the Secretary of State and Viceroy contemplates the grant of larger powers of administration, taxation, and raising of loans to the provinces and some measure of emancipa-

tion from the legislative, financial, and administrative control of the Government of India. It also contemplates the creation of an Executive Council for every province, but it proposes to establish a new system of Government in the provinces designated a "Diarchy." It consists of an arbitrary separation of the functions of Provincial Government into reserved and transferred subjects. The reserved subjects are to be retained in charge of the Executive members, who are not to be responsible to, or removal by a vote of the Legislature. The transferred subjects are to be at first limited in number and importance, and placed in charge of a minister responsible at first to his electors in the constituency, and after five years to the Legislative Assembly, provided the Government of India so directs. It is claimed that this amounts to establishing the beginning of responsible Government of India. It is so proposed that Royal Commissions be periodically appointed to examine every decade what further subjects may be transferred from the reserved to the transferred branches till complete devolution and responsiblity is attained. It also reserves the power of retransferring subjects from the transferred to the reserve subjects for maladministration. In this way an executive is to be established which will be partly responsible and partly irresponsible partly destructible and partly indestructible. The concensus of opinion, again, is that this Diarchy is unscientific, incomprehensible, and unworkable. It postulates the division of functions of Government, whereas experienced Anglo-Indians declare them indivisible under the existing system of Indian administration. It is difficult to imagine how harmonious working can be anticipated with conflicting political principles at work in one and the same Executive. It would be very easy to devise a system more workable and scientific than this new-fangled Diarchy, but whatever the merits or demerits of this Diarchy, the people resent the implication of their unfitness, on which the so-called progressive stages are founded. When this resentment manifested itself, a responsible statesman and one of the collegues of the Secretary of State on his mission to India hastned to explain that these cautious steps were not due to any distrust of the capacity of Indians, but merely to deficient acquaintance with Parlaiamentry procedure. This is obviously a very inadequate reason. The people in Congress assembled demanded immediate and full provincial autonomy and ministerial responsibility without any reserved subjects and without any periodical inquisition and examination into their capacity.

13. So far as the Provincial Legislatures are concerned, Government propose to enlarge them and make them predominantly

elective but here also they contemplate the creation of a seperate Grand Committee for legislating upon the reserved subjects. The Committee likewise takes away with one hand what it gives with the other. So far as Bengal is concernd it is actually reprogressive, for Bengal has at present a small elective majority for all subjects without any reservation whatever. The net result of the enlarged Provincial Council and Grand Commttees is that there is little appreciable advance. The Grand Committee has been universally condemned throughout India.

14. I have dwelt upon the official and popular proposals not for comparing their merits, but for the purpose of pointing out that the Government do not realise that the most indispensable and fundamental reform is Liberty—Liberty for the people to work out their own salvation and fashion their own forms of government on assured democratic basis. The prolonged period of probation and decennial inquisition are intolerable in modern civilisation. What is wanted is power for the people in the Central Government. With this power the people would be in a position to decide under the principle of Self-Determination how many provinces there should be, what should be their boundaries, what measures would prove efficient and sufficient as the first step, what speed would be safe for advancing towards full autonomy and responsible Self-Government without foreign control in internal affairs and without periodical examinations into their capacity. In order to assure the British people that the Indians do not desire separation from or disruption of the Empire they would consent that questions of war or peace, foreign affairs, the Army or Navy and Military government be excluded from the Indian purview, provided commissions in the Army and Navy are open to all Indians upon equal terms with Englishmen. These are limitations the people of India are willing to submit to, for a brief period, in order to assure the British Government of their *bona fides*, in the hope that within fifteen years they would be placed on a status of political equality with the Oversea Dominons in all respects.

15. Under the circumstances, in discharge of the duty devolving upon me, as the elected representative of all the British India under the above resolution of the Congress, I earnestly appeal to the Peace Conference, *firstly* to concede to India the same right of representation on the League of Nations that is accorded to the British Dominions, and *secondly* to declare that Indians are quite capable of governing themselves, that as a progressive nation they are entitled to the application of the principle of Self-determination, and that in the exercise of the

principle they are also entitled to determine the form of Government, founded upon accepted democratic lines, which they deem most suitable for Self-development according to the genius of the people. The immortal principles of justice and the rule of right against might justify such a declaration. I beg to assure the Conference through you, Sir, as its President that such a declaration will not only excite the warmest enthusiasm and the deepest gratitude throughout India, with 315 millions of people, but that its enforcement by the British Parliament would ensure the peace of the world, the prosperity of India, and the continuance of a beneficial British connection with our own great Empire of Hindustan.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Yours most obedient servant.

B. G. TILAK.

Mr. Har Dayal
ON
India Under British Rule.

[The name of Mr. Har Dayal, the redoubtable Indian Revolutionary, requires no introduction. After a Brilliant career at Oxford where he was a Govt. of India Scholar, he sacrificed a promising future to become the leader of the revolutionary party in India. In 1914 the German Govt. invited his co-operation and for a year he resided at Berlin and helped that Govt. in planning for a rebellion in India. His experience of German methods, however, soon disillusioned him, and not long since his baptism of Prussianism came his conversion of faith in British Imperialism, after a period of the bitterest hatred of Britain. In the following article which appeared in the *New Statesman* (England) of 22nd March 1919 Mr. Har Dayal declares his new faith and at the some time delivers himself on India and Indians in a brazen tone born of despair. It is a sign-post in Indian politics, and hence well worth close attention. It shows how the Indian Revolutionary *in extremes* turns round 180° in his mental horizon, and explains much of recent exhibitions of delicate swings in the political mentality of a class of people.—*Ed.* An. Reg.]

I propose in this short article to offer some suggestions and reflections with regard to the future of the British Empire in Asia from the standpoint of a patriotic Indian, who has been during many years a convinced and consistent opponent of British Imperialism, but who has been led to modify his views on account of the tremendous events of the Great World-war. No thinking man can be the same after this war as he was before it.

I. I now believe that the consolidation of the British Empire in the East is necessary in the best interest of the people of India, Burma, Egypt, and Mesopotamia. These countries contain more than one-fifth of the population of the whole world. The progress and welfare of these ancient and gifted peoples must be an object of solicitude for all lovers of humanity. Our attitude towards the British Empire as a political institution, therefore, involves moral principles of the highest order. If the Empire is based on mere tyranny, exploitation, race hatred, brute force, and fraud, and if it cannot be mended in any

way, why then, we must end it and say, 'Down with this abomination of abominations!' I myself maintained this attitude for a long time. If, on the contrary, it can be shown that the Empire has grown up through historical necessity and that it does serve a useful purpose in the social evolution of the human race, we may decide to accept it as a fundamentally sound and beneficent institution, which should be improved and developed rather than undermined and destroyed.

II. On a superficial view, it appears that the British Empire in India is an altogether iniquitous institution, like the Ottoman and the Austrian Empires of infamous memory. The English have conquered many small States in Asia since that fateful battle of Plassey, and they have certainly been guilty of gross violations of plighted faith and wanton abuse of military power. Clive, Warren Hastings, Wellesley, and Dalhousie may be "national heroes," to-day, but they were surely no saints. And an Empire which has thus been reared by crushing and enslaving several "small nations", and some big ones, too, cannot claim our homage and sympathy, for it is essentially an immoral institution. It must be abolished, dismembered, and forgotten. Certainly the principale of Nationality would lead us to condemn the British Empire of Asia as a reactionary and indefensible institution. If the Bengalis, the Marathas, the Burmese, and the other nations of Asia aspire to national independence and claim their birthright of nationhood, who shall say them nay? Surely not the champions of the freedom of Bohemia, Serbia, Belgium, Poland—and the Hedjas!

III. But we must discard all *a priori* doctrines and abstract theories and fix our attention on the stern facts of the political world situation, if we wish to formulate a sound and practicable programme for the intelligent patriots of India and Egypt. Nationality is nothing but a catchword if a National State cannot further the development of the mass of the people. The State is a means to an end, it has assumed many forms in the course of human history. The National State, or the tribal State, is, properly speaking, of modern growth. We need not idolise it as the highest product of human wisdom and experience. It has its advantages and its limitations. Life is not logic and the application of the so called "principles" of nationality cannot solve the problems that have to be faced in India and Egypt. As a weapon against alien tyranny the theory of the National State can serve a good purpose. But all political theories are only tools to work with. Let us not be the slaves of theories. Let us study the facts themselves carefully and judiciously.

IV. The break-up of the British Empire in Asia would lead only to a change of masters of the people of India and Egypt. These peoples will not be able to defend their countries against other sturdy European nations that may harbour ambitious designs of world-empire. They will be too weak even to keep out the Asiatic barbarians that have overrun and devastated their fertile plains so often in the past. And the causes of this weakness are manifold. These nations are patriotic in their own way; but their patriotism is lukewarm and passive. They are not capable of sacrificing much for freedom ; if they were keenly patriotic they could not have been conquered by England. Their ancient history is indeed noble and interesting, but it is rather mouldy with age and evidently lacks the inspiring power of recent achievement. The climate of India and Egypt is enervating, and disposes men's minds to repose and contemplation rather than to sustained activity. In the long run, the South cannot resist the North, just as the inhabitants of the plains must succumb to the hardy sons of the hills. History seems to prove that warm countries produce superior intelligence, while cold regions breed strong and courageous races. However that may be, it is certain that the Indians and Egyptians cannot prevail in battle against the Germans, Russians, the Kurds, the Afghans, and the Japanese, even if they are determined to fight for their countries with the courage of desperation. It was not Mahmood and Islam, not patriotism, nor military skill, but the climate of Afghanistan, that won the day at Somnath; the mountaineers could hold out longer. It is a question of greater resisting power. Thus it is foolish for Southern races to imagine that they can in the long run hold their own against the Northerners if it comes to a trial of strength between them.

Further, the upper and middle classes of these countries are absolutely incapable and degenerate. I weigh my words carefully when I pen this severe judgment. The aristocracy and the educated classes of India and Egypt are perhaps among the most contemptible specimens of humanity extant. Without courage, without patriotism, without religious faith, without political principles and ideals, without love of art and learning, without ambition and a sense of duty, these parasites and drones only exploit the peasants and working men and render no service in return. They eat, drink, beget, and pass their days in ignoble ease and aimless sloth while the society which they are supposed to lead perishes before their eyes. They cannot administer, or fight, or take the

initiative in progressive movements, or discharge any of the duties that devolve on the aristocracy of all civilised countries. Such hopeless degeneracy has seldom been witnessed in the history of nations. And if the shepherds are unfit, what must become of the sheep? The Indian and the Egyptian peoples, deserted and betrayed by an incompetent leading class, cannot organise an efficient system of defence against foreign enemies And there is no prospect of the speedy regeneration of these classes. Moral stamina cannot be restored quickly. They seem, indeed, to be still more demoralised than before by the seductive influences of European life. They learn all the vices of Europe with remarkable rapidity, but they seem unable to imbibe its virtues. Many of them are thoroughly denationalised and lose even the faint spark of genuine patriotism that their fathers possessed. Stones may yield oil, but nothing good can be expected from this effete class. It is like the barren fig-tree, which must be consumed in the fire.

These reflections suggested themselves to me with greater force than ever before as I watched from Berlin the course of events in the Near East in the winter of 1915-16. Serbia was crushed and occupied about that time, and the famous "Balkanzug" began to run between Berlin and Constantinople. Huge placards, with the words "Hamburg-Bagdad," could be seen in the windows of the newspaper offices in Berlin. All this set me thinking. The Germans were supposed to be the allies of the Turks against the other European Powers, but now the Turks found that they had got taskmasters instead of friends. Germany poured men and material into Turkey. "Bagdad" was the goal of German ambition. All barriers that had stood between Teutonic Imperialism and the much-coveted treasures of old Asia had disappeared. A German Empire in Asia was well-nigh within the range of practical politics. That spectre frightened all thinking Orientals, who had hitherto looked upon Germany as their champion against British Imperialism. The cry "Berlin—Bagdad" was ominous in our ears. Turkey had really been conquered without a blow. The foolish Turks had themselves opened the doors to their masters. It was the story of the man, the hounds and the stag over again. I began to think about our beloved India and her north-western frontier. The Germans intrigued with the Afghans and other wild tribes in Persia and Turkestan. The menace of a German-Turkish-Pathan invasion could no longer be overlooked. And in that moment I saw clearly that India would simply be overwhelmed

by her old enemies and by new ones, if the German adventurers obtained a foothold east of Suez. Whatever may happen, no son of Ind will ever consent that foreign soldiers should be allowed to enter India again from the north-west, whether they come as friends or foes. It is the cardinal principle of all political parties in India that the north-western frontier must remain inviolate under all circumstances. No prospects of future gain can allure us to open that portal to strangers, whoever they may be. This is the lesson of Indian history, written by our fathers in their blood.

Imperialism is always an evil, but British and French Imperialism in its worst forms is a thousand times preferable to German or Japanese Imperialism. The English and the French are at least gentlemen in personal intercourse, and they have free institutions at home, which exercise a liberalising influence on their colonial policy in spite of themselves. The meanest English or French Jingo cannot abolish the Manga Charta or blot out the words, "Liberte, Equalite, Fraternite," but the Germans have no tradition of freedom. The Prussian rules over all the Germans, and the Prussian is perhaps the most detestable biped on earth. He is selfish, avaricious, heartless, arrogant, unscrupulous and servile. A slave and a bully, he is cruel to the weak and obsequious to the strong. He understands only the law of Force, and worships Power and Rank. He is an upstart, and has all the vices of the parvenu. He suffers from incurable megalomania to which political kleptomania and other serious disorders have been added during the last thirty years. He may be a patriot, a poet or a pedant, but he is never a gentleman. He wishes to exploit every one he meets, and his word cannot be trusted. All who know him despise and hate him. There is a good reason for this universal verdict against him. We should rejoice with exceeding joy that he has been humbled and thrown down from his high pedestal. I have lived in Prussia for two years during the war, and know what I am talking about.

The defence of India is thus a very grave problem. As of old, India is the cynosure of all ambitious Imperialists, from Berlin to Tokyo. Even a Turkish beggar once uttered this remarkable sentiment: "May our Sultan become Emperor of India!" Now I ask, "How can we obtain the generals and officers for our army of defence?" We have brave soldiers, though even our infantry may require a little stiffening with the stubborn British soldiery, but the upper and middle classes of India can never supply competent officers and generals for a national army. In war everything depends on leadership. The events of this world-

war have impressed me with the importance of having the best possible officers for the Indian army, no matter where they come from. A good officer is the product of a living social system. Tradition, education, religious faith, sense of duty, physical strength, heroism—all these go to make a European officer, but our bourgeois classes have none of these things. They may accept commissions and wear uniforms, but they will never lead a charge or gain a victory. Many of them will be wounded on the back, like the Ottoman officers in the Balkan wars. It is better that the Indian army should guard the frontiers under the command of British officers than that the Afghans, the Kurds and the Germans should pour into the country after having defeated a "national" army led by cowards and weaklings. India cannot afford the perilous luxury of an Indian bourgeois corps of officers. This is my deliberate opinion on this vital question.

And as the world is infested with Imperialists of every nationality, it is the part of wisdom for us not to tempt Fate, but to stay under the protection of the British fleet and army in our quiet, sunny home of Hindustan, and to make the best of our position in the Empire. We are not equipped for the deadly rivalries and fierce struggles of this age of iron Imperialism. Others will not leave us alone, if we once lose the shelter of the name and aegis of Great Britain. Exposed to the buffetings of chance and force, we shall have to suffer worse evils than those that now afflict us. Partition, forced conversion to other creeds and similar calamities have befallen weak peoples in Asia and Europe even in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Let us not jump out of the frying-pan of British Imperilism into the fire of—who knows what?

V. As regards the internal administration of India the question must be discussed from the standpoint of the peasants of India and not of the upper and middle classes. India is an agricultural country, and the cultivators of the soil form more than 85 per cent. of the population. They constitute the Nation. The princes, the landowners, the merchants, the lawyers, the money-lenders, and other classes, who live without doing much hard work, are only the froth and foam on the surface of Indian society, "mere chaff," in Carlyle's words, "which let the wind blow where it listeth." They are really quite a superfluous appendage to the real society of Indian workers, manual and intellectual, and, as I have already shown, they can discharge none of the public duties that the bourgeois classes of other countries conscientiously perform.

Now, it is a matter of indifference to the peasant whom he pays for the work of Government, so long as his own sons cannot govern. He must give a certain portion of his produce to support magistrates, constables, generals, and officers, who may be Indians or Englishmen or Chinese. He demands in return protection against marauders and invaders, through an efficient organisation of the police and the army, incorruptible judicial officers for the settlement of dispute, an active meteorological department for his assistance, and other such necessary institutions of a peaceful agricultural society. The money that he must spend on these indispensable adjuncts is loss to him. It makes no difference to him whether it is wasted by a Mr. Ramaswami in a Nautch party or invested by a Mr. Robertson in a dozen bottle of whisky. The chief point is that the police and the army should do their duty, as he has stipulated. Now we see that the British officials at least keep their part of this bargain; they do defend the frontiers and suppress thugs, cattle-stealers and other enemies of the cultivator, They have the requisite energy, sense of duty and physical courage. Of course, they charge a very heavy price for these services, but they are not mere drones and bloodsuckers like the Indian taluqdars, the banias, and the lawyers who simply take the peasant's money and do nothing for him. Why should the peasant continue to support this lazy and useless class? A common nationality cannot justify extortion and parasitism.

In short, we must organise the peasants for the promotion of their interest, and entrust the defence and administration of the country to those who are fit, irrespective of race or creed. The majority of the higher officials in the Police Department and all the officers and generals in the army should be Englishmen or Europeans. Other offices can be bestowed on members of the Indian bourgeoisies, but preference should be given to the educated sons of the peasantry, when such a class makes its appearance. India must be governed in the interests of the peasant, and he is free to choose his servants, his night watchmen and his book-keepers according to their capacity and honesty from among all nations, until he can manage these things for himself. The Indian bourgeoisies has no prescriptive right to exploit him for ever.

VI. If we accept the postulate that the Empire must be maintained and defended for the good of the people of India and Egypt, we must go further and define the relations that

should subsist between the English and the Indians, between the Indians and Egyptians, and in general, among the different peoples that live under the British flag. What is the bond that shall unite them? Should they continue to hate and distrust one another, while they acquiesce in the political union as a necessary evil? Or should they not discover or forge new spiritual bonds which may convert Imperialism into as idealistic a creed as Nationalism is to day? An Empire in which the various nations lead a mutually exclusive life and only wait for an opportunity to break loose or to fly at each other's throats, would be a sorry carricature of a State. We do not wish that the British Empire should grow into a magnified Austria-Hungary. But how can such a disastrous result be averted?

Of course, the first principle should be that all "provinces" of the Empire (I use the word advisedly) should manage their internal affairs without mutual interference. Autonomy is the only possible basis of amity and co-operation. National feeling will thus be gratified to some extent, in so far as it is not incompatible with the unity of the Empire. England learned this lesson after she lost the American colonies but she applies it only to the colonies inhabited by whitemen. She must also treat the other civilised nations of the Empire in the same way. She cannot have one measure for the Boer and another for the Brahmin. The Indians are not inferior in culture and capacity to the Australians and the Canadians, and they will insist on equality of rights within the Empire. It is to be hoped that England will do her duty before it is too late. Of course, the defence of the Empire and other Imperial questions will be referred to a Central Imperial Council representing all British subjects.

VII. Home Rule by itself is no remedy for the disruptive forces that threaten the unity and solidarity of such a composite and extensive State. Home Rule may indeed feed the separatist tendencies and create hostile camps within the Empire if some corrective is applied to counteract its disintegrating effects. How then can the moral unity of the Empire be secured? Every State must give more than bread and peace to its citizens. Man does not live by bread alone, and he will not fight for bread alone. We must consider if some moral aims and ideals can be realised through the great institution of the British Empire so that all British subjects may feel pride in its mission and try to further it as best as they can.

Dull would he be of soul who cannot discover a vast field for idealistic activity within this Empire. Here is a State extending from Ireland to the Straits Settlements and from Hudson's Bay to New Zealand. It is merely for size the biggest political organisation that the world has ever seen. Every variety of product is found within its borders. The palm and the pine together may be taken as adequate symbols of this Empire. More than one fifth of the population of the globe lives under its flag. Some of them are savages and cannibals; others are tribes in a primitive stage of development; others again, are ancient and civilised nations, which are emerging from a period of torpor and decline, while new communities like Australia and New Zealand are just starting on their history. The Empire may be compared to a large patriarchal family or a vast cosmopolitan association. At the head of all stands England, the organiser, the harmoniser, the concert-director of this huge co-operative body. London is the heart and the brain of the entire system. This State, so constituted, must not be rent asunder: it must be reformed and developed. Power and unity belong to it to day: to-morrow will come Equality, and Justice, and Fraternity, and Beauty, and all that ennobles, enriches and sanctifies human life on earth.

It is not possible to enumerate all the movements that may be organised in order to give each one of us a spiritual interest in the Empire. We have first of all the great struggle for equality of political rights for all civilised nations of the Empire. This is a glorious task. England has conquered the Orientals and the Africans, and naturally gives more to Englishmen than to the others to-day, but these others have studied English history and admired English institutions. They will reproach England for her inconsistency and selfishness, and the unjust institutions based on racial inequality will slowly disappear. Ofcourse organisation and agitation and much nose-making will be necessary, as all Englishmen are not philosophers. But the consummation is inevitable. England has set her hand to the plough and cannot turn back.

This is a noble ideal. To raise the Indians, the Egyptians, the Burmese and the Zulus to the political status of the Englishman within this State; to teach these backward peoples the meaning of the words Liberty and Democracy; to rescue them from the slough of selfishness and indolence, and turn them into eager aspirants for the full rights of citizenship; to make Men out of slaves or savages—what greater realms can any young Alexander of idealism dream of conquering during the coming centuries?

VIII. After Democracy comes Education ; or rather, education must come with or before democracy. Education must unify and cement the Empire from within. It must be an Imperial concern. A State which neglects the education of its citizens cannot last long. Aristotle and Plato have taught us this great truth with convincing eloquence. The Empire as a State must direct the education of all British subjects, otherwise it will be like a house built on sand. The Imperial educational system will create the spiritual bonds that are to hold the Empire together for centuries. English literature must be interpreted to the Oriental nations. English literature is England's noblest gift to the world. It is among the greatest achievements of human genius and human aspiration. The language in which Spenser, Milton, Shelley, Wordsworth, Tennyson, Browning, and Swinburne have delivered their message can fitly be adopted as the tongue of many nations. All Oriental nations will profit immeasurably by learning English and thoroughly mastering its vast, varied, and inspiring literature. It will enrich their spiritual life and stimulate the genius of their own gifted poets and thinkers. English literature is a magic fairyland, and its treasures are of untold worth Blessed is the man or woman who knows this tongue well, for it is the key to the temple of Freedom. No Oriental nation would be a loser if it forgot its own tongue and and learned English instead. Superstition, erratic sentiment and fantastic mysticism are the great themes of Oriental poetry. There is not much solid nourishment in it for the mind or the heart. A thousand years and more of Oriental poetry have made us what we are—unpractical metaphysicians or selfish cowards, or passive slaves. Let us now drink deep at another fountain and listen to sweet music wedded to lofty idealism or burning love of liberty, or ardent aspiration for human perfection, of unqenchable zeal for truth. These are the themes of England's songs, and her children are fed with such meat so they are like eagles who gaze at the sun with undazzled eyes. The Orientals can also share in this glorious heritage, if they so desire. Of all the benefits that an Imperial system of education will confer on Asia and Africa, the introduction and interpretation of English literature is undoubtedly the greatest.

English history and law are the other great products of English life that must be transplanted in India and Egypt. English history, beginning with the Magna Charta and ending with the decree granting the suffrage to women, is the most complete record of "Freedom slowly broadening down from precedent to precedent" in the annals of human evolution. England

is admitted by all historians to be "the mother of Parliaments" in the modern world. It is verily "the land where girt with friends or foes a man may speak the thing he will."

The American Declaration of Independence is also an immortal document of English history. Greece in the ancient world and England in the modern age have initiated the democratic movement which will also free all slaves in Asia and Africa and elevate them to the rank of full citizens To-day, English Imperialism is undemocratic, but the despotic system digs its own grave because English history is taught in the schools of the Empire. We too have read of Cromwell and Hampden, Washington and Jefferson, Clarkson and Wilberfore, Cobden and Ernest Jones. It has been well said, "You cannot argue a man into slavery in the English language." All the rights and liberties of the English citizen will in course of time be enjoyed by all British subjects. But we must not isolate ourselves from that inexhaustible reservoir of manhood and civic virtue which is called English society. We must live in England, learn from England, work with Englishmen and English women, and study English and American history, till we too catch a breath of that spirit which has made England free and great. Then the miasmic vapours of servility and sycophancy which choke the human mind in the climes of the East will be dispersed and dissipated, as the fog melts away in the rays of the morning sun. A primer of English history is worth more than all the histories of Asia, with their sickening record of Sultans, massacres, slavery, empires and degeneracy.

Let us not deceive ourselves. We must make up our minds on this question. The Orientals who do not wish to love and revere England as their spiritual mother must work on other lines. They may foment national insurrections or agitate for Home Rule, or profess loyalty to England as a measure of prudence. But the Empire cannot develop as an organic, healthy State if the Orientals prefer their barren literature and their uninspiring history. If they believe that they have nothing to learn from England, they must organise separatist movements which will aim at the final disintegration of the Empire, though they may adopt the phraseology of loyalty as at the present moment. They should understand that a large and progressive State, based on English ideals, is infinitely preferable to a number of small Oriental States, inspired by no ideals at all or by the antiquated ideals of Oriental life. If we do not seek moral union with England, we cannot sincerely acquiesce in the political union. A State cannot endure if several different systems of education prevail in it. For

my part, as I have said, I know of nothing in the Orient greater than English literature and English history. The Orientals who think otherwise must formulate political ideals according to their estimate of Oriental literature and history. We are at the parting of the ways now. We may work with England or against her, but let us be sincere and consistent.

Greek and Latin must also be taught in the schools of the Empire, so that a common basis of education may be firmly established. English literature owes much to Greece and Rome, and no liberal education can be complete without a knowledge of of Greek. Asia, too, must have her Renaissance, and it can come only from Greek philosophy, literature and art. England must transmit to her subjects what she herself received from Greece and Rome centuries ago. Moreover, Greek philosophy will undermine superstition in Asia; Greek and Roman history will teach the Orientals that nations have different missions in history. Rome did for the Greek race what the Greeks could never do for themselves. she united them in one State, which endured long after Rome herself had been sacked by the barbarians. Rome conquered the Hellenic world, but that conquest was a blessing in disguise, as it laid the foundations of a powerful State, which repelled the savage Arabian hordes and preserved the treasures of Greek civilisation for the entire human race. The history of the Roman Empire will teach the Orientals that they should look forward and not backwards, and that injustice and inequality will slowly give place to unity and fraternity, as the British Empire grows and develops during the coming centuries. The introduction of Greek studies in Asia is one of the most sacred duties of English statesmen.

IX. East and West will be united in the British Empire. England will achieve what Alexander dreamed of and what Rome partially accomplished. Kipling will turn out a false prophet, for East and West will surely meet, and they will meet in London, Oxford, Cambridge, Cairo, Delhi and Khartoum. They have already met as comrades on the battlefield and at least one Oriental already meets the English Peers as their peer, and sits in the English Cabinet as an equal member of the Government. East and West have had many sanguinary conflicts in the past, but the British Empire will present to us the unique spectacle of Britons and Orientals working hand in hand in the service of the State. Thus the demon of colour-prejudice will be vanquished, and all European nations will learn a much needed lesson.

Humanity will advance a step nearer to the final goal of harmony and unity, and the Parliament of the British Empire will pave the way for the "Parliament of Men."

X. To sum up: Asia needs Britain's strong arm for her safe and progress. The Empire will endure only if three conditions are fulfilled. First, all citizens of the British Empire must be granted equal political rights in course of time. Secondly, England must not inflict economic injustice on the other nations. The Empire is rich enough for all and we need not exploit one another. Thirdly, all British subjects must love and revere England as their spiritual mother and Greece as their spiritual grandmother. Thus the "British Empire" of to-day will be converted into the "British-Oriental-African Commonwealth" of the future. And that is our goal and ideal.

REPORT OF THE
Indian Overseas Association.

This Association which was established on 17th December, 1919, with the Aga Khan as Chairman and Sir Mancherji M. Bhownagree as Deputy Chairman, for the purpose of maintaining the rights and privileges and protecting the interest of Indians residing in places outside India, has since been active promoting the welfare of Indian Communities settled in South and East Africa, British Guiana, the West Indies, Fiji, Ceylon, Mauritius, British Columbia, Australia and the Mandated Territories.

South Africa.

The Association has carried on an active correspondence with the Colonial and India Offices with a view to secure a wider reference to the proposed Commission promised by the Union Government after the passing of the Asiatics Trading and Land Act (Transvaal), 1919, and also to ensure satisfactory Indian representation before the Commission.

Sir Benjamin Robertson and the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri have been appointed to represent the Government of India before the Commission, and Mr. C. F. Andrews, who has a wide knowledge of the subject, has proceeded to South Africa on behalf of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association of Bombay, in order to assist the Indian community in the presentation of their case.

The Association learns that the Union Government have agreed to refer not only the trading question, but also that relating to the ownership of land, to the Commission As the Association is of opinion that the question of occupation of premises situated in mining area is of vital importance, it has urged that the operation of the Gold Law and other similar enactments should be referred to the Commission.

British East Africa.

While appreciating, after the lapse of many years, the nomination of two Indian members to the Legislative Council, the Association, quoting the precedents of India under the Reform scheme, Fiji, British Guiana and Trinidad, has urged that the franchise be conferred upon qualified Indians in the Protectorate.

Having regard to the fact that the question of the administration of the whole of East Africa is shortly coming up for consideration by His Majesty's Government, the Association has

pressed upon the Goverement the desirability and necessity of giving effect, as a matter of justice and equity, to the demand of the British East Africa Indian population for equality of status and the removal of galling disabilities designed to reproduce the unfavourable conditions prevailing in South Africa affecting the resident Indian population, and restrict, if not even prohibit, Indian immigration into the Protectorate in favour of European immigration, in spite of the fact that Indians commenced to develop these lands three centuries before any White settlement was established there.

British Guiana.

The Association has drawn the attention of His Majesty's Government to the strong objection to, and protest against, the so-called Colonisation Scheme on the part of the East Indian Association (Georgetown), and has received an assurance from the Colonial Office that the fullest consideration will be given to the views expressed by that and similar Associations.

Fiji.

The Association has pressed for the termination of existing indentures of Indian labourers in this Colony, and has been notified by the Colonial Office that Orders have been given for the termination of all existing Indian indentures on 2nd January 1920, and for the repatriation, so soon as possible, of freed Indians desirous of returning to India.

Trinidad, Jamaica and Surinam (Dutch Guiana).

Having regard to the strong feeling against the system of Indentured Labour prevailing throughout India among all classes of the population, the Association has since addressed an inquiry to His Majesty's Government seeking information as to the numbers of indentures at present in force in these territories and the steps, if any, being taken by His Majesty's Government to secure their cancellation at an early date.

Ceylon.

The Association has made representations to His Majesty's Government with a view to securing improvements in the draft Labour Ordinance shortly to be introduced into the Legislative Council, and particularly to obtain the omission of the clauses imposing criminal punishment for breach of contract.

The Association has also made representations with a view to promising the education of Indian children on the Ceylon Estates.

Mauritius.

The Association, being alarmed at the movement in French Mauritian circles in favour of the transfer of the Island to

France, in spite of the fact that the large majority of the inhabitants are Indians who had not been consulted in the matter, inquired of His Majesty's Government what steps have been taken in this direction, and has received an assurance from the Colonial Office that no serious consideration need be given to the movement.

British Columbia.

The Association has protested against Canadian Orders in Council restricting the issue of certain classes of fishery licences to White persons, and its representations have been referred to the Governor-General of Canada for observation.

Australia.

Having regard to the Commonuwealth Government's undertaking to remove certain existing disabilities affecting Indians redident in Australia in the light of the Reciprocity Resolution passed at the Imperial War Conference, 1918, the Association has directed the attention of His Majesty's Government to the differential operation against Indians of Queensland Sugar Cultivation Act, 1913, the interpretation of which was recently tested in an Appeal before the Privy Council, when a Judgment adverse to the Indian appellants was delivered. The Association has requested His Majesty's Government to press for the repeal or necessary modification of this enactment.

Mandated Territories.

With the coming into force of the Peace Treaty with Germany, Mandates under the League of Nations have now been conferred upon certain countries for the administration of the former German Colonies. Thus the Samoa Islands fall to be administered by New Zealand ; South West Africa and German East Africa by the British Governmet. The Association has accordingly made representations to His Majesty's Government to maintain for His Majesty's Indian subjects the rights as to immigration and residence, which they have hitherto enjoyed in these respects, and equal rights in the future with all other of His Majesty's subjects.

The Association has also reminded His Majesty's Government of the danger to Indian interests of the movement officially favoured in New Zealand to supplement Native labour in Samoa by indentured labour, and has received an assurance that no futher enmigration from India under Indenture will be countenanced by His Majesty's Government.

S. L. Polak

Hon. Secretary,

Resolutions of
The Convention of Associations British East Africa.

The following are extracts from the January Sessions (1919) of the Convention of Associations of British East Africa, a body of British Exploiters corresponding to the European Association of India.

RESOLUTION.

"This Convention wishes to point out to the Government that during the discussion of the petition *re.* Indians, as also those affecting the native peoples of this country, they had the assistance of four Missionaries, one being Roman Catholic and three being from the Missionary Conference, which was sitting in Nairobi at the same time as the Convention.

"That whereas our Nation has assumed responsibility for the future of the Indigenous East African peoples and of the countries they inhabit,

"And whereas our National ideals of enlightenment and progress are crystalised in our Christian Western civilization and it is our duty to make sure that the best contained therein is readily available for the needs of awakening Africa,

"And whereas the maintenance of this country depends entirely on the prestige and force of character of the white man,

"And whereas certain **Indians** have entered this country as traders, clerks and artizans,

"And whereas these people follow in all things a civilization which is eastern and in many respects repugnant to ours,

"And whereas their social status brings them more frequently into contact with the African and thus subjects him to intimate personal influences antagonistic to the ideals of the west,

"And whereas the African has shown that he possesses latent qualities which under western guidance hold promise of material development, and an aptitude for filling the various needs of industry, more particularly those which involve the use of mechanical appliances,

"And whereas Indian competion denies him all incentives to ambition and opportunities of advancement,

"And whereas the Indian community in this country are agitating for adult suffrage and by this means seeks to gain control over the destinies of the country.

"And whereas the Imperial Conference at a meeting held on July 24th, 1918, (*See the Indian Annual Register 1919*) considered

the matter of reciprocal migration between India and other component parts of the Empire, and passed four resolutions, of which the principal is as follows :—

"It is an inherent function of the Governments of the several communities of the British Commonwealth including India that each should enjoy complete control over the composition of its own population by means of restriction on immigration from any other communities..... "

"and thereby recorded as the final judgment of the British Commonwealth that the principle of Self-Determination shall govern immigration and the composition of populations—

"We, the Convention of Associations representing the White Community of the country, pray his Excellency the Governor to approach the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, so that the functions thus solemnly pronounced to be inherent in the Government of this British Community may be exercised by declaring forthwith that the right of Self-Determination rests with the European Government of this country acting for the Europeans and in trust for the Native peoples and should ask the Secretary of State to rule that the position should not be prejudiced by giving any system of franchise to Asiatics nor by allowing them to acquire land except in townships on short leases, nor by the employment of Asiatics in Government work and that steps should be taken at once to restrict Asiatic immigration in order that this stronghold of European Colonisation in Central Africa may stand beside her sister Colonies in their Asiatic Policy.

"And further we beg His Excellency the Governor to make known to the Imperial Conference, through the Rt. Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies, our earnest petition that to the conquered territory, formerly called German East Africa, the same policy towards the Asiatic be applied ; for the indigenous peoples of this country and of the conquered territory are of the same types even to the extent of tribes having being severed and economic relations centuries old having been interrupted by the late artificial frontier. We can conceive, short of the retrocession of the territory to Germany, of no transaction more immoral and more certain to recoil on our heads than the betrayal to the Asiatic of a section of the African peoples whose destinies have fallen into our hands and who at present are unable to potect themselves. We submit that to buy off Indian or other agitation at the expense of the Natives of Africa would be a policy neither wise nor honourable."

Report of the
Economic Comission
British East Africa Protectorate.

The following are extracts from the Economic Commission Report of the British East Africa Protectorate, appointed by Sir Henry Conway Belfield, K. C. M. G., the Governor and Commander-in-Chief :—

The Hon. Mr. F. W. Major, C. M. G., Chairman ; Major E. S. Grogan, W. A. Kempe, Esq., T. A. Wood, Esq.. the Hon. Mr. P. H. Clerke, the Hon. Mr. W. C. Hunter and E. Powys Cobb, Esq , Members.

"Before the advent of the imperial B. E. A. Company Indians were established on the coast, where they seized the opportunity afforded them by the abolition of slavery, to oust by loan and foreclosure the ancient Arab trade and civilisation of which Zanzibar was the centre. But except for occasional incursions by half caste Baluchis, the interior was untouched by Indian influence till British control was effected. The introduction of the coolies employed on the construction of the Uganda Railway was the first connection of Indians with the interior. The employment of Indian labour for this work was due, it is believed, purely to considerations of convenience, and here it is instructive to note that not only did the capital cost of the Indian-built Railway work out excessively high—more than double the sum for which a reputable firm of British Contractors had offered to execute the task with African labour, but that the working costs per train mile of the Uganda Railway are higher than those of the railways of the South African Union, though the percentage of white men employed on the latter is more than twenty times as great.

"It may be permitted to question whether the authorities of the time realised the immense Imperial significance, for good or evil, of their action in promoting contact between the natives of East Africa and the decadent civilisation of India. The inevitable effect of the intervention of an intermediate race between European and African is that that race absorbs most of the occasions of personal contact with the African. Hence such intimate influences as the African of this country is at present receiving are mainly imparted to him by the Asiatic, and are predominantly Indian rather than British.

"East Africa is in a somewhat different position from any other countries of Africa in respect to this problem.

"The Self-Governing states of the Union, together with the Rhodesias, control Indian immigration, with a view to ultimate exclusion. In Natal, Indian labour was at one time introduced, but its introduction was subsequently agreed to have been a mistake, and drastic steps have been taken to limit and localise its effects.

"In the African Protectorates under the Colonial Office, Indian immigration is not prohibited, with the result that in East Africa the immigrants have not been confined to the trading class, but have included coolies, clerks, artisans and mechanics. German East Africa was for long protected from this invasion, but latterly, for political reasons, considerable encouragement was given to Indians there.

"It is the distinguishing peculiarity of this country that here the Indian plays the parts of a clerk, artisan, carpenter, mechanic, etc., functions which the African is capable with training of performing, and does elsewhere perform, satisfactorily. The presence of the Indians, organised as they are to keep the African out of every position which an Indian could fill, deprives the African of all incentives to ambition and opportunities of advancement.

"It may be admitted that the Indian has played and still plays a useful part in opening up trade, stimulating the wants of the natives and inducing them to part with their products for purposes of export. For this service he is entitled to credit, but the essential point is that the same service might, with due encouragement, have been performed by the Native peoples.

"In every direction, the sphere of the Indian in this country is not complemental but competitive with those of the European and African. Even in the minor sphere the European, if the Indian would submit to the civic, moral and commercial obligations current in European Society, has nothing to fear from Indian competition, the contrary theory which formerly found favour in local governing circles having been completely exploded by the history of the past thirteen years. But with the African, the case is different. He is not strong enough anywhere to stand against the competition of a more crafty race. So long as that race is organised to keep him in servitude, by shouldering him out of all the posts which lie in the path of his advancement, he must be content to remain a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water.

"There are, therefore, strong economic reasons against the free admission of certain classes of Indians into the country.

"There are unfortunately other reasons of even greater weight against all Indian immigration into this, or indeed any part of Africa.

"Physically, the Indian is not a wholesome influence because of his incurable repugnance to sanitation and hygiene. In this respect the African is more civilised than the Indian, being naturally cleanly in his ways : but he is prone to follow the example of those around him. Plague, though said to be "endemic" in the country, has certainly been imported, if not originally then on later occasions, from Bombay, and Indian quarters are almost invariably the foci of each successive outbreak. The same may be said of all dirt-born diseases. The Indian is everywhere the despair of the sanitarian. He is a menace not only to himself, but especially to the natives of the country.

Moral Depravity of Indians

"The moral depravity of the Indian is equally damaging to the African, who in his natural state is at least innocent of the worst vices of the East. The Indian is the inciter to crime as well as vice, since it is the opportunity afforded by the ever-ready Indian receiver which makes thieving easy. If the Indians were eliminated, the number of offences against property, now high, would be reduced to manageable proportions.

"The Empire is faced with a serious dilemma which cannot be evaded. The choice lies between the vital interest of the African and the ambition of India. The presence of the Indian in this country is quite obviously inimical to the moral and physical welfare and the economic advancement of the native The matter is one of the highest Imperial importance, and we regard it as imperative that the Empire should definitely decide, and that without delay, whether the welfare of the African is to be subordinated in his own country to political considerations and the pretensions of the more restless elements of India. Upon the decision as to East Africa, the future of the whole continent will largely depend, for if Indians are to be allowed to stream in at any one entrance in unlimited numbers, it will scarcely be possible to localise them indefinitely in any particular territory.

"Our own view of this question is that there can be no excuse for meeting out to the African treatment to which India herself would never submit.

"On purely economic grounds, we submit the admission of the Indian was a cardinal error of policy. It involved the economic stagnation of the African throughout a large tract of Africa, and the consequent retardation of progress for the sake of what promised to be at best but a temporary convenience. In our view,

the error ought gradually, but without unnecessary delay,to be rectified, by similar means to those by which the same error is being rectified in Natal.

"The Railway and other Government Department should as quickly as possible replace Indian employees by Europeans in the higher grades and Africans in the lower. Further, Asiatics who are allowed to remain in this country should be obliged to conform to the same sanitary standards as Europeans as a condition of their residence here. It will probably be found that this will result in a great reduction in their numbers.

"The Imperial Principle which is to control the migration within the Empire of different peoples has been finally laid down by the Imperial Conference in July last in the following terms :—

"It is an inherent function of the Governments of the several communities of the British Commonwealth, including India, that each should enjoy complete control over the composition of its own population by means of restriction on immigration from any other communities."

"It is, therefore, essential that a decision of policy in reference to East Africa should be come to without further delay, and that such decision shall be based upon the principle of Self-Determination and shall consider only the interests of the indigenous native and Arab population and of the race responsible for their control.

"It is our firm conviction that the justification of our occupation of this country lies in our ability to adapt the native to our own civilisation.

"If we further complicate this task by continuing to expose the African to the antagonistic influence of Asiatic, as distinct from European philosophy, we shall be guilty of a breach of trust."

The following Note by the Rev. C. F. Andrews, who went to East Africa on deputation to enquire into the condition of Indians resident there, explains the last two extracts.

There are certain points in connection with these Nairobi Convention Resolutions which are worthy of special notice.

First of all, it will at once be recognised by any careful reader that the Petition *re*: Indians, as it is called, which was passed unanimously by the Convention, bears a marked resemblance to the paragraphs dealing with the same subject in the Government Economic Commission Report. Indeed, in some prominent passages, the phrases used are identical.

This may be accounted for by the fact already mentioned that all the non-official members who served on the Economic Commission were serving at one and the same time on the Executive Committee of the Convention of Associations. It may be well, in this place, to give their names in full as follows:—

The Right Hon. Lord Delamere.
The Hon. W. C. Hunter.
Major Ewart Scoot Grogan.
Thomas Alfred Wood Esquire.
E. Powyss Cobb Esquire.

These gentlemen came out, at different times, to East Africa as settlers. Mr. Hunter is an Estate Agent and Accountant.

The two official members, who served on behalf of the Government on the Economic Commission are as follows:

The Honourable Francis William Major, Chief of Customs, Chairman of the Commission.

William Alfred Kemp Esquire, Treasurer of the East African Protectorate Government.

Neither of these two Government officials raised any protest against the insertion of the paragraphs on the Indian question in the Report. Both of them signed their names to it. They must, therefore, take their full responsibility for the position finally adopted. It would not, however, be difficult to surmise that Lord Delamere and Major Grogan were leading personalities in deciding the Indian question, both on the Economic Commission itself and on the Convention of Associations.

When we examine further the two parallel documents we find that a claim is made by each in a very solemn manner to be allowed to exclude Indians as undesirables under a decision lately reached by the Imperial Conference in London about immigration control. (See Annual Register, 1919, 'India in the Imperial War Conference.') That the controlling party in that decision was a self-governing dominion, and in its original form it did not refer to Protectorates at all. That, however, is a merely technical point *of no very great importance*

But what is far more serious to notice is the assumption made by the Convention of Associations that it, and it alone, truly represents the British Commonwealth in its colonising and civilising work in the East Africa Protectorate; that this White community alone has acquired the right, by the very fact of its belonging to the dominant European Race, to represent the East African Government which is called a purely European Government; that the Indian community does not belong to the British Common-

wealth, and has no right of representation before the Imperial Conference,—not even in its own defence.

Interpreting as well as I can the resolutions passed at the Convention concerning the Indian community, I paraphrase them as follows:—

"The Indians are intruders,—that is the gist of the whole matter. Certain people, called Indians, have entered this country. The ruling White Race has no community of sentiment with them Their habits and mode of life are repugnant: their ideals are antagonistic These intruders are now standing between the natives and the natural protectors of the natives, the white community. The Indians must, therefore, be made to leave the country as quickly as possible. For the only protector of the native must be in future the dominant White Race."

This policy of exclusion of the Indian ultimately from the whole of the British Commonwealth in Africa must be carried out by a definite policy, on the same lines in Central Africa as those sdopted by the sister Colonies further South. That is to say, restriction of immigration must be immediately enforced by law, and all trading and land rights must be curtailed and no franchise must be granted. No Government service, in future, must be open to the Indians. Thus when every avenue of trade and land and franchise and Government service *within* the Protectorate is closed up more and more tightly, and when all further immigration into the Protectorate of new families is restricted, the whole position of Indians will be so insecure that very few will remain. Short leases in townships might still be permitted for a few Indian traders but, of course, the lease should not be long enough for any permanent building to be erected or any settlement foothold to be obtained. As leases fall in, these Indians also may be dealt with. Thus East Africa,—"this stronghold of European colonisation in Central Africa, may take her place besides her sister Colonies in this Asiatic policy." For by such a policy it may well be expected, that the present Indian residents, (when the Economic Commission Report number at about 12,500) will soon dwindle into insignificance Thus, in the end, all British East Africa, from Mombassa to Capetown will be reserved for European settlement only. There will be no complication of the problem of pure European Colonisation.

When the Indian by these political methods has been compelled at last to leave the country, then the ruling White Race can fulfil its true and solemn function, committed to it as a trust by the Imperial Government, of civilising the native by means of

its own Christianity and its own Christian Western ideals of enlightenment and progress

"To sum up the whole matter, Indians cannot in any true sense be indentified with the British Commonwealth or associated with its Government in East Africa. Wherever they are found in Africa side by side with the British they are aliens. They are antagonistic in their ideals. They are repugnant to the White Race. This is not a question of Temperate Zones merely. It refers to Tropical Zones as well. They can, in no sense, be regarded as a "Community of the British Commonwealth," however much they may claim British citizenship. Self-determination of the "communities of the British Commonwealth" rests with the Europeans. This dominant and exclusive position of the white community, as the only Community within the British Commonwealth, possessing self-determining and representative powers, must not be prejudiced by giving any system of franchise to the Asiatic. If the Indian community in the British Commonwealth, when leaving the shores of India for Africa, has no more citizenship than that, there truly, and without any rhetorical exaggeration, it has become "a pariah within the Empire."

This assumption, that the white community alone in Africa represents the British Commonwealth and that citizenship in that Commonwealth must never be extended beyond the white Race—this assumption, if once finally accepted and endorsed, would change the whole structure of the British constitution and would throw back all the progress that has been made in the Constitutional reform for many generations It would at once put the British dominions far behind the French in political advancement. What is far more serious, it would be a direct breach of charter after charter, treaty after treaty, and covenant after covenant ; on the basis of these charters and treaties the British Commonwealth throughout the world has been built up. The Queen's Proclamation of racial neutrality which brought peace after the Great Mutiny is only one example of such covenants between sovereign and people. Such sovereign, on coming to the throne, has repeated these covenants and on the faithful fulfilment of them to the very letter the stability of the whole structure of the British Constitution abroad depends.

India herself, within her own interior dominions, has gone forward for a century past, slowly but certainly, towards the fulfilment of the great Charters. In the last five years of the War the pace has been far more rapid. The reason for this has been that, in spite of all expectation of the enemy to the contrary,

in spite of the dead-weight of the subjection and disarmament which has enervated her manhood, in spite of a thousand hindrances of autocracy and racial domination, India when the time came gave with both hands all that was left to her, all she still possessed, to carry on the great struggle. She remained steadfast to the Allied Cause up to the end.

On the fields of Flanders and Gallipoli, in Mesopotamia and Palestine and in East Africa, Indian soldiers have fought under the British Flag, as comrades and free men, not as slaves. All too late the King's Commission has been given at last to Indian officers. India herself has been welcomed as a self-governing nation of the British Commonwealth within the League of Nations, side by side with Australia and New Zealand, South Africa and Canada. The new era which all this represents has been proclaimed by His Majesty the King, and the King's eldest son will inaugurate it on his coming visit to India.

It is strange indeed that at such an hour as this when history is being made and the British Common-wealth throughout the world is starting upon a new career of progress, the members of the Nairobi Convention should be so out of touch with the spirit of the times that they should endeavour to limit the boundaries of that world Commonwealth in which we live to the franchise of a single race. Nothing could be more out of harmony with all that the great War has been fought to achieve. On every side there has been a breaking down of racial barrier, not a building up. The tide is still flowing that way, in spite of the reaction which the exhaustion after the great struggle has caused.

What I ask of my fellow-countrymen is a reconsideration of this Convention position with regard to the constitution and frame work of the British Common-wealth, which was adopted in a time of strain and unnatural tension without sufficient coolness of thought. Now that life has become more normal, I would urge that the whole problem of the Commonwealth be studied thoroughly and closely in all its consequences and its bearing.

Before closing this chapter, I am obliged to refer to one more assumption made by the Nairobi Convention which is even more gravely serious in its consequence than that which I have already pointed out. The fact that it seems to have been made quite unconsciously tells me again of the strained and abnormal conditions under which the Resolutions were framed. I will try to explain it with perfect clearness.

If there is one thing more than any other that has differentiated the British Commonwealth abroad from all the other great dominions of the past, it has been the pledge, faithfully given and

undertaken, of complete religious neutrality. Only with such an understanding could vast countries containing many millions of Muhammadans, Budhhists, Hindus, and followers of other creeds (far outnumbering those professing the creed of the sovereign himself) have been kept together with the utmost loyalty in a common allegiance.

Yet this petition *re* : Indians of the Nairobi Convention of Associations advocates a policy of the protectorate Government which would directly favour one special religion and would penalise others. That is to say, it openly demands a breach of religious neutrality on the part of the government.

This is the only meaning I can deduce from the clauses of the Petition which, for the sake of clearness, I will quote again in full at this point :

"Whereas our national ideals of enlightenment and progress are crystallised in our Christian Western civilisation and it is our duty to make sure that the best contained therein is readily available for the needs of awakening Africa. . . . . and whereas these (Indian) people follow in all things a civilisation which is Eastern and in many respects repugnant to our own, and whereas their social status brings themmore frequently into contact with the African and thus subjects him to intimate personal influence antagonistic to the ideals of the west,....."

The petition *re*: Indians goes on to demand that in consequence of these very things the Indian settlers should be excluded from East Africa and the protectorate should be made a close preserve for Christian Western civilisation.

I have been told on good authority that the word Christian was deliberately added after a prolonged discussion on the petition *re*: Indians, and that it was lastly accepted by all the representatives of the Associations There can be no question that, as the petition *re*: Indians now stands, in its final shape, this word "Christian" is emphatic and affects vitally the meaning. The presence of missionaries, to which special attention is drawn by the petition itself, gives point to the word "Christian" and makes clear the reason for its insertion. To paraphrase very briefly, it is because the Indian follow a mode of life which is not Christian, that their presence among the Africans is undesirable.

We find, then, that the Convention of European Associations of East Africa, claiming to represent not only the British Nations but also the British Commonwealth throughout the world, has actually framed a petition *re* : Indians asking for permission for the exclusion of Indians in the name of Christianity. The ultimate aim in view is to drive the Indians

out of Africa, because their own civilisation is antagonistic to the religious beliefs of the petitioners which are embodied in their own civilization. After the deliberate insertion of the word "Christian" in the petition I do not see how there can be any logical escape from that interpretation. It is a policy which has always had a great fascination for the missionary propagandist and it would appear to me that the presence of the missionaries influenced the leaders of the Convention of Associations far more than they suppose and caused them to make this fatal blunder.

In order to show how fatal the blunder has been, let me take a parallel case. As a pure and simple *reductio ad absurdum*, the next obvious step to take, when once the Indian had been cleared out of the way, would be to remove the Arab out of the missionaries' path of Christianising the African, on exactly the same grounds as the Indian. The fact that he had been an intruder into the indigenous African's country only a little longer than the Indian should surely not stand in the way of such a logical conclusion.

It hardly needs to be pointed out that any such breaches of religious neutrality under the British Constitution would be a far more serious infraction of all treaties and treaty rights than the breach of racial neutrality referred to in a previous paragraph. The racial neutrality clauses in the defferent treaties have been always conditional : the words have been added to the treaties "as far as may be" : what has been aimed at in all such covenants is a hope for the future which must be steadily and persistently fulfilled. But the religious neutrality clauses have from the first been absolute and unconditional, and to any one who has studied constitutional history, breaches of neutrality such as that which the Convention of Associations deliberately contemplates are absolutely void—I would almost add the word rediculously impossible. If a direct infraction of racial neutrality, destroying rights already won, would have serious consequences to the stability of the British Commonwealth established throughout the world, breaches of religious neutrality, if once put into practice, would shake it to its very foundations.

Again, as I look back at the special period when the Convention petition *re* : Indians was drawn up, conviction becomes all the stronger that the constitutional blunders which have been committed in the name of the British Commonwealth, have been due to the strained condition of men's mind directly after the War and to the impossibility at such a period of calm and collected thinking.

Now that the Government of the East Africa Protectorate

and also the Imperial Government itself have repudiated the findings of the Economic Commission on the Indian question and by so doing invalidated the position taken by the Convention of Associations, I have a great hope that the justice of the plea which I have made for a reconsideration of the whole position will be acknowledged and that an armistice will be called immediately to this internecine war between Indians and Europeans which may ultimately be transformed into a settled and permanent peace.

C. F. ANDREWS.

East African Indian National Congress.

15th November 1919.

Resolutions adopted at the Second Session of the East African Indian National Congress held on the 15th and 16th November 1919, at Nair's Building, Nairobi, under the presidentship of Husseinbhai Suliman Virji Esqr. the leading Indian resident.

Resolution No. 1

"That this Congress of representatives of the Indians of British East Africa, Uganda, Zanzibar and Ex German East Africa, places on record its expression of unswerving loyalty towards His Majesty's throne and person, and its sense of hearty co-operation with the local Governments of the East African Protectorates and territories."

Proposed by the President and carried unanimously.

Resolution No. 2

"That this Congress deplores the practice at present obtaining of imposing restrictions on land sales and mortgages between the European and the British Indian subjects of His Majesty the King Emperor and humbly prays His Majesty's Government to be pleased to instruct the local Governments to remove all such restrictions."

Proposed by Mr. Hashambhai Jamal of Kisumu. Seconded by Mr. Muhammadbhai of Kisumu.

Resolution No. 3

"That this Congress is of opinion that at least one-third of the seats on the Legislative and Executive Councils of the British East Africa Protectorate be allotted to the Indian Community by election, and that similar provision be made in the case of Zanzibar, Uganda and ex-German East Africa, as soon as Legislative and Executive Councils come into existence in the said Protectorates."

Proposed by Mr Hassanali Mussaji Mulla Dawoodji of Mombassa. Seconded by Mr. Yusufalli Esmailji Jeewanji of Zanzibar.

RESOLUTION No. 4

"That this Congress respectfully appeals to the local Governments of the East Africa, Uganda and Zanzibar Protectorates to recognise the services of the Indian Volunteer Corps in East Africa in the same way as those of the local European Troops."

Proposed by Mr G. B. Tadwalker of Nairobi. Seconded by by Mr. Savale of Mombasa.

RESOLUTION No. 5

"That this Congress submits to the local Government that recognition be accorded to the Indian University degrees for the learned professions."

Proposed by Mr. Mangal Dass of Nairobi. Seconded by Mr. Savale of Mombassa.

RESOLUTION No. 6

"That all Indian Medical Practitioners not below the rank of Sub-Assistant Surgeons be allowed to carry on independent Medical practice in British East Africa."

Proposed by Mr. H. H. Mody of Mombasa. Seconded by Mr. Zuzarti of Londiani.

RESOLUTION No 7

"That this Congress is of opinion that the higher posts of trust and responsibility in the Civil and Military Services of all the Protectorates of Eastern Africa such as those of Judges, Magistrates and Officers in the army, should be thrown open to capable Indians and equal opportunities of advancement be given to them along with other sections of His Majesty's subjects, and pravs the local Governments to take steps in the matter at an early date."

Proposed by Lala Ralla Ram of Londaini. Seconded by Mr, V. K. Buxi of Mombassa

RESOLUTION No 8

"That this Congress respectfully submits to all the local Governments that respectable Indians should be appointed Justices of the Peace, Honorary Magistrates, and Visiting Justice to the Prisons."

Proposed by Mr. H. S. Trivedy of Nairobi. Seconded by Mr. Sharma of Nairobi

RESOLUTION No. 9

"That this Congress requests the local Government to extend to the Indian community the privilege of trial by jury of their own Countrymen."

Proposed by Mr. Hassanalli Mulla Dawoodji of Mombasa. Seconded by Mr. S. D. Puri of Machakose.

RESOLUTION No. 10

"That this Congress requests the Government of the East Africa Protectorate to consider favourably the case of small Indian Shambaholders of Noirobi and other places and to renew their leases."

Proposed by Mr. H. S. Trivedy of Nairobi. Seconded by Mr. S. D. Puri of Machakose.

RESOLUTION No. 11

"That this Congress requests the local Governments that steps be taken to provide for adequate representation of the Indian community on all commissions and the other public bodies or boards."

Proposed by Mr. Rana of Daressalam. Seconded by Mr. Manibhoy Jamna Hammerd of Kisumu.

RESOLUTION No. 12

"That this Congress is of opinion that the Bill known as the 'Segregation of Races Bill' is a racial bill of the worst possible type, and is subversive of all economic principles and prejudicial to the rights of private ownership and destructive of all vested interests of the Indian community in the East Africa and Uganda Protectorates, and therefore it emphatically protests against it and respectfully urges the Government of the E. A. P. not to proceed with it."

Proposed by Mr. M. A. Desai of Nairobi. Seconded by Mr. Buxi of Mombassa. Supported by Mr. Mangal Dass of Nairobi.

RESOLUTION No. 13

"This Congress emphatically and indignantly protests against the expressed opinion of the Convention of Associations that the Immigration of British Indians should be restricted with a view to their ultimate exclusion. This Congress is of opinion that the presence of the British Indians in East Africa in no way interferes with the desired advancement of the children of the soil, but on the other hand their presence is conducive to their advancement."

Proposed by Mr. M. A. Desai of Nairobi. Seconded by Mr. P. L. Pandya of Kisumu.

RESOLUTION No. 14.

"That this Congress appeals to the local Governments to requite the services of the Indian Soldiers who took part in the

local campaign by making them grants of land in the same way as is done in the case of British Soldiers of European descent."

Proposed by Mr. G. B. Tadwalker of Nairobi. Seconded by Mr. Habib Jamal of Daressalaam.

RESOLUTION No. 15

"That this Congress is of opinion that Indians should be granted plots both residential and business in all townships, on a lease of 99 years, and that such plots should not be merely on an annual tenancy, as the latter method gives no security to the plot-holders and retards the development of the country, that the area of such plots should not be less than 5000 square feet, and the annual rental should not be calculated on a different basis from that appiled to European plot-holders."

Proposed by Mr Quar-ud-deen of Nyeri. Seconded by Mr. H. S. Trivedy of Nairobi. Supported by Mr. Diwanchand of Nairobi.

RESOLUTION No. 16

"This Congress respectfully prays the Imperial Government to definitely declare their policy about the equality of political status of Indians in Eastern Africa Protectorates and territories."

Proposed by Mr. Varma of Nairobi. Seconded by Mr. Lahori Ram of Nairobi. Supported by Mr. Rana of Daressalaam.

RESOLUTION No. 17

"That this Congress, in consideration of the services rendered by the Indians in conquering the Ex German East Africa, respectfully prays the League of Nations and the mandatory power thereunder, to reserve the said territory for the purpose of Indian Colonisation."

Proposed by Mr. B. S. Varma of Nairobi. Seconded by Mr. L. M. Savla of Mombassa.

RESOLUTION No. 18

"That this Congress is of opinion that in view of the termination of hostilities over a year ago, the time has arrived for the Government to press upon shipping companies the necessity of reducing their rates of freights and passage in order to reduce the cost of living in all the Protectorates of Eastern Africa as soon as possible."

Proposed by Mr. H. S. Trivedy of Nairobi. Seconded by Mr. H. H. Mody of Mombasa.

RESOLUTION No. 19

"That in view of many disabilities, discomforts and hardships

continually suffered by Indian passengers and shippers by the European managed steamship lines calling at the East African and Zanzibar ports, and the great increases in the complaints of the sufferers, it is most necessary and advisable to save the Indian public from such disabilities imposed upon them at the pleasure of European Managers, by organising a purely Indian line of Steamers; an earnest appeal should, therefore, be made to the leading Indian capitalists of East and South Africa and India to combine strongly and to organise a line to meet the requirements of the Indian traders and public."

Proposed by Mr. Eusuf-alli Esmailji Jeewanji of Zanzibar. Seconded by Mr. Muhammad Bhai of Kisumu.

RESOLUTION No. 20

"That this Congrees requests the Government to extend the right of Municipal and Legislative Franchise to the Indian women side by side with their European sisters on educational qualifications."

Proposed by Mrs Ealita Savale of Mombassa. Seconded by Mrs. Indirabai Panthwaidya of Nairobi.

RESOLUTION No 21

"In view of the fact that a large number of Indians, who have served and have been serving the various Military Departments during and after the termination of the great War in the capacity of mechanics, artisans and clerks, have been practically denied all the Military privileges and also the civil concessions granted on the recommendation of Sir Alfred Lascelles on unjustifiable grounds, the Congress, therefore, urges upon the Government to recognise their services as civil or military officers and grant them the respective privileges for their relief."

Proposed by Mr. G. B. Tadwalker of Nairobi. Seconded by Mr. R. G. Bargaonker of Nairobi.

RESOLUTION No. 22

"That this Congress is of opinion that the Government of East Africa should adopt such measures to settle the question of Exchange and Currency as will be finally decided upon by the Government of India after the report and recommendations of the Committee appointed for that purpose by that Government and now sitting in London."

Proposed by Mr. Savale of Mombasa. Seconded by Mr. Hassanalli Madatalli of Nairobi.

RESOLUTION No. 23

"That this Congress most strongly urges the Government

to take immediate steps to remove the humiliating discrimination on the Uganda Railway carriages, waiting rooms, lake steamers and Nairobi Rickshaws by which humanity is divided between Europeans (although for the purpose of taxation the Indians are classed with Europeans) and the Indians are grouped with the non-Europeans."

Proposed by Mr. Hassanalli Maddatalli of Nairobi. Seconded by Mr. S D. Puri for Mr Dharamsi Khimji of Machakos.

RESOLUTION No. 24

"That this Congress respectfully prays the Imperial Government to arrange for an early payment of the value of pre-war and interim German currency notes in possession of Indians in East Africa and various other claims such as debts, loans, requisitions, etc, against the German Government and German subjects"

Proposed by Mr. Himmatsinghji Rana of Daressalaam. Seconded by Mr. M. A. Desai of Nairobi.

RESOLUTION No. 25

"That this Congress emphatically protests against the flogging of Indian prisoners in the name of discipline in local gaols, and urges the Government to withdraw the powers imposing this barbarous punishment granted by the Prisons Ordinance, 1918, to Superintendents of Prisons, whereby the Superintendent who is necessarily the complainant, turns into a Judge, which is fundamentally opposed to the principles of equity and justice. This Congress also urges the Government that the present scale of diet and clothing for Indian prisoners in the East African gaols being wholly inadequate, to alter the same to suit their health, their custom, habits and sentiments and also to make improvements in their general treatment."

Proposed by Mr. Sharma of Nairobi. Seconded by Mr. Bhutt of Mombassa.

RESOLUTION No. 26

"This Congress respectfully requests the local Governments to take immediate steps and make suitable provision for improving the education of Indian children. This Conggress further urges the necessity of establishing model High Schools for Indian children in the capitals of the said Protectorates, and primary schools in the townships having at least twenty boys of school-going age."

Proposed by Mr. Lahori Ram of Nairobi. Seconded by Mr. Mathurbhai of Nakuru, Supported by Mr. Yusufalli Esmailji Jeewanji of Zanzibar.

RESOLUTION NO. 27

"That in view of the cessation of hostilities this Congress requests that Indian subjects of His Majesty the King should no longer be compelled to have passports to travel from one part of His Majesty's Dominions to another, namely, India and Eastern Africa and vice versa."

Proposed by Mr. Rana of Daressa'am. Seconded by Mr. H. H. Mody of Mombassa.

Resolution No. 28

'That this Congress respectfully draws the attention of the local Governments of the Protectorates to the dire necessity of establishing hospitals, where Indians may have facilities for medical treatment and requests the said Governments to take early steps in the matter"

Proposed by Mr. Hassanalli Mulla Dandji of Mombasa. Seconded by Mr. P. L. Pandya of Kisumu.

Resolution No. 29

"This Congress deplores the omission on the part of the Government of East Africa Protectorate to appoint any Indian member on B. E. A. Economic Commission and resents and expresses its strong indignation at the slanderous, misleading and untruthful portion of the Report which affects the Indian community and hereby records its disapproval thereof."

Proposed by Mr. Shums-ud-deen of Nairobi. Seconded by Mr. M. A. Desai of Nairobi.

Resolution No. 30

The following items were adopted as one resolution to be submitted to the Government of Uganda Protectorate. (a) "That plots for buildings be granted to the Indian community on 99 years leases, that shorter leases be extended with an option of getting them turned into freehold. (b) That arrangements be made to allot Crown lands to the Indian community for agricultural purposes, and that Indians be allowed to purchase freehold land from the natives. (c) That trade should be free, and that, as in India, there should be no licences or restrictions. (d) In view of the constant increase of thefts and crimes in the country the Government be pleased to secure the services of trained Indian and European Police and Civil Servants. (e) That Government should open schools at all centres where there are 20 boys or non-natives, of school going age. (f) That there should be equal treatment of non-natives, as they pay equal taxes. (g) That Indians be represented on all bodies. They will be a great

help as they will supply first-hand information. (g) That more accommodation be provided for Indians on steamers and Railway in first, second and third classes. (i) Indian soldiers be allowed to settle in the country. (j) Registered medical and legal Practitioners of India be allowed to practise in the country.

Proposed by Dr Lahna Singh of Kampala Second by Mr. Asha Ram of Jinja Supported by Mr. M. A. Desai of Nairobi.

Resolution No. 31

"That in the humble opinion of this Congress, the claims of Indian shop-keepers of the Kisi District in the Nyanza Province in connection with the loot by the native tribes of the district in 1914 are payable by the local Government of East Africa Protectorate and not by the Foreign Claims' Committee, in as much as the property was looted by the natives of the District themselves, and not by German Troops and therefore this Congress most respectfully prays for an early payment especially in view of the fact that money from the natives of the said District has already been realised."

Proposed by Mr. Muhammadbhoy Kassumbhoy Lakha of of Kisumu. Seconded by Mr Hassumbhoy Jamal of Kisumu.

Resolution No. 32

"That this Congress does not approve of the present practice of the Zanzibar Government of investing its surplus revenue with other Governments and is of the opinion that such surplus revenue be utilised in establishing agricultural bank and such investments as would be conducive to the economic interest of the Zanzibar Protectorate."

Proposed by Mr Yusufalli Esmailji Jeewanjee of Zanzibar Seconded by Mr. Rana of Daressalaam

Resolution No. 33

"That this Congress requests the Government of the Zanzibar Protectorate to immediately organise a Municipality in Zanzibar, with a good proportion of elected Indian Representatives."

Proposed by Mr. Bakshi of Mombasa. Seconded by Mr Rana of Daressalaam.

Resolution No. 34

"That this Congress is of opinion that the clause in the Bill of Lading of the British India Steam Navigation Company which reads as follows, be amended to the value of Rs. 1,500 per freight ton and Rs. 750 per package :—

"The company will not be accountable for gold, silver, bullion specie, jewellery, precious metals, plated wares, documents, works

of art, watches, silks or other precious or valuable articles in any respect, or goods of any description whatever beyond the *value* of *Rs. 500 freight ton*, or relatively for any portion thereof, or beyond the amount of *Rs. 250 for any one package*, or relatively for any portion thereof, unless a declaration of the value of such goods has been made prior to shipment, and a special written shipping order or advice note granted for same,and unless the Bill of Lading be signed for such goods, and the value declared there."

Proposed by Mr. Bukshi of Mombasa, seconded by Mr. Hasanalli Mulla Dawoodji of Mombasa

RESOLUTION No. 35

"That this Congress, representing the entire Indian community of British East Africa, Uganda, Zanzibar and Ex German East Africa professing various religions, views with grave anxiety, (1) the threatned dismemberment of Turkey from European powers, (2) the intended transference of the holy places of Islam from the temporal power of Khalifa, (3) the distribution of the Turkish Empire among the Allies, and trusts His Majesty's Government will secure fulfilment of the pledge given by the Right Honourable Mr. Lloyd George regarding Turkey on the 6 January, 1918, to the effect that the religious places like Mecca, Madina, Asia Minor and Constantinople as their capital having a predominant Muslim population must remain under Turkish Sovereignty."

RESOLUTION No. 36

"That this Congress urges the Local Government of the East Africa Protectorate to repeal the Deportation Orders passed under Martial Law in 1914, 15, 16 against Messrs, E, W. Ritch, R. B. Patel, Meharchand Puri, Tirath Ram, Bansilal and all other members of the Indian community."

Moved by the President.

RESOLUTION No. 37

"Inasmsch as the Indian community pays a larger share of the Municipal taxes, owns very considerable vested interests and has a preponderating majority in the population of the township of Nairobi, this Congress requests the Government of East Africa Protectorate to grant to the Indian community the right to elect the same number of members as that of the non official European members on the Nairobi Municipal Committees."

Proposed by Mr. M. A. Desai and seconded by Mr. Mangal Dass, both of Nairobi and ex-elected Indian Municipal Members.

Resolution No. 38

"Giving due regard to the necessity of formation of a permanent Standing Committee to conduct the work of the Congress, this Congress resolves that such Committee shall be appointed, and Mr. B. S. Varma shall be its first General Secretary."

Proposed by Mr. G. B. Tadvalker of Nairobi. Seconded by Mr. M. A. Desai of Nairobi.

Resolution No. 39

"This Congress firmly resolves that this is the opportune moment for sending to England a deputation, without delay, of the Indian representatives from East Africa, Uganda, Zanzibar and ex-German East Africa to represent the Indian cause personally to the Right Honourable the Secretaries of State for the Colonies and for India, the public, Members of Parliament, and the prominent Indians in England."

Proposed by Mr. B. S. Varma of Nairobi. Seconded by Mr. Shums-udd deen of Nairobi. Supported by Mr. G.B. Tadwalker of Nairobi.

Resolution No. 40

"Resolved that an adequate fund be raised for the permanent maintenance of the Congress and for sending an Indian Deputation to England to get the grievances of the Indian community in Eastern Africa redressed."

Proposed by Mr. M A. Desai of Nairobi, Seconded by Mr. G. B. Tadwalker of Nairobi.

Resolution No. 41

"That this Congress hereby authorises the President to send copies of the Proceedings to the Governments concerned and to such newspapers, public bodies and personages as he may deem fit."

Proposed by Mr. B. S. Varma of Nairobi. Seconded by Mr. M. A. Desai of Nairobi,

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Indians in E. Africa.

Statement of Sir G. Barnes.

At the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council on the 19 Sep. 1919 Sir George Barnes, replying to Sir Dinshah Wacha's question regarding Indian traders in East Africa, said :

The attention of the Government of India has been drawn to a statement which was published in the press made by the Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau regarding East African Trade. I regret to say that the statement of the Committee, that colour prejudice has begun to make itself felt in East Africa, appears from the information which we received from the various sources to be not unfounded. In March last, we received a Deputation of Indians from East Africa, headed by Mr. Alibhai Jeeramji, and were much impressed with the sober and convincing way in which they stated their grievances. His Excellency the Viceroy at once telegraphed a summary of their grievances to the Secretary of State, and urged strongly that their claims should receive sympathetic consideration. The memorial presented by the Deputation was subsequently forwarded to the Secretary of State with a despatch in which the Government of India urged that there was no justification in a Crown Colony or Protectorate for assigning to British Indians status in any way inferior to that of any other class of His Majesty's subjects resident in the colony. The Government of India further urged not only that the more galling disabilities of Indians in East Africa should be removed, but also that their claims to a share in the Government of the country by adequate representation on the Legislative Council and on local bodies should be sympathetically considered. The committee's statement also refers to another grievance which was not mentioned by the Deputation, namely that an attempt is being made to remove Indian ginneries from the leading industrial places like Kampala. It had already been brought to the notice of the Government of India that the cotton policy of the Uganda Government was likely to injure Indian trade interests. We have more than once addressed the Secretary of State on the subject, protesting most strongly against the restrictions on trade which particularly affect the Indian owned ginneries at the ports. The Hon. Member will be glad to hear also that a meeting of the Uganda Chamber of Commerce, at

which only one Indian was present, passed a resolution that the proposals of the Uganda Government, if carried out, would constitute very grave injustice to the ginning industry, and would be a serious interference with the freedom of trade.

Regarding the policy of segregation, to which the Hon. Member specifically refers, we have received papers from the Secretary of State from which it appears that in a report on sanitary matters in East African Protectorate, Uganda and Zanzibar, Professor W. J. Simpson, who is one of the leading authorities on tropical sanitation, has recommeded the division of residential areas into separate lanes in which different building regulations should be enforced by the sanitary authorities. The Secretary of State has already protested against any such division being based on racial discrimination, and has pointed out that Professor Simpson himself has observed in his report that the division into separate zones would not prevent any European, Asiatic or African from owning land or buildings in any zone, provided they conformed to the provisions relating to these zones. The Secretary of State for the Colonies has promised to give further consideration to the question.

Indians in South Africa.

Early in the year 1919 the Union Parliament of South Africa passed a drastic Anti-Indian Law crippling the freedom of Indians settled there. The following pages give all necessary informations about this matter.

Act III of '85, the Republican Gold Law of South Africa, was directed against the indentured Indian Labourers, who it was feared at that time might innundate the Transvaal from Natal which has a large Indian Settlement. The Gold Law imposed heavy legal restrictions on the acquisition of land by the Indian Labourers.Then in 1908 another Gold Law (Transvaal) was passed which prohibited ' in respect of the occupation by coloured people (which included all Non-white people) of property in proclaimed areas", the prohibition extending to all classes of Indians, including big merchants long resident for trade. The Smuts-Gandhi agreement came next after long struggle led by Mahatma Gandhi (see p 339, 344). In the Cape (Natal) the coloured men can acquire property, and the recent legislation of the Transvaal threatens not only to exclude Indians from acquiring any land-right but also to deprive those who have by long residence acquired it.

DEPUTATION TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

On August 28, 1919 an important and influential deputation waited upon the Rt. Hon. E. S. Montagu, M. P., Secretary of State, to protest against the recent legislation enacted by the Union Parliament of S. Africa affecting the rights of residence, trade, and the ownership of fixed property of Transvaal Indians, and to make representation thereon. The deputation consisted of Dewan Bahadur V. P. Madhava Rao Mr. N. C. Kelkar, Hon. Surendranath Banerjea, Sir J. D. Rees, Bart., M. P., Sir William Meyer, K. C. I. E.. Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, C. B. E., Hon. M. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Hon. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. M· Ramachandra, Mr. N. M. Samarth, Hon. C. Y. Chintamani, Hon. G. M. Bhurgri, Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, Mr. S. L. Polak, Mr. Chakkarai Chetty, Mr. Chenchiah, and Mr. H. N. Kunzru. Many of the members of this deputation

were then in England in connection with the constitutional reforms for India.

The deputation was introduced by the Hon. Surendranath Banerjea. The proceedings began with an expression of regret on behalf of those present at the death of General Botha. The memorandum which was read by Mr. Polak on Mr. Banerjea's behalf, dealt with the fresh grievances and disabilities imposed on the Transvaal Indian community by the passage of the Trading and Land Act, and asked that it should be repealed, that full citizenship rights should be granted to the Indians of South Africa, and that responsible Indians should be associated with the enquiry into the Indian question which is to be entrusted to a Commission recently promised by the acting Prime Minister of the Union. The memorandum also asked that full effect should be given to the reciprocity resolution passed at the Imperial Conference of 1917, as it would have an appreciable moral effect and enhance the status of Indians in the Dominions.

Mr. Banerjea supplemented the memorandum with a few remarks of his own. He referred to the services rendered by India during the War, the position assigned to her in the League of Nations, and the policy which was being pursued by His Majesty's Government in order to enable her to make a beginning in the direction of Responsible Government. In conclusion he added that, as General Smuts, who was present at the Imperial Conference in 1917, and who had promised that, as there was no fear of an unlimited influx of Indians into South Africa, the grievances of the Indians would be sympathetically dealt with, would in all probability be the next Prime Minister of the Union; he hoped that the serious disabilities under which Indians were labouring would be promptly removed.

He was followed by Sir J. D. Rees, Bart M. P., who expressed sympathy with the Indian community, and referred especially to the services rendered to their cause by Sir Mancherji Bhownaggree.

Sir William Meyer said that the Government was entirely at one with the educated Indians in this matter and that it would continue to press the claims of Indians to just and humane treatment as vigorously as it had done in the past. He hoped that its protests would produce some effect, but, if they did not, the Government of India should be given the power to pass retaliatory measures dealing with South Africans as they had dealt with Indians.

The Hon. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, was in favour of retaliatory measures, but was afraid that their practical effect would not be much. He submitted, therefore, that the Imperial Government should regard it as its duty to protect Indians against oppression.

Mr. Montagu, who spoke very feelingly and eloquently, said that he had never seen at the Council Hall a deputation more representative of Indian public opinion and of India's unity and strength than the one assembled that evening. He was entirely of the same view as the deputation, and said that there was a legitimate ground for grave dissatisfaction at the treatment meted out to the South African Indians after the speeches delivered by General Smuts and Mr. Burton at the Imperial Conference of 1917 and 1918. (See Ann. Reg. 1919) He then dealt with the various remedial measures put forward by the deputation. He hoped that the reciprocity resolution would be put into effect if it were necessary to do so, but he agreed with Dr. Sapru in thinking that it would not benefit Indians materially. He was of opinion that attention should be directed to the Commission of Enquiry, and he urged earnestly that Indians should give evidence before it,declaring that its recommendations would be a test of the sincerity of the welcome given to India by the representatives of the Dominions at the Imperial Conference. In view of the importance of the enquiry, the Government of India had asked that it should be represented on the Commission by two persons, one official and the other a non official Indian. This request had been supported by the Colonial Office. If it were acceded to by the Union Government the greatest care would be exercised in selecting representatives who enjoyed the confidence of the Indian people.

The deputation then withdrew, after an expression of warm appreciation at the cordiality and sympathy with which it had been received by the Secretary of State.

Note by Mahatma M. K. Gandhi.

Mr. Montagu's reply to the deputation that awaited on him on the South African question is re-assuring so far as it goes. It is a matter for great satisfaction that he will secure Indian representation upon the Commission, provided of course that representation is equal to that of the Anti-Asiatic party and provided further that the Commission has no power to diminish the existing rights of British Indians and provided further that the Asiatic Bill just passed remains in abeyance and that the Commission is given the power to recommend its withdrawal.

Past promises, considerations of equity and justice, the exemplary conduct of the Indian settlers of South Africa, their contribution to the late South African war at the time of the Zulu rebellion and the European war, make an overwhelming case against any diminution of existing rights. The Commission, in order to be just and effective, can only contemplate the relaxations, for which the justification is the strong prejudice only against Indians on the part of the European traders. But such unreasoning prejudice may be pleaded as a cause in a system of government that is inefficient and corrupt. The Imperial Government to be truly Imperial must have, under certain circumstances, be they ever so rare, powers of effective intervention for the protection of weaker interests It is, therefore, not possible for Indian public opinion to accept Mr. Montagu's dictum that an exercise of the veto is politically unfeasible. The veto is not merely a moral check, but in exceptional cases it must prove a very material and tangible check upon excesses and upon injustice. The Empire to hold together must have some basic principles from which no member dare depart. If Mr. Montagu is convinced, as he apparently is, of the injustice of the Asiatic Act and of its controverting the principles of the British constitution, where is the difficulty about vetoing the Act? The utmost that can happen is that South Africa may secede from the Imperial partnership. Surely, it were a thousand times better that South Africa should cease to be a member of the Empire than that it should corrupt and undermine the whole of the Imperial fabric. It is infinitely better that the Empire has fewer partners than there are, but all working together in the same upward direction, than that it should by coquetting with legalised confiscations and such other immoralities sow the seeds of its own disruption. And after all, selfishness, greed and injustice are hand-maids of cowardice. There is no reason to fear that a wholesome and timely exercise of the Royal veto will create any great stir in South Africa. The late Sir Henry Parkes, if my recollection serves me right, did issue a threat of secession or some such thing when the late Mr. Chamberlain dared the Australian Immigration Restriction Act containing a racial bar.

But I am free to confess that so long as milder measures are available, the extreme remedy of vetoing ought not to be applied. It is undoubtedly like a strong blister causing great though momentary pain, and therefore to be sparingly used. The proposed Commission, if there is a strong Indian representation

upon it, should prove effective enough for the purpose to be attained. The best thing, therefore, for the time being is to concentrate public opinion upon a strong Commission and a proper safe-guarding reference under which it should act.

It was a great relief to find Mr. Montagu not falling into the Reciprocity trap prepared by Sir William Meyer, let me hope, in a hasty moment. I am sorry Mr. Bannerji so easily fell into it. It is murdering the language to use so good a word as Reciprocity for so bad a cause as the one under notice. If we must go in for a bad thing, we must at least recognise it by its correct name which is Retaliation. Personally, I do not believe in retaliation at all. It always in the end returns with redoubled force on the retaliator. But as the *Times of India* which is rendering signal service to the cause of our countrymen in South Africa very rightly points out, retaliation miscalled reciprocity can serve no earthly purpose in the present case. "Its main objection is its utter futility," and if we ever embark upon this very unpractical method, it will be hailed with satisfaction by the Anti-Asiatic party in South Africa, and we shall be cursed by the hundred and fifty thousand Indians whose very existence is at stake. One may retaliate when the stake is good. It is terrible to think of it when it is men and women who constitute the stake. What comfort can it be to our countrymen in South Africa, for India to be able to send back a steamer-load of cargo from South Africa.

Gandhi–Barnes Correspondence.

A portion of the correspondence that passed between Mr. Gandhi and the Hon. Sir George Barnes, Commerce and Industries Member of the Government of India, in regard to the Asiatic Trading Amendment Act passed by the South African Legislature was issued to the Press by Mr. Gandhi. It consists of two letters, one written by Sir George Barnes to Mr. Gandhi on the 18th July, '19 reviewing the position in South Africa at length, regretting that protest from the Government of India had been unavailing and assuring that the Government would consider most anxiously further action to be taken when the full text of the new Statute is received ; and the other being Mr. Gandhi's reply to Sir George Barnes.

Letter from Sir George Barnes—Resume of Events in South Africa, 18 July 1919.

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I sent you only a very short note a few days ago in answer to your letter of the 3rd July, because I wanted to defer a fuller answer until I was able to deal with the subject at length which it deserves. I told you, in my first note, that I felt certain that you needed no assurance from me that the events in South Africa, which have led up to the passing of the new statute have caused the Viceroy and myself deepest anxiety, and that His Excellency has repeatedly pressed the Indian case on the Colonial Office through the Secretary of State for India. I was myself, as you very possibly know, in South Africa when the present situation was beginning to develop. I saw Lord Buxton many times and know that he was in constant touch with his Ministers on the subject and did everything in his power to safeguard Indian interests. As you know, the present trouble arose from an injunction which Krugersaorp Municipal Council obtained at the beginning of this year from the Supreme Court at Pretoria, under Section 130 and 131 of the Transvaal Precious and Base Metals Act, 1908, restraining a European firm from permitting Indians to reside on or occupy certain stands in the township of Krugersaorp. The Chairman of the Transvaal British Indian Association, thereupon, telegraphed to the Viceroy that the effect of this order would be the virtual ruin of Indian mercantile community throughout Witwaterstand. Another cable to the same effect from the same Association was

received by yourself, a copy of which you forwarded to us. His Excellency at once gave instruction that the cable addressed by the Transvaal British Indian Association to you (which was some what fuller in its terms than one addressed to him) should be cabled in full to the Secretary of State and this was done. The next step was a motion by a Cape Town member for the Select Committee of the House of Assembly to enquire into the new disability of Indians created by the judgment of the Supreme Court. The original object of this motion seems to have been the removal of the disability and it is most regrettable that an amendment was carried to extend the scope of the Committee's inquiry to cover the alleged evasion of the old Boer Law, No. III of 1885 by the formation of limited liability companies. The whole position of Indian traders in Transvaal thus came under examination and reports of subsequent debates in the House of Assembly reveal only too clearly the feelings which were aroused. We have not yet received a copy of the Bill which was introduced as a result of the Committee's report, but from information received I understand the effect of the new law (for the bill is now a statute) is a follows : (1) Statutory protection is given to existing trading rights held by Indians on the 1st May, 1919, in Government townships and on proclaimed land in Transvaal, both in respect of the present holders of licences and of their successors-in-title so long as business remains in the same township. (2) The existing restrictive provisions of the Precious and Base Metals Act 1908 remain in force and from 1st May, 1919 no fresh trading licences except renewals will be granted to Indians in Government townships or on proclaimed land in Transvaal. (3) The rights in fixed property acquired before May 1st, 1919, by Indian companies are respected, but in future restrictions of law No. 3 of 1885 will apply to companies as well as to individuals.

We do not yet know how the right to hold mortgages on fixed property is affected, but we have telegraphed to the Secretary of State for information. On the other hand, I am glad to be able to tell you that the additional clauses which was adopted by the House of Assembly empowering the licences authorities to refuse trading licences to Indians generally, not only on proclaimed land but throughout Transvaal, was deleted in the Senate. The telegram which we received from the Chairman of the Transvaal British Indian Association towards the end of May gave us reason to anticipate that the refusal of new licences might be made general, and H. E. the Viceroy at once warned the Secretary of State who was able to press for the deletion of the clause before it was too late. This, I think, was the clause to which you

specially referred in your letter, and you did not, of course, know that its deletion had been secured when you wrote. So far as trading licence and the administration of Precious and Base Metals Act 1908 are concerned, I do not think that the Union Government would admit that they had broken the compact of 1914. They would claim indeed to have scrupulously observed it. In the words of Mr. George's letter of 30th June, 1914, to you, they then undertook, with regard to the administration of existing law, to see that they are administered in a just manner and with due regard to vested rights. They would now claim with some reason that they had not only undertaken legislation to set aside a ruling of the Pretoria Supreme Court, which affected vested rights existing from before 1914, but had also gone beyond their compact with you so as to protect vested rights, which had come into existence between 1914 and 1st May, 1919. They would not admit that it was a breach of compact to take steps to prevent what they would call further evasion of the law which was passed in 1908. We may protest against the law of 1908, but you will know from your own experience how hard it is to get it altered. The present position is that all vested rights have been validated beyond dispute and cannot again be challenged in the courts. Your compact in 1914 with General Smuts, which has hitherto rested only on Mr. George's letter of 30th June, 1914 to you, has now been definitely legalised. This is to the good. The bad side from the Indian point of view is that the growth of new vested rights is stopped as from 1st May, 1919. The Union Government might also argue that vested rights which have already been acquired by companies in spite of law No III of 1885 are respected and that the amendment of the Act is only intended to prevent similar evasions in the future. The Government of India would refuse to accept this argument. They associate themselves entirely with the view expressed by Lord Sinha in the Memorandum which he laid before the Imperial Conference of 1918, that law No III of 1885 is an anachronism and opposed to the spirit of modern legislation. They have expressed this view and consider that the new Law is difficult to reconcile with Mr. Burton's undertaking at the Conference of 1918, when he said: "As far as we are concerned in South Africa we are in agreement with the proposal of referring Lord Sinha's Memorandum to the consideration of our Government and we will give it the most sympathetic consideration that we can certainly". It is greatly to be regretted that protests of the Government of India have been unavailing. At the same time I understand that the view of those in Cape Town who have at heart the interests

of Indians in South Africa, is that no more generous recommendations, even if made by the Select Committee would have had any prospect of acceptance by the House of Assembly. We are now awaiting the receipt of the full text of the new Statute and we shall then consider most anxiously what further action should be taken. Of course you are welcome to make any use you may think fit of this letter.

Mr. Gandhi's Reply.

Mr. Gandhi in his reply to the above wrote :—

DEAR SIR GEORGE BARNES,

I thank you for your full letter of the 18 instant regarding the recently enacted Transvaal Asiatic Law. In view of the last sentence of your letter I am publishing it together with my reply. I am deeply grateful that the Viceroy and you have been moving in the matter. I am, however, sorry to have to observe that the information placed at your disposal as to the true nature of the Bill is incomplete, if not misleading, and so is the information regarding the judgment of the Transvaal Supreme Court referred to in your letter. [Mr. Gandhi then goes on to give at great length what he considers to be the true position. Proceeding he observes :—] I know you are overworked. My only fear is that as you have to act upon briefs prepared for you and as a powerful Government, like the Union Government, can far more easily gain your ear than a handful of British Indians of South Africa, their case may suffer simply from want of information. Do you know that the Indians of S. Africa raised an ambulance corps which served under General Smuts in S. Africa? Is this new law to be their reward? I ought not to bring in war services in order to secure the protection of an elementary right which considerations alike to honour and justice entitle them to. I commend to your attention the report of the Select Committee of the Union House of Assembly. I will gladly lend you a copy if you do not have one yourself. Regarding fixed property, you have not got full information. I know you will share my sorrow. The Union Government unmindful of their written word, accepted an amendment "prohibiting the holding of mortgages by the Asiatics on property except as security for *bona fide* loan or investment and providing that any Asiatic Company which aquired fixed property after the 1st instant should dispose of the same within two years or a further period as fixed by a competent Court with a rider that in the event of failure to do so the property might be sold by an order of the Court." I am quoting from Reuter's cable, dated 23rd May

from Capetown. You will see this completes legalised confiscation of the property rights throughout the Transvaal and virtually the trade rights within the gold Area of the Indian settlers. There was no evasion of law III of 1885. Indians did openly what the law permited them to do, and they should be left free to do so. I do not wish to prolong this tale of agony. The Government of India are bound to protect the rights of the 5,000 Indian settlers in the Transvaal at any cost. Here is my solution. Law III of 1885 authorises the Government to appoint wards and streets in which Indians can hold fixed property. In virtue of this authority they can declare streets and wards of the Gold Area townships for Asiatic residence and ownership and they can instruct the receivers of revenue to issue trade licences in respect of such streets and wards to lawful Indian applicants. This will be pending the Commission promised by the acting Prime Minister, Mr. Malan. The Government of India can see by sending a strong representative that the commission does not prove as abortive as the Select committee of the House of Assembly. The Dominions may have the right to regulate immigration but as part of a professedly civilised Europe they cannot exclude resident settlers. The proposed commission should result in the abolition of all the racial restriction upon such settlers.

Indians in S. Africa.

Conference at Johannesburg—Aug 3, 1919

An Emergency Conference of Indian delegates from all parts of the Union of South Africa was held at the Palladium Theatre, Johannesburg, on Sunday, Aug. 3, 1919. Mr.E. I. Aswat presided. The Congress was formally opened by the Mayor of Johannesburg, Mr. T. F. Allen, who paid a tribute to the part they and their countrymen in India had taken in the War.

Mr. Aswat directed the attention of the Conference to the disabilities of Indians in the Union of South Africa. The Peace, he said, that they were told was being inaugurated in the Council Chambers of Europe and which was to be based upon equity, right and justice, and not upon brute force and terrorism of the weaker by the stronger—that peace, it would appear, was to have no place for them Indians. On the contrary, all the indications pointed to its being the calculated day for the resumption of hostilities by their enemy fellow-British subjects. The peace they enjoyed while the Great War waged and the issue was doubtful was seemingly but a respite, a tactical restraint prompted by considerations of expediency. While the War lasted, they were of some value ; their men, their money, their goodwill, were desirable and useful ! Also it was felt to be impolitic to offend India, to which the Empire looked for so much valuable support. He did not think that India had disappointed the Empire ; nor did he think that Indian settlers in South Africa had failed to contribute their little share. Apparently they had served their turn and their usefulness now ended they were to be relegated to the old position, save that it was to be made somewhat worse. While they recognised there was some reason in the opposition to unrestricted Indian immigration, he ventured to say that South Africa would be none the worse if the immigration law was relaxed so as to encourage some of the more cultured sons of India to make it their home. The Indians who had settled in the Transvaal and had severed their connections with India found themselves confronted with the most serious difficulties in bringing their wives and children to join them—a policy which encouraged degeneration and discouraged Indian settlers from regarding South Africa as their home.

The Resolution

The Congress lasted five days and concluded on Friday, August 8,1919. The labours of theCongress resulted in twenty-one resolutions. They embrace expressions of opinion on the legal disabilities of Indians enforced in the different Provinces of the Union.

The resolutions ask for just and sympathetic administration of the laws with due regard to vested rights, and claim right of entry of sons and daughters of resident Indians up to the age of 21, as well as children claiming guardianship. The Proclamation declaring Asiatics, for the purposes of the Immigrants Regulation Act, to be prohibited immigrants, is characterised as insulting and degrading, and its withdrawal is called for.

The Congress condemns the Provincial barriers restricting the movements of resident Indians inconsistent with the idea of the Union. Until amending legislation can be introduced to make the Union a real one the Congress asks that visiting permits should be granted without thumb impressions to Indians who can sign the application in English.

The Congress demands the franchise as the prerogative of British citizens,and, as a corollary the Indians express their willingness to accept all the responsibilities of citizenship, including the defence of the country against the enemies of the King-Emperor.

Facilities are asked to enable the Indian farmers and storekeepers to possess fire-arms for self-protection.

Certain South African Railways' regulations are regarded by the Congress as calculated to injure the susceptibilities of Indians, and their removal is asked for as they are insulting.

The appointment of fully qualified Indian interpreters in the Courts is pressed for, and that witness fees should be based on the status of a witness, and not on racial grounds as now.

The right is sought of appeal to the Supreme Court in case of the refusal of the local authority to grant a new trading licence. It is also asked that obstacles in the way of Indian students being admitted to university and affiliated colleges may be removed.

Relief is sought in respect of trading and acquisition of lands in Zululand, Utrecht and Vryheid.

The Congress asked for the extension to Indian children of the principle of primary free and compulsory education; that Indian teachers should have the same qualifications and grading as Europeans; and that opportunities be afforded to Indian children to acquire technical and industrial training in the Provincial colleges.

The Congress records a strong protest against "racial and discriminating" legislation in the Transvaal, and urges upon Government the imperative necessity of repealing or amending laws to which so much exception is being taken.

The following potests were also recorded by the Congress :—

Against the system of investigation by police and immigration authorities on non-white peoples as being derogatory to the self-respect of the Indian community.

Against the licensing authorities in the Cape Province being empowered to refuse licenses to Indians without assigning any reason—a policy which, it is stated, tends to engender a spirit of distrust and suspicion.

Against the prevention of Indians from trading in Native reserves ; and

Against the number of educated entrants to Natal or the Cape Province being fixed.

Finally the Congress asked for the recognition of the wives and minor children of marriages recognised by the religious tenets of Indians.

The Anti-Indian Law in Transvaal.

The Transvaal British Indian Association petitioned Parliament in February 1919 against the discriminating provisions of the Transvaal Gold Law of 1908 which as interpreted in the judgment of the Kugersdrop Municipality v. Beckett prohibited "coloured persons" from residing on land other than that appointed by the Mining Commissioner; also that no right on land under that law may be acquired by any coloured person.

Again the case of Motan v. Transvaal Government decided that the Commissioner of Inland Revenue cannot refuse trade license to coloured persons as such; yet as grocery shops, eating houses etc. were under the control of municipalities, the latter had persistently refused licenses to Indians on the sole ground that they were Indians; and this even when the Magistrate overruled the decision of the Municipality,—against this too the Indian association petitioned Parliament—

In March 1919 the Union Parliament appointed a Select Committee to enquire and report on these matters. The Committee reported on April 30 and recommended.

1. That the vested rights of Indians who were carrying on business on proclaimed mining areas in June 1914 should be respected.

2. That the vested rights of Indians who since that date obtained trading licenses and are carrying on business on such areas should also be respected.

3. That Indians should have the right to transfer their existing businesses to other Indians legally residing in the Transvaal.

4. That steps should at once be taken to make it impossible for any Asiatic in future to obtain license for a new business.

5. That Transvaal law 3 of 1885 should be so amended as to extend the land-owning disabilities therein to any companies of which the controlling interest is possessed by Asiatics.

The Bill drawn up bythe Select Committee, the Asiatics Land and Trading amendment Act 1919, based on these recommendations had a stormy passage though the House. A strong Anti-asiatic league was organised and it fought hard against the passage of the bill. To placate them and so to obtain the passage of the bill through the house, the Acting Prime Minister, Mr.

F. S. Malan, promised the Union Parliament that the Government would appoint a Commission to enquire and report on the "whole Indian question in the Transvaal." Transvaal Indians number ten thousand only. The bulk of the 150,000 South African Indians are domiciled in Natal, which small Province contains 133,oooof them. They are for the most part the descendants of formerly indentured coolies. The Cape Province contains 6,500 Indians, and the Orange Free State only about 106.

There is a deep and widespread conviction in the minds of both British and Dutch in the Union that in the interests of the South African Dominion, with its large native population and complex colour problems, the presence of Asiatic traders in the Union is highly detrimental and should cease.

There was a strong feeling in the Union Assembly Select Committee that dealt with the Transvaal Indian question that the Bill was very moderate and considerate. This opinion was held because of the feeling that the Smuts-Gandhi agreement of 1914 had been broken by the Transvaal Indians in spirit at any rate if not in the letter · because it was understood in 1914 that there would be no additional Asiatic trading in the Transvaal mining areas. The great point of the Smuts-Gandhi agreement was respecting the vested rights of Indians ; but, it was understood at the same time to be restricted to the Indians in the Transvaal mining areas.

The decision of the Select Committee steered a middle course between the rival views put forward by the Lugersdorp and other Transvaal Municipalities and the Federation of Ratepayers' Associations of Johannesburg on the one hand, and, on the other, by three spokesmen of the Transvaal British Indians.

The position taken up by the Municipalities and the ratepayers was this : 'We take our stand on the 1914 Smuts-Gandhi agreement. The spirit and meaning of that agreement was, on the one side, that the vested rights of Indians of whatever nature were to be respected, and on the other side, that the Indians undertook that there should be no acquisition of new rights by Indians in the Transvaal. That agreement has been broken by the Indians, who have not only acquired land-owning rights by the "limited company subterfuge' but who have actually opened new businesses in the Transvaal since that date. We now demand that a return be made to the position of affairs at the time of the agreement. Let all Asiatic Companies formed since that date be expropriated, and let all licenses granted since then be revoked and let legislation for these two purposes be passed.'

Dr. Frederick Krause, who was the principal Indian spokesman, made answer denying that the Indians had broken faith. He pointed out that a right could vest in an individual even though it was not exercised, and the individual in whom a right had vested could exercise it at any moment he chose. The vested right chiefly protected under the 1914 agreement was the right to trade, and therefore an Indian who was not a trader at the time of the agreement still had the right to become one later. Similarly, a man who was trading as a hawker at the time of the agreement had the right to expand his business and trade as a general dealer. In this way many of the new licences were accounted for. As for the question of landholding companies, that was a perfectly legal proceeding. To say it was an evasion of the law was to talk nonsense. "'Evasion' is a shibboleth which to a lawyer—a good lawyer—should have no meaning at all. Every thing is within the law or it is not." What the Indians had done was done with the full cognisance of the Government, who ever since 1909 had registered Asiatic companies without once attempting to prevent such registration or to introduce preventive legislation.

Dr. Krause went further and submitted that the Gandhi agreement was not meant to be final; and he quoted Mr. Gandhi's words in a farewell letter written by him before he went from S. Africa: "We are entitled to full rights of trade, interprovincial migration, and ownership of landed property being restored in the not distant future." Dr. Krause thus defined the Indians' demands: "The people in whose behalf I am speaking here think that the time has now arrived, not to speak of vested rights, but they consider that they are entitled, as far as their trade, residence, and occupation are concerned, to the full rights of any citizen of South Africa."

In the person of Mr. Morris Alexander South African Indians had on the Committee an ardent advocate. On three occasions when the Committee divided he voted as a minority of one in favour of the Indian demands, and he formulated two motions but without success for the removal of all trade and other restrictions imposed on the Indian community.

The strong agitation raised over this bill led to a series of communications between the Government of India, the Secy. of State and the Union Government of S. Africa, and after long negotiations it was settled that India was to be represented "not on but before" the proposed Commission (promised by Mr. Malan) by Sir W. Robertson deputed by the Government of India.

There was however protracted delay in appointing the Commission of euquiry though the Bill was passed and become

law. The Commission was appointed only in February of this year (1920.)

Meanwhile preparations were pushed by both sides to present their case as strongly as possible. The British Indian association met at Johannesburg as detailed on p. 342. The powerful Anti asiatic league convened a large and influential Congress representing trade union, chambers of commerce and political, industrial and commercial interests in general at Pretoria on 4 September 1919. Violent anti-Indian speeches were made in this congress, wantonly attacking the claims and also the character of Indians, and passing insistent resolutions urging the immediate repatriation of all Indians settled in Transvaal.

Statement of Government Officers.

On Nov. 7, 1919, the Hon. N.J. Wet, Minister of Justice met a large number of delegates from his constituency with reference to the Asiatic question. Mr. De Wet said that the Government agreed that the Asiatic question should be dealt with in view of the increasing strength of the menace ; but they had to proceed along definite lines, and not indulge either in panic legislation or in action that would not carry the matter to some real conclusion. The Government wanted a Commission to report on the position. Even under the criminal law they could not deport any person who was South African born ; and they could not deport Indians who had been born in the country, as they were domiciled here, and no other country would have them.

He added : All this nonsense about the British Government interfering with us on this question is moonshine. The British Government does not interfere in this matter at all. It naturally watches the question from the point of view of the Indian Dominion, and it might make friendly recommendations to us, as any other Government would do. The Indian Government is watching it, and this Government could not refuse the request of the Indian Government to send a representative, Sir William Robertson, to look after the interests of their subjects. It would be a very churlish and unfriendly act on the part of any Government to refuse a reasonable request of that sort.

He also said that the Government realised that the Asiatic menace was growing stronger year by year. There was a lot of vague talk about doing this or doing that, but they had to proceed on certain definite lines. The Government wanted evidence first, and it was not prepared to reopen the whole Indian question. The Indians, for instance, wanted to re-open the question of immigration, which was settled in 1913 ; but the Government would not do so. Indians still

came in, no doubt ; but not in large numbers. If, however, anyone would give him evidence in regard to Indians coming into the country illegally, giving names and places, he would see that steps were taken to test the matter and to have them out. But it was largely vague talk with which the Government had to deal. As far as legislation was concerned, the door was closed against Asiatics ; but as far as administration was concerned, he would not say that everyone had been kept out. The Government would act promptly in carrying out the law. But the Indians in the country had to be fairly treated.

The Government of course could not go in for panic legislation, and he considered that if the Collins amendment (prohibiting all Transvaal Indian licenses) had gone through Parliament, it would have been a blot, as it would not have been fair or just. On the question of the menace the Government was entirely at one with them, and also on the question of restricting trading ; but as far as regarding repatriation he did not know that it was possible. The Government was not championing the cause of the Asiatics. It would be for the country and the people to decide if they would agree to be taxed to pay for compensation and repatriation. It was a question for the whole of South Africa. Neither he nor the Government was afraid of the Indian question. A great deal of political capital was being made out of the question by the Nationalists by whom he had been attacked ; but the position was one which had to be considered with cool heads and with due regard to all the issues involved.

On November 8, 1919, Sir Thomas Watt, Minister of the Interior, speaking at Richmond, Natal, referring to the Indian question, said that some little time ago the Government had promised to appoint a Commission to enquire into the question of trading licenses and as soon as good or suitable men could be got the Commission would be appointed. It was not intended that the Commission should enquire into the question of land being acquired by Indians, but, if they so desired, the scope of the Commission would be extended. The Indian was not only increasing in trade, but was getting his hold on other industries, and it became a question as to whether it was wise to permit it to go on But they had to be fair. At one time there was a great demand for Indian labour, but it became a different matter when the Indian acquired property. "But we invited the Indian here," declared Sir Thomas and "we must treat him fairly."

On Nov. 13, 1919, Mr. Llewellyn J. Phillips, of Krugersdorp, Chairman of the newly-formed South Africans League

(originally known as the Anti-Asiatic League), addressed a meeting of Rand mineworkers at Johannesburg on the Asiatic question. He described the presence of Asiatics in South Africa as a great menace to the country. Asiatics were invading all the outside town, and were getting control of commerce in the Union to an alarming extent. The Indians had grown in population from 30,000 thirty years ago to approximately 200,000 in 1919. It was estimated that Indians had invested in South Africa about £8,000,000; and if they continued to progress at that rate, it was only a matter of time before they would have control of everything, and the white man would be dependent on them for the whole of the necessaries of life. It should be a leading political question at the next General Election. Mr. Phillips submitted that there would be no heritage for them whatever, if things were allowed to drift. If the present tendencies continued, he ventured to predict that their grandchildren would be coloured.

Drastic Durban Resolutions.

The Anti-Asiatic movement gradually extended from Transvaal to Natal, and for some time became the subject of a large correspondence in the newspapers of the Province. The first public meeting on the subject in Natal was held in the Mayville Congregational Church Hall, Durban, November 7, at the instance of the Sydenham Districts Association. The following resolutions were proposed by Mr. Leo Macgregor, and unanimously carried :—

"That this public meeting strongly protests against the serious encroachment of Indians and undesirable coloured people into European residential and commercial districts, as being objectionable for moral, social, economic and national reasons. Moreover, the consequences are often financially disastrous to European property-owners, and provocative of dangerous racial disorders.

We therefore respectfully urge the necessity of prompt legislation for the purpose of securing throughout the Union :

(a) The prohibition of any further sales, leases or tenancy of land or buildings to Indians or non-Europeans, except in such areas as shall be set aside and reserved exclusively for their trade, agriculture and residential quarters.

(b) Prohibiting the issue of any new trading licenses, or transfer of existing licences, to any Indians or non-Europeans except in the reserved areas, quarters or 'bazaars' aforesaid."

"That, with a view of meeting the unfair competition of Indians and non-Europeans in every branch of industry and commerce, legislation should be enacted, applicable throughout the Union, providing for the payment of a scale of minimum wages, based upon a liberal conception of European standards of living, to all skilled employees irrespective of race or colour. That the minimum wages payable in each trade or industry shall be determined by District Wages Board the members of which must be European employers and employees in equal numbers. That such legislation shall not apply toIndians, Natives or other coloured store-keepers carrying on trade within bazaars, locations and specially exempted areas : provided that the said storekeepers deal exclusively in food, clothing and other requirements of colour ed people, and are prohibited from selling, directly or indirectly to any Europeans,"

General Smuts to Indians.

At the time of the passing of the Transvaal Asiatic Land and Trading Act, General Botha the Boer Prime Minister of the Transvaal was in Europe in connection with the Peace Conference. Subsequently he died and General Smuts became the Premier. General Smuts came back from the Peace Conference in Nov. 1919 and at an address of welcome presented by Indians of Durban, he said :—

"I thank you for the beautiful address you have presented to me, and for the sentiments expressed therein. I am glad to note that in the address you have made mention of the fact of your countrymen having served under my command in the Great War. As I have said on previous occasions, I have been proud of the privilege of having had under me in East Africa so large a number of your countrymen. Some of them came from the Independent Native States of India, Imperial Service Contingents and others, who did great and glorious work in this war. I wrote from East Africa to the Princes of India of the splendid part played by their troops, and that there were few better than they.

"Your countrymen fought not only in East Africa, but took part in other theatres of war. The conquering of the Turkish Empire was in the main the work of the Indian Army. The burden of the work in Mesopotamia, Turkestan and the Indian Frontier fell almost entirely upon the Indian Army. If the war had continued until this year, the Indian Empire would have had over a million men in the field. The stupendous part Indians have played in this great struggle has had considerable effect on the result of the war.

"Owing to her magnificent efforts, India has won for herself a place among the nations of the world. As a member of the War Cabinet, I have had great opportunities of knowing more about the feelings of the Indians and their desire for a larger share in the apportionment of commissions in the Army ; and I am glad I was able to do something for them in the Cabinet.

"I have worked in public, and a good deal in private, for the recognition of India and her services to the Empire. I strongly supported the proposals for granting commissions to Indians and when it was pointed out that this might create an anomalous position and that there might be the possibility of Europeans being placed under Indians, I replied : "Why not? I would be proud to serve under an Indian officer if he were able.

In the Peace Conference India was represented by the Maharajah of Bikanir, Lord Sinha, and Mr: Montagu. The Maharajah is a personal friend of mine, and Lord Sinha is a man of considerable ability and training. He is one of the cleverest men I have met, and I was able to learn much from him on India's problems.

"As a result of the war, there was an emotional feeling throughout the world which did not leave India unaffected. She desires to govern herself. Other Asiatics have been ruling and misruling, and India, after having been under the British for over a hundred years, should be given a large measure of selfgovernment. I have been a party to the Hon. Mr. Montagu's going to India to study the question there, which has resulted in some far-reaching concrete proposals being submitted to the British Parliament. The British are a highly imaginative people, though they do not appear to be so. There was a great feeling in England in favour of India's aspirations. With the improvement of the status of India the position of the Indians in other places will be better

The Problem in S. Africa.

"Before my return I found that the Asiatic Trading Act had been passed in the union, and that there had been a great deal of irritation among the Indians here, and that the Act had also caused a great deal of feeling in India. But the Union Government has decided to appoint a Commission to go into the whole matter. India will be represented on the Commission to watch over the interests of the Indians, so that no stigma might attach to them.

"Some of you think I look down upon Indians. But that is not so. I look up to them. They come from a very old civilization—much older than ours. They are able to hold their

The Reciprocity Question

Relating the reciprocity resolution in matters of immigration between India and the Dominions (full text of which will be found in the Indian Annual Register, 1919, Part II) Mr. Long and Lord Milner, Colonial Secretary, addressed despatches to the Governments of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Newfoundland. The following are their replies.

South Africa

Sir,—With reference to your despatch (Dominions) 504 of 7th August 1917, I have the honour to inform you that I am advised by my ministers that the subject of reciprocity of treatment between India and self-governing dominions received their consideration and was placed in the hands of Mr. Burton for discussion at the recent Imperial War Conference.

I have etc.
Buxton, Governor-General.

New Zealand

Wellington, 6th November 1918.

Sir,—I have the honour to inform you that I did not fail to convey to my minister the substance of your despatch (Dominions) No. 476 enclosing the copy of a resolution passed by the Imperial War Conference relating to reciprocity of treatment between India and Dominions and enclosing also a copy of a memorandum on the subject prepared by Sir S. P. Sinha.

I am advised by my ministers to reply that so far as the Government of New Zealand are concerned no administrative or legislative action appears to be necessary to give effect to the articles of agreement approved by the Imperial War Conference on 24th July 1918. Provision already exists for the admission of merchants, tourists and bona fide students of all nationalities, who are unable to pass the education test by the Immigration Restriction Act 198 provided they are in possession of passports issued by their respective Governments.

The Indians domiciled in New Zealand are subject to no disabilities. They have equal rights and privileges in every respect

with Europeans and an Indian domiciled in this Dominion would be entitled to bring in his wife and children if the wife and children were certified by the Government of India or if there were proof of a permanent monogamous marriage.

I have, etc.,
Liverpool, Governor General.

Canada

Ottawa, 26th March 1919.

My Lord,—With reference to the previous correspondence and more particularly to your despach of the 28th January last on the subject of reciprocity of treatment between India and the self governing dominions I have the honour to transmit herewith copies of an approved minute of the Privy Council for Canada setting forth the views of my responsible advisers.

I have, etc.,
Devonshire.

Certified copy of a report of the Committee of the Privy Council approved by his Excellency the Governor-General.

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a report, dated 22nd March 1919 from the acting Secretary of State for internal affairs to whom was referred despatches, dated respectively 7th August 1917, 28th August 1918, 28th January 1919 from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, to Your Excellency on the subject of reciprocity of treatment between India and the self governing dominions, submitting that the memorandum of the India Office, bearing date of 22nd March 1917, which was under consideration by the Imperial War Conference calls attention especially to: 1. The policy of restriction of British East Indian Immigration by almost all the self-governing dominions. 2. The policy of Canada which places the East Indian, who is a British subject, in a less advantageous position than Japanese and other Asiatics, who do not belong to the Empire. 3. The existing regulations of Canada which offer almost insuperable obstacles to the entry of wives and families of British East Indians now domiciled in Canada. 4. The difficulties met with by tourists and other non-emmigrant classes in establishing their right to free access to Canada as provided by our law. 5. The existing regulations which practically constitute an embargo against the entry of immigrants of the labouring classes. The memorandum also suggests the possibility of an agreement between India and the self-governing dominions on the following lines:—1. As regards Indians already permanently settled in the

dominions, they should be allowed to bring in wives (subject to the rule of monogamy) and minor children and in other aspects should not be less privileged than Japanese settled immigrants. 2. Future admissions of Indians for labour or settlement should, if possible, be regulated on the lines similar to and not less favourable than those governing the admission of any other Asiatic race. 3. If this is not possible there might be reciprocal treatment between India and each dominion of immigration for purposes of labour or permanent settlement. If a dominion is determined to exclude these two classes of immigration from India, the Indian should be free to do the same as regards that dominion. It would be clearly recognised that exclusion in either case was not motived by prejudice of race but was the outcome of different economic conditions. 4. Along with such exclusion reciprocal arrangements would be made for granting full facilities for the admission of tourists, students and the like and for business visits entailing temporary residence to Indians as this residence was not for labour purposes or for permanent settlement.

At the request of the representatives of India the subject of reciprocity of treatment between India and the self-governing dominions came up for further consideration at the Imperial War Conference in 1918. At this conference all the self-governing Dominions and India were represented and it was unanimously agreed that (1) it is an inherent function of the Governments of the several communities of the British commonwealth including India that each should enjoy complete control of the composition of its own population by means of restriction on immigration from any of the other communities, (2) British citizens domiciled in any British country including India should be admitted into any other British country for visits for the purpose of pleasure or commerce including temporary residence for the purpose of education. The conditions of such visits should be regulated on the principle of reciprocity as follows :—(A) The right of the Government of India is recognised to enact laws which shall have the effect of subjecting British citizens domiciled in any other British country to the same conditions in visting India as those imposed on Indians desiring to visit such country. (B) Such right to visit of temporary residence shall in each individual case be embodied in a passport or written permit issued by the country of domicile and subject to vise there by an officer appointed by and acting on behalf of the country to be visited, if such country so desire. (C) Such right shall not extend to a visited or temporary residence for labour purpose or to permanent settlement. 3. Indians already permanently domiciled in the other British countries should be allowed to bring in their wives and minor

children on condition (a) that not more than one wife and her children shall be admitted for each such Indian, and (b) that each individual so admitted shall be certified by the Government of India as being the lawful wife or child of such Indian.

The principal movement of East Indians to Canada occurred in 1907-08, the total immigration being under 700. Of this number possibly not more than 1200 now remain in Canada, there having been a heavy exodus to the United States in addtion to which quite a number have returned to India. Climatic, industrial and social conditions in Canada have not on the whole been found congenial. Disease has made considerable inroads upon East Indians. Their caste system has seriously interfered with their employment in many walks of life. Notwithstanding the fact that only a small proportion of those who originally emigrated to Canada are now resident here the minister submits that certain modifications of the restrictive provisions of the immigration Act and regulations should be made for the relief of such of our fellow British subjects of the East Indian race as may be affected by the resolution of the Imperial War Conference of 24th July 1918 as above recited. The minister of immigration and colonisation recommends that the declaration unanimously adopted at the Imperial War Conference, 24th July 1918 be approved.

Australia

Telegram from the Governor-General of the Commonwealth of Australia to the Council Office, Whitehall.

With reference to your despatch of 28th August, reciprocity treatment between India and dominions, my despatch 14th April No. 95 conveying decisions, Government of Commonwealth of Australia, which are chiefly as follows:—(a) Government agrees admission, no passports India merchants, students, tourists with their respective wives. Exemption to continue without necessity for annual application as long as status preserved. (b) Indians domiciled Australia may bring one wife and minor children. (c) Australians visiting India will require to obtain passports. (d) Legislative proposals will be submitted to Parliament to place Indians on equality with other British subjects as regards old age and invalid persons, but admission to Parliamentary franchise not approved at present.

Ferguson,
Governor-General of Australia

My Lord,—With reference to your predecessor's despatch of the 28th August last, Dominions No. 476, transmitting a copy of a

resolution relative to reciprocity of treatment between India and the Dominions passed by Imperial War Conference, together with a copy of a memorandum on the subject by Mr. S. P. Sinha, I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of a communication which has been addressed to me by my active Prime Minister

I have, etc.,
Governor-General.

Your Excellency.—With reference to the Secretary of State's letter of the 28th August 1918, Dominion No. 476, I desire to inform Your Excellency that the documents transmitted have been considered and Ministers have had the advantage also of perusing the report of the conference dealing fully with question of reciprocity of treatment between India and the Dominions. As far as Australia is concerned the position is that in 1904 the Commonwealth Government agreed to permit the admission of Indian merchants, students or tourists with their wive on passports for a period of one year, the question of subsequent stay to be considered on application. In view of the resolution and with the desire to give full effect to the spirit which animated the Conference, the Government is now prepared to extend the former arrangement so as to permit Indian merchants, students and tourists to be admitted to Australia on passports and to remain here indefinitely without the need for further application so long as they preserve the capacity in respect of which the passport was issued. In order that there may be no doubt as to the meaning which this Government attaches to the term 'Merchant', it is desired that the Indian Government should understand that the Commonwealth Government does not consider that the term "Merchant" includes retail spookeepers as such or hawkers, and that its application is confined to persons engaged in the wholesale oversea trade between India and Australia. It is further agreed that Indians already here permanently domiciled in the country may bring in a wife and minor children. It will be necessary in the first place for persons desiring to take advantage of the arrangement to apply to the Commonwealth Government in order that their status may be ascertained, and it will be further necessary that the Indian Government should issue a certificate that the persons proposed to be admitted are the wives and children of the respective applicants. The departure from Australia for India of any persons will not be permitted unless they are in possession of passports issued or vised by the Commonwealth Government. No passports or vises will be given to persons if they are of such classes as would be objected to by the Government of India. In the light of the agreement reached at the conference it is understood that the claims of Indians to enter

Australia for the purpose of labour or permanent settlement are not pressed. It appears from the memorandum that Indians will be satisfied it they receive treatment not less favourable than that accorded to other Asiatic people who are not subjects of the British Empire. As Australia does not discriminate against Indians in favour of any other Asiatics it is thought that the position should be regarded as satisfactory. The main points of internal Australian administration which create differentiation between Indians and Australian born persons or white British subjects appear to be two:—(1) Exclusion from the Parliamentary franchise; and (2) exclusion from the privileges of the old age invalid pension law. The Commonwealth Government after giving the matter full consideration regrets that it cannot see its way at present to admit Indians to the Parliamentary franchise but in regard to the old age and invalid pension legislative proposal will be submitted as soon as possible to place Indians on an equality with other British subjects. I shall be pleased if Your Excellency will ask the Secretary of State to bring this communication under the notice of the Government of India with an assurace of the sincere desire of this Government to work in most complete harmony with them in regard to all matters arising out of the agreement reached at the Imperial Conference.

Indians in the British Colonies.

Indian Emigrants in the British Colonies are distributed approximately as follows:—

Trinidad	...	...	...	117 Thousand.
British Guiana	...	...	...	130 ,,
Mauritius	...	...	...	260 ,,
South Africa	...	...	...	150 ,,
Fizi ...	...	...	...	45 ,,
Jamaica	...	...	...	20 ,,
Canada, E. Africa Australia.		...	...	5,000 and below.

The reason why they have emigrated is that the plantations of British Colonists held forth very attractive prospects for Indian labourers and artizans, and backed by the Indian Government and by their connivance, secured indentured Indians in large numbers to work for them in the Colonies. The present prosperity of the Colonies is the handiwork of the Indian emigrant. But like so

many other British "promises" to Indians, once their objects were attained the colonists treated the indentures as 'scraps of paper' and the Indians worse than slaves. Attention was first drawn to the conditions of these men from the apalling number of suicides, prosecutions on paltry charges for breach of labour laws enacted in favour of employees, and the inhuman indecencies committed upon the women folk. In 1910 the late Mr. Gokhale raised the question in the Imperial Council and pressed Government for accepting a resolution to stop further indentured emigration to Natal. Two years after Government refused to accept his further motion to end the indenture system altogether. Then while the infamous recruiting agents flourished openly with their trade and continued to decoy young able bodied men and women, and several cases of high-caste respectable young women being carried away for the benefit of Colonial sahibs came to light, the indenture became more and more a system of glorified slavery, and worse still it humiliated India in the eyes of the whole world as the only country which accepted the basest helotry for a mess of potage

Early in the present decade feelings ran high in India and the situation assumed proportions of being a world-scandal. Mahatma Gandhi started the famous passive resistance movement in Natal, and helped by his wife and a few British friends, notable amongst whom was Mr. Polak, he broke the tyrannical laws against the Indian settlers and led thousands of his countrymen to do the same. After untold sufferings of indignities and incarcerations along with his noble wife and followers Gandhi at last succeeded in creating an impasse. His heroic conduct and the essentially spiritual leadership of his band of passive resisters at last drew the attention of the whole world and hastily a settlement was patched up in 1914, now famous as the Smuts-Gandhi agreement (q. v.) At the present moment Indians are again witnessing one of those periodic instances of "broken pledges" which so characterise the political conduct of the West

Later on the Rev. C. F. Andrews and Mr. W. Pearson on the request of Indians paid a visit to Fiji and recounted one of the most harrowing tales of misery and shame. The worst degradation, the grossest immorality, that a human being can be dragged into, was being practised and encouraged. Lord Hardinge, one of India's most cherished Viceroys, took the matter up and it was he who strenously fought for securing justice and decency to the Indian emigrant. In 1912 a Commission was appointed to enquire and report on the matter. Lord Hardinge secured abolition of imprisonment for labour offences and minor other ameliorations. His work was taken

up by the present Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, who on September 5th, 1916 declared in the Imperial Council that Government was contemplating control of Immigration to the Colonies and to devise means to secure for the emigrants free and voluntary engagements. Mr. Andrews' accounts however came pouring in and such was the agitation raised over the affair that though preoccupied with the War Government prohibited all emigration from India as a War measure, on account of shortage of labour caused by 6 millions of death from Influenza : and though this prohibition was only an executive order and not a law of the land, assurances were subsequently given that the system would never be revised. We have yet to see if this promise fares the fate of other numerous promises of the like nature. Early this year (1920) a deputation arrived from Uganda to seek the help of the Indian Government in recruiting Indian labour for that Colony though here in India industries are being strangled for shortage of labour. In regard to Fizi the Viceroy made the following announcement on 24 November 1919. "The Secretary of State for the Colonies has agreed to the cancellation of indentures on all estates on which the principal reforms recommended by Mr. Andrews have not been carried out on the 1st January 1920, but I am not satisfied with this, and I have asked the Sec. of State to ascertain what would be the cost of commuting the remaining indentures and freeing every Indian Labourer in Fizi on the 1st. of January next."

Administration of Martial Law in the Punjab.

On the 6th of August 1919, in the House of Lords, Earl Russel called attention to the administration of Martial Law in the Punjab, with special reference to the sentence passed upon Mr. Harkissen Lal. The following is the speech delivered by Earl Russel in putting the question and the statements that followed.

Earl Russel's Speech.

My Lords, serious events have been taking place in India to which it is well that public opinion should be directed, particularly as they have been, I think, somewhat inadequately reported in the Press of this country. I refer to the various trials by Courts Martial which have been taking place in that country. There have been charges made against the accused of a serious character, and severe sentences have been passed upon them, including in many cases, I think I am right in saying, the death penalty. I should like to-day to make my remarks rather of an explanatory nature for the purpose of ascertaining what the facts are and what has happened, as I think not very much is known about them as yet, and it may be necessary to recur to the matter later in the session when we have more information before us. I would like to ask if I can be told to-day how many persons have been sentenced to death by Courts-Martial, in how many cases that sentence has been carried out, and whether in all cases the accused have had an opportunity of appeal to the Privy Council before the execution of sentence.

In putting this Question I ought to apologise personally to the nobleLord who, I understand, is to reply, that I did not communicate with him more in detail beforehand, but that was solely due to my absence from London and not to any desire to embarass him in any way in dealing with the matter. I have very little information except with regard to one case, the case of Harkissen Lal, and with regard to that I should like to put to the noble Lord the information which has been given to me and to ask him how far it agrees with his version of what has happened. We want to consider in this matter, when we have all the facts before us, whether the action that has been taken amounts to a necessary, although severe, repression of sedition and treason, or

whether it amounts to a mere exhibition of autocratic power which has not been justified by the circumstances.

In this particular case I think I am right in saying the sentence has been one of transportation for life and the offence, so I am given to understand, was that of advising people in Lahore to close their shops. If that be true it would naturally occur to all of us that there was some disproportion between the offence and the sentence. This gentleman is a barrister-at-law of the Middle Temple. I do not say that that, in itself, is sufficient to raise a presumption. Had he been a member of Gray's Inn it might have been otherwise. He resided at Lahore and is, I am told, about fifty years of age, carrying on the business of a banker. The agitators in India, I am informed, prepared a day of humiliation, as a protest against the Rowlatt Acts, for observance by the native population, and originally appointed March 30. Although some manifestations took place on that day, the date was generally postponed to April 6, when a day of humiliation was observed at Lahore at Harkissen Lal's instigation. He issued a notice in the local papers recommending among other things the closing of shops. I do not know what the other things were I do not know whether anything worse or more violent than the closing of shops was recommended but there is no suggestion that it was. It appears that it is solely as a result of his action on this day, his responsibility for the holding of the day of humiliation at Lahore and, in particular, for the closing of the shops, that he now stands charged with sedition.

The legal circumstances connected with this case appear to me to want some explanation. According to my information it was not until April 13 that Martial Law was declared in the Punjab, this offence, if this was the offence, having been committed, your Lordships will remember, on April 6. The effect of the declaration of Martial Law was to bring into operation Bengal Regulation No. 10 of 1804. Some very old Regulation of a penal nature is apparently revived by the declaration of Martial Law. The effect of the declaration is to suspend the function of the ordinary Criminal Courts of Judicature, and the Governor-General is empowered to direct the immediate trial by courts-martial of persons owing allegiance to the British Government. Then, on the day following that declaration, the Governor-General in Legislative Council promulgated Ordinance No. 1 of 1919, giving power to the Local Government to appoint Commissions to try persons charged with offences under Bengal Regulation No. 1, and to exercise all the powers of General Court Martial under the Indian Army Act. The Ordinance made provision for the trial

of all persons charged with offences referred to in the Bengal Regulation, dated after April 13, while the Ordinance itself is made to come into force between May 15 and 16. On April 14 Harkissen Lal was arrested, and he was deported to a place which I pronounce with some fear, Isakhel, on the North West Frontier of the Punjab, outside the Martial Law area, where he was given his liberty. On April 21 a further Ordinance was promulgated empowering the Commission under Ordinance No. 1 to try any persons charged with any offence. After that Ordinance had been issued Harkissen Lal was arrested on May 8 where he was, outside the area of Martial Law, and brought back to Lahore to stand trial for an offence against Regulation No. 1. He had great difficulty in getting a pleader to act for him. The Military authority prevented any pleader he wanted from entering into the Martial Law area. At the time these facts were communicated to me there were grave doubts as to when he would be tried or for what he would be tried. Telegrams were sent which no doubt the noble Lord received at the India Office, and by the way, a complaint is made that a telegram sent to Messrs. Barrow, Rogers and Nevil, who would have acted for him in this country, was intercepted or stopped by the Censorship. I should be very glad to know if telegrams were sent and were stopped; they certainly were not received. These getlemen wrote to the Secretary of State, and I think I am right in saying that they interviewed the noble Lord who is to reply. Thy were told about the telegram to the Secretary of State More information has been obtained from a copy of the "Leader" of May 26, which published 'in extenso' these cables. Harkissen Lal was apparently to be tried at this date, and has been tried since. He was charged with a long set of offences which I will read to your Lordship in a moment—treason and sedition and matters of that kind. He was charged before the Martial Law Commission for conspiracy, waging war, sedition and "membership of an unlawful assembly." I know nothing about these but I ask whether the charge of conspiracy and waging war does really refer only to the action in recommending a day of humiliation, or whether it refers to something further. Perhaps the noble Lord will inform your Lordships on the point.

Your Lordships will also notice that he has apparently been tried under an Ordinance which was made retrospective, for doing something which was not an offence, or if an offence, was not triable by Court-Martial at the time the offence was committed, and could not have been tried by Court Martial except by virtue of the retrospective Ordinance made afterwards. I should be glad

if the noble Lord will deal generally with the offences alleged against the various leaders of the revolt as they are regarded, and if at the same time some official statement could be made, because apparently news is not very fully published in this country on these matters. I should like to ask in this connection, whether Press cables on these matters are censored. In setting out in any official statement the offences of these gentlemen I think it should be stated for public information not merely that the charge is sedition, conspiracy, or waging war, but that the specific acts which it is alleged they have committed should also be stated. To wage war sounds a very serious charge, but if it is merely recommending shopkeepers to close their shops it sounds a very different thing. It would be well if the specific acts were given in any statement published by the India Office. It is desirable that some official statement should be issued, because there were many trials and severe sentences and I am convinced the public would like to be satisfied that injustice has not been done, that people have had a fair trial, that the sentences have not been disproportionate to the offence, and that the offences have been real offences of which the Government were bound to take notice.

Lord Sydenham said :—

My Lords, before the noble Lord replies I should like to draw attention to one aspect of the matter to which the noble Earl has not referred. If he had realised the situation in the Punjab, I think perhaps, he might have been less ready to assume that injustice had been done. I am sure that is not in the least his fault, but it is the fault of the reticence which we have observed in regard to matters affecting India—a reticence which, I believe, will lead to some extremely unpleasant surprises on the part of the public.

The rising in the Punjab was unlike anything which has happened since the Mutiny. It is the first time since those dark days that the cry "Kill the English" was raised. It is also the first time that mobs have been led by English-speaking Indians dressed in European dress. I am told from a private source that an English woman belonging to the British Zenana Mission was caught by the mob and received six great wounds on her head She was nearly killed. A kindly Indian said, "She is only an English Mission Miss, and she does no harm", but the mob shouted, "She is English, kill her". That was the kind of spirit which animated the mobs in Delhi, Amritsar, Lahore, and other places. The unfortunate woman just escaped with her life, and she owes her life to the gallant Sikhs who saved a good many of our helpless fellow countrymen and countrywomen.

But for the strong action of Sir Michael O'Dower there might have been no Europeans left in thePunjab,andthe situation might have become desperate. We ought to remember that fact in assuming at once that injustice has been done to some of the people concerned. We ought to remember that the sentences, if they were somewhat severe, may have been justified by the great gravity of the situation at the time. The noble Earl does not seem to know that this was part of a well organised revolt just as has happened in Egypt. As to the closing of the shops, to which the noble Earl referred, I do not know whether he is aware that in India this is always a signal for riot. *When shops are ordered to be closed you know riot is at hand.* Therefore, while I am sure that every member of your Lordships' House would be most anxious that no injustice should be done. I ask you to remember that the situation was very critical, and if it had not been grasped by a strong hand a large number of our countrymen and countrywomen would have been killed.

Lord Sinha's Reply :—

The Under Secretary to State for India (Lord Sinha) said : My Lords, I regret that owing to the absence of the noble Earl (Lord Russel) from town he was not able to communicate with me and tell me what were the precise points upon which he desired information, with the result that some of the points put to me to-day I cannot answer, because I have no information with regard to them ; but so far as I can, I shall endeavour to give what I consider to be a connected narrative of the events which resulted in these convictions including that of Mr. Harkissen Lal and other gentlemen mentioned. Before I go into that I shall like to say that, in common with all the sentences passed by the Courts Martial, or Special Commissions of Courts Martial, Mr. Harkissen Lal's case has been reviewed by the Local Government, and we received a cable yesterday saying that the sentence, which seemed so severe to the noble Earl, of transportation for life and forfeiture of property, has been remitted entirely with regard to forfeiture, and with regard to transportation commuted to two years' rigorous imprisonment.

Before I pass on I should like also to mention that the offence with which he was charged, amongst others, was, under Section 121A of the Indian Penal Code, of waging war against His Majesty, and that the only punishment provided by the law is sentence of death, or transportation for life, accompanied in either case with forfeiture of property, and that no other sentence can be awarded if the accused is found guilty of the offence with which he is charged. As I have said before, all these sentences by Courts

Martial and Special Commission are being reviewed from the very beginning by the Local Government, and in this particular case our information received yesterday is that the sentence has been commuted to two years' rigorous imprisonment, and the forfeiture has in this case, as in all other cases, been remitted. I should like also to make an observation with reference to what fell from the noble Lord, Lord Sydenham, about the closing of shops being a signal for revolt. I do not know that, nor is there any information in the possession of the India Office or of the Secretary of State for India, which would enable me to say that it is a correct statement.

Now, my Lords, I can best supply the information which the noble Earl desires by giving as short a narrative as I can, in a connected form, of the events which have resulted in these and other convictions. If I omit to give any information which the noble Earl desires, I shall be glad to give it to him on his communicating with me. The Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act (commonly called the Rowlatt Act) was passed by the Legislative Council of India on March 18, 1919, in spite of the opposition of the non-official members thereof, and it was preceded as well as followed by a widespread agitation in all parts of India, including the Punjab. A determined agitation, as well as resort to passive resistance, was threatened before the measure was actually passed, and became more active afterwards. It followed a double line of action—namely, direct ciriticism of the Act by means of public speeches and actions, and the initiation of the movement of passive resistance by a vow of 'Satyagraha' (observance of truth). This latter movement in particular, to which an influential leader of Indian public opinion, Mr. Gandhi, gave his support and countenance, was ushered in by demonstrations of the observance of a day of fasting and the closing of shops and places of business.

On March 30, the day originally fixed as the day of fasting, many shops were closed in Delhi in sympathy with the movement, but the efforts of the crowd to impose abstention upon the Railway refreshment contractor at the Delhi Railway Station, caused the first collision with the police. The disturbances of that day were quelled in fact with the help of the military, and so far as can be ascertained some five or six persons amongst the rioters were killed, and fifteen or sixteen others wounded. Thereafter the promoters of the Satyagraha arranged that the 6th of April should be observed throughout India as a day of humiliation, the design being to cause the complete cessation of work as a sign of a protest against the obnoxious measure. On April 6 many places of business and shops were closed in various parts of India,

including the Punjab. On Aoril 9 Mr. Gandhi, who was on his way to Delhi, was turned back to his own Province—namely, Bombay—as it was considered undesirable for him to visit the Provinces of Delhi and the Punjab, which were in a state of excitement.

On April 10 slight disturbances took place at Lahore, at which the police were called in, and a few casualties occurred. Thereafter disturbances more or less serious followed in various parts of India—for example Bombay, Calcutta, and Ahmedabad etc.—but the outbreak in the Punjab was more determined and prolonged, and it may be useful to state in chronological order the events which occured in the Punjab from April 10 onwards, and which may be directly attributed to the movements above described. Of course, with regard to disturbances of this kind no single cause can be said to be the actual cause, and there must be many more direct and indirect causes and predisposing causes. On April 10 there was serious rioting at Amritsar (Punjab) after the removal by executive order of two prominent organisers of the agitation against the Rowlatt Act—namely, Dr. Kitchlew (Mahomedan) and Mr. Satya Pal (Hindu) The Town Hall and the National and the Chartered Banks were burnt down. Five Europeans were killed, and there were about thirty deaths among the rioters. On the 12th at Kasur the Post Office and the Munsiff's Court were burnt, the Treasury was attacked, and two British warrant officers were murdered, and three other officers severely wounded. By this time the Government of India had good reason to believe that the Punjab disturbances were not a sporadic outburst of riots but amounted to organised risings with definite anti-Government and still more definite anti-British bias, and although co-ordination between different places was indifferent, simultaneous cutting of railway and telegraph lines at widely different places and deliberate destruction of Government property and attacks upon and burning of public buildings, pointed to some common purpose. Several Europeans had been brutally murdered, and the lives of Europeans in isolated stations were in great peril.

In these circumstances the Government of India at the instance of the Local Government (Punjab), sanctioned on April 13 last the application of the State Offences Regulation X of 1804 to the Districts of Lahore and Amritsar ; or, in other words, declared Martial Law in the said districts, subject to the following modifications. First, the maintenance of ordinary Courts for ordinary offences. Notwithstanding the declaration of Martial Law in those areas the ordinary Courts were still sitting and

dealing with ordinary offences. Secondly, the appointment of Special Commissioners composed of men of ripe experience and judicial knowledge instead of the Courts-Martial which would otherwise have tried offences under Martial Law. These Special Commissions were composed in each instance of two Judges of experience and one Indian magistrate,so that technically a Special Commission was more or less of the character of a special tribunal of great experience.

Earl Russel: Do I understand that the effect of Regulation No. I (1919) was to substitute the Special Commissions for an ordinary Court-Martial?

Lord Sinha: That is so. To resume the narrative of events in the Punjab. On April 14th troubles spread to Gujranwala, where a large mob attacked the station and burnt the overbridge, destroying subsequently the church, Dak bungalow, and other Government property. It stopped and looted a passenger tram and cut the wires on every side. From the 15th to the 18th riots of a similar nature took place at Wazirabad, Sangla Hill, Lyallpore, Chuhurkhana, and in Gujrat on the 19th where the railway station was sacked, records burnt, and telegraphs destroyed all along the line. Martial Law was extended to Gujranwala District on the 16th, to Gujrat on the 20th, and to Lyallpore on April 23. The proclamation of Martial Law had a beneficial effect, and the outbreak and outrages ceased soon afterwards.

I have shown already that Martial Law was proclaimed in only five districts—Lahore, Amritsar, Gujranwala, Gujrat and Lyallpore. It was abrogated in Gujrat District and most rural areas on May 28. On June 9 it was discontinued everywhere except the railways and Lahore and on June 11 it was discontinued at Lahore.

The information which the noble Earl wanted with regard to the Regulation of 1804 is this. It was an ancient law revived for a particular purpose. The impression which the noble Earl had with regard to it is hardly correct. The Regulation of 1804 merely empowers the Governor-General in Council to declare Martial Law when there is open rebellion or insurrection. That power exists by virtue of that Regulation, and was revived by legislation of the ordinary kind in 1872. That regulation therefore means nothing more than this, that when there is insurrection or rebellion in any part of India it is competent to the Governor-General to declare Martial Law over these areas, and to continue it so long as the insurrection or rebellion exists.

I will deal next with the tribunals which administered the law during the time that Martial Law was in operation. They were of the following kind. First, there was the Special Commission, to which I referred just now, composed of two experienced Judges and one Indian magistrate which dealt with offences under Regulation 10 of 1804—that is to say, offences committed by peoples who had been taken, so to speak, "flagranti delicto." Later on, by another Regulation which the noble Earl mentioned, all other offences of a serious nature which the Local Government directed them to try or committed to them for the purpore of trying, were dealt with by them. That is the highest kind of tribunal that existed during this time. Then there were Courts-Martial which summarily disposed of offences against Martial Law—for example, Orders issued by the General Officer Commanding, Curfew Orders ordering people not to go out at night after a certain time, Orders controlling the price of commodities such as foodstuffs, Orders to open shops and so on. These were minor offences—breaches of rules and regulations made by the military authorities—and were punished by Regulations made by them which also defined the penalties. The offences were summarily tried and are in any case not punishable with higher punishments than two years' imprisonment. There were also in operation the ordinary Criminal Courts which dealt with ordinary offences as well as offences arising under these disturbances. Just as Martial Law has been altogether abrogated in the whole of the area since June, so all Martial Law tribunals have now been dissolved, and there is only one tribunal under the Defence of India Act still sitting and it has one or two more cases to try.

I will now give your Lordships the number of persons convicted by these different tribunals, the nature of the sentences, and what has been done by way of commutation. The most serious cases were all tried by the special Commissions. They tried 852 persons altogether, and 582 of them were convicted and 270 were acquitted. Offences against Martial Law Orders disposed of summarily, so far as figures are available up to now, were altogether 1,500 cases. These were disposed of either by the summary Courts Martial or by the ordinary Courts. I have already mentioned in connection with the sentences inflicted that it must be borne in mind that the Special Commissions only tried cases of the most serious nature in which people were charged either with waging war, or with sedition, or with something of that kind and under the law most of the offences were punishable, without alternative, either with death or with transporation for life. But sentences have from the beginning been subject to revision by the Local Government and

the Government of India. Reductions in commutations have been decided on by the Local Government, and in nearly 500 cases large reductions have been granted. Apart from the above, all sentences by forfeiture are without exception being remitted by the Local Government.

Earl Russell : I do not know if the noble Lord gave the sentences actually imposed in the first instance : I do not think I caught them.

Lord Sinha : I have mentioned the number of persons convicted. With regard to the sentences, I have not yet given the details.

Earl Russell : Having got the number convicted, I wanted to know what the original sentences were in those cases.

Lord Sinha : The original sentences were, **in 108 cases the death sentence**. Of these, 18 have been executed, not having appealed ; 28 out of the 108 have been reduced to transportion for life, 23 to imprisonment for 10 years, 13 to imprisonment for 7 years, 21 to shorter terms of imprisonment, and there are 5 cases now to be dealt with by the Privy Council. The rest of the cases are also pending,in as much as the same point that had arisen in the case now under appeal also arises in them. But out of the 108 sentences awarded, only 18 were executed and, as the Government of India informed us, the principle upon which the com mutations have been granted is this—whenever there has been no factor of actual murder they have commuted the capital sentences either to imprisoment or transportation. As regards convictions by the inferior Summary Courts, there are about 1,500. They are being separately reviewed case by case by the local Governments which will doubtless grant reduction on generous scale as they have done in the other cases.

With regard to the specific case of Mr. Harkissen Lal and those who were tried with him, I have already said that the offence with regard to which they were charged and of which they have been found guilty by the Special Commission, composed as I have already stated, was an offence under Section 121 A—namely, of waging war, for conspiracy to wage war. The only sentence possible for the Court to award was that which it did award, namely transportation for life and forfeiture. That has been commuted. These cases are now under appeal to the Privy Council, and therefore I consider that it would not be right and proper for me to deal with the facts of the case, or to deal with the question how far the facts of the case justified the verdict of the Court which tried them. Nor I have got the judgments with me even to place the findings "in extenso" before

your Lordships. But from the short telegraphic summary that we have received in the India Office I can only say that it is stated that the findings of the Commissions are that the mob was incited to violence by their inflammatory speeches and that in effect they were the chief local organisers of the risings—not that they had been convicted, as the noble Earl's information seemed to suggest, of waging war because they advised people to close shops. However that may be, their sentences have been reviewed and revised by the local Government, and reduced, as I have already said, in Mr. Harkissen Lal's case to two years' rigorous imorisonment and to other terms of imprisonment for the others who were accused with him and convicted with him.

Having regard to what has fallen from the noble Earl, as well as from Lord Sydenham, I should like to repeat what the Secretary of State said with the concurrence of the Viceroy in another place (H. of C.) on May 22 last—namely, that you cannot have disturbances of this kind and of this magnitude without an inquiry into the causes and into the measures taken to cope with these disturbances. In circumstances of this kind the immediate and paramount duty (I think your Lordships will agree with me) of the Government of India was to protect life and to restore order; and at the same time it must use, as it was bound to use, the exceptional powers at its disposal only so far as was necessary for the immediate purpose, actions necessarily prompt, probably hasty, have to be reviewed and revised when order has once more been restored with a view to ensuring the confidence of the well disposed that the action had been adequate and not merciless, sufficient but not excessive. The time has now arrived for this stage, and the Secretary of State and the Viceroy have been in constant communication by cable and have every hope that a definite announcement with regard to the promised inquiry will be duly made and within a short time.

Earl Russell: The noble Earl has not answered one point. Is there any censorship of free communication by Press cables between India and this country at the present time?

Lord Sinha: I am afraid I am not able to answer that to-day.

Lord Sinha Snubbing Sydenham.

Lord Ampthill: I am loth to intrude with a trivial criticism while a subject so grave as this is being discussed, but there is one thing I should like to ask the noble Lord who sought to inflict a severe snub on Lord Sydenham by flatly contradicting his statement that the closing of shops was the signal for revolt. He went further and said there was no information in the India Office which would confirm that opinion. How on earth did the

noble Lord, the Under-Secretary, know that my noble friend was going to make that particular statement, and how in the brief period, less than two minutes, which elapsed between his remarks and the Under-Secretary's reply was it possible for him to make a search in the archives of the India Office which would justify so sweeping a statement as that? Unless the noble Lord has got gift of second sight I cannot imagine any thing that could have justified a statement of that kind. There are many things in India which are well known to those who have been there for which, I daresay, it would not be possible to find documentary evidence in the India Office, and the fact that my noble friend has not seen anything in the India Office to confirm his view is no proof that such a thing does not exist in India.

Lord Sinha: I must have made myself very much misunderstood if the noble Lord thought that I was administering a snub to Lord Sydenham when I made that statement. All I meant to say was this that, so far as I was concerned, I had no knowledge that it was a fact that the closing of shops was a signal of revolt. I have never heard it, I have never read it. I have not seen it stated either by any person or in any book. I will also say this, that in connection with these disturbances and all the reports made from the Government of India Office with which I have endeavoured to make myself familiar, I have not come across any statement to that effect by any person of authority or otherwise. And therefore, if I may humbly venture to say so, it would not require any foresight on my part to know, or any second sight on my part to be able to anticipate, the statement which was going to be made by the noble Lord when he said that was his impression—because I take it it is nothing more than that, for the noble Lord did not himself say that to his knowledge the closing of shops was a signal for revolt. It must be something which he has heard or read, and all I intended to say was that my knowledge and my information did not support that, and so far as the reports in connection with these disturbances are concerned, all of which I have read, there is nothing to support the idea that the closing of shops was a signal for revolt On the contrary, the reports show that the closing of shops was nothing more than a protest against the passing of an obnoxious legislation.

Lord Sydenham: May I correct the noble Lord on one point. I did not say the closing of shops was a signal for "revolt"; I said for "riot," which is a very different matter. In the Punjab it was revolt, but in Bombay we know perfectly well, if there is going to be a riot, by the fact that the shops are being closed.

Lord Sinha: I mis-heard the noble Lord, and that is why I said that that was not the information.

Punjab Affairs in England

December 1919

At the time of Lord Rusell's enquiry in the Lords on August 6, 1919 *re* the administration of Martial Law in the Punjab, little was known of General Dyer's exploits at Amritsar, both in India and England. The appalling atrocities committed by British Public Servants of the Punjab on the Punjabees themselves during the Martial Law regime of that Hero (Nero ?) of Punjab, Sir Michael O'Dowyer, were kept a sealed book quite for a considerable period till the apocalyptic braggadocio of General Dyer before the Hunter Committee. Only news which aggravated the situation and gave colour to the fanciful "rebellion" in the Punjab were allowed to filter through during this period and all else was taboo. Freedom of movement, freedom of speech and action, freedom of the Press, was ruthlessly suppressed, and Jhallianwala swallowed her tears in silence. Of the horrible barbarities committed, not by a frenzied mob, but by the King's trusted servants on his innocent subjects (helpless Indian subjects), none knew anything. The Secretary of State and the India Office was silent, the Government of India was silent. the Punjab administration, backing the whole game, was silent, and silently hundreds of veteran war-weary distracted Punjabees were brutally crushed to death, hundreds dragooned into crawling serpent-fashion on the streets, into salaaming Britishers and other nameless barbarities—and all India awaiting the while in breathless suspense of the unknown.

With the exit from the arena of the great Hero (O'Dowyer) enquiries were set on foot. The Seva Samity of Lahore and the Congress Enquiriy Committee began collecting accounts and lastly came the Hunter Committee. General Dyer gave before it on the 19th Nov. and it was then that the world knew of the Amritsar tribulations. A cry of horror rose from end to end of India, and since then matters have taken an altogether new turn. News reached England early in December last and atonce it roused a chorus of disclaimer from the British Press, and in the House of Commons Mr. Secretary Montagu was cornered with questions. The following pages will give some idea of the depth of feeling raised in England.

Extracts from the Times on the Amritsar Massacre.

A profound impression has been made in this country by the arrival of Indian newspapers containing reports of the evidence given before the Committee, presided over by Lord Hunter, which is now inquiring into the rebellious disorders in India last April. It was vaguely known that very severe measures were taken at Amritsar, the religious capital of the Sikhs and the scene of the worst outbreaks. Our correspondent at Simla telegraphed at the time that at Amritsar "the troops dispersed the "rioters on Sunday with very heavy casualties." It was certainly not known that an **unarmed gathering** which had met, in defiance of a military proclamation, in an enclosed space at Amritsar, have been fired upon without any immediate warning, and that 400 had been killed. The public are shocked, not only by the occurrence itself, but also because this disclosure has only been made in Great Britain nine months after the event occurred. The broad facts about the risings in India are common knowledge. Subject to any conclusions which may be reached by Lord Hunter's Committee, the general impression is that they were deliberate and organized, and were revolutionary in character. Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, used the words "open rebellion," and the circumstances appear to confirm his verdict. The outbreaks occurred at widely separate points. In the Bombay Presidency, a telegraph office and a cotton mill were burned at Ahmedabad, where a police officer was murdered while a definite attempt was made to seize the important railway junction of Viramgam, at which place an Indian official was killed and burned. There were menacing disturbances in Bombay and Calcutta. Numerous attempts at train-wrecking were made, and the telegraph wires were systematically cut. At Delhi a mob tried to sack the railway station, and was fired upon, and at Lahore a crowd which tried to march to the European quarter was similarly repulsed. Gujranwala railway station was burned, and in an attack on Kasur station a British soldier was killed. The concentration upon railway stations is one of the chief circumstantial proofs that the outbreak was planned by clever brains ; but it is also necessary to state that the greater part of India was entirely unaffected by these disturbances. Many explanations of their origin have been offered. Their principal ostensible cause was the opposition offered to the Rowlatt Act, a measure passed in conformity with the recommendations of Mr. Justice Rowlatt's Committee on Revolutionary Conspiracies in India. Our own view has always been that the Rowlatt Act and other alleged grievances were used as a pretext. We said at the time, and continue to believe, that the object of the movement was

to render British rule impossible; that they had inflamed the ignorant populace with wild stories; that the tentacles of the conspiracy extended far beyond India; and that (as has since been fully proved) the secret leaders were in touch with the Russian Bolshevist movement.

It is necessary to recite these facts in order that the public may understand the atmosphere in which the deplorable massacre at Amritsar occurred. Parts of Punjab were aflame with rebellion, and many unprovoked acts of violence had been committed by Indian mobs. The worst of these were wrought at Amritsar, which was seething with sedition, fanned steadily by inflammatory speeches. On the morning of April 10, two prominent Amritsar agitators, Dr. Kitchlu and Mr. Satya Pal, were arrested and expelled. At that time, as the evidence shows, the story had been spread in the Amritsar district that British rule was at an end and villagers eager for loot had flocked into the city. An hour or so after the expulsions a number of mobs, said to have been largely composed of "hooligans," got out of hand and practically took possession of the place. They sacked the local branch of the National Bank of India, looting property worth about £80,000, and killing the British manager and his accountant, whose bodies were soaked in kerosene and burned, together with the bank premises. They killed the British manager of the Alliance Bank; burned the Town Hall and other buildings; assaulted a British lady missionary and left her for dead; killed a British guard at the railway station and tried to tear up the rails. There was only a handful of troops in Amritsar on this day and at one point they fired on a mob, killing eight people. On April 11 the city remained in the hands of the rioters, and there was one encounter in which a few were wounded. Troops numbering 300, of whom 100 were British, arrived during the day and late at night Brigadier-General Dyer, then commanding at Jullundur, arrived by motor-car and took over control from the civil authorities. During April 12 there were no collisions, but the city was still in the possession of lawless persons. On the morning of the 13th April General Dyer marched through the city with a small column, and caused a proclamation to be read at eighteen different points. The proclamation, according to Mr. Miles Irving, the senior civil officer on the spot, was to the effect that "no meetings would be allowed, and if any meetings were held they were liable to be fired upon straightaway." In the afternoon General Dyer heard that a meeting was being held at Jallianwalla Bagh, an enclosed garden with narrow entrances. He marched there with "twentyfive British rifles, twenty-five Indian (Beluchi) rifles, forty Gurkhas armed with KUKRIS (short curved swords) and two armoured cars." The cars could

not enter the garden, but General Dyer took his riflemen inside, and opened fire "in thirty seconds." He fired 1,650 rounds, all the ammunition he had. There were at lest 5,000 people present, possibly many more, and the result was a massacre. The exact number of killed is believed to have been 415, and General Dyer thought that probably three times that number must have been wounded.

We do not propose to offer any final opinion upon General Dyer's action until the conclusions of Lord Hunter's Committee are made known, but his evidence cannot be published without comment. On his own showing, his conduct appears to us to be indefensible, and its worst feature was that he did not stop firing when the crowd instantly began to disperse. Mr. Yusuf Khan, a resident of Amritsar, and one of the oldest members of the Punjab Legislative Council, told the Committee that in his opinion General Dyer's action was justified ; that something had to be done to quell the disturbances ; that sooner or later "drastic action" would have been necessary ; and that in fact the shooting in the garden quelled the rising. We have little doubt that it did, but we cannot accept all the views of Mr. Yusuf Khan ; and various statements made by General Dyer to the Committee suggest that he held an excessive and unwarrantable conception both of his own powers and of the steps necessary to restore order. It is true that he faced several thousand people with only fifty rifles ; but the crowd was unarmed, and was given no chance of departing quietly. On the question of the wounded, who were left untended, there may be some foundation for General Dyer's contention that his force was "not in a position to render medical aid." The order that Indians were to crawl through the street where Miss Sherwood was attacked strikes us as ridiculous. It was indeed quickly revoked by some higher authority. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, then Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, sent a telegram approving of General Dyer's action, but we must assume for the present that he did so on insufficient knowledge. The Army Headquarters in India gave the General command of another brigade at Kohat, which does not look like censure. For the rest, we must await for fuller information, for it is quite clear that we know far too little about what happened in India last April. In the meantime it is necessary to inquire very urgently why Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford, in their public statements and in the summaries issued to the Press, never made any allusion to what happened in this Amritsar garden. Not by any means for the first time, there appears to have been **studious concealment of relevant facts ;** but perhaps Mr. Montagu was not permitted to know the whole truth, because on May 29, and again on October 30, he made statements in the House of Commons at variance with the number of casualties

now acknowledged. We may add that it is extremely unfortunate that the Government of India have permitted the National Congress to meet at Amritsar next week; but the attempt to attribute sinister motive to the Congress is obviously unjustified, because it chose Amritsar as its next meeting place a year ago.

The Daily News on British Frightfulness.

It was innocently assumed in this country when the Armistice was signed thirteen months ago that the reign of "frightfulness" was over—for the time being at any rate. The assumption was incorrect. Five months after the signing of the Armistice, an apparently unarmed crowd of 5,000 was being fired upon for attending a public meeting forbidden—whether they all knew it or not is doubtful—by a military Governor. Four hundred of them were killed and 1,500 wounded, not because, if summoned to do so, they would not have dispersed quietly—this is admitted by the General concerned himself—but because, again in his own eloquent language, "they would have come back and laughed at me and I would have made what I would consider a fool of myself."

The scene of this new "frightfulness" is not Belgium, but India. The General responsible is not German but British. The Government which has practised this concealment—in its way one of the most shocking features of the whole concern—is British. The victims are not even technically enemies but "rebels," in General Dyer's words, that is to say, British subjects who innocently or otherwise ventured to act in contravention of his decrees. We do not ignore the gravity of the crimes previously committed. It is perfectly true that a bank manager and his assistant had been murdered, that banks had been burned with disastrous loss of property, that the railway lines had been cut. We do not forget the difficulty and delicacy of the position. It is just to remember, moreover, that the case is in a sense subjudice, and that the final conclusions of the Commission of Inquiry may to some extent modify the story as we know it at present. We hope profoundly that it will, for what could be more futile than to talk of Indian reforms, of "Self-Government for India," of Indian Government as a trust held by the British Parliament and people, if wholesale massacres could be perpetrated without the British Parliament or people knowing a word about them for months? General Dyer held that his action would "make a wide impression throughout the Panjab". He underestimated it. It will **make a wide impression throughout the world** and an impression which must be removed at all costs if our credit and our honour are not to be fatally impaired.

The Westminster Gazette on The Massacre at Amritsar.

The appalling news, so long delayed, of what happened at Amritsar in April last is a revelation to the British people of what their rule in India might have come to but for the changes of course set up by the measure now passing into law. Those who, hearing General Dyer described as having "saved the situation in India," hesitate as to how they shall judge of his exploit, may clear their minds by asking how they would have judged of it had it been achieved by a German Officer under German rule anywhere. It is really a very extreme case of the kind of evil that may be wrought in public affairs by a mind which handles any disturbed situation on the methods of militarism.

General Dyer's state of mind at the time is to be gathered from the fact that he took no steps whatever to have the wounded attended to. Had he been fighting against armed enemies he would presumably have had the dead removed and the wounded put in hospital. As they were merely unarmed **natives** he left the wounded shift for themselves and the living to bury the dead—this in a city where, he declared, civil administration had been declared to be at an end. Under General Dyer there was thus at first neither civil law nor martial law, though he "considered martial law necessary" afterwards.

Whatever may have been the impression made in the Panjab, this amazing narrative will recall to the inhabitants of the United Kindom chiefly the episodes of the early German occupation of Belgium and old "Peterloo Massacre" in England. If General Dyer's range of knowledge had included any recollection of the last-named episode, even he might have been moved to doubt whether his own massacre was fitted to establish respect for Government in India. Not the least astonishing thing of all is that such an episode did not precipitate a real rebellion. While political thinkers of the General's school will confidently pronounce that the resulting "quiet" at Amritsar proves the expediency of his course, saner people will realise that a few more episodes of this kind would suffice to bring our rule in India speedily to an end. There are to be found English publicists who, like Sir Michael O'Dwyer, can openly applaud his insane deeds; but it is evident that the military and other Anglo-Indians who conducted the official inquiry see it with the eyes of rational men at home. It must be authoritatively condemned in the most decisive fashion. We can all remember how, in the Dublin revolt, the military murder of Mr. Sheehy Skeffington and two others sufficed to turn Irish feeling round to the side of the rebels and how even in that time of peril it was felt absolutely necessary to take

proceedings against the guilty officer, who was declared to be of unsound mind. In the case of General Dyer that course cannot not be taken, though some may think that it would be on many grounds applicable. But he must be recalled and dealt with in such a way that the massacre of Amritsar shall be solemnly repudiated by the Imperial Government. If he is not condemned by the nation, the nation itself will be condemned by the civilised world. His deed will remain on record as the most unanswerable proof of the necessity for the political step now being taken by which our rule in India is to be transformed.

The Star on The Amritsar Battle.

This is December 15. The Amritsar "frightfulness" took place on April 13. That is to say, the truth has been suppressed by the Government for eight months. It is now made public in a report of the Evidence given before the Commission of Inquiry sent out from this country. The moral shock inflicted upon the British people by the evidence of General Dyer is benumbing.

Within half a minute fifty rifles opened fire on the meeting without any warning to the people to disperse. They fired for ten minutes into the writhing crowd, fired till their supply of cartridges ran out, and according to General Dyer's estimate, killed some 400 of the people, and wounded about 1500 more. The dead and dying were left where they lay. Is there in our history any parallel to this story? General Dyer said this action "would make a wide impression throughout the Panjab". We hesitate to define the impression it will make on the British people and upon the world. Our honour and our humanity are at stake. What shall we do to redeem them?

In the United States of America.

Even in Japan and Amrica the news of the Amritsar massacre did not fail to create a sensation. In America President De Valera (of the Irish Revolutionary party) used it as a handle in aid of the Irish campaign against England, and openly invited Indians and Egyptians to join issue. "Our cause is a common cause" declared he, "We swear friendship." And Congressman William E. Mason of Illinois introduced a resolution in the U. S. A. House of Rrepresentative :—

"**Whereas,** the atrocities by British soldiers and officers, which have met with the approval of British officers, has shocked the sense of justice of the American people, and

"**Whereas,** the American people believe the same rule of self-determination should apply to these people who are subjected by

force to the Government of Great Britain that is applied to other nations that have sought self-determination and were encouraged by the United States, and

"**Whereas**, the Government of Great Britain, which now controls and governs India by force without the consent of the people, have tried to make it appear by propaganda that they have given so called Home rule to India, which is substantially the same brand of Home rule which has always been given by the master nation to the slave nation, be it

"**Resolved**, that it is the duty of the United States to carry out the will of the people to give such recognition without intervention to the people of India who are struggling for self-determination as will assist them in their efforts for self-government."

Jhallianwala Massacre

HOUSE OF COMMONS

15 Dec. 1919

Sir D. Maclean asked the Secretary of State for India whether he could inform the House when the inquiry (Hunter Comm.) into the occurrences at Amritsar would be completed ; whether a report would be immediately available for hon. members ; when did he become acquainted with the details of the occurrence ; and what reason was there for not informing the House thereon ; and further, had any action been taken by the authorities to express their opinion to the General in command of his conduct.

Mr. Montagu : I do not know when the result of the inquiry, which is an open one, will be obtained. Evidence is at present being taken. I hope the evidence will be completed at the end of this month and that as soon as I get the result of the inquiry it will be given to this House. As regards the remainder of the question, I can quite appreciate the profound disturbances which must have been caused in public opinion by the evidence published, but I trust my right hon friend and the House will agree with me that we are right in waiting until an impartial authoritative pronouncement on all the facts is made by Lord Hunter's Committee. I have not received any detailed account, nor do I expect to do so because the Viceroy and the Government and I agreed to the formation of a Committee of enquiry, which will present a report on all the circumstances.

Sir D. Maclean—My Right Hon. friend has not answered one point. That is, when did he become aware of the occurrences, and what reason—if he had heard of it—had he for not informing the House of it ?

Mr. Montagu : I thought I said that I know of no details of the circumstances until I saw the report in the newspapers. It is not an official communication yet. I cannot expect that the evidence can be reported to me, because the machinery that we had devised was to have a Committee of inquiry. It will be the Committee of inquiry that will report to me on the facts and the circumstances, and the evidence.

Sir D. Maclean: Is it the practice in the India Office that the Secretary of State for India would not hear of an occurrence of this nature which happened eight months ago?

Mr. Montagu: When the riots were occuring I published a series of "communiques" giving the information as it was telegraphed to me. The result of the detailed investigation which has been going on has been prepared by the authorities in India to lay before Lord Hunter's Committee.

Sir H. Craik: Does not the Right Hon. gentleman consider that at this moment it is most undesireable that any opinion should be expressed in this House on the subject which is now under consideration by Lord Hunter's Committee, based upon what he states to be unauthorised reports?

Mr. Montagu: I am quite sure that the House does not want to prejudge the matter. At the same time I cannot help saying that the evidence as published in the newspapers is profoundly disturbing, and I cannot help saying also that is why I hope that, without any unnecessary delay, Lord Hunter's findings will be available. The Committee are sitting continuously; they have completed evidence at Lahore, they have three or four other places to finish, and I hope that the evidence will be completed by the end of this month.

Sir D. Maclean: I view of the very deeply agitated state of the public mind on this occurrence, will my Right Hon. friend see that a special report is sent to him, and will he publish it immediately he receives it?

Sir H. Craik: Will the Right Hon. gentleman refuse to publish part of the evidence until the whole of the inquiry is completed?

Mr. Montagu: The Committee which was appointed I believe to be an authoritative and impartial one. It is presided over by a distinguished Judge. I would deprecate interfering with their decisions, but I hope when the investigation is completed to publish everything quite fully.

Mr. Mac Veagh: Can the Right Hon. gentleman explain how it happens that an incident which occurred eight months ago in which 500 Indians were killed and 1,500 wounded, was not made known in this country for a period of eight months?

Mr Montagu: There were statements published relating to this occurrence as they were received. As the months have gone by, more and more evidence has been collected, which is now available for Lord Hunter's Committee. The casualties involve one of the

most difficult points. It is very difficult to say the exact number of men who, unfortunately, lost their lives in these occurrences. Various estimates have been furnished, and I look to Lord Hunter's Committee to give the Empire and this House the authoritative figures.

Lord R. Cecil: Can the Right Hon. gentleman say whether the Government of India exercise any censorship to prevent the telegraphing of the evidence before Lord Hunter's Committee,—apparently this has only come by mail.

Mr. Montagu: I believe that there has been a censorship during the riots in the Panjab, but none since. The wires are very much congested, and it may have been for that reason that none of this evidence was telegraphed.

Colonel Yate: Is it not a fact that the English papers have selected the evidence of one particular witness, and that all the evidence of the magistrates and other people who gave evidence prior to that witness has not been published in England, and that in fact we have had no evidence published?

Mr. Montagu: I would invite members to read the evidence as published in the Indian newspapers. The selection of this particular piece of evidence was, I believe, due to the enterprise of one particular London journal, which always seems to me to be the best informed of them on Indian affairs. They selected this particular one from their correspondent in Allahabad, which was copied into other newspapers, but the "Times of India" and other newspapers are available, and I shall place them where hon. members can see the whole evidence as published in Indian newspapers.

Monday, December 22, 1919

Colonel Wedgwood by Private Notice asked the Secretary of State for India whether, pending the result of the Hunter Enquiry, Brigadier General Dyer has been relieved of his command; and, further, whether the Secretary of State has yet received a cabled report of General Dyer's evidence given before the Commission.

Mr. Montagu: The answer to both paras of the question is in the negative. I may say I am in communication with the Viceroy on the whole matter.

Colonel Wedgwood: Obviously this is too important a question to be dealt with in supplementary questions, and therefore, I give notice that I shall raise the subject on the adjournment to-day.

Colonel Wedgwood (later on the adjournment): I rose because I wanted to raise a question which is different from the Irish question in locality but very similar to it in general characteristics.

I want to raise the question of the Amritsar massacre, and the duty of this country towards India in that respect. The details of that massacre are, unfortunately, too well-known to us. The English Press, with a few exceptions, has taken the English view of the matter. The whole country has been horrified at what took place. Let me remind the House of what took place, and not from hearsay, but on the evidence given by the principal actor. Here enquiry will result in some trivial action. The thing must be put right What happened? There was a religious festival and thousands of Punjabis had gone into Amritsar. The British officials were anxious and the Deputy Commissioner on April 9 surrounded the notorious Drs. Satyalpal and Kitchlew and carried them off. The news got about and their followers sent a massed deputation to the Deputy Commissioner demanding their release. The deputation was stopped, apparently by troops; it was only armed with sticks and as a result the troops fired and shot some of the demonstrators. Speeches were made over the bodies, and the mob turned and murdered three Englishmen and beat a lady. No one would excuse riots of that sort. On the evening of the 10th General Dyer arrived at Amritsar, and the Deputy Commissioner handed over the civil power to him. He issued a proclamation by word of mouth that no meetings should be held. Two days later, after there had been no sort of riot nor murder, General Dyer heard that a meeting was to be held at the Jallianwalla Bagh. He proceeded there with about 50 troops, half British half Indian, and a certain number of Gurkhas armed with their kukris. The Jallianwalla Bagh is an open space, half a mile square, which has one entry wide enough for three persons. The troops got in and lined up on a mound of debris. The walls, seven feet high, and the surrounding houses enclosed the people. There were, too, three alleys through which the people might have been able to pass. Within 30 seconds of the troops getting in, General Dyer gave orders to fire, and the crowd of people, estimated at anything from 5,000 to 20,000, who were sitting on the ground, peacefully listening to the mob oratory, were fired on. The result of the troops' fire into the mass of people we do not know. But we do know that Dyer's own estimate of the causalties resulting from ten minutes' continual individual firing was 400 to 500 killed and 1,500 wounded. What were the people to do? They could not escape. They were people who had not offered any violence and who had not been warned. These people were shot down. After ten minutes the ammunition was exhausted

and the troops marched off, and they left 1,500 wounded there. There were men lying there for two days, dying of thirst, eating the ground, bleeding to death and nobody to look after them. Those relations who lived near came and carried away some of the wounded from among the head of dead and dying, but the unfortunate country people died there miserably of their wounds. This is what is done in 1919 in British India. An English sportsman would take any amount of trouble or time to see that a wounded partridge was put out of its misery, but these wounded people were lying there for two days dying slowly. Think what this means. There has never been anything like it before in English history, and not in the whole of our relations with India has there ever been anything of this magnitude before. If you are to find anything so damning to the British reputation you have to go back centuries. In the ordinary English primer the only thing the ordinary person learns about British rule in India is about the Black Hole of Calcutta and the massacre of Cawnpore, where there was a well chocked with corpses. Centuries hence you will find Indian children brought up to this spot, just as they visit now the Cawnpore Well, and you can imagine the feelings of these Indians for generations over this terrible business

(**Hon. Member**: "What would you have done?")

I should not have committed murder. Think what all this means! You will have a shrine erected there and every year there will be processions of Indians visiting the tombs of the martyrs, and Englishmen will go there and stand bareheaded before it. By this incident you have divided races that might otherwise have loved one another. The right hon. gentleman has laid a foundation which might have led to real co-operation within the British Empire but that has now been destroyed.

It has not only destroyed that; but it has destroyed our reputation throughout the world. You know what will happen. All the blackguards in America when they lynch niggers, will say, "Oh you did the same in India." When butcheries take place in Russia, whether it be by White or Red Guards, they will say, "We never did anything like what you did in India, and when we tell the Turks, "You massacred the Armenians" they will say, "Yes we wish we had the chance of getting 5,000 of them together, and then of shooting straight." That is the short of welcome that this will get, and all the decent people in the world will think that England really likes what happened at Amritsar, and that all this sort of thing is English. Really, we know that this sort of thing is the finest Prussianism that ever took place. The Germans never did anything worse in Belgium. This damns us for all time.

Whenever we put forward the humanitarian view, we shall have this tale thrown into our teeth. What is it that differentiates this from all other horrors by Government in the past? If you have a mob distinctly out to kill and to loot, and the soldiers are called out to meet the mob, they have got to stop it. Firing is justified in such cases. There may be hundreds killed in such a case, but, when soldiers are being stoned and being stoned and hammered it is their duty as well as their right to resist.

The Secretary of State for India (Mr. Montagu): The hon. and gallant Member knows that he is dealing with subjects which are "sub judice" and forming his estimate of what happened on one column and a half report of the evidence of a single man who was in the witness-box for a whole day. He knows that no action of any sort or kind whatever can be taken affecting whoever it may be, to vindicate—if any action be necessary—the name of England for justice and fair play, until that report is received. I have never known a case where so many deductions have been drawn in this House from events which at the moment are being enquired into by an impartial tribunal.

Colonel Wedgwood: I do not think that I have varied from the words used by General Dyer. He is accused out of his own mouth. He himself said, "I did not take thirty seconds to decide whether to shoot." He himself said that the mob might have dispersed if he had asked them. He himself said that he fired on them because, if they had dispersed, they might have come back and laughed at him afterwards. He has made that clear. I wanted to point out the difference between suppressing a mob doing violence and shooting down people who are not violent, because by that action terror might be inspired and prevent riots in the future. We have never justified the shooting down of people, not because they were endangering life, but because they might do so at some future time unless they were fired on.

(It being Eleven of the Clock the Motion for the Adjournment of the House lapsed, without Question put.)

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The Indo-British Association on the Indian Reforms.

[The Indo-British Association of England is the most reactionary body of Britishers whose one aim is to keep India and other non-White portions of the Empire under perpetual helotage. It is composed mainly of Ex-Governor, Ex-I.C.S. and other retired service men grown fat on the salt of India and now bent upon doing a good (!) turn to India by opposing Mr. Secretary Montagu's Reforms on the plea that the Masses of India, their milch-cow, will suffer therefrom. On this see Mr. Montagu's Criticism on p. 155-8.

The 2nd Annual Sessions of the Association met in June 1919 under the Presidency of Lord Sydenham. He is the head of an influential section of M. P s who fail to recognise that the day of aggressive domination of the Prussian type, based on race-arrogance, with power and privileges on one side and debasement and disabilities on the other are past. To quote Sir Abbas Ali, "the sordid traditions of the East India Company, of securing unfair economic advantages by building up British power and prestige on the ruins of the Indian people's liberty and self-respect have not yet been swept away by the new forces which the recent world upheaval has set to motion." The following is taken from his presidential speech and well worth recording as it will teach Indians in what light a large and influential section of Britishers view them and the coming Reforms..... *Editor.*]

The Indian Reform Bill

The portions of the Bill to which we are strongly opposed are practically three. First of all, we oppose as strongly as we can the weakening of the supreme Government of India, by setting up two Chambers, and creating most complicated arrangements which will, we believe, certainly cause the maximum of friction, and of delay and of intrigue. If the recent deplorable events in India have not brought home to Mr Montagu the risks of weakening or fettering the supreme Government of India, I am afraid nothing will do so. Secondly, we object as strongly to the setting up of the dual cabinet in every province. (Applause.) Nothing of this kind exists in any civilised country in the world, and I am perfectly certain it never will. The evils which it will entail are perfectly understood and explained by the provincial

Governments, and, I do beg you to read the memorandum by Sir Michael O' Dowyer (This is the late Lieut. Gov. of Punjab held popularly rasponsible for the Massacre of 1919.) and the Bombay Government, which explained it in the most excellent manner. Those most important documents have only just been published, though I pressed hard for them many months ago.

Now, Mr. Montagu suggests that the heads of the provinces are prejudiced persons, and that therefore their views can be ignored. Now, ladies and gentlemen, prejudiced against or for what ? Is it the least likely that the local governments, in the closest touch with the realities of administration of the provinces, and of the conditions of the provinces—is it the least likely that they would be prejudiced against anything which could conduce to the welfare of the people of those provinces ? Are Mr. Montagu and his persent supporters—some of whom have not concealed their desire to turn us out of India, or their desperate anxiety to get power into their hands—are they really the only unprejudiced persons ? Now, I think you will all agree that the effect of setting up this monstrous dual cabinet in every province must be to undermine authority within a short time throughout all India, and to create interminable conflicts between what are already called the "popular ministers" and the non-descript cabinet which stands outside those ministers, and these conflicts must lead, if the Governor shows any strength, to violent attacks in the Press, to *hartals* and *Satyagraha* vows, which will, as we have lately seen, end in the death of a large number of innocent persons who have been excited by gross falsehoods. That is why we oppose the *diarchy*. We object also to the denial of communal representation to the classes which most need its protection, and that has been done in defiance of the opinions of the Government of Madras against which Mr. Montagu permitted himself to direct sneers.

On Transferred Subjects.

The composition of Lord Southbrough's Committees (of which the Chairmen were chosen because they knew nothing of India and some of the members had previously committed themselves in advance, and therefore were not qualified to act as judges) seems to have been in complete keeping with Mr. Montagu's methods. It was announced in the report that the transfered subjects vary in different provinces, according to the state of advancement of that province. Now, we find that they are the same in all provinces, except that forests are included in Bombay, and when we remember that such vastly important services as local self-government, medical administration includ-

ing hospitals, public health and sanitation, education, agriculture, civil veterinary departments, co-operative Societies religious and charitable endowments, public works and the development of industries are all to be managed by ministers uncontrolled, except by the Governor's veto in certain cases, and obliged to court popularity, one can imagine what will happen. I do not think Parliament can understand what Mr. Montagu asks; that it should abandon and give up the power over the services which perhaps most affect their daily lives. Parliament must remain still responsible for the well-being of the peoples of India, and yet it is asked to give up the power which that responsibility demands I myself was minister for public works for 5½ years, and I know too well what would happen in that Department when it is transferred to what Lord Southborough's Committee miscalls "popular control". Many of us have seen how elections can be arranged, and so far up to the persent time, the result has been that the general electorates have returned 70 per cent. of lawyers. The reason for that is partly because lawyers are an object of fear in India. Of the few voters, five millions of them, Mr. Montagu says "You have got to get them to vote and you have to get them to understand what a vote means." Now, inducements to vote, tempered by intimidation, will certainly be forthcoming, and these credulous people will be told what their candidate promises to do for them But what is certain is that if anything happens which he does not like, the voter will throw the whole blame upon the British Government, and not upon the "popular minister" (Applause)

The "Passion For Self-Government."

Continuing he said, Mr. Montagu stated on May 22nd, "There is, believe me, a passion for self-government," and on the 5th of this month (June) he added, "There are 315 millions of people eagerly awaiting, so far as they are politically educated, the decision of this House' (laughter) and he also announced there was general agreement on all sides in India and in this country Now these statements really conflict with the statements in the report itself, and also with many facts known to you all. In his 315 millions Mr. Montagu must have included the subjects of all the Native States. Now does he really think that in Hyderabad or in Bikanir, there has been suddenly developed a "passion for self-government ?" The Government of the Nizam has recently ordered one of the most prominent advocates of self-government out of his State and has forbidden him to return. Can Mr. Montagu really imagine that the 94 per cent. of illiterate people have the smallest idea of what self-governmet or his Bill means,

and there cannot be a quarter of a million people in India at the present moment who could give a really intelligible account of either? It does seem to me it is a great pity that in his Second Reading speech Mr. Montagu made no allusion to the unrest in India or to the recent Afghan invasion, which is not by any means unconnected with Indian politics, an invasion which, if it were not for British troops and for the fine regiments of India led by British officers, would carry to-day as it did in the past, fire and sword to the rich cities of Northern India. Even in the midst of our many pre-occupations in this country at this present critical time, surely there must be some people who can read the writing on the wall, and who must doubt whether this is the time to undermine the only authority in India which can keep order and guard the frontier.

Unbridled Agitation.

Mr. Montagu has excluded the North West Frontier Province from the benefits of his reforms, but that will be useless if the rest of India passes out of control. Mrs. Besant since she came back has stated that given a fair chance, that, of course, is given Home Rule, India would in 40 years be in a position to defend herself against invasion. Mrs. Besant is not a military authority, and we have got to remember that she is reported to have suggested the arming of India for quite another purpose than the defence of the frontier. We do not yet know the details of the riots in the Presidency towns last year, and the far more serious occurrences of this year, but so far as we know some sinister facts seem to me to stand out quite plainly. The earlier riots were, as the Governments of Bengal and Madras stated, engineered by political agitation and entirely due to the reckless falsehoods which have been spread far and wide in those presidencies. For some time certain Indian papers, with strong support from *New India* and the *Bombay Chronicle*, have done their utmost to present British rule and British people in an odious light to the people of India, and to attribute to them all the ills from which India suffers.

These are the words of the responsible Government of Madras, But this "unbridled agitation" has not only been permitted but even encouraged in late years by the apathy of the Government; it has increased most markedly since the advent of Mr. Montagu to power. It has borne evil fruit among the people of India and the crop has not yet been wholly gathered Shortly before assuming office Mr. Montagu made an unjustified attack on British Rule in India that was described by a retired Indian

Judge in the following words :—"Never before in the history of Anglo-Indian Administration, the bureaucracy was subjected to such scorching, withering criticism by one who has held the high office of Parliamentary Under-Secretary for India." Now that was Mr. Montagu's contribution towards goodwill in India, with the results we can already see. Neither the Secretary of State nor the Government of India have done anything to protect their servants, toiling in the heat of India, from the most gross calumnies, and when at the fag end of a Session, Mr. Montagu suddenly made that extremely important pronouncement which was capable of almost any interpretation, the results which we have seen became practically inevitable. It was believed from that time onward that government was weakening and two months later the shocking atrocities in Bihar occured, and were repeated on a smaller scale at Katarpur in the following year.

The direct cause, I am certain, has been the incendiary writing and speaking which has been permitted all over India in recent years A large number of ignorant people were taught that the plague, famine, and even the epidemic of Influenza were due to the British Government which had become weak and unable to rule.

Referring to Mr. Gandhi and *Satyagraha* Lord Sydenham said :—

Now, has Mr. Montagu ever considered the effect in India of his publicly claiming Mr. Gandhi as his "friend" as he did the other day? What better encouragement to lawbreaking could he give? He is now apparently trusting to a Moderate Party which does not exist. Some Moderates so-called were Extremists yesterday, and they will be Extremists again to-morrow. Other Moderates know well and will tell you in private they regard the Rowlatt Act as essential for the protection of Indians, but they were intimidated into opposition, or they were asked to believe that unless they opposed the Acts they would have no political future. Their action supplies a warning which, it seems to me, it is madness to disregard. A revolutionary paper 'The Daily Herald' which Mr. Churchill denounced the other day in most scathing terms, is partly supported by funds from India, and the Indian Extremists in this country are now busily engaged in intriguing with the Sinn Feiners and in keeping in touch with the most revolutionary party in this country.

It is quite clear Mr. Montagu is determined to use all his power,—and it is very great,—to force through this Bill without any amendment. But he has taken upon himself a very great responsibility which will come home to him before many years

have passed. He has said he proposed deliberately to disturb the placid contentment of the people and he has really made great progress in that direction already. He is prematurely forcing democratic institutions upon the most aristocratic country that is left in the world. He is setting up a machinery which will in time enable a little oligarchy to paralyse all Government. He is sealing the doom of the great British public services to which the wonderful progress of India since the assumption of Government by the Crown is due.

The capture of a portion of the Labour Party by the Extremists is, I am afraid, complete, and it would be really amusing, if there was not a tragedy lying in the background. Mr. Spoor in the recent debate in the House of Commons said: "There has been for a fairly long period a very considerable decline in Indian industries, with all the consequent suffering that decline involves." Now, that shows exactly what propaganda will do. Judged by any test that you can apply, the wealth and industries of India have increased in the most remarkable way during the last 25 years. But Mr. Spoor is not in the least to blame; he only said what he had been told, but that any Labour leader would be willing to place power over 244 millions of people in the hands of a little upper class of Brahmanas and lawyers s one of the bitterest ironies of the present situation.

If we now transfer the power then within a few years there will be no Government, and the anarchy, of which we have already seen warning symptoms, will prevail throughout India, and we shall be obliged to restore authority by force, or to leave India to relapse into the chaos from which we rescued her.

Now, there is not one of us present here to-day, I am certain, who would not give Home Rule to India to-morrow if we thought it would be for the best good of the people, but we must think first of the welfare of the huge illiterate population with nearly 80 per cent. of simple, kindly cultivators who form the vast mass of the population. We, of this Association, support orderly evolution, and we have come together to-day only because of the warm affection that we cherish for the people of India but we assert that this Bill, which Mr. Montagu says, "will" settle the constitutional question, can settle nothing but that it will effect what must be a revolution.

The Indian Reform Bill.

[The following is an extract from *The Spectator, 12 June '19* the most anti-Indian and reactionary journal, the mouthpiece of the notorious Indo-British Association of England. Its opinion on the reforms is reflected on the speech of Lord Sydenham quoted above.]

India has been governed in trust by British officials since the work of government was taken over from the East India company in 1858, and she has been governed with a brilliance and an honesty which in combination can be nowhere matched in the world. It is now proposed to pull down that system Mr. Montagu takes credit for intending that the process shall be gradual, though we cannot but believe that if the Indian Reform Bill becomes law, the mischief will begin early and will soon become desperate. Why should we disguise our real thoughts? Mr. Montagu uses phrases lightly and rhetorically, but our own solemn belief is that what he is planning—with an inevitability which he is unable to appreciate—is the ruin of India.

No Grounds for Haste.

In his speech in the House of Commons on Thursday week he disclosed no grounds for the haste which he says is imperative in introducing reforms. Much less did he justify the recklessness and the unnecessary complexity of his proposals. The diarchy must surely be condemned by statesmanship by reason of its extreme intricacy—statesmen always aim at simplicity in administration—if it were not condemned because of its inherent absurdity. But apparently simplicity and directness are alien to Mr. Montagu's mind. He aims at what is ambitious and high sounding. Even when it comes to so simple a matter of duty as to justify the Rowlatt Acts he strikes a note which is really humiliating, because in effect he apologizes instead of stoutly telling the truth. The Rowlatt Acts embody the recommendations of a most able and learned Judge who had no axe whatever to grind in India, and who said what he thought on the evidence, as a Judge ought to do, without bringing any preconceptions to his task. The Acts are framed for the defence of honest men and innocent persons. What need is there to say more? That is their reason for existing, and it is a complete and ample one. They are directed solely at the suppression of sedition and anarchy, and every law-abiding citizen ought to rejoice in the security which they

afford not only to the individual but to the whole of India. Mr. Montagu's reasons for introducing his drastic reform Bill would sound very strange if they were not unfortunately too familiar. He continually harks back to the pledge of the Government given in August, 1917. As a matter of fact, the Government were not pledged by the words then used to any so-called plan of democratic reform, and have not been pledged at any moment since. It is a bad sign, this harping on the pledge. It reminds one rather of the way in which the typical money lender talks to his client. He uses language which intimidates, because it is vague; he always has some awful threat ready, though it has never been submitted to exact or legal scrutiny. If his client does not pay the extortionate interest, he talks terribly about "your letter of the 22nd ult." or declares that he must recall to his client's memory the "fifth clause" of their agreement. The unhappy client believes that without knowing it he has pledged himself irremediably by the accusing instruments of his own hand. If people will calmly look into the history of the Indian Reform scheme, they will find that we are not in honour bound to confer upon India any such scheme as Mr. Montagu has proposed, but that, on the contrary, our whole relation to India binds us to govern in future as we have done in the past according to the rules which will give the best results and therefore the greatest happiness to India.

Combination of Rashness and Gratuitousness.

In his speech on Thursday week, Mr Montagu talked about the "eagerness" with which the Indian "nation"—as though India were a nation—was awaiting his Reform Bill. He may for the moment have forgotten, but we have not forgotten, that in the Report issued in his own name and that of Lord Chelmsford he confessed that his policy was approved of by only a very small minority. "We have seen it estimated," he wrote, "that the number of people who really ask for free institutions does not exceed five per cent of the population. It is in any case a small proportion, but to the particular numeral we attach no importance whatever. . . . Our reason is the faith that is in us.' These figures, brushed aside with such insouciance by Mr. Montagu last week, might well give pause to more sober minds. But Mr. Montagu is inflamed with his ambitious State building, and so the Report tells us that "the placid pathetic contentment of the masses is not the soil on which Indian nationhood will grow, and in deliberately disturbing it we are working for her [India's] highest good." The contentment is admitted; the placidity is admitted; the insignificance of the demand for forms of Self-Government which hardly anybody in India understands, is

admitted; but because that clever and rhetorical use of the word "pathetic" has entered the mind of Mr Montagu, everything that is certain and stable is to be sacrified! We have heard of acts of statesmanship that were rash and of acts of statesmanship that were uncalled for or, as people say, gratuitous, but for a combination of rashness and gratuitousness we know of no political proposal to equal Mr. Montagu's Reform Bill.

The Diarchy.

The core of the Bill is of course what is known as the diarchy—the proposal that in the administration of the Provinces part of the executive work shall be carried out by Ministers dependent upon a popular vote, and partly by Ministers appointed under the old methods of Indian Government, though those methods will be slightly changed. Those subjects of legislation which are to be retained in the hands of the bureaucratic Ministers will be known as "reserved" subjects, and those which are to be handed over to the new popularly elected Ministers will be known as "transferred" subjects. Probably if Mr. Lionel Curtis had not travelled in India and written with all his literary power about this scheme of diarchy, Mr. Montagu would never have thought of such a thing. Mr. Montagu tells us that he cannot imagine any other way of gradually building up a system of Self-Government than this method of transferring subjects from the one authority to the other as the popularly elected Ministers become capable of dealing with fresh matters. But against his fanciful notions there is a solid array of disapproval expressed by some of the ablest and most experienced administrators in India. That Mr. Montagu can rely upon a certain degree of support is of course true; it is almost part of the duty of Civil Servants to promise to do their best to make a scheme work when they understand that the Government desire it. But Mr. Montagu, if he were not so self-confident, would have been much more impressed, and might even have been abashed, by the very strong criticism of his diarchy. Moreover, we must say that it was insulting of him to discount the opposition offered to his scheme by British administrators in India on the ground that these men were "not unprejudiced." We agree with them that the diarchy will not work in practice. In each Province where the diarchial machinery is set up there is to be only "one Government," and therefore it will be impossible for public criticism to say whether blame for mistakes rests upon the Departments which are dealing with the "reserved" subjects or upon the Departments which are dealing with the "transferred" subjects. It is inevitable that whenever anything goes wrong the critics will merely blame "the

Government." What else can they do? In fine, there is no prospect of education in Self-Government under the diarchy because the people cannot rectify mistakes if the people cannot name the source of the mistakes.

The Difficulty of Caste.

But if the diarchy itself is a first-rate difficulty, it is after all only a mechanical defect that is capable of change. By far the greatest difficulty in the way of such reform as Mr. Montagu proposes is the immemorial and religious practice of cast among the Hindus. Politically minded Indians are a very small number among the three hundred and fifteen millions of population, and among this minority the Hindu religious principle of caste is held so sternly that it would prevent all fruitful communication between the leaders and the masses. The people who have really ruled India have always been the people not bound by caste; that is to say, the Muhammedans and ourselves. What a foundation on which to try to build up a structure of democracy! The attempt would, no doubt, end in making India safe for an oligarchy. Think of the millions of lowcaste natives and out-castes These people could never make their voices heard. The "untouchables" would defile their political leaders if they did so much as come within speaking distance of them

Thewhole system is a frank negation of democracy. Surely the first step towards democracy is to invite the intellectual Brahmanas of India to think the matter over carefully, and decide whether they prefer democracy or cast it. The two things cannot co-exist. If they think Self Government preferable, and are willing to throw open their arms and admit to their counsels their very humble and untouchable brethren, well and good. We shall then have a starting point. But to pretend that democracy and equality will be learned by virtue of Mr. Montagu's scheme, when the whole religious ceremonial of the Brahmanas forbids them to live as equals with their fellowmen who happen to have been born in circumstances different from their own, is madness. About seventy per cent. of the Indian people are raiyats or small zemindars. At a meeting of the Bengal Association of Raiyats on April 24th reported in the Stateman, the members passed a resolution which contains these words: "Knowing what the villagers know, they beg to inform the Government as well as the agitators that they can never prefer a selfish oligarchy to an impartial bureaucracy, which has been their only support till now. So unless the richer classes, such as the Zemindars and Mahajans, show greater consideration for the poor peasantry, and unless a due share of Self-Government is given to them, the

peasantry as a whole will oppose a further extension to any Self Government."(This meeting was inspired by Anglo-Indians—*Ed.*)

Experiment in an Indian State First

The *Spectator* has proposed that there should be an experiment in reform in one of the Raja-governed States. Let some Indian Prince, it says, bestow upon his people the blessings of Self Government.

"The experiment would be most carefully watched, and if it succeeded would of course be widely imitated. Nobody could resist such a success. But Mr. Montagu poured all his scorn upon any such sane and moderate measure. He had special words of abuse for the very sensible proposal of the Indo-British Association that in every Province one or two districts should be placed in charge of a solely Indian official staff, and that the plan, if successful, should be extended into a division, and finally into the whole Province. Really Mr. Montagu's arguments against trying such experiments as the Indo-British Association and the *Spectator* have proposed were the worst part of his speech. "In for a penny, in for a pound," is nearly always a bad argument, but it is most dangerous of all when it is applied to Constitution making One can hardly resist the belief that Mr. Montagu at the back of his mind feels that an experiment would be sure to fail, and would therefore block any attempt at more ambitious reforms. Thefore he seems to say to himself: "Plunge right in. The ice, of course, is too thin to bear. Don't test it with one foot. Walk right on" As against our own scheme, we must admit that though many Rajahs talk of reform when reform is fashionable at Simla, perhaps not one of them could be induced to submit his country to the experiment. Native Rajahs may talk of advanced education for native women when it is being ardently taken up by the ladies of Simla, but they have no real intention of yielding their power to the people at large. That objection, however, does not apply to the plan of the Indo-British Association, and Mr. Montagu's derison is we fear, only too likely to recoil some day not only upon his own head but upon the heads of his countrymen As we have tried to point out, Mr. Montagu affirms that immediate reform of the most sweeping kind is necessary for India for no better reason than that he wishes it to seem necessary.

Driving the coach right over the Precipice

"There is no such necessity. We are entirely in favour of experiments of a moderate kind, remembering all the time the height and depth of our responsibility to the mixed races of India.

If the capacity for self-government flourished and developed, we should look forward with confidence to the day when we could clear out and leave the Indian peoples to themselves. But that day is not yet, nor is it within sight. Just when we have at last got a really fine and fair system of government at work, Mr. Montagu, with all his fancifulness and racial ambition, determines to drive the coach right over the precipice. When any one remonstrates he says : "You cannot refuse to do this because you publicly promised to do it ; You are in honour bound." **Our conception of honour is different** from Mr. Montagu's and we believe that if the people who are not accustomed to study Indian affairs would now take the trouble to look into the whole subject they would not find themslves in agreement with Mr. Montagu.

House of Commons Interpellations

16—31 July 1919

Cotton Growing in India

Replying to Sir J. D. Rees, Mr. Montagu stated · He hoped to send to the Government of India shortly the advice of the Empire Cotton growing Committee on the recommendations of the Indian Cotton Committee. The Government of India would then consider, if it had not already considered, the whole report including the recommendation with regard to the Sukkur barrage.

No Nomination for Provinces

Replying to Col. Yate Mr. Montagu declined to direct the Government of India to request the present Governors of the Provinces which submitted the alternative scheme on 15th January, to nominate representatives to express their views before the Joint Committee. He would take scrupulous care that their views should be submitted to the Committee. He understood that the committee had already decided to hear Sir Michael O'Dwyer. He had communicated to the Committee all names, which Col. Yate had suggested and had every hope they would be called.

No Free Passages to Deputations

Col. Yate suggested that the Government of India should provide funds to enable Muhammadan organisations and working classes in India to send representatives to submit their views to the Joint Committee. Mr. Montagu said · He did not think the suggestion was practicable. He pointed out that the Government of India had not helped the deputations financially and did not think it possible to differentiate, but promised to communicate the suggestion to the Government of India.

Passive Resistance and Punjab Riot

Replying to Mr. Frederic Hall, with regard to court-martials in connection with the Punjab riots, Mr. Montagu stated that he understood that acts of passive resistance against the Rowlatt Legislation were not in themselves treated as offences by the Punjab authorities.

Rowlatt Legislation

Replying to Capt. Ormsby Gore Mr. Montagu stated that he had received many communications from India with regard to the Rowlatt Legislation and he had given them his best consideration from the point of view of allaying uneasiness. He believed that the powers given to the executive by the Rowlatt Legislation were at present necessary, but there were no responsible grounds for apprehension in India. He emphasised that the Act was valid for threeyears only, after which the whole position would be considered and, if anarchical and revolutionary action were abandoned, the Act would not be used and there would be no necessity for its renewal.

Rice Hoarding

Mr. Thomas-Stanford asked the Secretary of State of India whether he is aware that quantities of rice are being held up by the merchants at Darjeeling in order to force up prices and that a considerable portion of the rice so hoarded is going bad; whether there is any reason to believe that this proceeding is part of an organised plan to embarrass the Government and secure the repeal of the Excess Profits Tax; and whether, in the interest of the native consumer and for the maintenance of order, the Government will take steps to put an end to this profiteering in an article of prime necessity?

Mr. Montagu:—I have no information but will communicate the substance of my hon. Friend's question to the Government of India.

Floggings in Burma

Lieut. Commander Kenworthy asked the Secretary of State for India if he can state the number of floggings that have taken place in Burma in the last six months; how many of these floggings were public; the number of lashes given in each case; the instrument by which the punishment was inflicted; and the composition of the court-martial or other court that passed these sentences.

The Secretary of State for India:—The figures are returned annually. I have no figures later than those for last year and I see no reason to call for a special inquiry. The canings are not public and the sentences are passed by the ordinary civil courts. There have been no court-martials in Burma for offences other than those of a purely military nature.

Commissions for Indians

Captain Ormsby-Gore asked the Secretary of State for India whether it is proposed to lay down any specific number of commissions to be conferred upon Indians each year from among Indians already serving in the Army, and from among young

educated Indians who undergo special training and education with a view to their becoming officers at the commencemet of their regimental careers, respectively, or are commissions to be granted from time to time as suitable individuals obtain recommendation ?

Mr. Montagu.—It is not proposed to grant commissions every year to Indians already serving in the Army, but a limited number of commissions is being granted to Indians who have specially distinguished themselves in the War. I am not quite sure who are the young educated Indians to whom the hon. and gallant Member refers, but if he means Indians who seek admission to the Army through Sandhurst, the number to be nominated every year is ten.

Captain Ormsby-Gore asked the Secretary of State for India how many Commissions in the Indian Army have been granted to Indians since the announcement of August, 1917 ; whether all such commissions have been granted to Indians serving in the Indian land forces ; and what principle is to be adopted in granting commissions to Indians in the future ?

Mr. Montagu : I assume that the hon. and gallant Member refers to permanent commissions. Nine of these have been given to Indian officers serving in the Indian land forces who have specially distinguished themselves during the War. Five Indian cadets have been admitted to Sandhurst and will receive commissions in due course if they qualify. Five more will join next term, and it is intended that there shall join ten annually. A further limited number of commissions will be granted to Indian officers for special distinction in the present War, and to those cadets considered qualified at the Indore Military College, which closes shortly. But otherwise commissions will only be given to Indians who qualify at Sandhurst in the ordinary way.

Colonel Yate : Is there any limit of age to the cadets admitted to the Indore Military College ?

Mr. Montagu : I think there is, but I should not like to say from memory. I will tell the hon. and gallant Gentleman to-morrow.

Imperial Cadet Corps (Dehra Dun)

Captain Ormsby-Gore asked the Secretary of State for India, why the Imperial Cadet Corps at Dehra Dun was closed ; and whether it is to be reopened ?

Mr. Montagu :—The Imperial Cadet Corps was closed during the War as the course of education there was not suited to War-time conditions. I have not yet had any proposals from the Government of India if it is to be reopened.

House of Commons—Aug. '19

Sir Rabindranath Tagore

Mr. Swan asked the Secretary of State for India whether a letter has been received by the Viceroy from Rabindranath Tagore asking to be relieved of the Knighthood conferred upon him; whether any reply was sent to him; whether he has been relieved of of his Knighthood as requested; and whether the correspondence which passed between R. Tagore and the Viceroy can be published in the Official Report?

Mr. Montagu:—The answer to the first two parts of the question is in the affirmative. The title conferred on Sir Rabindranath Tagore has not been revoked. Sir Rabindranath Tagore communicated his letter to the Press in India.

Colonisation (Deputation)

Mr. Swan asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is aware that the deputation from British Guiana on the question of colonisation is not properly representative of the people of that colony, but is composed almost exclusively of persons interested in the sugar industry, which desires cheap labour by means of immigration; whether he is also aware that labour is not represented on the deputation, and that labour represented members of the deputation not to proceed; and whether he proposes to take any action in the matter?

Lieut.-Colonel Amery—The question of the deputation from British Guiana is not one in which the Secretary of State can interfere; but in considering the proposals put forward by the deputation, due regard will be paid to the intersts of all sections of the community.

Government of India Bill.

Ordered,

That Sir Donald Maclean be discharged from the Select Commitee on the Govenment of India Bill.—[COLONEL GIBBS.]

Motion made, and Question proposed—[COLONEL GIBBS.]

"That Mr. Acland be added to the Committee."

Colonel Yate: I think I should take this opportunity of protesting, not aganist the personality of the appointment of the right hon. Gentleman the member for Camborne (Mr. Acland) but because the opportunity has not been taken to appoint some Member with a reasonable knowledge of India. There are a large number of Members of this House who have had experience in India, and I think the occasion should have been seized to appoint one of these rather than

a right hon. Gentleman who has never been in India. Although, of course, I am delighted that the hon. Member for Camborne should join the Committee, I do feel that now that a vacancy has occured the Prime Minster should take the matter into consideration and appoint someone with recent knowledge of India. I hope, indeed, he will consider this matter before finally sanctioning this appointment.

Mr. Bonar Law: No doubt there is a great deal of force in what my hon. and gallant Friend has said about the value of Indian experience, but he is a very old Member of the House of Commons, and he knows perfectly well the principle on which this Committee are appointed. The members are taken from different parties. My right hon. Friend opposite has resigned, and one of the oldest rules we have is that the party to which the retiring Member belongs should have the nomination of his successor. I think it would be a great mistake to depart from that practice.

Colonel Yate: May I ask

Mr. Speaker: The hon. and gallant Gentleman has exhausted his right of speaking.

Question put, and agreed to,

Army Commission

Mr. Frederick Roberts asked the Secretary of State for India whether the Indian Army Commission will inquire into the grievances of the Indian section of the Army and of Indians generally with regard to the military policy of the Government; why no Indian is appointed a member of the Commission; whether the commission will be made good before the Commission commence their work; whether the Right Hon. Gentleman is aware of the strength of the Indian feeling against Sir Michael O'Dwyer for his recent administrative acts in the Punjab, and why he has been appointed a member in the face of such feeling?

The Secretary of State for India (Mr. Montagu): Under the terms of reference the Committee is concerned with general questions of Military administration and organisation, and with grievances; but I am considering the appointment of an Indian member. I do not see that recent administrative acts in the Panjab have any bearing on this inquiry.

Captain Ormsby-Gore asked the Secretary of State for Inda why no Indian has been appointed on Lord Esher's Committee on the Indian Army?

Mr. Montagu:—The appointment of an Indian to the Committee on the Army in India is under consideration.

Colonel Yate:—Will the Right Hon. Gentleman consider the question of the taking of evidence from Indian officers now at

Hampton Court, as there are some there who could give most valuable evidence before the Committee?

Mr. Montagu: I am obliged for the suggestion, and will communicate it to the Chairman of the Committee.

Panjab Commission

Captain Ormsby-Gore asked the Secretary of State for India whether he can now give the names of the members of the Commission of Inquiry into the recent events in the Panjab: and whether he will undertake to select as chairman of such a Commission a Member of either House of Parliament?

Mr. Montagu:—I am in communication with the Government of India as to the inquiry. I hope to be in a position to make a statement very shortly.

Captain Ormsby-Gore: Before the House rises for the Recess?

Mr. Montagu: I hope so.

Currency

Mr. Stewart asked the Secretary of State for India whether the amount of silver obtainable from abroad by the Indian Government at the present time is sufficient for her requirements and, if not, will he cause inquiry to be made with a view to ascertaining whether the old rights of the natives to exchange their ornaments against rupees, weight for weight, can in any way be restored so that the Indian Government, in the event of a good export season, may be placed in a position to avail of the large reserves of silver at present on the spot in India in the shape of native ornaments, as was formerly the case?

Mr. Montagu:—India could do with more silver. The question of an offer by the Government of India to receive silver from private persons will, I understand, be submitted to the Indian Currency Committee.

Mr. Stewart asked the Secretary of State for India whether his attention has been called to the fact that a higher price in sterling is now obtainable in America for sales of gold than is obtainable in this country; whether India is contemplating putting up the price she is prepared to pay for imported gold, and, if so, by how much; and whether the present Currency Committee can be empowered to extend its inquiries to consider the problem of currency as a whole, instead of approaching the question from a purely local point of view?

Mr. Montagu:—I am not fully informed as to sales of gold for sterling in America. The second part of the question asks for a statement on a matter on which action, if taken at all, would

necessarily be taken without previous announcement. The Chairman of the Indian Currency Committee informs me that, in his opinion and that of his colleagues, so far as it is possible to see at present, the terms of reference as they stand give all the scope necessary for conducting the inquiry and for making recommendations.

Mr. Stewart. Will the evidence put before the Committee be published in the ordinary course as a Parliamentary Paper.

Mr. Montagu: Perhaps my hon. Friend will give me notice. I think so, but I would rather confirm that by reference.

Patel Hindu Intercaste Marriage Bill

Colonel Yate asked the Secretary of State for India whether he is aware that the introduction of the Patel Hindu Intercaste Marriage Bill in the Indian Legislative Council and its circulation by the Government of India through local Governments for opinion has caused great alarm amongst orthodox Hindus of all classes of society in India, as an interference with their most sacred religious and social usages which it has been the policy of the British Government hitherto never to interfere with; and will he ascertain from the Government of India whether it would be desirable to take action to reassure orthodox Hindu opinion that no interference with religious usage is contemplated by the British Government?

Mr. Montagu: There would seem to be some misapprehension in the matter. The Government of India is not responsible for the Bill, which was introduced by an elected member of the Legislative Council. The government are in no way committed to support it, but as it received a certain amount of support from the unofficial members, they have taken steps to obtain the full opinion of the Hindu community before the Bill is further proceeded with.

Colonel Yate: Will the Government of India leave it to the unofficial members of the Indian Legislature to carry through this Bill and not push it on the part of the Government?

Mr. Montagu: The Government of India will have to make up its mind about this Bill if it ever comes to the point at which a Bill comes up for sanction or vote, and for that purpose it is necessary that the Government of India should be fully informed, but it will be treated as a private Member's Bill and unofficial.

Government of India Bill—Joint Committee

Colonel Yate asked the Secretary of State for India whether he will permit members of his Council who are not committed to the Government of India Bill as it stands to give evidence before the Joint Select Committee?

Mr. Montagu: I do not know to what members of my Council my hon. and gallant Friend refers, but I have decided some months ago, with the assent of my Council, that any member thereof who wished to give evidence before the Joint Committee on his own behalf should offer to do so. The decision as to what evidence they will admit or require rests with the Committee alone.

Colonel Yate: As I believe the right hon. Gentleman nominates the members who are to give evidence before the Committee, will he say how many members of his council he has nominated; and, as many of the members are presumably in conformity with his views, will he nominate an equal number of those opposed?

Mr. Montagu: My hon. and gallant Friend is quite mistaken, I do not nominate the members. [An Hon. Member: "Dominate!"] I am quite sure the hon. and gallant Member does not mean that. [Hon. Members: "He said "'nominate.'"] The Committee know that the members of the Council of India are willing to give any information and any evidence they may be asked to give. I do not know whether any of them have applied to the Committee to give evidence.

Colonel Yate: Has the right hon. Gentleman given the names of any members of the Council to the President of the Select Committee?

Mr Montagu: I have given the names of all of my Council. In this regard I have said that the Council is free to give evidence or any member of it, and they would presumably be summoned by the Committee.

Ex-Officers (Employment)

Mr. F. C. Thomson asked the Secretary of State for India what is the number of regular officers of the Indian Army, who have been discharged as a result of disability due to active service in the War; and for what proportion of these has the Govenment of India found employment?

The Secretary fer India (Mr. Montagu): The number in question is approximately forty. It is not known that the Government of India have found employment for any of these officers, but the majority, if not all, would be either physically unfit for or not desirous of further employment in India. If there is any discharged officer of whom this is not correct, I should be glad to have my attention called to his case.

Mr. Jameson:—Is the Right Hon. Gentleman aware that there are a great many jobs going now in Mesopotamia and Palestine where retired Indian officers would be very useful on account of their knowledge of oriental countries, and that very few of these jobs have

been given to such invalidated Indian Officers who are generally poor men, who have had to live on their pay all their life, and who will be very hard hit if they have to live on their pension only?

Mr. Montagu: Perhaps the Hon. Member will furnish me with particulars of any cases in which preference can be given to retired officers of the India Army over any others.

Public Services

Colonel Yate asked the Secretary of State for India whether the proposals of the Government of India to carry out the recommendations of the Public Services Commission as regards the Indian Forest Service, the Finance Department, and the Indian Educational Service that were under consideration in May last have now been carried into effect; if not, when will they be carried into effect; and whether the proposals of the Government of India regarding the remaining Indian Services have now been received and considered?

Mr Montagu: The Government of India have now announced a revised AD INTERIM scale of pay for the Indian Education Service and are about to announce a revised scale for the Forest Department. Their proposals for the Finance Department are still under discussion. Last month I received recommendations with regard to a number of other Departments, and recommendations with regard to most of the remaining Departments are, I understand, on their way home. I propose to deal with all these as expeditiously as possible.

Punjab Riots

Mr. Neil Maclean asked the Secretary of State for India whether he will lay upon the Table a statement giving the number of Indians killed or wounded in the recent riots in the Punjab and the number of people sentenced by Martial Law Courts in the Punjab, together with the sentences imposed upon them within the last three months?

Mr. Montagu: I have not yet received a full account of the number of casualties. As regards trials and sentences I will lay a statement giving total returns, but in many cases sentences are still being revised and reduced.

Press Act and Nationalist Newspapers

Mr. Maclean asked the Secretary of State for India if all the newspapers owned or edited by Nationalists in India have had their securities forfeited or increased or been demanded securities or proceeded against in other ways?

Mr. Montagu: No, Sir, certainly not.

Colonel Wedgwood: Is it not a fact that the AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, the HINDU, the NEW INDIA, the INDEPENDENT, and the BOMBAY CHRONICLE have all lost their securities, and how much has been taken from these newspapers on account of their attitude?

Mr. Montagu: If my hon. and gallant Friend wants the figures perhaps he will give me notice. The newspapers to which he refers were proceeded against under the terms of the Press Act.

Colonel Wedgwood: Have not all these newspapers lost their deposits in consequence.

Mr. Montagu: I cannot charge myself with remembering the particulars of each case, but I think my hon. and gallant Friend is accurate in saying that they have all suffered under the Press Act.

Colonel Wedgwood: Is it not a fact that practically all the Nationalist newspapers in India have been so treated?

Mr. Montagu: If a large number of Nationalist newspapers in India have offended under the Press Act, then they have been proceeded against. It was not because they were Nationalist newspapers, but because they offended against the provisions of the Press Act.

Mr. Maclean: Is it not a fact that the Press Act only affects the Nationalist newspapers?

Mr. Montagu: I shall be happy to send my Hon. Friend a copy of the Act, and he will see that it applies indiscriminately to all newspapers.

Colonel Wedgwood: How long will the Press Act be continued after India gets Home Rule?

Mr. Maclean asked the Secretary of State for India whether he will lay upon the Table a Return of the number of newspapers and presses that have been proceeded against in India under the Press Act and for the Defence of India Act since the beginning of this year?

Mr. Montagu: I will ask the Government of India to supplement the information for which the Hon. Member for West Edinbourg (Mr. Jameson) asked on the 22nd July by a Return giving these particulars.

Government of India Bill

Colonel Yate asked the Secretary of State for India whether he has received the deputations of extremists and soi-disant moderates in conference at the India Office; and, if so, will he accord the same privilege to the members of the non-Brahmin and other deputations now in England?

Mr. Montagu: I have done my best to receive and to assist all deputations from India, whatever their views, whenever I have been

asked to do so. I will certainly see the non-Brahmanas if they ask to see me.

Colonel Yate asked the Secretary of State for India what has been the result of his communication to the Government of India regarding the grant of help to representatives of rural communities in India to come to England to give evidence before the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill, so as to place the rural communities on an equality with the Brahman and higher caste communities of the towns?

Mr Montagu : I have not yet received the views of the Government of India.

Colonel Yate asked the Secretay of State for India whether it was with the advice of his Council that he summoned Mrs. Besant as a witness to give evidence before the Joint Select committee on the Government of India Bill?

Mr. Montagu : I did not summon Mrs Besant as a witness before the Joint Committee. I had no power so to summon Mrs. Besant. I have no power so to summon anybody.

Colonel Yate : Has the right hon. Gentleman read the "Life and Activities of Mrs. Besant" published in India?

Mr Speaker : That is a matter for a private question in the Lobby.

Afghanistan and Mesopotamia

Sir J. D. Rees asked the Secretary of State for India if he has any information regarding the peace with, and situation in, Afghanistan, and the proposed future of Mesopotamia, before the House rises for the Recess?

Mr. Montagu : I am about to lay Papers regarding Afghanistan. I regate that I am not in a position to make any statements concering the future of Mesopotamia.

Punjab Rebellion (Courts-martial)

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Frederick Hall asked the Secretary of State for India if his attention has been called to the result of court-martial prosecutions in connection with the Punjab rebellion ; if such prosecutions have been directed against acts of passive resstance against the Rowlatt legislation and, if not, whether he wll give some indication of the class of crime for which prosecutions have been initiated, particulary those in which capital sentence has been passed?

The Secretary of State (Mr. Montagu) —I have not yet had a full report, but I understand that capital and other serious offences, such as waging war against the King, murder, robbery with violence

have been tried exclusively by Commissions appointed by the Local Government under a Special Ordinance, and consisting of three persons of whom two at least must be judicial officers. Minor offences have been tried and penalties inflicted by Courts-martial, the presiding officers being generally a civilian exercising the powers of a first class magistrate. I understand that acts of "passive resistance" were not in themselves treated as offence by the Punjab authorities.

Sir F. Hall: In the view of the untrue statements made in certain portions of the Press and the injury likely to be done in India, will the Right Hon. Gentleman take care to see that his reply is made known in India?

Mr. Montagu: Yes, Sir.

Captain Ormsby Gore asked the Secretary of State for India whether sentences recently passed by Special Miltary Courts in the Punjab included, in addition to sentences of imprisonment, confiscation of the property of persons so sentenced; whether such sentences necessarily involve the destitution of the innocent wives and children of offenders; and whether he will take steps to revise such sentences forthwith?

Mr. Montagu: My hon. and gallant Friend presumably refers to sentences Passed by Commission of three judges appointed under Special Ordinances. Under the Indian Penal Code the forfeiture of property is part of the penalty provided for the offences of waging war against the King, or attempting to do so, or collecting arms for that purpose. The Courts have therefore no option but to include that in the sentence on persons found guilty. But the Government examines all such cases and remits or reduces this penalty in cases in which it would involve the destitution of the family. The local Government has directed that the orders of forfeiture should not be carried out in cases where the convicted person does not pay Income Tax or does not pay revenue exceeding Rs. 30 per annum. In other cases special report is to be made to the Government.

Colonel Wedgwood: Is India the only part of the British Empire where the sentence of confiscation of property is permitted?

Mr. Montagu: I do not know that.

Colonel Wedgwood: Is the Right Hon. Gentleman aware of any other part of the British Empire where by sentence a man's property can be taken away?

Mr. Montagu: The question on the paper only deals with India.

Captain Ormsby-Gore: What is meant by "waging war" against the Government in connection with these riots?

Mr. Montagu : The offence of waging war against the Government is an offence dealtwith in the Indian Penal Code, and the facts of the case are Judged by Commissioners. I have not yet received a full report of these cases.

Rowlatt Legislation

Captain Ormsby-Gore asked the Secretary of State for India whether he has received, and is continuing to receive, representations from various quarters in India regarding the Rowlatt Legislation, and whether he can take any steps to allay the uneasiness evidenced by such representations ?

Mr. Montagu : I have received a large number of communications from India on the subject of the Rowlatt Legislation, and I would take this opportunity of making it clear that I have given them my best consideration from the point of view referred to in the last part of the question. I believe that the powers given to the executive by the Rowlatt Legislation are necessary at the present time, and that there are no reasonable grounds for the apprehensions felt in India. The Act itself is valid for a period of three years only, after which the whole position wil be considered. If the anarchical and revolutionary actions against which the Act is framed are abandoned, the Act will not be used and there will be no necessary for its renewal.

London School of Tropical Medicine (Treatment of officers)

Colonel Yate asked the Secretary of State for India whether, considering the importance of the generous arrangement made by him for the treatment of civil and military officers from India suffering from tropical diseases at the hospital of the London School of Tropcial Medicine, he will take steps to have his recent announcement on the subject published in India for the information of all concerned ?

Mr. Montagu . Yes, Sir.

Cotton Cultivation (Sukkur Barrage)

Sir J. D. Rees asked the Secretary of State for India whether the Government of India has under consideration the recommendation of the Indian Cotton Committee that Sukkur barrage should be constructed upon the Indus in order to effect the extension of the cultivation of long staple cotton in Sind ?

Mr. Montagu : I hope to transmit shortly to the Government of India the advice of the Empire Cotton Growing Committee on the recommendations made by the Indian Committee. The Government of India will then, if they have not already done so,

consider the whole report, including the recommendation relating to the Sukkur barrage.

Government of India Bill (Select Committee)

Colonel Yate asked the Secretary of State for India whether he will direct the Government of India to request the present Governors of the provinces which submitted an alternative scheme on the 15th January last to nominate representatives, either now in this country or in India, to express their views before the Joint Select committee on the Government of India Bill ?

Mr. Montagu : No, Sir.

Colonel Yate : In view of the Right Hon. Gentleman's statement the other day that he represents the provincial Governments, may I ask how he can represent those Governments when his opinions are directly opposed to their views ?

Mr. Montagu : I will take the most scrupulous care that their views are put before the committee. I understand that the committee have already decided to hear the evidence of one of those who drew up the alternative scheme.

Colonel Yate : May not the other five also be represented ?

Mr. Montagu : If five men draw up a scheme I should have thought it sufficient to have one to explain it.

Colonel Yate : Has the Right Hon. Gentleman nominated only one man to represent his views ? How many does he directly nominate ?

Mr. Montagu : My hon. and gallant friend sticks to his point very hard. The other day I asked him to suggest to me the names of witnesses he thought ought to be called by the Select Committee. He did so, and I have communicated these names to the committee, and I have every hope that they will be called.

Colonel Wedgwood : Seeing that it is the Government of India that is in question, will it not be possible to call more Indians before the Committee. Why should people like Lajpat Rai be prohibited from coming to this country to give evidence ?

Mr. Montagu : I have not the slightest doubt that the Committee will call for and get what evidence is required,

Colonel Yate asked the Secretary of State for India whether, considering that the Indian extremists and soi-distant moderates are represented by large deputations now in this country, and that there are many organisations of Muhammadans and the working classes of India which are prevented by want of money from sending their representatives, as they are most anxious to do, the Government of India will provide the necessary funds in order that these

poor pepole may be properly represented and thus placed in position of equality before the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill with the Brahman and higher cast deputations ?

Mr. Montagu : I have repeatedly stated that I will do all in my power to get for the Joint Committee any evidence for which it asks. I do not regard the hon. and gallant Member's suggestion as practicable.

Colonel Yate : Is the Right Hon. Gentleman not aware that rural committees in India have applied to the Government of India for help to come and give evidence ? Are not their views to be represented ?

Mr. Montagu : I understand that the Government has not helped any deputation to come to this country, but has simply provided facilities for those who wish to come at there own expense. I do not see how it is possible to differentiate between one deputation and another.

Colonel Yate . These people are poor agriculturists. Why should not Government give them help to come to this country.

Mr. Montagu : If my hon. and gallant Friend wishes to add that suggestion to the others he has made I will certainly communicate it to the Government.

Lieut Colonel Pownall asked the Secretary of State for India whether he will suggest to the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill the advisability of taking evidence of some of those who have recently held provincial Governorships or other high official positions ?

Mr. Montagu : Yes, Sir, certainly. Part of the evidence already taken by the committee has been of the kind referred to ; and as I informed the hon. and gallant Member for Melton I shall be happy to submit further names for the committee's consideration.

Supplement

Educational, Industrial Etc.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA REPORT ON INDIAN EDUCATION IN 1917-18.

I.—Main features of the year.

The war. The war continued to exercise an adverse influence on educational progress. This is noticed especially in the report from Burma. The decrease in pupils which occurred there (and to a minor extent in the Punjab, Assam and the North-West Frontier Province) has not prevented a general increase. But, although the allotment of imperial grants was resumed, the embargo on the expenditure of balances continued, the staffs remained depleted and it is probably safe to assert that under normal conditions the increase would have been larger. Among minor inconveniences may be mentioned the non-receipt of the papers for the Cambridge local examinations.

The European element in the staff continued on a reduced scale owing to the absence of its members on military service. The Indian staff and the pupils of schools, especially in the Punjab, were also affected. In that province, secondary and primary schools for Indians provided from among their staff and pupils over 7,000 recruits to the Army; while European schools provided another 339 or nearly ten per cent. of the total of masters and boys enrolled in them. Punjab Colleges and schools also invested six lakhs in the war loan and subscribed a lakh and a half for objects connected with the war. In addition, they obtained by their efforts other recruits and subscriptions.

The Burma report mentions 38 teachers and 660 pupils of colleges and Anglo vernacular and European schools as on service. The European schools of Bombay contributed nearly 500, of whom 100 gained commissions. School boys in the Central Provinces and Berar did excellent work in connection with 'Our Day' celebrations. Contributions were made towards the Post Office cash certificates by means of forms specially designed for pupils.

University Corps of the Indian Defence Force were formed and that at Bombay numbered 257 strong.

The Punjab University Signalling Section did admirable work in Mesopotamia.

The Burma report mentions that, despite the constant complaints of lack of parental control, objections on the part of parents prevented many students from joining the Defence Force.

During the year the Government of India had under consideration the measures to be adopted for the children of all Indians, of whatever rank, whether combatants or non-combatants, who had

perished or become incapacitated while on active service during the war. The rules, circulated just after the close of the year, provide for free primary education with a small annual allowance to cover incidental expenses and for the award of scholarships in middle schools. Certain conditions are laid down; and it is suggested that scholarships for higher institutions might be reserved for such children. It is proposed to supplement these concessions by Scholarships paid out of the silver wedding gift to Their Imperial Majesties collected by women in India. A special school for the sons of Indian Officers is also under contemplation.

Expenditure. The expenditure in the pre-war year and in the years of war was as follows:—

Year.	Public funds.	Private funds.	Total.
	R	R	R
1913-14	5,50,11,490	4,52,12,387	10,02,23,877
1914-15	6,33,02,792	4,58,67,700	10,91,70,492
1915-16	6,21,68,904	4,86,60,345	11,08,29,249
1916-17	6,14,80,471	5,14,02,597	11,28,83,068
1917-18	6,48,01,690	5,34,07,447	11,82,09,137

In the four years of war there has been an increase in educational expenditure amounting to 180 lakhs a year. During the last eight years the increase in expenditure has been R4,63,40,827, while the average yearly expenditure during the quinquennia ending 1902, 1907 and 1912 was respectively R3,76,24,316, R4,94,45,090 and R6,90,28,565.

Public funds are made up of provincial and local (including municipal) funds. Expenditure from the former increased during the year by R99,29,515, or 25·4 per cent., that from the latter decreased by R66,08,296, or 29·6 per cent. These facts are accounted for by the classification of contributions made by government to local funds under the head provincial, instead of, as previously, under local. The net increase in expenditure from public funds (namely rather over 33 lakhs) was due partly to the new allotment of imperial grants, partly to some relaxation of the restrictions enforced at the beginning of the war. Thus, in Bombay the usual provincial grant of two lakhs for primary education was renewed. Among other financial matters may be mentioned the restoration of half-salary grants in the Anglo-vernacular and European schools of Burma, the transfer to government of expenditure upon these schools, and an important advance made by district boards in Berar. This consisted in the doubling of the

education cess, the permission granted to boards to increase cesses up to two annas in the rupee, and a further amendment which empowers boards to impose an education cess on non-agricultural incomes.

In the Punjab the method on which the distribution of provincial contributions to district boards for education had been based was found to be defective in that it took no account of the comparative wealth of different boards. During the year it was decided that the improvement and extension of vernacular education should proceed in accordance with five year programmes framed by the boards and approved by government, whose assent to any programme would imply willingness to contribute a share of the cost. This share is to be determined on the basis of the wealth of each board, its present expenditure on education, etc. For this purpose boards have been divided into separate classes and for each class the proportion of the government contribution to the proposed expenditure varies. The establishment of a satisfactory scale of salaries is regarded as a first condition of the award of any grant.

Imperial grants. For two years no new imperial grants had been made and the annual allotment made to provinces or otherwise expended had remained at 124 lakhs. During this year a new recurring grant was made of 30 lakhs for the training of teachers and the improvement of their pay. Thus the recurring allotment has been raised to 154 lakhs and the imperial grants allotted since 1910-11 stand as follows :—

Grants of			Lakhs of Rupees.	
			recurring.	non-recurring.
1910-11	...	...	...	93 00
1912-13	...	...	60 00	3,87·18
1913-14	...	... Old	60 00	...
		New	55·00	0 95
1914-15	...	... Old	1,15·00	...
		New	9·00	12 25
1915-16	...	... Old	1,24·00	...
		New	...	...
1916-17	...	... Old	1,24·00	...
		New	...	...
1917-18	...	... Old	1,24·00	...
		New	30·00	...
		TOTAL	7,01·00	4,93·38

Thus the total allotment during the past six years (the grant of 1910-11 took effect in 1911-12) has amounted to £7, 962, 500. In addition, at the close of the year a further recurring grant of 30 lakhs was announced for primary commercial education. This last grant was made as the result of a resolution brought forward in the Imperial Legislative Council.

The table which forms an appendix shows the amounts expended from these grants.

Of the total of 1194·38 lakhs allotted 1192·88 lakhs have been placed in provincial balances or otherwise made available for expenditure. The expenditure out of these grants has amounted to 948·31 lakhs, and a sum of 244·57 lakhs remains unspent. There is a small sum of 1·5 lakhs which is held in reserve by the Department of Education. Of the unspent balances 99·86 lakhs are debitable to the recurring assignments but are available only for capital expenditure; the remainder of the balances, amounting to 144 69 lakhs, is debitable to the non-recurring grants. The largest amounts unspent are in the balances of Bengal.

The last grant of 30 lakhs was not fully spent in all provinces during 1917-18; thus, sanction to the large scheme of reorganisation of *guru*-training schools in Bengal had not been received, with the result that only a portion of the nine lakhs allotted to that presidency could be utilised.

Figures of schools and pupils. The number of schools has increased by 4,164 to 196,919. Public institutions show an increase by 4,558 to 159,510; private institutions a decrease of 394 to 37,409. Pupils have increased by 96,122 to 7, 948, 068. Those in public institutions have increased by 104, 434 to 7, 311, 742; those in private institutions have decreased by 8, 312 to 636, 326; the percentage of those under instruction to the whole population has risen from 3·22 to 3·26 and is 5·36 in the case of boys and 1·06 in the case of girls.

Province.	No. of pupils on 31st. March 1918.	Amount of increase or decrease in the year.	Percentage of increase or decrease in the year.	Percentage of the population under instruction
Madras	1,696,539	+35,527	+2·14	4·1
Bombay	781,674	+ 1.170	+0·15	4·0
Bengal	1,965,273	+46,841	+2·44	4 3
United Province	918,258	+23,372	+2 61	2·0
Punjab	468,839	− 7,899	−1·66	2·4
Burma	584,298	− 8,225	−1·39	4·8
Bihar and Orissa	852,324	+ 7,299	+0·86	2·5
Central Provinces and Berar	353,444	+ 2,279	+0·65	2 5
Assam	230,085	− 3,828	−1·64	3 4
North-West Frontier Province	46,134	151	−0·33	2·1
Other Administrations ...	51,200	− 263	−0·51	3·2
INDIA ...	7,948,668	96,122	+1·22	3·26

The decrease in Burma has been in lower primary schools and pupils. which fell by 560 and 17, 983 respectively, the loss being partially balanced by gains in upper primary schools and elsewhere. The loss is attributed mainly to scarcity of money caused by the war. The decline in Assam too is among boys' primary schools. That in the Punjab is almost entirely among pupils in private institutions.

The figures of pupils during the period of the war are as follows:—

Year.	Number of pupils.	Increase.
1913-14	7,518,147	
1914-15	7,448,419	− 69,728
1915-16	7,617,496	+169,077
1916-17	7,851,946	+234,450
1917-18	7,948,068	+ 96,122

The figures for the quinquennium ending the 31st March 1917 showed an increase of about 1, 400,000 puplis—equivalent to the increase in the preceding quinqennium. Thus, though progress may have been retarded by the war, the rate of increase had not so far slackened. (This calculation makes allowance for the exclusion from the figures of 1914-15 and following years of the return of

certain Native States—a point which one director of public instruction considers was overlooked in the comments of the Director of Statistics regarding his presidency, and which accounts for the apparent decrease shown in the table above for 1914-15.) But the figures for the past year clearly indicate that adverse causes had begun to work. These causes are generally attributed to the war with its concomitants, lack of money, high prices and the dislocation resulting on recruitment. In Bombay plague and in the Punjab malaria have affected progress.

Analysed according to grades of institutions, the totals and percentages of increase and decrease are as follows :—

	Total enrolment.	Percentage of increase or decrease.
Collegiate	62,936	+ 7·3
Secondary	1,198,586	+ 1·0
Primary	5,932,741	+ 2·0
Special	117,479	—18 2
Private	636,326	— 1·3
TOTAL	7,948,068	+ 1·2

The large increase under collegiate students is noteworthy. The failing off under 'special' is due to a further transfer of institutions previously classed as *pathshalas* and *makhtabs* to the category of primary schools.

The numbers in private schools continue slowly to decrease. There are now only four national schools in Bengal, with 322 pupils.

General features of the year's work. Among general matters which occupied the attention of departments of public instruction the most important were the training and pay of teachers, reforms in which were made possible by the new imperial grant of 30 lakhs. The question of training will be noticed in its proper place. The principal changes as regards pay were the following.

Pay of teachers. In *Bombay* the minimum pay of untrained assistants was raised from ₹9 to ₹10 and that of untrained head master from ₹11 to ₹12 and after 15 years' service as such, to ₹15. The full face value of their certificates was given to all trained teachers not yet in receipt of it. In *Bengal* the pay of trained teachers in aided primary schools and *maktabs* was increased by ₹2 and improvement was also, affected in primary girls schools. In *Bihar and Orissa* a reform was carried out which had been proposed in

the eastern provinces as long ago as 1908, the abolition of the unsatisfactory lower subordinate service, reasonably qualified teachers of English and the classics being trasferred to the subordinate service, vernacular teachers to a new cadre called the vernacular teachers service, and the prospects of teachers in Government high schools being greatly improved thereby. In *Central Provinces* ₹200—400 was substituted for ₹150—300 as the scale for the female provincial service and a subordinate service for women teachers was organised in three divisions with time scales of ₹75—100, ₹125—140 and ₹150—200 respectively. In *Assam* minimum and maximum limits were laid down for vernacular schools of all grades, ₹10 and ₹35 in the case of a headmaster, ₹8 and ₹30 in the case of the first assistant, with the same minima but with maxima descending to ₹12 in accordance with their place on the staff. This arrangement is intended to introduce flexibility and leave matters so far as possible in the hands of local bodies within certain principles, such for example as a higher rate for trained than for untrained teachers. In the *North-West Frontier Province* the pay of headmasters in vernacular middle schools was raised from ₹35—$\frac{5}{5}$—50 to 40—2—60, of assistants possessing the senior vernacular certificate from ₹20—$\frac{5}{5}$—30 to ₹25—2—35, of those holding a junior certificate from ₹14—$\frac{3}{5}$—20 to ₹16—$\frac{3}{5}$—22, and of uncertificated teachers from ₹8 and ₹10 to ₹12. Similary, in the case of primary schools managed by districtboards, the pay of certificated teachers was raised from ₹14—$\frac{2}{5}$—20 to ₹16—$\frac{2}{5}$—22 and that of uncertificated teachers to ₹12.

In other provinces like measures were adopted, substantial grants being generally made out of the imperial grant to local bodies.

The Bombay report comments on the delay regarding the provident fund scheme and trusts that the Government of India will soon issue orders on the matter. The same reports records a strike of teachers in the Surat district, in which 431 were involved.

Examinations. A second feature of the year has been the introduction of important changes in the system of secondary school final examinations.

In *Bombay* the matriculation had hitherto admitted to the university, the government school final examination to government service. A joint board has now been constituted for the conduct of a school-leaving examination which will serve for both these purposes. The board consists of 10 members, of whom 5 are nominated by the University, 3 by Government and 2 are co-opted from among headmasters. The subjects in which either a pass or a certificate of satisfaction is required differ slightly in the case of candidates for admission to the university and those for Government service. It is hoped that the creation of this board has disposed of a long-pending controversy and will lead to co-operation between the university and the department. In *Burma* the matriculation of the Calcutta University was abolished and the recognition of high schools for that purpose was withdrawn with the result that the high school final examination is now the sole passport to careers or higher courses, including university courses, in that province. A school-leaving certificate scheme was drawn up by a committee and introduced in *Bihar and Orissa*. It is controlled by an administrative board

assisted by a board of studies. The former consists of the Director and the Assistant Director and 8 members appointed by government, of whom 3 are nominated by the Patna University and 2 are chosen to represent non-government schools. An important feature of the proposals is the institution of special courses designed to prepare students for commercial or clerical careers or for further instruction in special institutions. The university has acquired the certificate as equivalent to matriculation, provided that the candidates pass in certain specified subjects. The results are determined by a scrutiny of the pupil's record, a public examination and, in the case of those who fail in one subject only, an examination conducted *in situ*. The university will also conduct its own matriculation, permission for the presentation of candidates being given by the Director who is required to consult the Syndicate, and, if there is disagreement, to refer the matter to the local Government for final orders.

A committee appointed by the Syndicate of the *Punjab* University drafted a scheme for a school final examination which is now under consideration by the university, In the *Central Provinces* too it is understood that a scheme is being worked out which will take the place of the defective school-leaving certificate examination which had formerly been held in this province but which was abolished during the year.

When these last two schemes are completed all provinces in India with the exception of Bengal and Assam will have their school-leaving examinations. The Director in the United Provinces mentions the growing popularity of the school-leaving certificate and says that practically all aided schools have now obtained recognition for it, the failure of others being due to their inability rather than to any reluctance to train pupils for the test.

School hygiene. Owing to the war and the consequent dearth of medical men, no great progress was possible with measures of school hygiene. The Bombay scheme for inspection was still held up; but it is encouraging to hear that interest in the subject is growing in that presidency and that a good many schools are making their own arrangements. In the Punjab the work of the medical inspectors which had already shown promise of a good result had to be suspended owing to the war, the inspectors themselves having all been recalled for military duty. In Bihar and Orissa the Sanitary Department makes inspection of buildings and medical officers examine high school boys, though the time at their disposal is too short for full effect; a scheme is on hand for the appointment of a physical director in that province. In Assam headmasters are unanimous regarding the advantages of inspection introduced three years ago. In the Central Provinces deputy inspectors of schools were provided with lantern slides illustrative of plague, malaria and tuberculosis. The most fruitful field of advance has been in first aid classes. This subject is now regularly taught in standard VII in Bombay and many teachers and boys have gained the St. John

Ambulance Association's certificate. Burma has 27 classes for the same. Nearly the whole of the first aid class at the Training College, Allahabad, passed the examination and its members rendered valuable aid at the *Kumbha Mela* to bathers rescued from drowning.

Hostels. The capital amount spent on the erection of new hostels was Rı2,21,119, and the number of boarders increased from 152, 570 to 159, 815. The hostels erected by the University of Calcutta out of the imperial grant of ten lakhs were occupied and the Government of Bengal gave over half a lakh for their equipment as well as Rı6, 975 to meet the deficit in connection with messes in Calcutta.

Discipline. It is reported from Bengal that a number of school boys were arrested for complicity in political offences. The Home Rule agitation necessitated the tightening up of the restrictions regarding the attendance of pupils and students at political meetings. This led to trouble in Nagpur (and a few other places), where certain institutions had to be temporarily closed. The Principal of the Morris College at that place, while stating that no further trouble has arisen since the college re-opened, considers that, in order to prevent the recurrence of such incidents, there is need of close co-operation between parents and college authorities, some means of making public speakers realise their responsibilities towards students and provision in the colleges of healthy political discussion. He states that something has already been done by the delivery of lectures to students, sometimes by well known Indians invited to do so. He also held classes to explain, without comment, the various schemes for home rule which were being put forward; but most of the students ceased to attend when the lectures proved to be lacking in political excitement.

Boy Scouts. In May 1917 the Government of India issued a circular advocating the formation of boy scouts' troops in government schools.

The League of Honour in Berar increased its membership and a scout masters' camp was held during the Christmas holidays. A beginning has been made in Assam, but is hitherto confined to Shillong.

The Medium of Instruction. In August 1917 a conference of Directors and others interested in the subject of the proper medium of instruction was held at Simla. His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the opening address. The general feeling appeared to be

that more teaching and more examination might be conducted in the vernacular, and that the introduction of better methods would shorten the time necessary for learning English. At the same time the Joint Board newly set up for conducting the school-leaving examination in Bombay has withdrawn the option previously given of answering questions in certain subjects in the vernacular. A resolution was also moved in the Bombay Legislative Council regarding the introduction of English in the upper standards of primary schools. Another sign of the value attached to a knowledge of English is found in the proposal to adopt this subject as optional in middle vernacular schools of the Punjab. The experiment has already been made in two districts. The Director remarks that it is essential for the success of the scheme that there should be a real demand for English by a sufficient number of parents and that its genuineness should be substantiated by a monetary contribution. He hopes that this move may lead to the gradual assimilation of the courses of instruction in middle vernacular and middle English schools and the evolution of a single type with English as an optional subject.

Miscellaneous. Among other matters calling for mention were the abolition of the capitation grant system in Assam and some opposition (apparently unfounded) to the further substitution of the maintenance for the results system in Burma. The insufficiency of inspecting staff is emphasised in the United Provinces report and, as regards girls education, from several other provinces.

Personal. The cause of education suffered various losses during the year. The deaths are recorded of Mr. Nelson Fraser, Principal of the Bombay Training College, Sir Sundar Lal, so long connected with the University of Allahabad and Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University, Dr. Venis, a rare Sanskrit scholar, Dr. E. G. Hill, Principal of the Muir Central College, and Captain Charles Russell, Principal of the Patna College. The last named was killed in action in Palestine. Mr. Gately, a professor in the Government College, Lahore, also met his death in Mesopotamia. Mr. Godley, the Director in the Punjab, retired.

11.—Universities and Colleges.

Universities. As regards the five affiliating universities, the principal event has been the sitting of the Calcutta University Commission. Meanwhile, certain developments have taken place in the organisation of instruction for the degrees of M. A., and

M. Sc. A new scheme of such teaching, by which all the instruction is undertaken by the university, was inaugurated at Calcutta. As a result of the deliberations of a committee of the Bombay University Syndicate a system of inter-collegiate lectures has been established whereby each of the three colleges in Bombay city will give lectures to students of all affiliated colleges in certain parts of each of the subjects in the M. A. course. There has been a large increase in the department of post-graduate studies for the M. A. history degree at Allahabad which is beginning to hamper the research activities of the staff, which nevertheless has continued its search for historical materials and has made some interesting discoveries.

Research. In connection with the question of higher research it is to be recorded that assistance was given during the year to Sir J. C. Bose's Research Institute in Calcutta and the Government of Bengal sanctioned a lakh towards the acquisition of the land required.

New Universities. In October 1917 the two new Universities at Benares and Patna commenced operations. That of Mysore had already come into being in 1916.

Colleges. Colleges and their students have increased by 6 and 4,297 and the totals now stand at 201 and 62,936. Among the new colleges established may be mentioned the Carmichael College at Rangpur in Bengal. The sanction for the establishment of a college at Amraoti in Berar was received and a site of nearly 200 acres was acquired for it. In order to meet the difficulties arising from congestion in the colleges in the United Provinces the University of Allahabad amended their regulation so as to permit candidates, who had failed more than once at the Intermediate in Arts or the B. A., to appear at future exminations without attendance at a college.

Tutorial system. It is satisfactory to hear that prominence has been given to the tutorial system in the arts colleges of Madras with satisfactory results and that is also pursued in colleges in Bombay and in two of them has been extended to all subjects.

III. Secondary Education.

Features of the year. The principal feature of the year has been the institution of school leaving certificate examinations to which allusion has been made (above.) Another matter regarding

examinations, which is considered by the Director to be an important measure, was the establishment in the Central Provinces of a high school entrance and scholarship examination which combines three separate tests which already existed and is also designed to prevent the promotion of unfit boys from the middle to the high department.

The number of pupils rose by 12,251 to 1, 198,586.

The organisation and the conditions of work in secondary schools continue to give ground for some anxiety. The Punjab Director for instance quotes from one of the inspectors a passage which describes the opening of unrecognised schools many of which are intended to provide employment for disappointed matriculates and under-graduates. The passage proceeds as follows.

"The tactics employed in securing boys and subscriptions for these schools are both ingenious and effective from the point of view of the promoters. In April, the beginning of the school year, in which month alone boys are allowed to change local schools, anniversaries of societies are held and much money is obtained; parties are sent out broadcast to bring boys in; boys are induced to leave one school and join another; boys from 'affiliated' unrecognised schools are promoted wholesale to the high department of the central school, and so on."

The Bengal report describes the general condition of secondary education in that province as unsatisfactory. The number of high schools increases rapidly, but their condition is poor, many schools being run on a figure which precludes good result. "The conditions under which government schools work," adds the same Director, "are conducive to efficiency, but even in these institutions there is much room for improvement" In Bombay the reports of the university examiners show that among candidates at the lower examinations the level of attainment in various subjects is extremely weak—a statement which appears to reflect upon the high schools which supply the students.

School libraries. One of the main difficulties connected with secondary education is the inability of many of the pupils to buy books of good general reading. "For this," says the Punjab Director, "they have to rely on school libraries which contain much useless matter and from which a boy finds it hard to make a suitable selection." One of the inspectors has introduced a system to remedy this difficulty—namely, class libraries containing only such books as are suitable for the standard of that particular class.

IV. Primary Education.

General progress. During the five years 1912-17 the number of public primary schools for boys and girls had increased from 123,578 to 142,203 and that of pupils from 4,988,142 to 5,818,730. The average annual increase in pupils was thus 166,117; nor does this take into account the fall due to the exclusion of certain Native States in 1914-15. During the year 1917-18 the increase in schools was 5,672 and in pupils 114,011, There was thus some retardation of progress, caused by the difficulties of the year. In some provinces there was actual decline.

The figures for provinces are as follows:—

Province.	Number of primary schools.			Number of pupils in primary schools.		
	1916-17.	1917-18.	Increase or decrease of schools.	1916-17,	1916-18.	Increase or decrease of pupils.
Madras	30,573	31,722	+1,149	1,364,821	1,401,774	+36,953
Bombay	19,755	11,142	+ 387	652,618	650,830	— 1,788
Bengal	41,966	44,111	+2,145	1,374,891	1,409,316	+34,425
United Provinces ...	11,629	11,982	+ 353	685,813	706,549	+20,736
Punjab	5,853	6,038	+ 185	287,851	285,589	— 2,262
Burma	7,725	7,614	— 111	256,729	247,869	— 8,860
Bihar and Orissa ...	24,413	25,827	+1,414	672,333	711,715	+39,382
Central Provinces and Berar ...	4,014	4,109	+ 95	287,466	286,770	— 696
Assam	4,197	4,212	+ 15	181,808	177,721	— 4,087
North-West Frontier Province ...	627	626	— 1	27,581	27.502	— 79
Other administrations	451	492	+ 41	26,819	27,106	+ 287
	142,203	147,875	+5,672	5,818,730	5,932,741	+114,011

The remarkable point about these figures is the increase in schools, accompanied by a disproportionately small increase of pupils, the number of new pupils per new school being 20 only. In 1916-17 the average number of pupils in a boys' primary school was 41·8 while for 1917-18 it was 41·0. Indeed, in Bombay the schools increased by 387 while the pupils decreased by 1,788 ; in the Punjab the schools increased by 185, while the

pupils decreased by 2,262; and similarly in Assam a slight increase in the number of schools was accompanied by decrease of 4,087 in the number of pupils. These decreases are accounted for in the case of Bombay by an unusually severe outbreak of plague; in that of the Punjab by a malaria epidemic and perhaps, in one division where recruitment was heavy, by the withdrawal of senior pupils for work on the land; and in that of Burma to scarcity of money due to the war. The Director in Assam finds it difficult to explain the decline, especially as vernacular education in that province is free; he suggests the rise in the cost of clothes, books and paper and the fall in the sale price of local products. In Bengal a decrease in the pupils of upper primary schools (much more than balanced by a large increase in lower primary schools) is attributed to the unpopularity of purely vernacular education. The fact that the total increase of pupils in primary schools exceeds that in all schools is due to re-classification and resultant shrinkage under special institutions.

Expenditure on primary schools rose by R17,28,969 to R3,10, 42,514.

The figures given above deal only with primary schools. Pupils in the elementary stages of instruction, whether in primary or secondary schools, and those in private elementary schools teaching a vernacular are as follows.

	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
In primary stage of public schools	5,343,211	1,156,977	6,500,188
In elementary private schools teaching a vernacular ...	323,772	18,848	342,620
Total ...	5,666,983	1,175,825	6,842,808

There has been no appreciable change in the percentage in primary stages to the population.

Features of the year. The principal feature of the year has been the movement in favour of compulsory elementary education. Just after the conclusion of the year a private Bill permitting municipalities (with the exception of that of Bombay city) to introduce free and compulsory elementary education throughout the Bombay Presidency was passed into law. Municipalities desiring to avail themselves

of the provisions of the Act will have to fulfil certain conditions. The compulsion will be operative in the case of the children who have completed 6 but not 11 years. The example of Bombay has been quickly followed in the majority of the other provinces and Bills of still wider application permitting compulsion in rural as well as municipal areas are now in various stages of progress In the Punjab the Bill was introduced by Government. Private Bills have been introduced or are about to be introduced in the Councils of Bengal, the United Provinces and Bihar and Orissa. The features common to these Bills are that they permit of local option, that their provisions may not be adopted without providing adequate facilities and obtaining the sanction of the local Government, that education where compulsory will be free, and (in some cases) that the measure may be extended to girls as well as to boys. In Bombay, where alone an Act has already come into force, the Bandra and Surat municipalities have applied for permission to introduce compulsion and have proposed to levy additional taxation. The Government of Bombay propose to contribute ordinarily to the extent of one-half towards the cost of free and compulsory education introduced under the Act. The Bombay municipality too has drawn up a programme of a rapid extension of primary education in Bombay city within the next 10 years with a view to compulsion at the end of that period.

The second important point is the continuance of surveys and schemes for the extension of elementary education. In Bengal two surveys were made, one of the city of Calcutta, the other of the presidency. For the latter the *panchayati* union has been taken as the unit as had already been done in a similar survey in Eastern Bengal. It is reported, however, that owing to lack of funds no progress in the scheme could be effected during the year. In the Punjab a large and systematic scheme has taken shape. The aim of government is the establishment of district board schools at every centre where an average attendance of not less than 50 children may be expected, while a provisional two mile limit between the schools is intended to avoid overlapping. The proposal to allot provincial contributions on five year programmes has already been mentioned. "This scheme" says the resolution on the Director's report. "while imposing on district boards a burden not unduly severe will at the same time give them each a definite goal ; while a prominent feature is the proviso that the Government grant shall depend upon a satisfactory scale of salaries for teachers, thereby securing the first essential to successful expansion. The ultimate recurring cost of the 5-years' programme is roughly twelve lakhs of which Govern-

ment undertakes to provide, in addition to present grants, about two-thirds or eight lakhs, the grants varying from 50 to 100 per cent according to the claims and circumstances of each district, in estimating which war services have been given a prominent place. For non-recurring expenditure government has accepted a liability of two lakhs per annum for 5 years on condition that the boards will provide half that amount."

A matter which is deserving of mention in the formation in the Punjab of a society called the Rupar Primary School Association, consisting of a small body of public-spirited gentlemen who have prepared a regular scheme for the multiplication of village schools in the Rupar Tahsil of the Ambala District. They have already opened 10 schools and are prepared to hand the schools over to the management of the board when they are properly established. As the Director states this useful pioneer movement deserves to find imitators in other backward localities.

Two curious points are report from the Central Provinces. The enhancement of the education cess in Berar has already been described. Similar action would have been rendered possible in the Central Provinces themselves by the operation of the Central Provinces Local Self Government Bill. But the non official members of the local council did not desire to proceed with any Bills of this nature until the reform scheme was complete. This measure of reform was therefore withdrawn. Secondly, it is reported from one district in the same province that the Home Rule propaganda has had a prejudicial effect on attendance at school, which is sometimes secured in that province by means of admonition through government officials and is apt to be regarded by the cultivators as a kind of *corvee*. The political campaign, which deprecates anything savouring of compulsion, is also said to have fostered impatience and hostility to representatives of government, including the village school masters, assaults upon two of whom have had to be dealt with in the criminal courts.

Condition of primary education. As regards the quality of work, Mr. Richey remarks that no great improvement can be looked for till the number of classes taught by a single master is reduced and the work of normal schools brought into closer relationship with that of teachers in rural schools. He comments on the dirtiness and untidiness of school rooms and pupils when unexpectedly visited. The Director in the North-West Frontier Province says that the primary course is no guarantee against a relapse into illi-

teracy and suggests an increase in the number of middle vernacular schools.

On the other hand Mr. de la Fosse is of opinion that the picture of the village school teacher is ordinarily drawn in too gloomy colours and that when regard is had to the drawbacks of his condition he does his work surprisingly well. It is worthy of notice that in Madras a rule has been introduced requiring a teacher for every 40 instead of 50 elementary pupils, and that in Bombay the average annual cost of a primary school for boys has increased to Rs78 and that of educating a pupil to Rs10. The movement in favour of village libraries in the Central Provinces was mentioned in the last Review. The report from one of the districts now speaks of Ramayan classes held in villages where such libraries have been established. These are evening classes held for an hour at which a portion of the Ramayan is read and explained. Attendance appears to be variable.

Buildings. It is reported from one of the districts in Bihar and Orissa that a cheap plan has been devised for a three-roomed upper primary school costing about Rs750. It has been suggested that one method of getting a large number of buildings erected would be to obtain a free gift of the land and permit the landed proprietors and other substantial villagers to erect houses at their own cost for which a small rent will be paid. Advocates of the theory that *pucka* buildings are more economic than *kutcha* will receive comfort from the fact that in one of the districts of the Punjab the majoriry of the school houses, being *kutcha*, collapsed or were seriously damaged by the heavy rain. It is encouraging to learn that the very difficult question of providing proper elementary school buildings in cities has been taken up by the Patna municipality which received from Government a capital grant of nearly half a lakh for this purpose. The operations have now been completed in two wards, 23 schools being erected.

V.—Professional and Special Education.

Oriental studies. Progress was made in the matter of Sanskrit education in Bombay. It has been decided to hand over the government library of Sanskrit manuscripts at the Deccan College to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, along with a grant given for the maintenance of the library. A grant of Rs12,000 a year has been made towards the publication of the Bombay Sanskrit series. A grant of Rs30 000 has been given to the Cama Oriental

Institute, Bombay. In the United Provinces the number of students who presented themselves at the Sanskrit examinations was the largest on record. In Bihar and Orissa rules were framed for the Sanskrit Association and for stipends to Pathshalas. Local Sanskrit societies in Assam are showing renewed activity.

Technical and industrial education. During the period the Public Works Reorganisation Committee made its report and the Indian Industrial Commission continued its deliberations. Pending the consideration of the recommendations made by these bodies it was impossible to initiate any large measures of progress. The governing body of the Civil Engineering, College, Sibpur, submitted a scheme for the affiliation of the apprentice system of the large railway and other workshops with the mechanical engineering classes of the apprentice department of the college with a view to improving and increasing the output of mechanical engineers and mechanics. A new school of carpentry has been started at Amraoti in the Central Provinces. The Weaving Institute at Serampore in Bengal is said to be growing ie popularity and attracts candidates of better qualifications.

Commercial education. A test was imposed for admission to the Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics in Bombay, which now contains 235 students. Students from outside the presidency are said to be superior to the Bombay students by reason of their having spent two years at an arts college instead of only one as demanded by the University of Bombay. At the final Bachelor of Commerce examination 164 students appeared and 52 passed. It is reported that none of the men who passed experienced any difficulty in securing employment. An Accountancy Diploma Board has been created in Bombay and special classes are held for its examination at this college. The first examination took place just after the close of the year. The Punjab University is considering the institution of a diploma in commerce. Pending its introduction the Education Department is holding an examination and awarding certificates.

Agricultural education. A conference on agricultural education was held at Simla in June 1917. Its recommendations included the foundation of agricultural middle school and the further development of agricultural collegiate education as agricultural progress in each principal province permits.

It is reported that the study of agriculture in the Punjab rendered popular by the fact that a pass in this subject is easy and canbe

secured merely by the study of the textbook. The Zamindari High School, Gujarat, is mentioned as an honourable exception, instruction there being given on a district board farm. It is hoped to remedy the unpractical character of the instruction generally given by putting teachers through a course at the Lyallpur College.

Other forms of education. There is no special development to report in legal, medical, forestry or veterinary education.

As regards education in reformatories the after-care fund in Bombay now amounts to nearly R60,000 and the auxiliary home for the homeless and friendless among discharged boys is an established fact. In Bengal the children's bill is still under consideration.

Training of teachers. The number of those under training for the profession of teaching has risen by 480 to 19,876. The total number of teachers in public institutions of all kinds in India is now 292, 739 and of those trained 95, 542 against 280, 738 and 88, 169 last year. During the year an imperial grant of 30 lakhs recurring was distributed for the training and pay of teachers and at the close a second recurring grant of equal amount was announced for elementary education, which could be used, among other things, on the preparation of teachers for primary schools.

A new college has been started at Rajahmundry in *Madras* presidency and six new schools have been opened, four of which are under private management. The Government of *Bombay* have decided to open 26 training classes for vernacular teachers, each consisting of 50 students, in each district of the presidency. Provision has been made in the David Hare Training College, *Calcutta*, for classes in the course of the Licentiate in Teaching in addition to those for the Bachelorship of Teaching. The London Missionary Society's training class at Bhowanipur was discontinued The large scheme for the improvement of *guru*-training schools in Bengal has not yet taken practical shape. The number of training classes in the *United Provinces* fell from 267 to 260, but the number of students remained practically the same. In the *Punjab* there has been a slight decrease in the number of men under training, but an increase of women. A scheme has been made for the revision on a large scale of the Central Training College, Lahore. *Burma* and *Bihar and Orissa* too record decreases in the number of students. In the former province a new course was introduced for normal schools; in the latter the number of admissions in the Patna Training College had to be limited in

view of financial difficulty. In the *Central Provinces* the complete reorganisation of the Jubbulpur Training College is in contemplation, three new normal schools have been opened and third and fourth year training courses have been instituted. *Assam*, which has no facilities for higher training, hopes to start a college with the aid of the imperial grant It is noticeable that in this province instruction in the English alphabet, Roman and Arabic numerals and transliteration is given to the normal school student, in order to enable him to read and write telegrams, etc.

VI.--Education of special classes.

Education of girls. The number of girls at school rose by 33, 770 to 1,264 189. The provincial figures are as follows:—

The figures in the fourth column include 443, 799 girls reading in boys' schools.

—	Number of institutions for girls.	Increase or decrease on figures for 1916-17.	Number of girls under instruction.	Increase or decrease on figures for 1916-17.	Direct recurring expenditure on institutions for girls	Increase or decrease on expenditure for 1916-17.
					Rs.	Rs.
Madras	2,088	+ 154	340,803	+ 14,914	20,52,075	+ 52,464
Bombay	1,390	+ 89	148,687	+ 4,066	19,70,995	+ 1,33,961
Bengal	10,689	+ 805	317,195	+ 16,300	17,70,024	+ 1,18,981
United Provinces . . .	1,672	+ 100	74,735	+ 4,023	10,99,189	+ 80,682
Punjab	1,817	− 85	67,840	− 1,862	11,30,488	+ 2,27,205
Burma	1,149	+ 2	122,440	− 3,048	7,05,058	− 31,220
Bihar and Orissa . . .	2,651	+ 34	110,815	− 573	4,87,841	+ 8,195
Central Provinces and Berar .	375	+ 2	38,246	+ 894	3,36,117	+ 38,057
Assam	368	+ 4	27,990	− 634	1,41,451	+ 16,977
North-West Frontier Province	70	− 25	4,346	− 79	40,042	+ 1,853
Other Provinces . . .	130	− 1	11,092	− 231	4,13,888	+ 1,50,763
INDIA .	22,399	+ 1,079	1,264,189	+ 33,770	1,01,47,168	+ 8,60,358

The discussions which have taken place on the curriculum suitable for girls' schools have led to a lightening of the mathematics course in Burma, with a view to having more time for needlework and domestic economy. The report from Bengal enumerates the various kinds of girls primary schools there established—model schools, urban schools, *panchayati* union schools, peasant schools, etc. But no great progress appears to have been achieved in the establishment of these institutions, and the majority of schools in this presidency are aided by the boards and are inefficient and badly housed, many of them being unable to maintain whole-time teachers. One of the sub-divisional reports from Assam quaintly states that "all the girls' schools in the interior have (for want of mistresses) to be given over to junior unwilling male teachers who simply kill time in order to obey orders and as soon as any loophole is found for them they pick it up and run away." It is stated in Bihar and Orissa that "the central gathering classes for *zenana* education have practically become *purda* schools and hardly number any older women among the pupils."

There are three training colleges for girls, with 41 students (and 17 students in men's colleges), and 118 other training institutions with 2,935 pupils. A scheme was framed for a Muhammadan training class in Calcutta but, owing to financial stringency, could not be sanctioned.

In Bengal a modest scheme has been put forward for the education of girls as indigenous midwives and a similar scheme was sanctioned in the Central Provinces.

The Bengal report complains of the numerical inadequacy of the inspecting staff—twelve female inspecting officers in all, who have to supervise all recognised girls' schools in the presidency. An inspectress was appointed in the North-West Frontier Province and the increase in the number of girls attending public schools is attributed to the confidence which she has inspired.

European education. There are 447 schools for Europeans with 44, 244 pupils against 446 and 42, 681 in the previous year. The total number of Europeans and of the domiciled community under instruction is 44, 167, being 16·6 per cent. of the total of these communities (including British regiments) and an advance of 1, 622 on the figures of 1916-17. There are no special developments to record.

Education of Muhammadans. Muhammadans form 23½ per cent of the population. The number of Mussalman pupils under instruction has risen by 42, 378 to 1, 866, 742 and now forms 23½ per cent. of the total school population and 3·25 per cent. of the Muhammadan population. In Bengal the total number of Hindu pupils

remained practically stationary while that of Muhammadans increased by 4·2 per cent., and in Bihar and Orissa the percentage of Muhammadans at school is increasing more rapidly than, and actually exceeds, that of all castes and creeds together. In Assam there has been a small decrease.

At the beginning of the year Urdu was declared no longer the medium of instruction in primary schools for Muhammadans in the Bombay presidency, the local vernacular being installed in its place. This order gave umbrage, a conference was held, and a compromise was reached under which the medium will be left to local option. This solution proved acceptable to all and has closed this much vexed question.

Particular attention was paid to the claims of Muhammadan education in Sind, where a committee was summoned to discuss the subject and a lakh recurring was granted to carry out some of its recommendations. This money will be used mainly on a co ordinated scheme of scholarships, doubling the grants to *mulla* schools, providing inspecting staff for the same, etc. The proportion of free-studentships available for Muhammadans in government secondary schools has been fixed in the Bombay presidency as one third of the permissible total of 15 per cent. In government and aided schools in Bengal Muhammadans are now entitled to free-studentships up to a limit of 15 per cent. of their own enrolment, and new rules were issued regarding the number of vacancies to be reserved for this community in government and aided colleges. A new hostel, called the Carmichael Hostel, was opened for Muhammadan college students in Calcutta and the Baker Hostel was enlarged. These two together hold 400 students.

Sikhs. There are 63, 268 Sikhs under instruction in the Punjab and 535 in Bombay. In the Punjab, 861 are in colleges, 17, 283 in secondary and 41, 491 in primary schools.

Jains. The Punjab reports 1, 950 Jains (53 in colleges, 914 in secondary, 979 in primary and 4 in speacial schools) and the Central Provinces 5, 248. In Assam, Jains make their own arrangements for educating their children, and only eight were found reading in recognised schools.

Depressed classes. In Madras the number of schools for Panchamas increased from 5, 691 to 5, 814 and pupils rose by 6,900 to 120, 678. A large increase of pupils of the backward classes is reported from the Central Provinces also—though figures are regarded as not fully reliable. On the other hand Bombay and Bihar and Orissa show small decreases, many teachers in the latter province having proceeded to France with the result that the schools closed.

Statement of Imperial Grants on Education. (In lakhs of Rupees.)

Province	Grants		Expenditure								Unspent balance	
	To end of 1917-18.		To end of 1916-17.		In 1917-18 recorded under				Total to end of 1917-18		At end of 1917-18.	
					Education.		*Other heads.*					
	Recurring	Non-recurring	Recurring	Non-recurring	Recurring.	Non-recurring.	Recurring.	Non-recurring	Recurring.	Non-recurring	Recurring	Non-recurring
Madras	104·84	64·96	81 97	51 23	22 11	..	0 36	1 05	104 44	52 88	0 40	12 08
Bombay . .	83 01	57 80	44 56	38 74	14 29	2 68	0 07	0 15	58 92	41·57	24 09	16 23
Bengal	156 30	147 58	86 87	81 03	22·01	0 34	0 50	0 40	109 44	81 77	46 86	65 81
United Provinces .. .	89 33	67 57	70 80	44 24	18·13	0 35	0 34	2 10	89 33	46 69	..	20·88
Punjab . ..	52 36	39 89	41 06	30 39	9 66	..	.		50 72	30·30	1·64	0 59
Burma	39 81	33 75	25·02	17 25	6 33		0 09	7 19	31 44	24·54	8 37	0 21
Bihar and Orissa .	65 52	41 66	41 39	23 45	12 00			2 27	53 39	25 72	12·13	15 94
Central Provinces and Berar	34 75	23 49	27 01	19 55	7 68	0 05		0 29	34 69	19 89	0 06	3 51
Assam	22 41	15 70	13 58	15 70	4 02	.	0 20		17 80	15 70	4 61	.
North-West Frontier Province	12 27	6·07	9 24	6 07	2 73	..	..	..	11 97	6·07	0·30	.
Other Provinces, etc.	16 85	17 85	11 13	16 03	1 61	0 17	1 86	0 52	14 63	17 32	1 42	0 53
Total	676 65	516 23	452·69	353 38	120 60	3 59	3 48	14·57	576 77	371 74	99 88	144·69

Summary of Recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission—1919.

1. The recapitulation of our main recommendations, set out below, is intended for convenience. The precise phrases of the following clauses must not be regarded as authoritative in themselves, but must be interpreted in the light of the fuller statement embodied in the foregoing chapters. Moreover, we desire it to be understood that the recommendations set out below do not constitute the whole of our recommendations, but embody chiefly those upon which we think that immediate or early action ought to be taken. Many recommendations and suggestions, intended for the guidance of the new governing bodies of the universities, or of the proposed new authority for secondary education, are not here referred to, but will be found, with the considerations on which they are based, in the main body of the report.

Recommendations relating to secondary education.

2. No satisfactory reorganisation of the university system of Bengal will be possible unless and until a radical reorganisation of the system of secondary education, upon which university work depends, is carried into effect. The deficiencies of the existing secondary system are radical and patent. They arise, in the main, from four principal causes. (*a*) In the first place, most of the high English Schools are under-equipped and are conducted by an under-paid and for the most part an untrained staff. (*b*) In the second place, they are unduly dominated by an examination (the matriculation) which is itself ill-designed and not of sufficiently high standard, and which gives no encouragement to many lines of study necessary for the welfare of the pupils and for the prosperity of the country. (*c*) In the third place, owing to the existing division of authority between the University and the Department of Public Instruction there is no adequate machinery for supervising, guiding and assisting the work of the schools as a whole; in other words, no coherent system of secondary education yet exists. (*d*) In the fourth place, a large and vitally important part of secondary instruction is actually conducted, not by the schools, but by the colleges of the University in their intermediate classes; and, because it is so conducted, it largely fails of its purpose, partly because the methods chiefly employed (those of the mass-lecture) are unsuitable for work at this stage, and partly because many subjects and lines of study, especially those which have a vocational bearing, are almost wholly disregarded.

3. A radical reform of these conditions is necessary not only for university reform, but also for national progress in Bengal. The principal changes which we recommend for this purpose are as follows :—

(*i*) The stage of admission to the University should be (approximately) that of the present intermediate instead of that of the present matriculation.

(*ii*) The duty of providing training at the intermediate stage should be transferred from the universities to new institutions to be known as 'Intermediate Colleges,' some of which should be attached to selected high schools, while others should be organised as distinct institutions There should be at least one intermediate college in each district of the Presidency, besides a certain number in Calcutta and Dacca; and the courses of the intermediate colleges should be so framed as to afford preparation not only for the ordinary degree courses of the University in arts and science but also for the medical, engineering and teaching professions and for careers in agriculture, commerce and industry.

(*iii*) The intermediate colleges for men should in all cases be separate from degree colleges, and even where they are provided or managed by closely-linked authorities, should be organised under a distinct educational and financial control.

(*iv*) There should be two secondary school examinations, the first, approximately corresponding to the present matriculation, to be taken at the end of the high school stage, at the normal age of 16, or, in special cases, at the age of 15, and to be known as the high school examination; the second, approximately corresponding to the present intermediate, but much more varied in its range, to be taken at the end of the intermediate college course, at the normal age of 18, and to be known as the intermediate college examination. Success in this examination should constitute the normal test of admission to university courses. The range and standards of both of these examinations should be carefully reconsidered. Detailed recommendations on these heads will be found in Chapter XXXI, paragraphs 31-70, and in Chapter XXXII.

(*v*) The existing Department of Public Instruction is not so organised as to be able to regulate and supervise the new system; more than half of the high English schools are at present entirely outside its jurisdiction. And although the University is entitled to a large voice in their affairs, its governing bodies cannot be so organised as to be able to deal effectively with them, especially as they lack the necessary funds. We therefore recommend that there should be established a Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education, to consist of from fifteen to eighteen members with power to appoint advisory and other committees including outside members. Among the statutory committees of the Board should be included a committee on the education of girls and a committee on madrassahs, the latter to conduct the examination of the reformed madrassah course. The Board should also have the power to constitute provincial or divisional advisory councils.

(*vi*) It should be provided that a majority of the Board should consist of non-official members, and that the Board should always include at least three representatives of Hindu and at least three of Muslim interests. Subject to these provisos, the Board should include: (*a*) a salaried President, appointed by Government; (*b*) the Director of Public Instruction, *ex-officio*; (*c*) a member elected by the non-official members of the Bengal Legislative Council; (*d*) five representatives appointed by the University of Calcutta and two by the University of Dacca; (*e*) from five to eight members appointed by Government among whom should be included (if not otherwise provided for) representatives of the needs of industry, commerce,

agriculture, medicine and public health, secondary and intermediate education, the educational needs of girls and those of the domiciled community.

(*vii*) The powers of the Board should be (*a*) to define the various curricula to be followed in high schools and intermediate colleges, (b) to conduct the two secondary school examinations described above, subject to the proviso that the universities should in each case have the power to determine what forms of the intermediate college examination they would accept, and under what conditions, as qualifying for admission to their courses in various faculties; (*c*) to grant, after inspection, formal recognition to high schools and intermediate colleges as qualified to present candidates for the high school or the intermediate college examinations, and as adequately organised and equipped places of instruction; (*d*) to advise Government as to the needs of these grades of education, and as to the best modes of expending the available funds for these purposes In the opinion of the majority of the Commission it is essential for the adequate performance of the functions of the Board that it should have an inspectorial staff of its own and that it should exercise substantial executive powers, especially in regard to the distribution of grants to schools and intermediate colleges (within the limits of the allotments made for these purposes by Government in its annual budget), and in regard to the exercise of control over such high schools and intermediate colleges as may be maintained out of public funds

(*viii*) The Board thus organised, with its President, should not be wholly separated from the Department of Public Instruction, but should be regarded as an important branch or aspect of the whole system of educational organisation, closely linked with the other branches, especially through the Director of Public Instruction. The character of the Director's office would thus be materially changed He would be relieved of much detailed work, but he would become chief of the staff and expert adviser to the Member or Minister in charge of Education, and would himself be in touch with all the aspects of educational work To express this important change in the functions of the Director we recommend that he should be given the position of a secretary to Government

(*ix*) In order to give unity to the educational system by reducing the existing cleavage between Government schools and colleges and privately managed schools, and by facilitating an interchange of teachers among these institutions, the main body of the teaching staff of the Government schools and intermediate colleges should be gradually reorganised upon a professional rather than a service basis, the fullest safeguards being taken to protect the actual or prospective rights of members of the existing services, and to ensure an adequate salary scale and reasonable security of tenure under the new system. At the same time a superannuation fund for teachers should be organised to replace the existing pension system for future recruits to the profession. To this superannuation fund all aided schools should be required, and all recognised but unaided schools should be encouraged, to contribute.

(x) In view of the need of enlisting the services of a number of western-trained teachers in the reorganisation of secondary and intermediate work in Bengal, a special corps of western-trained teachers should be organised, the members of which should be enlisted not on uniform graded rates of pay, but on such terms and conditions as might be necessary to

secure the right types of men and women in each case. Their services should be available, under the direction of the Board, either in Government institutions, or in private institutions which expressed a desire for their services.

General recommendations regarding University work.

4. Although an effective reorganisation of secondary and intermediate education would greatly improve the quality of university work, by improving the quality of the students entering the University, and by withdrawing for more appropriate treatment very large numbers of students who are unready for university methods of instruction, this would not of itself remove the grave evils which now exist; the university system of Bengal is, in our judgment, fundamentally defective in almost every aspect, and, in so far as it does good work, does it inspite of the method of organisation now in vogue.

5. **The defects of the system** which we have analysed in detail in the earlier part of this report, affect primarily the students following courses in the Faculties of Arts and Science, who number about eleven out of every thirteen of the total. These defects may be briefly summarised as follows: (*a*) The numbers are too great to be efficiently dealt with by a single university organisation; and this will remain true even if the intermediate students (two thirds of the whole number) are withdrawn. (*b*) The undergraduate courses of instruction in arts and science are given by colleges which are almost entirely self-contained and in many cases widely scattered, and generally too meagrely staffed and equipped to be able to do justice to their students; some of them being wholly, and most of them mainly, dependent upon the fees paid by the students—a source of income wholly inadequate for the purpose. Even in Calcutta, where there are many colleges, there is no efficient co-operation. (*c*) The courses of instruction are too predominantly literary in character and too little varied to suit various needs; nor is there adequate provision for training in technical subjects. At the same time, the methods of instruction are far too mechanical, depending mainly upon mass-lectures, and giving a quite insufficient place to individual guidance and advice, nor do they allow for variation of method to meet the needs of different students. This is due in part to the enormous numbers which have to be dealt with; in part to the influence of a bad tradition; but mainly, perhaps, to the fact that since the University is (in regard to undergraduate work) almost exclusively an examining body, external to the colleges, the colleges tend to regard themselves as mere coaching institutions, and the influence of the examinations exercises an undue domination over the minds of teachers and students alike. (*d*) The great majority of the teachers are gravely underpaid, and have no legal security of tenure and next to no freedom in their work, while most of them have no prospect of attaining to positions of dignity and importance, such as would form a stimulus to good work; the result is, that the profession of a college teacher has no prestige and attracts few men of the highest ability. (*e*) While the University has recently undertaken the direct control of almost the whole of the post-graduate work for the degrees of M. A. and M.Sc., and has brought about considerable improvements in this regard, there is, because of this division, an unhappy cleavage between the higher and lower teaching work of the University and its colleges, which

has led to some friction, and has tended to the impoverishment of undergraduate work. (*f*) The system of government and administration of the University is unsatisfactory and ineffective as an instrument for the encouragement of learning ; and the relations between the University on the one hand and the colleges on the other are of such a kind that, while there is no really effective means of securing the efficiency of the colleges, yet they are under an unduly rigid control which restricts their freedom of action and makes it difficult for them to show any independent initiative. (*g*) The University is loaded with administrative functions, particularly in regard to the recognition of schools, which it cannot adequately perform, and which bring it into difficult relations with the educational organisation of the State (*h*) The relations between Government and the University are of an unsatisfactory kind, involving far too much detailed Government intervention which cannot be satisfactorily exercised and which undermines the sense of responsibility of the university authorities , while the peculiar relation between the University of Calcutta and the Imperial and Provincial Governments adds an element of complexity and confusion which is not found in the other Indian universities (*i*) The regulations which govern the work of the University are unduly rigid and difficult to modify (*j*) Despite consistent efforts and large expenditure during recent years, the conditions under which many of the students live are such as must be deleterious to their health, morals, and work ; and there is a lack of that corporate spirit which constitutes one of the most educative factors in university life (*k*) Finally, owing to the practice which has been followed ever since the foundation of the Indian universities of treating university qualifications as the sole formal credentials for public employment—a practice which has been insensibly extended so that even minor clerkships are in a large degree filled on this basis—too many of the students think of their university course not as a thing worth pursuing for itself, or as a training for life, but simply as a means of obtaining admission to careers for which, in many cases, no university training ought to be required.

6. One of the essential and most efficient remedies for the evils described in the foregoing paragraph is the creation of new universities, wherein the teaching function can be assured of its due predominance. To this end we recommend the organisation of the teaching resources which exist in the city of Calcutta in such a way as to create a real teaching university ; we recommend that the project of a university at Dacca should be carried into effect at the earliest possible moment ; and we also recommend the adoption of a mode of organisation for the mufassal colleges which will encourage the gradual rise of new university centres by the concentration of resources for higher teaching at a few points. But before we turn to these proposals it will be convenient to set forth certain general recommendations affecting all the university organisations alike, Calcutta, Dacca, and the future or 'potential' universities of Bengal

7. The following **recommendations** are applicable to all universities which may now or in the future be created in Bengal ;—

(*m*) The Governor-General and the Government of India should cease to stand in the special relationship which they at present occupy in relation to the University of Calcutta. The Imperial Legislative Council should retain responsibility for all legislation affecting the fundamental Acts of Universities ; and the Governor-General should assume the office of Visitor

of the Universities of Calcutta and Dacca and of any future universities which may in future be created in Bengal performing (with the aid of a special organisation for university work) the functions of visitation, of advice in regard to the co-ordination of effort with the universities of other provinces, of giving encouragement and assistance to research, and of affording help in the recruitment of teachers. We venture to suggest that it would be advantageous if these visitorial functions were similarly exercised over all the universities of British India.

(*xii*) The Governor of Bengal should be Chancellor of the Universities of Calcutta and Dacca, and of any future universities in Bengal, performing functions in many respects different from those now assumed by the Chancellor; these functions are more fully defined in Chapters XXXIII, XXXVII and L.

(*xiii*) The Government of Bengal should take the place of the Government of India in all ordinary dealings between the State and the universities in Bengal; though the functions of Government in this regard should be in many respects different from what they now are, and in particular, should involve much less detailed interference in academic affairs than is now the case.

(*xiv*) The regulations governing the work of the universities should be made less rigid, and should be classified in accordance with the character of their subject-matter. The classification which we recommend is as follows:

(*a*) the *Act*, made and alterable only by the Imperial Legislative Council;

(*b*) the *Statutes*, made in the first instance (as a schedule to the Act) by the Imperial Legislative Council, but subsequently capable of being altered or added to by the Court of the University, subject to the approval of the Government of Bengal; (*c*) the *Ordinances*, made by the Executive Council of the University, subject to ratification by the Court, the Chancellor having the right of veto; (*d*) the *Regulations*, made by appropriate bodies in the University to which such powers are entrusted by Statute or Ordinance.

(*xv*) Honours courses, distinct from the outset from pass courses, should be instituted in the universities in order to make provision for the needs of abler students; and the pass courses should be arranged in coherent groups of subjects. Facilities should be afforded for change from pass to honours courses and *vice versa*.

(*xvi*) The duration of the degree course should be three years after the intermediate stage; this provision being applied immediately in regard to honours courses, and at early date in pass courses. In appropriate cases honours graduates should be permitted to proceed to the degree of M. A. one year after taking their degree.

(*xvii*) The titles of professor and reader should be strictly reserved for persons upon whom these titles are conferred by a university and who are in receipt of a minimum salary to be defined.

(*xviii*) Appointments to professorships and readerships should be made by special selection committees including external experts; and, in order that there may be in each university a certain number of western-trained teachers of these ranks, a defined number of professorships and readerships in each university should be appointed on the nomination of selection committees acting in England, but including representatives named by the University.

(*xix*) Small Civil Service Commissions should be appointed in connexion with the Government of India and the Provincial Government. The duties of these Commissions should be (*a*) to define the stage of educational attainment which should be required in the case of various groups of posts under Government; (*b*) to conduct competitive tests among qualified candidates for such vacancies as may be announced, under such conditions as may be defined; (*c*) to approve all appointments made by direct nomination in cases where this method of appointment is held to be desirable.

(*xx*) In view of the necessity for paying greater attention to the health and physical welfare of students, a director of physical training, holding the rank and salary of a professor, should be appointed in each university; and a Board of Students' Welfare, including medical representatives, should be one of the standing boards or committees of each university. Responsibility for the supervision of the conditions of students' residence should be assigned to the appropriate authorities.

(*xxi*) Having regard to the comparatively backward condition of the Muslim community in regard to education, every reasonable means should be taken to encourage Muslim students, and to safeguard their interests. We have held this need always in view, and our numerous and important recommendations to this end are summarised in a special chapter.

Recommendations relating to the University of Dacca.

8. The establishment at Dacca of a new university of the teaching and residential type was promised by the Government of India in 1912 and an elaborate scheme for its organisation has been published. Even if no such undertaking had ever been given we should have recommended the establishment of a teaching university at Dacca, as a means of relieving the pressure on Calcutta, and of introducing, under favourable circumstances, new methods of university organisation. The importance of the city of Dacca as the second town in Bengal and the centre of Eastern Bengal, as well as the number and variety of its educational institutions, render it a favourable site for an experiment of this order.

9. While we recognise the great value of the original report of the Dacca University Committee which set before India, for the first time in a clear form, the ideal of a residential and teaching university, we think that for the sake of economy and simplicity of organisation it is desirable to depart from some of the main features of the scheme embodied in the report. In particular we think that the conditions now existing and the changes suggested in other parts of our scheme of reform (notably the system of intermediate colleges), render it desirable to depart from three features of the original scheme: (*a*) the organisation of the University as a purely governmental institution; (*b*) the organisation of the University upon a collegiate basis; and (*c*) the staffing of the University almost wholly by means of service appointments. Nor do we think it desirable that separate and distinct provision should be made for the needs of the well-to-do classes, as proposed in the original report. And we have not thought it necessary to follow the Dacca University Committee in defining in detail the courses to be followed, since this seems to us to be an essential function of the new academic bodies when constituted.

10. We hold it to be of great importance that the new University at Dacca should be set on foot at the earliest possible date; and for that reason, we should advocate its establishment even if it be not found possible at

once to provide all the additional equipment required. Our recommendations in regard to Dacca are as follows :—

(*xxii*) The University of Dacca should be established as a unitary teaching university, wherein all formal instruction given in the name of the University should be given by officers of the University and under the direct control of the university authorities, no collegiate organisation being interposed between these authorities and the students.

(*xxiii*) The principal authorities of the University should be :—(*a*) the Visitor (the Governor-General of India) ; (*b*) the Chancellor (the Governor of Bengal) ; (*c*) a full-time salaried Vice-Chancellor ; (*d*) a widely representative Court, including *ex-officio* elected and nominated members ; the Court should have the power of making Statutes, of approving the financial policy of the University, and of generally reviewing its work, and, since so large a body could not meet frequently, it should elect a Committee of Reference to represent it in dealing with the Executive Council ; (*e*) a small Executive Council, with substantial powers of control over finance and the general policy of the University and with power to make Ordinances ; (*f*) an Academic Council including the principal teachers of the University, and having large independent powers in all purely academic questions affecting courses of study, examinations and degree ; (*g*) Faculties, Boards of Studies and other statutory Boards.

(xxiv) Government should make to the University a stated annual block-grant, leaving to the university authorities (subject to annual audit) the responsibility for expending these funds in the most economical way, and for raising, by private contributions or otherwise, such additional funds as may be necessary. An estimate of the amount required for this aunual grant will be found in Chapter LI.

(xxv) The teaching staff of the University should ultimately be appointed by the University itself acting through selection committees which should include (in the case of the more important posts) external experts appointed by the Chancellor ; a certain number of defined posts being filled after nomination by a selection committee acting in England, on which the University should be represented. This system can only gradually be brought into operation ; and in the first instance it will be necessary to provide the most complete safeguards for the rights, actual and prospective, of the existing members of the Educational Services engaged in educational work in Bengal. For this reason the initial appointments should be made by the Government of Bengal with the advice of the Vice-Chancellor and the Director of Public Instruction. Minimum salaries should be defined for each class of posts ; but the authorities of the University should be free to define the actual salary to be offered in each case above this minimum. The fulfilment of the contracts of appointment should be guaranteed by Government, the guarantee being readily enforcible owing to the fact that the University will be in the main dependent upon Government grants.

(xxvi) The teaching work of the University should be organised in departments, each under the responsible charge of a principal teacher, who should usually be a professor, though in some minor subjects, he might be a reader. The head of the department should be responsible for the general organisation of the work in his subjects, including tutorial guidance.

The details of the departments which seem to us to be necessary at the outset will be found in Chapter XXXIII.

(xxvii) The University should be a residential university, not in the sense that all students should be required to live in halls or hostels which are under university control, but in the sense that the majority of the students will need to have such residences provided for them, that the provision and conduct of these residences will be systematically organised, under the direction of the University, and that the residential units will be utilised for the development of social life. The residences should be arranged in large units to be known as halls, each presided over by a senior member of the staff to be known as the Provost, and sub-divided into houses, each in charge of a tutor and assistant-tutors drawn from the teaching staff of the University. Room should also be found for smaller residential units provided by private agency with the approval of the University ; these should be known as hostels, and each should be in the charge of a Warden.

(xxviii) In order to meet the needs of the Muslim community, which is numerically preponderant in Eastern Bengal, a special department of Islamic studies should be organised, leading up to a degree, and forming the culmination of the reformed madrassah course, in accordance with the scheme laid down by the Dacca University Committee. In order that this branch of study may be placed on a parity with other courses, the first two years of it (corresponding to the intermediate course in arts or science) should be conducted by the Dacca Madrassah, which should for this purpose be organised on the lines of an intermediate college.

(xx) There should be a strong representation of Muslim interests upon all the governing bodies and the principal boards and committees of the University ; there should also be a Muslim Advisory Committee ; and one of the halls should be specially organised for Muslim students.

Recommendations for the establishment of a teaching University in Calcutta.

11. It is in our judgment essential that the teaching resources existing in the city of Calcutta should be so reorganised as to ensure that the best available teaching shall be open to all students, so far as accommodation and time tables permit. It is impossible, in Calcutta, to effect this on the lines of a unitary university such as we have proposed to establish in Dacca, because the numbers to be dealt with are too large, while the colleges, many of which have done valuable work during a long period, cannot be disregarded. What is needed is a new synthesis between the University in its teaching aspect and those colleges which are sufficiently well-equipped to be capable of taking part in a system of co-operative teaching. We have considered a number of alternative schemes for the solution of this difficult problem ; and while we have been unable to accept any of these in full, we have found many suggestions in them. To carry into effect the reorganisation which is required a complete reconstruction of the system of university government will be necessary. It will also be necessary that the colleges should abandon the idea of being self-contained and self-sufficient, to which the existing system has tempted them to cling, and should be prepared to co-operate with one another and with the University ; that new and more effectual means should be devised for enabling the University to exercise a due control over the quality and character of the

teaching given in its name, without impairing the freedom of good colleges; and that, in the system as a whole there should be a great increase of elasticity, such as will enable the colleges to pay due regard to the varying needs of their students.

12. In order that the synthesis between the University and its colleges may be made effective, many changes in the present system will be necessary. (*a*) Those colleges which are to take part in a co-operative system must be more adequately staffed and equipped than they now are; and in order to make this unmistakably clear, it will be necessary to classify the colleges in such a way as to admit to the privileges of the co-operative system only those colleges which are able to make a real contribution to it. This distinction will be more fully developed later. (*b*) The colleges which are fit to take part in a co-operative system, and only these must, as such, be directly and effectively represented upon the academic bodies of the University, which ought to consist largely of members of the teaching staffs of such colleges. (*c*) The University, thus reconstituted, ought to be in a position to ensure, more fully than is now possible, that the teaching given in its name is of adequate quality, while at the same time the colleges ought to retain control over, and responsibility for, the appointof their own teachers. (*d*) The colleges ought to have greater freedom than they now enjoy in arranging and directing the work of their students, partly by having a larger voice in the definition of curricula, but still more by being free to determine, within defined limits, how much formal instruction, and of what kinds, their students should receive; and they should enjoy this freedom in regard to pass, honours and post-graduate students. (*e*) The colleges ought to take their share in post-graduate work, and the University ought to take its share in undergraduate work; and the instruction of the best teachers in the University and in all the colleges (to which the majority of the university teachers should be attached) should be made available so far as practicable for students from all the colleges. (*f*) The University ought to be responsible for facilitating this, by arranging for the best college teachers to give lectures which will be open to all the students, and by issuing lists of such lectures; while the colleges ought to be responsible for advising their students how far they should resort to these lectures, how far to ordinary college lectures, and how far they should utilise other forms of college instruction in small classes, etc. (*g*) In addition to providing lecture instruction, the colleges should be made responsible for giving individual guidance and advice to students on a far more adequate scale than is now usual, and for ensuring that their students reside in proper conditions and have reasonable opportunities for physical training and recreation and for social intercourse. In short we desire a new synthesis between the work of the University and the work of the colleges, a synthesis in which the colleges could not dominate the University, nor the University dominate the colleges, as if the former were a separate organisation. This would not be the case, because the University would be fully representative of all academic interests and every aspect of academic life.

13. Some colleges in Calcutta will at first be incapable of taking part in such a co-operative system as we have wrought out. For these colleges temporary provision on something like the existing basis will be necessary, until they shall have been enabled—we hope with both public and private assistance—to bring themselves up to the requisite standard. Provision will

also have to be made for the needs of mufassal colleges, a problem which is separately dealt with below. But all these needs have to be kept in view in devising the new organisation, and especially in dealing with the critical and vitally important period of reconstruction, which will certainly cover a period of several years. Our recommendations in regard to the Teaching University of Calcutta are briefly set out below ; but the problem is so complex that here, even more than elsewhere, it is necessary to note that our scheme of reform can only be fully understood by reference to the chapters (especially XXXIV and XXXVII) in which it is worked out in detail Any brief summary is liable to be misleading.

14. With these provisos, our recommendations for the organisation of a teaching university in Calcutta may be summarised as follows :—

(xxx) The system of governance of the University should be reconstructed ; and in future the authorities of the University of Calcutta should be :—

(*a*) the *Visitor* (the Governor-General of India).

(*b*) the *Chancellor* (the Governor of Bengal)

(*c*) A salaried full-time *Vice Chancellor* with the pay and status of a High Court Judge.

(*d*) A *Treasurer*.

(*e*) A widely representative *Court* including *ex-officio* and elected members, and a small number of nominated member. The Court under our scheme would have several hundred members, and be representative of every important educational interest in Bengal It would (1) make Statutes and ratify Ordinances, (2) review the work of the University, (3) approve the financial estimates As a body so large could not often meet, it should elect a *Committee of Reference*, to act on behalf of the Court, in sundry matters.

(*f*) A small *Executive Council* of 17 members which should be responsible for the financial and administrative management of the University, and should have power to make Ordinances.

(*g*) An *Academic Council* of 80 to 100 members, including representatives of all constituent colleges, and of all grades of teachers, which should be responsible for regulating the teaching work of the University, and in general for purely academic questions.

(*h*) Faculties, Boards of Studies, Committees on Courses, a Board of Examinations, a Board of Students' Welfare, and other standing Boards and Committees (including the Mufassal Board and the Board of Women's Education separately referred to below).

(xxxi) The University should be organised primarily as a teaching university, consisting of incorporated and constituent colleges : the incorporated colleges being institutions owned and managed by the University itself, the constituent colleges being distinct corporations enjoying full membership of the University, fulfilling defined conditions, performing defined functions and enjoying defined privileges. The affiliating functions of the University (in regard to temporarily affiliated colleges in Calcutta, and to mufassal colleges) should be regarded as subsidiary, and of a more or less temporary order.

(xxxii) The conditions of admission to the rank and privileges of a constituent college should be laid down by Statute, and should define (*a*) the number of students such a college may admit ; (*b*) the number of teachers to be provided in proportion to the number of students ; (*c*) the minimum

rates of pay and conditions of service to be provided by the college for its teachers ; (*d*) the conditions to be observed by the college regarding the residence of students ; (*e*) the minimum accommodation and equipment (including libraries and laboratories) to be provided in the subjects in which the college had recognised teachers ; (*f*) the method of administration of the college ; (*g*) the conditions under which teachers appointed by a college should be subsequently approved by the University, and the extent to which such approval should be required, provided always that the college should have control over appointments to its own staff. The colleges admitted to constituent rank should be named in a Statute, any alteration of which would require the assent of the Government of Bengal.

(xxxiii) Colleges admited to constituent rank should enjoy the following privlleges ;—(*a*) they should each be directly represented upon the Academic Council (*c*) their students (under-graduate and post-graduate) should be entitled to attend university and inter-collegiate lectures without payment of special fees ; (*c*) their 'recognised' teachers should be eligible for appointment as university professors, readers, lecturers and examiners without leaving their colleges, and for membership of all academic bodies ; (*d*) they should have full control over the discipline of their students, and (subject to general regulations) over the amount and type of instruction to be received by them.

(xxxiv) In the proposed system of co-operative instruction the functions of the University should be (*a*) to define the curricula of studies ; (*b*) to provide for the use of teachers and students libraries, laboratories and other equipment necessary to supplement those of the colleges, as well as lecture-rooms at headquarters ; (*c*) to provide teachers especially in subjects not taught by the colleges—teachers in subjects of college instruction, whether for undergraduate or post-graduate work, being normally provided in conjunction with a colleges or colleges ; (*d*) to 'appoint' college teachers to give in addition to their ordinary college work courses of instruction (both under-graduate and post-graduate) which will be open to the whole University, and to make payment for such courses ; (*e*) to 'recognise' college teachers whose work is confined to the colleges Once recognised, no teacher should require fresh recognition for work of the same grade even if he leaves his college. The University should define the minimum qualifications which it will normally accept for teachers working as junior assistants, or as college lecturers respectively. All college teachers should be submitted for recognition immediately after their appointment by the college, and recognition should only be refused on the express ground that the candidate was not qualified for the work proposed to be allotted to him. A denial of recognition by the Uuiversity should not invalidate the appointment of a college teacher ; but if at any time the number of unrecognised teachers employed by a college should reach one-fourth of the total, this should be regarded as justifying a withdrawal of the privileges from the college; and the matter should be laid before the Court with a view to an amendment of the Statute conferring constituent privileges upon the college.

(xxv) In the proposed system of co-operative instruction the functions of the college should be (*a*) to direct the studies of their students, both undergraduate and post-graduate, and the courses they are to pursue, subject to any general regulations laid down by the University ; (*b*) to decide what, if any, university or inter-collegiate lectures they shall individually attend ; (*c*) to provide

such courses of lectures, special classes, and other forms of instruction as in the judgment of the college authorities may be required by their students ; (*d*) to provide for every student individual guidance and advice in his studies ; (*e*) to certify to the University that every student before submitting to examination has undergone a systematic course of instruction in all his subjects, or to withhold such certificate where necessary ; (*f*) to provide the necessary teaching equipment in the subjects in which it undertakes to give instruction ; (*g*) to supervise the residence, health and discipline of their students. The colleges should enjoy freedom and responsibility in performing these functions, and in particular in appointing its staff. The staff of a college might under this system include teachers of three grades :—(*a*) college teachers who are also 'appointed' teachers of the University, partly paid by the University, and some of whose lectures are open to the whole University ; (*b*) college teachers who are 'recognised' teachers of the University, but whose instruction (except by special arrangement) is open only to students of the college ; (*c*) unrecognised teachers, who should be few in number.

(xxxvi) Presidency College, which has always been the principal and the best equipped centre of teaching in the University, should continue to play this part but its resources should be so far as possible made available to the University, as a whole. Hitherto Presidency College has represented the principal contribution of Government to collegiate education in arts and science for men students in Calcutta. In order that Presidency College may freely play its part in the new system, along with other constituent colleges, and in order that this aspect of the financial responsibility of Government for university education may be clearly defined, the college should be reorganised under the direction of a governing body appointed by Government, and including also representatives of the University and of the college teachers. The governing body should be allotted a stated annual block-grant at least equal to the total present expenditure on the college, and should (subject to annual audit) be free to expend this revenue, together with any other sources of revenue which might accrue from fees, subscriptions or endowments, at its discretion. It should (subject to the fullest safeguards for the existing and prospective rights of members of the Educational Services) be free to make appointments to vacancies in the teaching staff without reference to service rules, under such conditions as might be defined by Government at the time of transfer, and in accordance with the regulation of the University ; but at least ten chairs, to be held by teachers of the college, to be known as Presidency Chairs, and to carry all the dignity and privileges of professorships in the University, should be reserved for western-trained scholars, and should be filled after nomination by a Selection Committee acting in England ; part of the instruction offered by the holders of these chairs being open to the whole University.

(xxxvii) Appointments to professorships, readerships and lectureships in the University should in every case be made with the aid of a specially appointed committee of selection, which should, in the case of professorships and readerships, include three external experts nominated by the Chancellor. In all cases in which a professorship or readership is associated with a particular college, or in which the college provides a part or the whole of the emoluments of the post, the college should be represented on the Committee of Selection, and should have the power to veto any particular

appointment. With this exception all appointments to teaching posts in a constituent college should be in the hands of the college, the University reserving the power to give or withhold recognition.

(xxxviii) Colleges which are unable to fulfil the conditions laid down for admission to constituent rank, but whose continued maintenance is necessary for the accommodation of students, should be granted, on defined conditions, the privileges of temporary affiliation for a period of five years, in order to give them an opportunity of satisfying the conditions for constituent rank. Such colleges should not be directly represented upon the governing bodies of the University ; their students should not be eligible to attend lectures given by university teachers or approved teachers in the constituent colleges, except by special arrangement and on payment of a fee ; their teachers should not, as such, be eligible as members of university bodies or be recognised as university teachers, or be appointed as examiners. The affairs of colleges in this group should be controlled by a special committee reporting to the Executive Council, on which the colleges should not be represented, though they would have a right to be heard.

(xxxix) It is necessary to afford financial assistance to colleges in order to enable them to fulfil the condition of admission to constituent rank. It is also necessary to establish at an early date new arts colleges, notably an Islamia College for Muslim students, to which university chairs or readerships in Arabic, Persian and Islamic history should be attached, and an orthodox Hindu College, based upon the degree department of the Sanskrit College, to which University chairs or readerships in Sanskrit and Pali should be attached.

(xl) All colleges should be inspected at intervals of not more than three years, and a single general inspection report should be circulated.

(xli) All applications to Government for additional assistance made by or on behalf of the University itself or any of its colleges, whether incorporated, constituent or temporarily affiliated, should normally be forwarded through the Executive Council (or Commission) at a fixed time of year, and the Executive Council in forwarding them should be empowered to append its own comments and recommendations.

(xlii) In view of the great difficulties attending a simultaneous transplantation of institutions so numerous as those connected with Calcutta University, and the certainty that unless all were transplanted, the co-operative system of teaching would be rended impracticable, and in view of the impossibility of leaving a city of the size of Calcutta without a university organisation at its centre, we consider that the attractive proposal to remove the University to a rural or suburban site must be abandoned. The centre of the teaching and administrative work of the University should continue to be in the College Square area, where the administrative and teaching centres of the colleges should also be as far as possible concentrated. But land should be acquired in the suburbs for residential purposes and for playing fields ; and the whole problem of the sites of educational buildings in Calcutta and its district should be carefully planned and worked out in conjunction with the Calcutta Improvement Trust and the Corporation.

(xliii) In order to safeguard the interests of the Muslim Community, there should be representatives of Muslim interests upon the principal

governing bodies, boards and committees in the University; the particulars of this representation will be found in Chapter XXXVII. We also recommend the establishment of a Muslim Advisory Board with power to address any constituted body of the University upon any question affecting the interests of Muslim students.

(xliv) For the determination of any dispute between any college or university teacher and the appointing authority regarding the fulfilment of the teacher's contract on appointment, the University should appoint a tribunal, by whose decision both parties should be bound to abide.

(xlv) Any college or community or group of teachers who feel themselves aggrieved should have a right of appeal to the Chancellor, who should have power to appoint a small impartial commission of enquiry.

(xlvi) The scheme of reorganisation defined in the foregoing clauses involves far-reaching and complex changes. The new governing bodies proposed to be established cannot be immediately organised until the classification of colleges is determined, and until the re-arrangements necessiated by the system of intermediate colleges have been carried into effect. It is therefore essential that during the period of reconstruction there should be a small Executive Commission with exceptional powers. The arrangements which will be necessary during the period of reconstruction will be further discussed at the end of this chapter.

Recommendations regarding mufassal colleges.

15. The problem of dealing with the scattered colleges in the mufassal is a very difficult one. It is impossible for them, in their present condition and with their existing resources, to give to their students a training which would deserve to be described as university education. At present, moreover, these colleges suffer from lack of direct contact with the work of the University. Few of them have representatives upon the governing bodies of the University, and these few only by accident. They have therefore no share in the responsibility for framing the courses of study which they pursue, nor can they adapt themselves to the needs of their districts. These colleges will be deeply affected by the main features of our proposals; on the one hand by the manifestly superior training which will be obtainable when strong teaching universities are established in Calcutta and Dacca; on the other hand by the withdrawal of all the intermediate students on whose fees their existence largely depends. It would be excessively costly, and indeed impossible, to bring them all up to such a point of efficiency in respect of staff and equipment as would turn them into the university centres. On the other hand, it would be a disaster if, for these reasons, the whole body of mufassal degree students were drawn into Calcutta and Dacca.

16. We are satisfied that some form of special treatment is necessary for the mufassal colleges. We have discarded one proposal having this end in view—the proposal that a new University of Bengal should be forthwith established. We believe that the best solution will ultimately be that by a judicious concentration of resources a few of these colleges should be encouraged and helped gradually to develop into more highly organised and semi-independent institutions, and ultimately, perhaps, into distinct universities; while others should become intermediate

colleges. But we think that this change should not be unduly forced, and that some form of organisation ought to be created which, while rendering possible the development that seems to us most desirable, would not exclude other possible solutions,

17. Our recommendations in regard to mufassal colleges, which are more fully set forth and argued in Chapters XXXV and XXXVII are as follows :—

(xlvii) The mufassal colleges should, for the present, remain in association with the University of Calcutta, and the direction of their affairs should be entrusted to a special Board of Mufassal Colleges, upon which every mufassal college teaching up to the degree level should be represented, while, in order to ensure equivalence of standards, there should be a substantial representation of the Teaching University, and the Academic Council should be consulted upon all proposals affecting degree courses.

(xlviii) In order to encourage the growth of the stronger colleges which may be capable of becoming potential universities, such colleges, should, on fulfilling certain defined conditions, receive the title and rank of 'University Colleges,' and should then be specially represented upon a special panel of the Board, and empowered, with the assent of the special panel and of the Academic Council, to exercise a certain degree of autonomy in the framing of their courses and the conduct of their examinations.

(xlix) Additional funds will be necessary for the development of the university colleges. Such funds as may be available for this purpose should be expended by Government after report from the Executive Council (or Commission) of the University. All applications for additional assistance made to Government by or on behalf of mufassil colleges should be forwarded through the Executive Council (or Commission), which should, in forwarding them, be empowered to make its own recommendations and suggestions, and might ask for a report from the Board of Mufassal Colleges.

Recommendations regarding the education of women.

18. We have been deeply impressed by the very great importance of encouraging a more rapid development of women's education in Bengal, by the social difficulties with which this problem is surrounded, and by the extremely slight progress which has hitherto been made. But we are of opinion that owing to the directness with which it touches deep social issues, this problem ought to be dealt with by bodies especially conversant with the needs and interests involved.

19. Our recommendations regarding the education of women and girls are as follows:—

(*i*) There should be a standing committee of the Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education to deal with the education of girls, such committee to include women and to be empowered to consult bodies consisting of women only, in which *purdah* woman could take a part.

(*ii*) An attempt should be made to organise *purdah* schools for Hindu and Muslim girls whose parents are willing to extend their education to 15 or 16.

(*iii*) In view of the small number of women candidates for university courses, the intermediate classes should not be separated from the degree colleges for women.

(liii) We realise that an increasing number of women students will require the most advanced teaching that the University can provide. We hold, therefore, as a matter of principle, that women should be admitted as far as possible to the instruction provided or organised by the University. But we recognise that in the special circumstances existing in Bengal, the main provision for women's higher education must be made in distinct institutions and under special direction.

(liv) A special Board of Women's Education should be established in Calcutta University, and should be empowered to propose special courses of study more particularly suited for women, and to organise co-operative arrangements for teaching in women's colleges, more particularly for the training of teachers and in preparation for medical courses.

(lv) Relations should be established between this Board and the Governing Body of the Lady Hardinge Medical College for Women at Delhi.

Recommendations regarding the Government Educational Services.

20. In exploring the conditio nof secondary and university education in Bengal our attention has necessarily been much engaged by the working of the educational services. We have found that the service system had in the past a great deal to recommend it, notably the security if its tenure, the comparative adequacy of the salaries which it offered, the prestige which attached to it, and the convenience which it often displayed in enabling the exiguous available teaching force to be used at the points where it was most needed. We have found, also, that the system has attracted many able and devoted men to the service of education, and has obtained a very strong hold over the minds of Indian teachers, who in a multitude of cases prefer work under service conditions to any other kind of teaching work. But our survey has convinced us that the disadvantage of a service organised on the existing basis go far under present conditions to outweigh its advantages. The system is in some respects marked by undue rigidity. The distinctions between its grades arouse irritation, and sometimes lead to unintentional injustices. It makes a sharp and in many ways unfortunate cleavag between those who are employed in Government schools and colleges, ane the much larger and rapidly increasing number of teachers who are engaged in private schools and colleges. It gives rise to administrative inconveniences and from this point of view has been condemned by many leading members of the Educational Services themselves, and by several Directors of Public Instruction. We have been convinced that the time is at hand when the service system of recruitment for educational work should be gradually abandoned or be so transformed in character that the continued use of the term 'services' would be misleading ; and that the organisation of teaching work should be on a professional basis rather than on a service basis. But this should be done by gradual stages, and with every possible safeguard for the rights, present and prospective, of existing members of the services in all grades. The general character of our recommendations will already be apparent from earlier paragraphs, and notably from the recommendations numbered (*ix*), (*x*), (*xxvi*) *and* (*xxxvii*) above ; they are also analysed in Chapter L of this report. But it may be convenient here to summarise these changes in a single view, on the ground of the importance of the departure which we propose should be gradually made.

(lvi) In regard to the secondary and higher sccondary branches of education we think that the ultimate establishment of a professional organisa

tion of the main teaching body in all schools under the direction of the Board should be aimed at from the outset; teachers being free to transfer their services from private to Government schools or *vice versa*, and being all participants in a general system of superannuation, managed by the Board. We recommend that reasonable conditions as to the salary and tenure of all teachers should be exacted by the Board from all schools under its jurisdiction.

(lvii) In view of the need of western-trained teachers in these grades of education, we have recommended the recruitment of a special corps of teachers, who would be employed and paid by Government (through the Board) and would enjoy full security and pension rights. This 'corps' may be regarded as a modified service, but with two differences; (*a*) that there would be no fixed or invariable hierarchy of grades; and (*b*) that the work of the teachers so employed would not be limited to Government institutions.

(lviii) For university work we consider the service system to be unsuitable, especially in its present form; and we have recommended that in the new University of Dacca, in Presidency College, and in other Government colleges engaged in university work, appointments should in future be made not by the Secretary of State or by the local Government, but by the governing bodies of the universities and colleges concerned. At the same time we have suggested safeguards against abuse (*a*) by providing for a special form of selection committee; (*b*) by providing that in the case of certain listed posts which it is desirable to fill with western-trained scholars of distinction, nominations should be made by special selection committees in England, on which the University and the college (where a college is affected) would be represented; and (*c*) by the recommendation that Government should guarantee the salary and pensions or superannuation allowances attached to these posts,

(lix) Our recommendations in this regard do not apply to the administrative educational services.

The comparative advantages of a Government service of teachers and of an organised teaching profession.

21. In view of the great importance of the issues which are involved in this question, it will be convenient that we should here state more fully the chief reasons which lead the majority of us to regard a professional rather than a service organisation of teachers as being, on the whole and ultimately, the better adapted to the needs of a comprehensive system of education.

22. The teaching profession is not one of those which can be allowed to rely solely on fees paid by the public for professional services. Under such an arrangement sound education can not be rendered accessible to all at a sufficiently low fee; still less could it be made gratuitous at any of its stages. The action, in some form or other, of the State is indispensable. The State, for the common good, must subsidise the work of teaching. This necessarily raises the question what kind and degree of control over the teachers the granting of State subsidies should involve. Should this control be exerted directly or indirectly, *i.e.* by subsiding a profession or by making teachers members of the Government service, or by both methods concurrently?

23, Government service for the teaching profession has many adminis-

trative advantages. It provides cadres of appointment, well-defined increments of salary, a pension system, rules of leave, a convenient subordination of ranks, and opportunities for disciplinary control. By some, the status of Government employment is highly valued ; perhaps by more, the security of tenure which such service generally implies.

24. On the other hand a teacher's duties are only in a minor degree administrative. For this reason the methods of transfer and of promotion which in the administrative services on the whole work well are much less well adjusted to the needs of colleges and schools. In an administrative service, length of official experience is such an important factor in each individual officer's efficiency that the advantages of promotion by seniority generally outweigh its disadvantages, provided that the rule is elastic enough to allow for making occasional exceptions. In teaching on the other hand, length of experience is as a rule much less important relatively than personal characteristics and individual gift. For this reason, to select a candidate from a number of applicants in view of his special fitness for a particular post in a particular school is in this case generally a more suitable method of appointment than is promotion by seniority in a cadre of a graded service. In an administrative service the head of a department, though he may be at a distance, can usually judge with comparative certainty whether the transfer of an officer from one post to another will be advantageous to the service as a whole. But in the case of the transfer of a teacher, it is the domestic conditions and internal efficiency of each of the two institutions concerned which have principally to be borne in mind. And of such matters no authority at a distance can feel with confidence that it is fully informed.

25. In the second place, Government service for teachers, if organised upon a basis which covers the whole of a country, conflicts with what should be the responsible freedom of local authorities and of the governing bodies of endowed schools (if the latter are brought within the scope of the system) in making appointments to the staffs of the schools under their care. The system tends to officialise education and to centralise its organisation. But every good school should desire to cultivate special characteristics and to preserve the good traditions of its corporate life. Such distinctiveness and individuality among schools must increase in proportion to the degree in which the school system adapts itself to the varied preferences of the people which it serves. These characteristic difference between schools call for a method of appointment which allows the members of the appointing body which has intimate knowledge of the needs of the institution concerned, to select (subject to conditions laid down with public authority with regard to professional qualifications) the applicant whom they deem to be the best adapted to the circumstances of the particular school.

26. In the third place, privately managed schools, however efficient, are put to disadvantage by the system, because their field of choice is restricted by so large a proportion of qualified teachers being confined to schools under Government management. Government service for teacher, unless it covers the whole field of education, tends to divide the body of teachers into two groups—those in Government schools and those in privately managed schools. Such a division entails some risk to the unity of national education. It is possible to allow on approved conditions selected privately managed institutions to avail themselves, whether at the expense of Government or at their own expense, of teachers who have been appointed and are paid by Government

But many difficulties are inherent in such an arrangement, except when (as is the case in one of our own recommendations) the plan is introduced on a subsidiary scale.

27. In the fourth place, as teaching is an art rather than a business, and as the highest functions of a teacher are scholarly and pastoral rather than administrative, the conditions of employment best adapted to such a calling are those which allow the greatest freedom to individual initiative and self-expression. These conditions are found in a professional organisation rather than in a service directly administered by Government. But education is so closely implicated with public interests as well as with private conviction that the community, or the Government acting in its behalf, cannot dispense with the right of exercising supervision over the qualifications which each entrant into the profession should be required to possess. We believe therefore that the whole body of teachers should *ultimately* be organised by charter as a profession, with a registration council (representing the various bodies and grades of teachers and in India, both Hindu and Muslim teachers) to regulate the conditions of entrance, to grant admission and to frame and enforce rules of professional conduct. In view of the public interests involved, the sanction of Government should be required to the conditions proposed for admission to the profession and to any statutes or regulations of major importance which the registration council might think expedient to adopt.

28. We conceive that, under such a form of organisation, professional *esprit de corps* would be combined with an effective degree of public control; that the unity of national education would be promoted with due regard to the different qualification required for service in its various grades; that primary, secondary, technical and university education would each gain having its representatives upon a council common to the whole profession and discussing its affairs; that the study of the science and art of education would be promoted by the enforcement of such study as a condition of admission to the profession; and that the teachers' calling as a whole would acquire greater dignity and public consideration and thus become more attractive to men and women of ability and promise.

Recommendations regarding the training of teachers.

29. A serious deficiency in the numbers of well-qualified teachers is the fundamental weakness in the system of secondary and intermediate education. It is also the cause of an enormous waste of money and of time. There is urgent need in Bengal for many thousands of well trained teachers equipped with a sound knowledge of what they have to teach and with a clear comprehension of the aims and methods of a good school. In particular, the methods of class teaching are at fault; and the corporate life of the schools is inadequately developed for the formation of character. If the teaching were improved, the school life of the average high school boy could be shortened by two years.*

The amount which parents in Bengal would save by this economy alone would be not less than 15 lakhs of rupees a year, a sum which would be a substantial contribution towards the cost of the reform of secondary and intermediate education in the Presidency. In addition to this, improved

*The average of candidates for Matriculation is now nearly 18½ years. With better teaching it should be 16½ years or lower

methods of class teaching in the schools would enable parents to avoid in almost every case the cost of providing private tuition for their sons. The amount of this saving we canont estimate, but it would be very arge. And these economics would accompany an actual advance in the attainments of the boys and a material improvement in their mental vigour and physique. The systematic reform of secondary and intermediate education in Bengal will be greatly reduced by these savings on school fees and on private tuition, apart altogether from the intellectual and physical advantage which it would incidentally secure. One indispensable condition of this reform (another aspect of which is a material improvement in the pay and prospects of the teaching profession) is the better professional training of teachers. In this work the Government and the universities should co-operate.

30. The recommendations which we put forward with a view to meeting these requirements are as follows :—

(lx) Seven hundred trained teachers should be sent annually into the secondary and higher secondary institutions. Many of these would be employed in the intermediate colleges. The Universities of Calcutta and Dacca should each furnish annually 100 trained graduate teachers. The remaining five hundred should, after passing the intermediate examination, be trained in training colleges established by Government.

(lxi) At each of the two Universities there should be a department of education under a professor of education assisted by an adequate staff. Under the direction of the professor there should be a training college, to which should be attached a large practising school and also a small demostration school ; the first to accustom the students in training to the methods which should be used in every good school under normal conditions of work ; the second, to provide opportunity for educational experiments and for the trial of new methods and courses of instruction. The course of training should in all cases include a prolonged course of practice in teaching. One of the principal aims of these university departments should be to train teachers in the methods of teaching languages (especially English and the mother tongue) and science. They should also (in association with other departments of the University) be the centres of investigation in educational subjects and for the training of advanced students of the principles and history of education.

(lxii) Education should be included as a subject (a) in one of the courses of study at intermediate colleges, and (b) in some of the groups approved for the pass B.A. degree. The professor of education should be held generally responsible for the origination of schemes of study in education in the pass degree course and also in the course for the degree of bachelor of teaching. The latter should usually be taken as a second degreee, after a course of training extending over one year subsequent to the B A. or B.Sc. But students who have taken the intermediate courses (including education as one subject) and have subsequently served for two years on the staff of a recognised school should be allowed to proceed direct to the B. T. degree after taking an approved course of instruction, extending over three years, partly in the university departments of arts or science, partly at a training college. For these and other students taking the professional courses for teathers bursaries should be provided on a liberal scale.

(lxiii) Any student who has taken the B.T. degree should be allowed to present himself for the examination for the M.A. after a course of instruction extending over two years. The principles and the history of education

should be added to the list of subjects in which a candidate may present himself for the M.A. degree.

(lxiv) The departments of education in the Universities of Calcutta and Dacca should arrange courses of public lectures on educational subjects in these cities and at other centres in Bengal.

Recommendations regarding oriental studies.

31. The systematic development and encouragement of oriental studies is one of the most natural and important functions of an oriental university. But this function has hitherto not been performed in a satisfactory way, partly because the primary function of university work has always hitherto been held to be the development of western learning, and partly because there has been a dislocation of aim between the studies carried on in the University and its colleges, theoretically in accord with western methods, and the traditional studies in the oriental classical tongues which are carried on in the tols (for Sanskrit) and in the madrassahs (for Islamitic subjects). The history of these organisations and their relations with the system of western training form a very complex and difficult subject, which is fully investigated in Chapter XVI. In the result, while in the Sanskrit College and the tols, and (until recently) in the madrassahs, the purely traditional learning was pursued, the attempts made in the University and its colleges to apply western methods to the study of these subjects has been unsatisfactory. A very substantial advance has been made in the last few years in the higher branches of these subjects (especially Sanskrit and early Indian history); but the work of the colleges, and the training given to the mass of students, still remains far from satisfactory.

32. At the same time, in spite of the emphasis laid by Government ever since the time of Macaulay upon the importance of serious study and systematic development of the vernaculars, the study of the mother tongue has been gravely neglected alike in the schools, in the colleges, and in the University; the demand of vernacular knowledge made upon the students being of the most inadequate and perfunctory character. The results of this have been unhappy, since it has involved a neglect of any proper development of the student's natural medium of thought.

33. We consider it to be important (a) that the purely oriental and traditional studies should continue to be pursued in the Sanskrit College and the Madrasah, but that neither these studies, as traditionally pursued, nor the University, would profit by any attempt to bring them under direct university control; they ought to remain distinctly organised; (b) that the development both of the oriental classics and of the vernaculars should receive more systematic attention than has hitherto been given to them and that for this purpose university students ought to have access to the learning of the distinguished pandits of the Sanskrit College and maulvis of the Madrassah in so far as these are ready and able to help them. Some arrangement is therefore necessary whereby the centres of traditional oriental studies, while remaining distsict and undisturbed, should yet be brought into relation with the universities, while at the same time oriental studies on more modern lines are also cultivated in the universities. An arrangement of this kind seems to be practicable, though, owing to existing differences of organisation, there would have to be some variation of treatment in regard to Sanskritic studies on the one hand, and Islamic studies on the other.

34. Our recommendations for dealing with this difficult problem are as follows :—

(lxv) The Sanskrit College, Calcutta, should be reorganised in three sections : (a) a high school and intermediate college which would take over the work of the present intermediate classes, as well as the 'high' classes of the high school course, but would throughout lay special emphasis upon Sanskrit ; (b) a constituent college of the Teaching University, arranged to accommodate, say, 500 students ; to this college should be attached the university chair of Sanskrit and the chair or readership in Pali, and its students should profit by the instruction of the pandits in the neighbouring tol department ; this college would naturally be the principal centre of teaching in an honours school of Sanskrit ; (c) a tol department which would work, as now, in connexion with the Sanskrit Association and have no direct connexion with the University. These three institutions should be housed in separate buildings side by side, on the site of the exsiting Sanskrit College and the Hindu School ; the library should be avilable for the use of all three. They should have distinct governing bodies, which would be in relation, respectively, with the Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education, with the University and with the Sanskrit Association ; but care should be taken to ensure that there were common elements in all three governing bodies.

(lxvi) Students of the tol department of the Sanskrit College, if they pass the title examination, and are adequately qualified in English, should be encouraged to pursue their studies in western aspects of their subjects without going through the high school and intermediate course ; and for this purpose the University should institute a diploma, or possibly a degree, for such students, the course of study for which should include such subjects as comparative philology and archaeology.

(lxvii) In regard to higher Islamic studies, we have already recommended that a department of Islamic studies giving in the first instance a degree of B. I. should be organised in the University of Dacca on the lines defined by the original Dacca University Committee, as the culmination of the reformed madrassah course, and that the first two years of the proposed course should be conducted in the Dacca Madrassah, and possibly also in one or two other madrassahs ; we have further suggested that an alternative or modified course (including elementary science, and more nearly approximating to the proposed courses of the intermediate colleges, while still retaining essential Islamic studies), might be gradually introduced in these madrassahs, and might lead up to a degree of B. A. in Islamic studies, treated on modern lines.

(Lxviii) The Anglo-Persian department of the Calcutta Madrassah should be organised as a distinct high school and intermediate college.

(lxix) In Calcutta we have recommended the establishment of an Islamia College as a constituent college of the Teaching University ; to this college chairs or readerships of Arabic, Persian and Islamic history should be attached, and it should become the chief centre of instruction for an honours course in Arabic and Persian. For the purposes of this work, the co-operation of eminent *maulvis* from the Calcutta Madrassah should be invited, and courses given by them either in the Madrassah or in the Islamia College should be recognised by the University for these purposes.

(lxx) Students following the traditional course in Calcutta should be encouraged, without leaving the Madrassah, to take up, after passing the senior madrassah examination, special courses for a diploma, or possibly a

degree, instituted by the Universsty. Part of the instruction for this might be given in the Islamia College.

(lxxi) With a view to encouraging a more serious and scientific study of the vernaculars chairs or readerships in Bengali, Urdu and other vernaculars should be established in the University ; and the literature and philology of the vernaculars should be introduced among the subjects which students are permitted to offer both for pass and for honours degrees.

Recommendations regarding professional and vocational training.

35. We have been deeply impressed by the general disregard among university students in Bengal of the possibility of finding careers in practical —professional and technical—work, other than law and (to a less extent) medicine ; by the deficiency of opportunities for obtaining training for such careers, and by the consequent overcrowding of purely literary study. This disregard has its roots in historical and social facts, facts which especially affect the classes from which the bulk of the students are drawn. But it must be amended ; and any scheme of educational reform which does not place in the forefront the need for such an amendment must fall short of the country's needs.

36. The strong hold which the University and its courses possess upon the minds of the educated classes in Bengal has led to the suggestion that if only the University offers degree courses and examinations in practical and technical subjects the prejudice against careers of this type will be overcome. There is something to be said for this view, and undoubtedly action ought to be taken by the universities, and will have a useful influence upon opinion. But in this sphere even more than in others, it is training above all which is needed, and as training is costly and demands elaborate equipment in nearly all vocational subjects, no course of study should be defined until there is a responsible assurance that the necessary provision of teaching and equipment is forthcoming. And unfortunate results may follow, and the whole movement towards practical careers suffer a check, if men are turned out in large numbers with an equipment of a kind for which there is very little demand. There is a real danger in t he idea that, if an examination is provided and a degree course defined, all that is necessary is done.

37. But the provision of courses of study by the University, even on the most adequate scale, is not enough. Degree courses in technical and professional subjects, other than those for the established professions of medicine and Law, are required by a comparatively restricted number of persons even in highly industrialised countries. The highly trained scientific experts whom the industries of a country can absorb—and it is only with the training of such that a university should be concerned—must always be relatively few in numbers. On the other hand, industry, especially in a country where it is just entering upon a period of expansion needs a very large number of men who are intelligent and educated, and whose training has given them some introduction to the sciences at the base of their calling, but who cannot be called scientific experts. The need for such men is probably the greatest need of to-day in Bengal ; though the others also are needed. And from this point of view the system of intermediate colleges with their varied courses—each with some vocational bias though still general in character—must be of very great value. They will

be of value also in providing students with a more efficient preliminary training, not only for technical courses of study, but also for the older professional courses. They represent, in short, the essential foundation of a new and sounder system of training.

Law.

38. The system of training in law is of recent institution, and seems to be working well. Nor can it be said that there is such a paucity of lawyers in Bengal as to make it urgent that measures should be taken to increase the supply In this field, therefore, we have few changes to suggest.

(lxxii) In order to ensure a more adequate treatment of the more purely academic branches of legal studies, the Tagore Chair of Law (hitherto devoted to special lectures) should be used to secure the services of a permanent professor in jurisprudence or Roman law; and it would be desirable that other full-time chairs or lectureships should be established if funds become available,

(lxxiii) The course for the degree of B. L. should remain a post-graduate course extending over three years. Students should be permitted, during the course of study for a degree in law, simultaneously to undertake a course in another Faculty. But special care should be taken to exact the full measure of work in both Faculties

(lxxiv) The existing Law College at Dacca should be developed into a distinct faculty of law, organised as a department of the Dacca University. The Faculty should include at least one high court judge together with representatives of other branches of the profession and in order to enable these members to be present at its meetings, it should be empowered to meet, when necessary, in Calcutta.

Medicine.

39. The system of medical training provides for two classes of students, those who aim at a university degree, and who are provided for in two colleges, one Government and one private (both in Calcutta) and those who aim only at the licence granted by the State Medical Faculty of Bengal, and are given a shorter and less elaborate course in institutions attached to hospitals at Calcutta and Dacca, and known as medical schools. The demand for admission to the medical colleges and the degree courses is greater than the accommodation. On the other hand, the existing need in Bengal is greatest for medical men who will be willing to practise in the rural districts, which experience shows that graduates are reluctant to do. The provision made for medical training in the Calcutta Medical College seems to us to be sound, though hampered by various difficulties and by the lack of organised teaching in various special subjects. The medical schools also (which are wholly unconnected with the University) are doing useful works, but the course is rather a slight one in some respects, and the gap between the two branches of the profession is too great. We do not however suggest any immediate changes in this regard. Our recommendations regarding medical training (in so far as it is affected by our general proposals) are as follows :—

(lxxv) The Calcutta Medical College, and also (if it is able to fulfil the conditions) the Belgachia Medical College, should become constituent colleges of the Teaching University.

(lxxvi) The standard of entrance to the Medical Faculty, as to other Faculties, should in future be that of the proposed intermediate college

examination, one form of which should be adapted to the needs of medical students, though entrance should not be restricted to students who have taken the examination in this form.

(lxxvii) Training in the preliminary sciences (physics, chemistry, botany and zoology) should be provided as soon as possible elsewhere than in the medical colleges. It may be found possible to afford a sufficient training in selected intermediate colleges. But this could not meet the whole need, and provision should be made in these subject by the University of Calcutta and its constituent colleges.

(lxxviii) Preliminary scientific training for women medical students should be made, if possible, by cooperation among the women's arts colleges, and the schemes of training should hold in view the requirements of the Lady Hardinge Medical College for Women at Delhi, as well as those of the Calcutta University.

(lxxix) The Principal of the Calcutta Medical College should be paid a salary sufficient to exempt him from the necessity of undertaking private practice.

(lxxx) A well equipped department of public health should be established in the Calcutta Medical College. Professorships should be created in this college in (a) pharmacology, (b) mental diseases, (c) dermatology, and syphilology, (d) diseases of the ear, nose and throat ; and lectureships in (e) X-rays and (f) electro-therapy. There should also be a chair of the history of medicine ; this might be a chair in the University.

(lxxxi) In view of the absence of organised and systematic training in dentistry, it is desirable that a department or school of dentistry should be established as soon as possible in the Bengal College of Medicine.

(lxxxii) A medical college at Dacca, preparing students for degrees in medicine, should be established in due course, when adequate arrangements can be made.

(lxxxiii) A much needed expansion of medical training of the type given in the medical schools would be facilitated by the use of some of the intermediate colleges to provide the necessary training in the preliminary sciences.

Engineering

40. The training of skilled engineers is one of the most important services which the University have to render in an industrial society ; and in view of the coming development of Indian industries it is to-day more important than ever. The Civil Engineering College, Sibpur, has hitherto devoted itself mainly to the production of civil engineers ; but if industrial development proceeds apace, there is likely to be a large and growing demand for mechanical engineers. One of the chief obstacles in the way of this work has hitherto been the aversion of students of the bhadralok classes from any avocation involving manual work ; and in this sphere the Engineering College has in fact hitherto confined itself to training men for subordinate branches of the profession, and has made no attempt to provide training of a university level. During sixty years the Engineering College has done good work in difficult circumstances ; but in the judgment of the Indian Industrial Commission, as in our own, the time has come for a reconsideration of its range, methods and organisation. Our recommendations on this head necessarily overlap those of the Indian Industrial Commission and the Public Works Department Reorganisation Committee, with which they should be compared. We add certain recommendations regarding the kindred subjects of mining and architecture.

(lxxxiv) The Civil Engineering College, Sibpur, should be constituent college of the University of Calcutta, and should be placed under the direc-

tion of a governing body created by charter. The governing body should include representatives of Government, of the teaching body of the college, of the engineering profession, and of the industrial interests concerned. It should receive a stated annual allocation from Government, and should subject to audit, be allowed wide latitude in expending this grant, and in obtaining funds from private sources, especially from the industrial interests served by the college. It should have power to make appointments to the staff and to control the curricula of the college.

(lxxxv) The college should gradually devote itself wholly to higher or university work, and the lower or technical classes now accommodated in it should be provided for elsewhere.

(lxxxvi) Training up to the degree standard in mechanical engineering should be given at Sibpur, and the necessary additions to the staff and equipment of the college should be provided for. Training up to the same standared in electrical engineering might also be provided later.

Mining.

(lxxxvi) The course of study in mining should be maintained and extended at Sibpur.

Architecture.

(lxxxviii) In view of the absence of organised provision for training in architecture, it is desirable that a scheme of training in this subject, which might lead up to a degree, should be organised in Calcutta. This could probably best be done at Sibpur, possibly with the co-operation of the School of Art.

Agriculture.

41. In spite of the supreme importance of agriculture as the predominant economic interest of Bengal, there has hitherto been no attempt to provide organised instruction in agriculture of a university grade. Government has maintained a number of experimental farms in the Presidency; the agricultural college at Sabour was designed to serve the needs of Bengal as well as Bihar, though, under the terms of the Patna University Act, it is precluded from having any connexion with the University of Calcutta. The methods of cultivation and of land-tenure prevalent in Bengal do not lend themselves to any considerable employment of highly qualified scientific experts, such as university graduates in agriculture ought to be. The kind of training for which there is a widespread need is of a more elementary kind and is such as we hope may be afforded in the agricultural course we have proposed as an element in some of the intermediate colleges. Nevertheless we are convinced that there is need for the service of a limited number of highly trained men, and that it is the duty of the University to provide them. But since the number of posts likely to be available will for a long time to come be very small, and since a man trained as an agricultural expert is apt to be regarded of no use for any other purpose, we feel that the greatest care should be taken (*a*) not to admit more than reasonable number of students, and (*b*) to provide for them a scheme of training which would fit them for other cognate occupations should a purely agricultural calling not be available.

42. Our recommendations on this head are as follows :—

(xxxix) There should be a department or school of agriculture in the

University of Calcutta, organised at first on modest lines, and making use so far as possible of existing resources. It should have attached to it a demonstration and experimental farm in the neighbourhood of the city. It should work in close relations with the Government Institute of Agriculture which it is proposed to establish.

(xc) If and when provision has been made for teaching in Calcutta, for an experimental farm, and for opportunities of practical training at the proposed institute, the University should establish a degree course suitable for the training of scientific agricultural experts. The first three years of this course should lead up to a special form of the B. Sc. degree. Thus qualified the students should be admitted for a period of one or two years' practical work in the proposed Government Institute of Agriculture ; after which, if his work was certified as satisfactory, he should be eligible for the degree of Bachelor of Agriculture.

(xci) Until the opportunities of suitable employment expand, provision should be made only for a small number of students.

(xcii) A more elementary introduction to agricultural science, suitable for Zamindars' agents, teachers in agricultural districts, officers of co-operative societies, etc., should be given in selected intermediate colleges.

Technological science.

43. We regard it as an important and indeed a necessary function of a university, situated in a great industrial and commercial city like Calcutta, to include applied science and technology in it courses and to recognise their systematic and practical study by degrees and diplomas. This function must not be confused with that of training foremen and other servants of the scientific industries. The latter is the business of technical institutions of another grade, with the work of which the courses of the University should be so far as is necessary correlated. For example, the University of Calcutta in the devolpment of its courses of training in applied science, should co-operate with the proposed Calcutta Technological Institutn, especially in the use of workshops for the practical training of the students. We hope that private benefactors and the industries concerned will give generous help to the University of calcutta in its new technological departments, which should not be started until the means of providing adequate courses of scientific and practical instruction are assured. In view of the great expense of providing these courses and of the comparatively small number of scientific experts whom the industries of India are for the present likely to absorb, care should be taken to avoid any wasteful multiplication of institution giving technological training in the same branch of industry. In this branch of education there should be a division of labour according to the industrial needs of the different provinces of India. While therefore independent action on the part of each university should be welcomed when private liberality enables it to develop this side of its work in the interest of the district which it immediately serves ; and while the provincial Government should be free to develop technological training for the assistance of any industry which it regards as important or promising ; the Government of India should have an organisation (as is proposed by the Indian Industrial Commission) for giving guidance and advice in this matter from an all-India standpoint, and administer funds out of which it may give special grants-in-aid to advanced technological training and research at the universities and elsewhere. The Government of India will thus be in a position to exert

considerable influence in securing concerted action among the universities in regard to technological training

44. Our further recommendations are as follows :—

(xciii) Calcutta is a suitable centre for the advanced training of students to meet the needs of the leather industries, the chemical industries (including dyeing), the oil and fat industries and some branches of the textile industries. In several of these departments, the work of the university technological laboratories should be associated with that of the Engineering College at Sibpur. So far as possible, the university departments of technology and applied science should be placed in the neighbourhood of the University College of Science, should be attached to it administratively and should come under the general supervision of its governing body. To each department of technological study there should be attached an advisory committee which should include leading representatives of the industries concerned. Within defined limits the principal university teachers in the technological departments should be permitted to engage in private practice.

(xciv) At Dacca the intermediate college should provide scientific and practical instruction preparatory to engineering and agriculture ; and the technological research work entrusted to the scientific laboratories of the University should be co-ordinated as far as possible with corresponding investigations conducted in the university laboratories in Calcutta.

(xcv) The reform of the intermediate courses is necessary for the development of a general scheme of technological training ; and the new intermediate colleges should therefore be established as quickly as possible, because their work will serve as a foundation for the teaching of applied science at the University.

Commerce.

45. In the training of students for a commercial career the University has a very important but limited function. In all countries the vast majority of those who go into commerce do so at an earlier age than that of graduation at the University It is at this earlier age therefore that preliminary training for commerce can be most usefully given. For this among other reasons we have recommended the reform of the high schools. Bengal needs modern secondary education. The high school certificate, which a boy will gain after receiving a good general education up to 16 or 17 years of age, will be a valuable credential to those who wish to enter upon commercial life immediately after leaving school. But even more useful as a preparation for business will be the training given at the intermediate colleges. We have recommended that these colleges should provide a practical but not narrowly specialised course which will give an excellent training to young men who intend to enter commercial life at 18 or 19 years of age. In addition to this we propose that there should be classes in commercial subjects at technical or commercial institutes aided by the Department of Public Instruction and the Dapartment of Industries, Many of these classes should he held in the early morning or in the evening after office hours. Lastly there is need for advanced teaching in banking, insurance, actuarial science and other subjects bearining upon the commercial interests of the country. In this the University should take an increasingly important part.

46. It is necessary to guard against the idea that a specialised commercial degree course at a university is likely to be found by any large number of students an *open sesame* to well paid and responsible employment by

business firms. The ordinary student, after taking as an undergraduate a degree course in commerce, would find himself handicapped by beginning his commercial career some years later. His difficulties would be the greater if he had acquired inappropriate habits of work, and if he resented having to begin at the bottom of the ladder, below many junior to himself in age. A university cannot teach the practical side of business. A degree in commerce does not necessarily connote commercial aptitude. That must be tested and developed in the office and the counting house. And (save in very exceptional cases) this test must be applied under the ordinary conditions of commercial employment. Part-time attendance at an office, however ingeniously dovetailed into a full undergraduate course, cannot be so organised as to provide for any large number of students an all-round practical training in business methods. Even less practicable would it be for the University to examine the work done by the student in the office of a business house, and to pronounce upon its value as part of the qualification for a degree.

47. Nevertheless the University can give a useful training in the sciences which lie at the basis of commerce. But the students who undertake such a course for their degree must be prepared to recognise the fact that, when at last they enter upon employment in a business house, they will have to start upon the same terms as those offered to youths much younger than themselves and not possessing a university degree. They must face the fact that they will have to trust for their promotion to their own ability and trained capacity, not to the academic title which they possess. For students of a special type a degree course in commerce at the University may be an admirable preparation for a business career. But students of this type are not very numerous.

48. Our further recommendations regarding university courses in commerce are as follows :—

(cvi) The University of Calcutta should have power to institute, when it thinks fit, a Faculty of Economics and Commerce and to confer degrees and diplomas in commercial subjects. An advisory committee on higher commercial education should be attached to the department of economics.

(cvii) The University should be prepared to provide courses of instruction in banking, accountancy, insurance, actuarial science, industrial history, etc., designed especially for students who are already engaged in business, and at hours convenient for their attendance. Admission to these courses should not be limited to persons who have passed the entrance examination of the University.

Medium of Instruction.

49. We have analysed the great mass of evidence on the medium of instruction and have shewn that the divergent views expressed cut across the divisions of race, religion, nationality and occupation.

We have dealt with the psychological problems of mind-training involved in the use of the mother tongue and of the English medium and have suggested that the educated public of Bengal, like many other countries within the British dominions and elsewhere, will probably wish to be bilingual. We regard reform both in the teaching of the vernacular, which should be placed on a scientific basis, and in the teaching of English, as essential, and we have made *inter alia* the following recommendations :—

(cviii) The vernacular should be used in general throughout the hig

schools, except for the teaching of English and of mathematics, which, during the last four years of the course, should be conducted in English.

(xcix) At the 'high school examination' (corresponding to the matriculation) candidates should be permitted to answer either in the vernacular or in English, except in the subjects of English and of mathematics in which English should be compulsory.

(xc) The medium of instruction and examination in the intermediate colleges and in the University should be English (except in dealing with the vernacular and the classical languages).

(c) Phonetic methods should be employed in the teaching of spoken English and there should be a viva voce test in English both at the intermediate college examination, and at the university examinations in that subject.

(ci) In the University a distinction should be made between the teaching of English for practical and for literary purposes ; teaching of both kinds should be available for all students ; but a uniform course in English literarature should not be a compulsory examination subject for all students in the Faculty of Arts.

(cii) The scientific study of the vernacular should be encouraged in the University.

(ciii) To relieve Muslim students from an excessive burden of language study, Musalmans offering Bengali as a vernacular should be permitted to take Urdu in certain examinations in the place of a classical language.

Examinations.

50. We have pointed out that the examination system of Calcutta is probably the largest university examination system in the world. In 1918 the University examined nearly 32,000 candidates.

51. We have analysed the comprehensive evidence dealing with this system, by which education in Bengal is now dominated. We have pointed out that the university degree is practically the only portal at present to all careers in Bengal and hence that examination reform is a necessary condition for the reform of education. Apparently unimportant details of the examination system profoundly influence the preparations of the students. Thus the mechanical system of marking, devised to secure uniformity of treatment, encourages pure memorisation at the expense of intelligence and tends to the deterioration of mental efficiency throughout the schools and the University. We have suggested that the purpose of the various examinations should be more clearly defined, that the examinations should be both designed and conducted with such purpose clearly in mind. We have made a number of specific recommendations ; but we think that the adaptation of examinations to their purpose and their conduct on rational principles cannot be carried out by mere regulations but must be left to the future university authorities as an important part of their duties. We hope that the Boards of Examination recommended by us will serve as the auditors of the examination system and as the conscience of the universities in this matter ; they will publish typical specimens of complete examination answers from time to time and constantly bring before the universities proposals for the removal of defects in the examination system and for the introduction of new and improved methods.

We also have hopes that certain subjects may be studied by students without their being required to submit themselves to any examination therein, so that a portion of the curriculum may be entirely freed from examination pressure.

The universities should also welcome at certain of their courses, where accommodation allows, members of the general public qualified to profit by it. Such auditors would be subject to the ordinary university regulations and would pay a suitable fee.

52. Amongst our recommendations of detail are the following: —

(civ) In order to maintain continuous watchfulness upon the methods and use of examinations, to ensure that they are not so mechanically conducted as to exercise a harmful influence upon teaching and study, and to make certain that the purpose with which each examination is devised are held in view, and are fairly realised, there should be in each university a small Board of Examinations, whose functions should not be executive but primarily those of criticism and suggestions.

Transitional measures.

53. The reforms which we have proposed are of a fundamental character, both from the point of view of administration and of education *per se*. We have made it clear that we think the educational reforms which we regard as necessary cannot be carried out without the administrational reforms. But the question may be raised as to whether it is necessary or possible to carry out the whole of the administrational changes simultaneously. In our view, such simultaneous changes are both desirable and feasible, provided that the funds required are available and provided also that there is a sufficient *personnel* available to carry out the heavy work of the period of transition.

54. The changes fall into three main categories: (1) a change in secondary education, involving the setting up of the Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education; (2) the creation of the University of Dacca; (3) the reconstitution of the Teaching University in Calcutta and the establishment of a new organisation for the mufassal colleges.

55. We have said that these changes could be effected simultaneously, but we do not wish that term to be interpreted too strictly. We have borne in mind that in a large class of legislative measures it is found both convenient and necessary to allow a preparatory period to elapse between the passing of an Act and the 'appointed day' on which it comes into force; and that in the case of a complex measure it may be desirable to make different portions of it come into force on different days; and even to allow of further elasticity by remitting the fixing of such 'appointed days' (within limits defined by the Act) to specified administrative authority. When we say that the administrative changes should take place simultaneously we mean that they should be authorised by a single Act, or by one or more Acts passed simultaneously, and that the 'appointed days' fixed in, or authorised by, those Acts should be reasonably close to one another.

56. We think it possible however that both for financial and for administrative reasons Government might desire the transition to be spread over a longer period than that which we have contemplated, and that we ought therefore to indicate the order in which the three changes proposed should be carried out.

57. We think there can be no reason for delay in setting up the Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education and in making provision for the reform of secondary and intermediate education, which,

as we have said repeatedly, we regard as the very pivot of the whole reform.

58. We have also urged that there should be no further delay in creating the University of Dacca. It is unnecessary to advance further arguments on either of these points.

59. But the case of the University of Calcutta is different and more complex. Apart from any financial and administrative difficulties which might be felt by Government in introducing immediate changes, it may be urged with some reason that the University should not be reconstituted until the new Intermediate system comes into working order.

60. But if the Secondary and Intermediate Board and the University of Dacca are created at once, while the reconstitution of the University of Calcutta is postponed, that postponement may take place in three different ways, which would give rise to three very different situations.

(*a*) The legislation for the reconstitution of the University of Calcutta might be postponed purely and simply, the Government of India limiting themselves to a statement of their intentions in regard to university policy. But such postponement could not leave the Universities Act and the constitution of the University of Calcutta entirely untouched; for although the University of Dacca might be created (as was the University of Patna) without direct amendment of the Universities Act, we think some direct amendment would be necessary to provide for the transfer of the power of recognising high schools and intermediate courses from the University of Calcutta to the Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education. Such amendment would probably give rise to immediate difficulties. For it would not be easy to limit the amendment of the Act to this single point. Government would inevitably have pressed on it, with reason, a number of minor amendments; it might find itself involved in controversy on innumerable points of detail; and yet reforms of detail, desirable in themselves, might, if carried out, only block the way to fundamental reform and make the eventual task of the legislature more onerous. Even more serious, perhaps, is another objection. The colleges would find their arrangements upset by the removal of their intermediate students without finding any authority in a position to give them either definite assurances as to their future, or assistance in making the necessary provision for their higher work. Thus there would ensure a trying period of uncertainty and unrest, with few compensating advantages.

We think it clear therefore that the amendment of the Universities Act should not be made piece-meal, but that Government should decide forthwith on its university policy as a whole.

But such a decision would still leave open two plans, (*b*) and (*c*) below, for bringing that policy gradually into operation.

(*b*) The Act reconstituting the University of Calcutta might be passed simultaneously with the legislation bringing into existence the University of Dacca and the Board of Secondary and Intermediate

Education; but the entire operation of the Act other than that relating to secondary and intermediate education might be suspended for some years. This procedure would obviate the disadvantages of piecemeal legislation, and would create a more clearly defined situation. During the period before reconstitution a good deal might no doubt be done by Government and by the University, especially if it had a salaried wholetime Vice-Chancellor. to prepare for the new order of things. But it may be doubted whether the existing organisation could be expected to carry out such preparations with enthusiasm; and we fear that this arrangement would not lighten the labours of the Executive Commission, the appointmont of which (though deferred for a time) would ultimately be as necessary as if the University were reconstituted at once.

(*c*) The third course which we regard as possible would bring the Executive Commission into existence simultaneously with the Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education and the University of Dacca; but the Executive Commission would have more limited powers than those which have proposed in Chapter XXXVII and the present Syndicate and Senate would be left to carry on the routine business of the University during a preparatory period. The Executive Commission would negotiate with the colleges in regard to their needs under the new system; it would advice Government in regard to necessary grants for the colleges and for the creation of fresh teaching on the lines indicated in our recommendations; it would deal with the great problems of the residence and health of students and with the provision of sites for hostels; and finally it would advise Government as to the best date for bringing the Act into complete operation. Very soon after that date it ought to be possible for the Commission to transfer its power completely to the new governing bodies of the University.

61. Like the other schemes for postponement, this scheme would spread the financial liabilities of the Government over a longer period' and would diminish the pressure of the change both upon the administrative officials of Government and upon the Executive Commission itself.

The chief objection that we anticipate to the scheme is that there might be friction between the Executive Commission and the older university authorities. But the University Act would necessarily delimit the powers of the Commission and of those authorities in such a way as to prevent formal clashing; and we hope that in more informal matters friction might be avoided by the presence of the Vice-Chancellor and of other members common to the Executive Commission and to the Syndicate.

62. We may point out, that if, contrary to our expectations, the University of Calcutta is constituted before the creation of the Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education, it will be necessary to set up within the University provisional machinery to deal with the schools.

63. We desire to make it clear that certain reforms in the University of Calcutta ought not to be postponed whatever scheme be adopted; namely, the provision of further residential accommodation; the provision of a teacher's training department and a department of education; the provision of additional accommodation for teaching; and the provision of measures for supervising and improving the health of the students.

Govt. of India Resolution.

On The Report of the Calcutta University Commission.

Delhi, 27th Jan. 1920.

1. **The work of the Calcutta University Commission**—The Calcutta University Commission was appointed with a view to a full examination of the system of university teaching in Bengal and in order that the best advice might be obtained upon the method of co-ordinating the machinery of that institution and the instruction which it imparts more fully to the needs of modern life. With these ends in view the Commission was constituted with a strict regard to the necessity of invoking the highest available academic talent.

2. **The object of the Resolution**—The Commission interpreted (and rightly interpreted) its terms of reference in the widest possible sense. Its report travels over many subjects and many branches of education which are not confined to University instruction but have an important bearing thereon. The immediate object of the Commissioners' labours was the University of Calcutta and though they visited collectively or singly many places in India which are not within the jurisdiction of that University, the opinions which they have expressed and the recommendations which they have made have reference primarily to Bengal and to the University of Calcutta. The object of the present Resolution is two-fold. *First*, it is intended to acquaint the public in Bengal with the intentions of the Government of India as regards early legislation for the reconstitution of the University of Calcutta. *Second*, it is thought that an expression of views by the Government of India on certain points connected with the Report may not be without use in provinces other than Bengal. For, though it is fully recognised that conditions elsewhere differ widely from those in that Presidency and though the Government of India have naturally no desire to trust upon other Local Governments and other universities schemes which result from an investigation of affairs in Bengal and in Calcutta, nevertheless some of the recommendations made by the Commission are likely to be found valuable for wider application and it is understood that already in some other provinces movements are on foot for some reorganisation of the local systems.

II.—Criticisms made by the Commission.

3. **The investigations of the Commission**—The Commissioners have laid emphasis upon those elements in the educational system of Bengal which have produced satisfactory results in the past and give promise of healthy development in the future, but they have also, as indeed their task demanded of them, sought out the weaker elements, analysed defects and suggested remedies. In the following paragraphs

certain points are noted which formed the subject of the Commission's criticism and which appear to the Government of India to call for special and urgent treatment.

4. (i) **The High Schools**—Sound instruction in the secondary stage is the foundation upon which both university and more strictly vocational education must necessarily rest. But the Commission has accorded the fact that just when Bengal is more than ever eager for higher education, and when the economic needs and intellectual aspirations of the Presidency call for the best that can be given, the training which the high schools offer not only fails as a rule to provide for modern requirements in point of scientific and other knowledge but is actually deteriorating in quality. The schools are too narrowly concerned with preparing boys for matriculation—the goal to which almost all their teaching is designed to lead. Yet they are attended by large numbers of boys who have no special fitness for an academic training and who leave schools without qualifying themselves for it; and preparation for the University is not the only purpose which the secondary schools have to serve in a modern State. Still more serious is their lack of influence upon the character of pupils. Some of the correspondents who answered the Commission's questions regard the schools as failing in the formation of character and in conveying to the boy's mind a clear apprehension of an ideal of duty. "Pressed further home", write the Commissioners, "the charge amounts to even more than this; it implies that the schools have no spiritual life which touches a boy's inner nature, no corporate unity which appeals to and can sustain his affectionate loyalty, no moral or intellectual flame which may kindle his emotions"; and, while admitting admirable exceptions, they state that it must be acknowledged that in these respects the work of the schools as a whole is bleak and barren.

5. (ii) **The matriculation examination**—The Commissioners were accordingly led to examine the two dominating facts which influence high school organisation in Bengal—the matriculation examination and the method of recognition. They found that the matriculation examination conducted by the University of Calcutta (which is the largest examination of its kind in the world) is far from enjoying general approval; that eleven out of every twelve of the witnesses who dealt with this point expressed dissatisfaction with it as a test even for entering the University; and that it allows a very considerable number of ill-educated candidates to pass. Furthermore, the schools are cramped by it. For they endeavour to perform what the rules of the examination prescribe; to enable their pupils to pass has become their dominant aim; and the pressure which forces them to concentrate upon this narrow purpose is great. The Commissioners comment upon the perverted and uninspiring view of higher education which is thus produced. They write, "at the very time when the instinct of the people is turning its hopes towards education, the work actually done in the schools is suffering from a blight which spreads so quickly as to threaten public and private hopes with disappointment. The desire for education, though it springs from needs which good schools alone can satisfy, is perverted into a demand for what a school must deteriorate in consenting to give. But the pressure is irresistible, and the schools in yielding to it are spoiled. Nor is this the whole of the loss. The profession of teaching becomes less and less attractive to able and

generous minds because, as the generally accepted view of education grows meaner and narrower, a teacher has the less opportunity of realising in his work the purpose which alone lifts his calling from a despised trade to one of the noblest of professions".

6. (iii) **The recognition of schools**—The Commission refers to the Indian Universities Act of 1904, the Resolution of the Government of India, No. 600 of August 11, 1906, and the body of regulations thereby sanctioned. Under those regulations the recognition or non-recognition of a school is the act of the University and the functions of the Department of Public Instruction or the person nominated by the Syndicate to report on the claims of schools are limited to placing before the University the information requisite to enable that body to exercise its controlling authority. The Commission states that the University proceeded in right earnest to discharge this new and heavy responsibility. But the powers of the University are far from being as efficacious in practice as they appear to be on paper; and, owing to adverse circumstances, "the plan devised in 1901 and zealously put into effect by the University during the more favourable conditions which at first prevailed, has evidently broken down."

7. (iv) **The Colleges**—Coming next to the Colleges, the Commission observes that the majority of successful candidates at the matriculation examination proceed to University courses. Since the school course does not give a 'sound general education,' the Colleges find imposed upon them the obligation of making good the deficiencies of the schools. "With about half of their students", says the Commission, "the Colleges never get beyond the stage of school work. Many students drop out before they reach the end of the intermediate course". "There is probably no other country in the world" proceeds the Report, "in which it is the case that so large a proportion of those who enter upon a degree course in a University fail to proceed to its natural conclusion, but stop at a half-way house. This would seem to indicate, in the first place, that the relation between the matriculation and intermediate standards is ill adjusted but still more remarkable, it would seem to show that, in the view of the boys and their parents and the public, the first two years of the University course are regarded as forming a distinct stage by themselves, a supplement to the high school course while the intermediate examination is regarded as a natural stopping-place". The Commission further remarks on the reduction at this stage of the choice of subjects, the absence of guidance to students regarding their choice, and the failure to provide for any introduction, to vocational training such as is needed by that half of the students who will pass direct into various occupations after the intermediate stage. On turning to the methods of instruction, the Commission finds that the inadequacy of the system becomes still more patent. The classes are almost invariably far too large. The tradition of lecturing is deeply inflated. The methods suitable for University students are applied to those who have not yet undergone a satisfactory school course.

In dealing with the undergraduate work of the Colleges, the Commissioners state that the outstanding fact indicated in the replies to their questionnaire is that "dissatisfaction with the existing system is all but universal, and is in most cases both deep and poignant." They consider that one of the primary causes of the efficiency of the Colleges is their isolation. They are 'pocket Universities,' compelled to provide the whole of the education

which their students require and generally too poor to supply the equipment necessary for University work. The privately-managed Colleges maintain one teacher for about every 40 students, and the poverty of pay given in these institutions is all the more striking by reason of the contrast with the better paid professors of Government Colleges. Instruction is through compulsory lectures ; tutorial classes "are in general nothing more than additional coaching classes." Four of the privately managed first-grade Colleges in the University centre of Calcutta are described as "huge coaching establishments for examinations, wherein the human element in education is inevitably almost non-existent." Half of their students are in the intermediate stage. The proportion of teachers to students is such as to make any adequate attention to the needs of the latter impossible. The majority of their students come from distant parts of Bengal (especially Eastern Bengal) and nearly 4,000 of these are unprovided with hostels or attached messes.

8. (*v*) **The concentration of students in Calcutta.** This concentration of students in Calcutta forms a very serious feature of the situation as regards the colleges of the metropolis. In the Arts and professional colleges of the city and in the post-graduate classes, the commission found 15,674 students. Of those nearly 11,000 were reading in the local Arts colleges and about 1,500 in the post-graduate classes. Of those in Arts colleges, only 2,579 came from Calcutta itself, 1479 from adjacent areas, and the remainder from other parts of Bengal or of India. Hostel accommodation was found to exist for only 2,257 ; and, in addition, 2.556 students were residing in attached messes. Further-more, the Commission observed that, though Government had recently made generous contributions towards new hostel accommodation, and though, out of 50 lakhs expended on hostels in Bengal, more than two-thirds had been spent in Calcutta, there were still in 1917 as many as 4,500 students living under unapproved conditions in the city.

About two-thirds of the number of students who, though not residents of Calcutta, are studying in its Arts colleges, are in the intermediate stage, "whose needs," say the Commissioners, "could quite well be met, and ought to be met, nearer their homes. It is they who, in the main, produce the residential problem which forms so grave difficulty in Calcutta ; and the attempt to provide decent conditions of life for them involves an immense outlay which might be far more profitably expended in meeting their needs nearer to their homes." "It is impossible to exaggerate," "the evils that are likely to result from this drift of boys from country districts, ill-trained and knowing nothing of the world, into the dangerous conditions of life in a great city, where they are lost in the crowd, and where it is impossible to provide for them any adequate supervision."

9. (*vii*) **Post-graduate teaching in the University.** Apart from the Law College, the University maintains from its own funds, endowments and grants the College of Science and the post graduate classes. These were organised in 1917 under two boards of post-graduate studies and contained during the session of 1917-18 about 1,500 students and 188 professors and lecturers. The Commission, while admitting the advantages and the necessity of the system, point out that the activities of the teacher are in the minutest detail subject to criticism by the Syndicate and confirmation by Senate, where the highest teachers are inadequately represented, with the result that conflict is possible ; that scheme is entirely separated from the arrangements for undergraduate teaching, and that this cleavage, if made

permanent, may prove even more disastrous than the division of colleges into self contained compartments; that it is apprehended that the organisation, developing apart from the colleges, may affect their status and permanently imperil their efficiency; and that the question of adequate post-graduate instruction in places outside Calcutta is left untouched.

10. *(vii)* **The jurisdiction of the University.** The Commission points out that the populations of Bengal and of United Kingdom are almost the same—about 45 millions; and that the numbers of students preparing for University degrees are also almost the same—about 26,000. But, behind this apparent similarity, the contrasts are great. Owing to the low percentage of literacy the proportion of the educated classes in Bengal who are taking full-time university courses is almost ten times as great as in the United Kingdom. If regard is had to the paucity of women students and to other factors it becomes apparent that an enormously higher proportion of the educated male population of Bengal proceeds to university studies than is the case in the United Kingdom. At the same time a very much smaller proportion goes to the University for what is ordinarily described as vocational training. Again, the 26,000 students of the United Kingdom are divided among eighteen universities. The same number in Bengal are all brought under the control of a single university. They follow in each subject the same course of study, read the same books and undergo the same examinations. "It is a common-peace," says the Commission, "that a university, just because it is concerned with so individual a business as the training of the mind, can easily become too large". The University of Calcutta is the largest in the world; it "has to deal with 26,000 students scattered over an immense province wherein communications are very difficult; it is responsible also for the educational control of more than eight hundred schools, a function such as no university outside of India is called upon to perform; and under these conditions it is unreasonable to expect that its governing bodies should be able to deal with their immense and complex task in a wholly satisfactory way".

11. (viii) **The governing bodies of the University.** Over-vast as are the area under the University's jurisdictions, the number of institutions, of students and of examiners, for proper administration by any single organisation, the Commission found that the administrative organ charged with these heavy responsiblities is in itself defective.

The paramount body in the University is the Senate. But it is insufficiently representative, whether of the colleges as places of learning, of the general bodies of learned professions as such, of commercial, industrial and agricultural interest, of different communities, more especially the Muhammadans of the provinces included within the jurisdiction of the University and even of many parts of Bengal. The majority of its members are nominated. The Commission thinks that, though nomination has been exercised with a keen desire to do justice to conflicting claims and to include on the Senate men of eminence and experience, nevertheless it is probably not the best method to adopt in a predominant degree for the constitution of a large body.

The executive functions of the Senate are wielded by the Syndicate. The Commission considers this to be the least satisfactory of all the university bodies. Its members are ordinarily limited to persons resident in or near

Calcutta. For years the Musalmans have been unrepresented upon it. The amount and variety of work which falls upon it is intolerable. Yet the present system does not effectively concentrate responsiblity in its hands, and the work of the so-called executive is that of discussion rather than of deliberate decision.

There is no provision for authoritative direction by any body of scholars. The Faculties and Boards of Studies possess only advisory functions and can not at present be regarded as expert bodies.

Thus the Governing Bodies are not merely ineffective in composition but also imperfectly articulated for the performance of their functions. The Senate is an unsatisfactory compromise between an expert academic body and a council of laymen experienced in practical affairs. The present arrangements for the conduct of business fail to secure responsibility in the hands of the Syndicate for the functions which it is supposed to perform. There is no effective academic body. The Commission maintains that a university requires for its effective governance organs of three types—a body to keep it in touch with the varied requirements of the community ; a body which will give statesmanlike guidance in the accommodation of means to ends and also the provision of means and will mediate between the possible misconceptions of the public and possibly too the restricted outlook of the scholar ; and thirdly a body of scholars to give authoritative direction of learning.

Finally, the Commission recommend that the Vice-Chancellor, who has hitherto been a part-time officer, ought now to be a whole-time and paid officer.

12. (ix) **The relations of the University with its affiliated colleges** The Commission comments upon the procedure laid down for the affiliation and disaffiliation of colleges. A college affiliated on the strength of a satement showing adequate staff may weaken that staff by the appointment of less satisfactory teachers. The disagreeable onus of initiating proceedings for disaffiliation rests on a single individual. The weapon of disaffiliation is at present too drastic for practical use and the Syndicate is not possessed of due powers for securing compliance with the recommendations made by its inspectors.

The University has been unable to secure resonable conditions of salary and tenure for college teachers, or that the teachers appointed are competent. While its control has been ineffective in the vitally important function of securing efficient teaching, in other matters it is too rigid, its general influence over work of the colleges is described as unhealthy and it has achieved a dead uniformity of curriculum unknown, the Commissioners believe, elsewhere in the world, certainly outside India.

13. (x) **The relations of the University with Government** The Commission devoted much attention to the relations of the University with Government. It considered that the continuance of the arrangement whereby the Government of India controls the University at a distance of 1,000 miles leads to inconveniences. But while the control should be transferred to the Government of Bengal, the Government of India can continue to perform an invaluable function by defining the aims of educational policy, giving advice and assistance to local Governments and to universities,

by acting as an impartial arbiter in cases of dispute, by protecting disregarded interests, by supplying organised information regarding local developments, by obtaining the service of scholars from other countries, by co-ordinating the various universities, and by guarding against needless duplication. The provincial Department of Public Instruction which would in future deal with the University is hampered by a narrow definition of its functions and by the character of its relations with the Secretariat and with the University itself. It is necessary to co-ordinate the activities of that Department with other Departments which deal with special spheres of education, to appoint the Director a Secretary to Government; and to recognise that on the Department rests primarily the responsibility for a sound system of school training—a responsibility which, owing to insufficiency of funds and division of functions with the University, it has no power to fulfil. The University in its turn should be responsible for the character of the training given to its students and for the efficient and economical expenditure of its resources. At the same time, here also, Government cannot abrogate its responsibilities, as trustees for the highest interests of the nation; for ensuring that the highest training grounds of the nation, its universities, are adequately fulfiling their functions, and that the University is so organised as to be able to perform its proper functions; for regulating the conditions of admission to professions essential for the public welfare; and for providing that the youths of the country receive the kind of training needed to prepare them for the general needs of the country.

III.—*Action proposed on the main recommendations of the Commission.*

Reasons for the short comings discovered by the Commission.

14. The brief summary of certain portions of the Report which has been made above is not to be taken as fully representing the present condition of affairs in Bengal, still less in India as a whole. The extraction of passages or opinions from a report of this nature is apt to be slightly misleading. The Government of India desire it to be understood that, while they agree with the criticisms passed by the Commission, they are also fully in accord with that body in acknowledging the great services which the establishment of western education and the activities of the University of Calcutta have performed in the past. The affiliating and the examining university is now regarded by many high authorities as radically faulty. But it is difficult to see what other organisation could in the middle of the last century have been set up in Bengal or elsewhere in India for the expansion and co-ordination of higher learning. The legislation of 1904 recognised teaching as a proper function of the Indian universities. But it was difficult to devise a workable scheme for the performance of this function in face of the wide area affected, the competing claims of colleges and the necessity of safeguarding the interests of various institutions. The isolated and selfcontained character of the colleges rendered impossible the exercise by the University of that control over teaching and the appointment of teachers which is requisite and forced the central body to use its influence through the promulgation of rigid rules and syllabuses which were calculated to stifle individual and original effort. These difficulties were enhanced as the number of colleges grew and in recent years have rapidly increased owing to the large number of students who have sought University instruction. Furthermore,

the growing demand has called into existence a number of institutions markedly unequal in the matter of staffing, in the nature of instruction afforded, in equipment and in the supervision which they can exercise over students. It is little wonder that an institution which for many years usefully served the requirements of higher education in Bengal has under the rapid changes of recent times found difficulty in coping adequately with functions which have become unwieldy and in fulfilling demands upon it by a new and swiftly changing order of things.

Scope of the Commission's Report.

15. Again the preceding section of this Resolution has dealt only with certain of the explorations made by the Commission, because a full comprehension of these points is necessary for the appreciation of the legislative changes which, in the opinion of the Commission, it is necessary to make in order that the University of Calcutta may more effectively fulfil its functions. The Report ranges over many subjects regarding which nothing has here been said. The education of women and girls; the special educational needs of Musalmans, of Europeans and Anglo Indians, and of the backward classes; the medium of instruction; oriental studies; legal, medical, engineering and mining, agricultural and technological instruction; the training of teachers and other cognate matters are dealt with in the Report. The object of the succeeding paragraph is to concentrate attention upon those particular points of criticism which have direct bearing upon the University of Calcutta and with which any legislation affecting that institution will have to deal.

Main lessons of the Report.

16. The main lessons taught by this Report, the lessons on which the Government of India consider that the earliest attention may usefully be concentrated, are the following:—

(*i*) High schools lack proper supervision, fail to give that breadth of training which the developments of the country and new avenues of employment demand.

(*ii*) The matriculation examination in Bengal provides an insufficient test of fitness to pursue University courses and by its rigidity and narrow scope reacts unwholesomely upon the instruction and the activities of the schools.

(*iii*) The intermediate section of University education attempts to deal by University methods with large bodies of ill-prepared students and should be frankly recognised as a part of school education, relegated to separate institutions, apart from the University organisation, and placed under a body duly co-related with the Department of Public Instruction.

(*iv*) The system of affiliated colleges, though defective according to modern requirements and modern ideals, will long remain a necessary part of University organisation in Bengal. But its inconveniences may be mitigated by the establishment of a strong central teaching body, the incorporation (as occasion arises) of unitary universities, such as that proposed for Dacca, a modification of the administrative machinery which will admit of fuller representation of local interests, and supervision of different classes of institutions by several appropriately constituted authorities.

(*v*) The administrative arrangements of the University of Calcutta call for alteration, notably in the direction of creating an academic body,

appointing a whole-time Vice-Chancellor and transferring the interests of the University to the care of the Government of Bengal

These points represent but a small part of the result of the Commission's investigation But they are the matters which the Government of India regard themselves, the local Government and the universities most urgently called upon to consider.

Action proposed.

17. The Government of India therefore commend these matters to the consideration of local Governments and universities They commend also the many suggestions which the Commission has made on the more strictly academic side of high school and University education They leave it to the local Governments to take such action as they think fit regarding the most important recommendation of the Commission, namely, the separation of intermediate from collegiate education and the placing of it, together with secondary education, under some suitably constituted body on the lines of the Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education proposed in the Report—so constituted as to represent various interests and so related to the Departments of Public Instruction as to obviate any undue abrogation of the responsibility of Government for the adequacy of school training They leave also to the consideration of local Governments such administrative questions as the changes suggested in the general organisation of teaching and inspecting staffs, the future control of Government schools and colleges, etc But it is necessary that the Government of India take early action regarding those recommendations which directly effect the University of Calcutta, since that University forms the immediate subject of the Commission's investigations and (until the measure, which the Government of India now propose, passes into law) remains the special care of the Governor-General in Council and of the Governor-General as Chancellor Here also the administrative matters, including the future organisation of secondary and intermediate education in separation from the University, will appropriately be decided by the Government of Bengal The concern of the Government of India is the passage of the legislative measures requisite for giving effect to the main recommendations of the Commission regarding the reconstitution of the University of Calcutta and the incorporation of the University of Dacca. The second of these proposals is intended to set up a new type of University in Bengal which may possibly be the precursor of other universities of a similar nature in that Presidency and elsewhere and to relieve the University of Calcutta of some small portion of the heavy burden which it now sustains The legislation to that end has already been introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council As regards the University of Calcutta it is the intention of the Government of India to publish and place before the Imperial Legislative Council a measure based on the lines indicated in the remaining portion of this Resolution The Government of India propose to publish the text of the Bill as soon as possible But they have decided to precede it by the present Resolution in order that no time may be lost in acquainting the public with the main features of the measure contemplated The proposals set forth in the following section, which will form the basis of the Bill have been discussed with the Government of Bengal, who are in accord with the Government of India regarding the suitability of the action contemplated.

IV. The Reconstruction of the University of Calcutta.

A Teaching University in Calcutta—(*i*) The Problem.

18. The Commission first applied itself to the Complex and difficult task of setting up a Teaching University in Calcutta, which should embrace those colleges of the city which are capable of providing true University instruction. Of the existing system of post graduate instruction it remarked that it is unhealthy that any sharp line of division should be drawn between the higher and the lower teaching of a University and that it is equally disadvantageous that a system of more advanced instruction should be built up at the expense of undergraduate teaching, which is the foundation of nearly all advanced work. The problem would be almost insoluble were it not that, under the arrangement proposed for the Intermediate classes, the number of students in Arts colleges will be reduced to about 4,000 and is unlikely to expand within a reasonable period beyond 6,000, to whom must be added the 1,500 postgraduate students Even so, the problem is difficult enough and is complicated by the fact that the idea of instruction in colleges largely independent of the central body is deeply rooted and cannot be disregarded.

(*ii*) Various schemes rejected

19. The Commission considered and rejected various schemes which were placed before it with a view to the foundation of a teaching organisation.

Incidentally (though this scheme had as its object the improvement of the conditions of student life almost more than that of teaching organisation) it may be mentioned that the commission devotes a chapter to the question whether it is desirable to remove the University and its colleges to some place outside Calcutta where more spacious accommodation and improvement of the physical, moral and intellectual conditions under which the students live are possible. It is obvious that many difficulties which the Commission has discovered would be solved by some such action. This proposal found many warm supporters among the correspondents and witnesses. On the other hand there were witnesses who urged the undesirability of academic seclusion, the healthiness of Calcutta, the difficulty which would be experienced by the poorer students in a fully residential University, the value of home influences, etc. The Commission observes that the aggregation of University buildings and colleges round College Square has already proceeded so far as to make that part of Calcutta a University quarter. The situation of this group is central and convenient for the city as a whole and, though there are some important exceptions, few of the existing institutions are so far removed from this group as to make inter-collegiate relations impossible. The Government of India fully appreciate the advantages which would be derived from the location of the University in a more open site. But, apart from the considerations put forward by the Commission in favour of the retention of present arrangements, it is felt that the expense of such removal, which would be infinitely greater than the mere re-erection of buildings, and the delays and difficulties involved probably render any such scheme full of great difficulties.

(*iii*) The Synthesis.

20. It is admitted by the Commission in dealing with these various proposals that the unitary form of University is in the abstract the most advantageous form of University organisation. But the conditions appeared to dictate a multi-collegiate system. The Commissioners therefore advocate a teaching University of a new type, not exactly corresponding to any now existing, to be achieved through what they term a synthesis of the University and its colleges. Under this scheme the University will be really responsible for the character of the teaching given in its name. The prestige and importance of the colleges will be increased and only those colleges will be permitted to participate which can show an efficiency equal to the fulfilment of the conditions to be laid down. Those colleges in Calcutta which cannot fulfil such conditions will be treated as temporarily affiliated, but will not participate in the privileges of the Teaching University.

(*iv*) Incorporated and Constituent Colleges.

21. The colleges which participate in this scheme would be the incorporated colleges maintained by the University itself and the constituent colleges, *i.e.*, such of the colleges in Calcutta as are able to take a part in University teaching. These institutions would have to fulfil certain conditions. They must free themselves from the incubus of intermediate classes at the earliest possible moment Admissions must not be made beyond a maximum of 1,000 students. The proportion of college teachers to students should be one to twenty-five though it is admitted that a proportion of one to fifteen or twenty would be more reasonable. No whole-time teachers should be paid less than Rs. 125 a month, nor any head of a department of teaching less than Rs. 300. Suitable buildings for teaching and residential accommodation for students must be provided. Each college should be under a properly constituted governing body and should have a teachers' council.

(*v*) The functions of the University.

22. The University itself would not complete with its colleges but would supplement their resources, providing instruction in those subjects where the colleges cannot supply it and teachers of high distinction in the more ordinary subjects of undergraduate work, maintaining a central library, etc. It would appoint its own teachers and recognise college teachers for the imparting of instruction in its name. It would organise instruction so as to prevent overlapping. It would continue to exercise its present functions, but materially modified. For the definition of curricula would be mainly in the hands of teachers of the University and its colleges and the examination system would be less rigid and would follow rather than dictate the teaching. "In short", say the Commissioners. "under a new and happier system, the University ought not to stand merely in the relation of a task-master to its constituent colleges It ought to assist and strengthen them. It can do this in part by giving guidance and advice, and by encouraging its best men to take a deeper interest in college work ; in part by providing instruction, such as the colleges could not themselves provide, which can be used by their students ; in part by giving recognition and emoluments to the best college teachers, and so helping the colleges to retain good men on their staffs."

(*vi*) Conditions of teaching.

23. Under these new arrangements it is desirable that a student should spend three years at colleges reading for the B.A. or B.Sc.—though it may be impossible to enforce this at once in the case of pass students ; and graduates should proceed to the Master's degree after another one or two years according as they have taken an honours or a pass course. A radical departure is required from the system of instruction now in vogue. The excessive emphasis now laid upon attendance at lectures must cease, and the importance of tutorial guidance must be realised. Each undergraduate must be a member of college and it will be the duty of each college to provide individual tutorial guidance for every student and such lectures as will supplement those organised by the University. The Report lays great stress on this individual guidance and comments strongly on the barrenness of an endless round of lectures and a University training almost wholly unrelated to the real thoughts and aspirations of the student's minds, whose emotions and aspirations require training into useful, instead of hazardous, channels.

Temporarily affiliated colleges.

24. The Commission recognised that many of the colleges in Calcutta, as they now are, will be quite unable to satisfy the conditions essential for participation in the teaching organisation of the University. "The colleges," says the Report, "now include some thousands of students, who are being given a kind of training quite unworthy of the name of University education." The needs of these students must be met. Hence such colleges must be retained. But they will be permitted to exist as institutions teaching up to a degree only on a basis of temporary affiliation for five years with a possible extension ; they will form no part of the teaching organisation ; and no new colleges will be thus recognised after the new system has once been brought into operation. Certain conditions are suggested, e.g., a minimum salary of Rs. 100 for teachers and of Rs. 250 for heads of departments. Temporarily affiliated colleges will become either constituent colleges or intermediate institutions.

Mufassal colleges. (*i*) The Problem.

25. It is physically impossible for the widely scattered colleges outside Calcutta to have any part in the Teaching University. Hence they require a different kind of treatment. Here also various schemes were suggested and rejected. An obvious solution would be the converson of the leading *mafassal* colleges into universities established after the pattern of Dacca. But the Commissioners were regretfully driven to the conclusion that (apart from Dacca) there is no college which is yet ripe to be transformed into a University. "In the long run" says the Report, "the best thing for Bengal will be the establishment of a small number of efficiently organised universities in *mufassal*, wherein a training can be given which will be not less valuable in quality, though possibly less wide in range, than that which will be offered by Calcutta and Dacca, the remainder of the colleges devoting themselves to the vitally important work of the intermediate stage. At the present moment, it is impossible to determine which college ought to be marked out for the former, and which for the latter destiny. But it would be unjust that the existing colleges should be deprived of their present rights at an arbitarily fixed date, or until even ampler provision than now exists has

been made to meet the needs of the students whom these colleges at present train. At the same time it is important to find a means whereby the better colleges may be stimulated to strive towards a higher destiny, may be enabled to awaken the pride and win the financial support of their own districts, and may be allowed to enjoy, as they progress in strength, an increasing degree of freedom, such as will fit them for the responsibilities of independence."

(ii) The Mufassal Board.

26. The Commission accordingly concluded that the only immediate solution of the problem is to be found in some form of association between the *mufassal* colleges and the University of Calcutta. For the purpose it proposed the establishment of a Board of *Mufassal* Colleges which, while an integral part of the University organisation, should be representative of colleges which it is destined to supervise. The Commissioners strongly felt, however, that this Board should be regarded not as a permanent but as a temporary organisation.

(iii) Proposed organisation of mufassal colleges.

27. The *mufassal* colleges would be classed as follows,—

(*a*) University colleges, which would be regarded as potential universities. These would be required to fulfil certain conditions, *e.g.*, the provision of separate teaching for intermediate students, the maintenance of at least one teacher for every 20 students, the payment to them of salaries of not less than Rs. 125 a month and Rs. 300 for heads of departments, the submission of the principal teachers for approval or recognition by the University, etc.

(*b*) Other *mufassal* colleges, which would gradually assort themselves either as University colleges or as intermediate institutions.

Though no exact uniformity of content between the curricula of the *mufassal* colleges and those of the Teaching University would be demanded, the Commission considered it important that as far as possible there should be a general correspondence of standard. In order to secure this result a large element not exceeding half of the Board of *Mufassal* Colleges should consist of Calcutta teachers.

(iv) Colleges in Burma and Assam.

28. Some of the existing extra-Calcutta colleges are situated in provinces other than Bengal. The Commission cordially endorses the importance of establishing a University at Rangoon, while considering that the two colleges which would compose that University, if they could work out some scheme of co-operation, might find it convenient to retain for a time in a modified form their connection with Calcutta through the medium of the special panel of the *Mufassal* Board which would control University colleges. As regards the two colleges in Assam the Commission thought that the ablest students from Sylhet would probably continue to go to Calcutta and Dacca for higher education and that the most hopeful development in that area lay in a thoroughly efficient training at the intermediate stage. Gauhati, on the other hand, may rightly aim, and ought to aim, at becoming the seat of a University, but is at present not strong enough for independence and might well be placed under the special panel, though at the same time it should be equipped with the rudiments of a University system of Government of its

own. These suggestions will no doubt be considered by the Government of Burma and the Chief Commissioner of Assam.

Summarised classification of colleges.

29. The proposals of the Commission therefore, as regards the University of Calcutta and its colleges, contemplate a teaching organisation, in which the central body and certain of the colleges will co-operate ; a temporary arrangement for those colleges of Calcutta which are unable to fulfil the conditions required in constituent colleges ; and an affiliating and examining organisation for *mufassal* colleges, which may retain their present status as a temporary measure and eventually become either University or intermediate colleges. Further, women's colleges, whether in Calcutta or in the *mufassal*, will be placed under a special board and made subject to special conditions.

The constitution of the University—(*i*) The problem.

30. With a view to its performing these functions the Commission considered that the University must be equipped with a system of government more carefully devised for the purpose than that which it now possesses ; a system which will combine a proper representation of public opinion and of all the interests concerned in the healthy development of the educational system, with the maintenance of a proper degree of influence and authority for the best expert opinion ; while at the same time the supervisory authority of Government, and its deep concern in the matters with which the University has to deal, must be properly provided for, without imposing upon Government minute and detailed responsibilities which its officers cannot reasonably be expected to fulfil.

(*ii*) The Visitor, the Chancellor, etc.

31. It is proposed by the Commission that the relation of special intimacy between the University and the Government of India should cease and that the Governor of Bengal should in future be the Chancellor ; but the Governor-General should hold the office of Visitor and that the Government of India should exercise fuller powers of supervision than at present not only over Calcutta but over all the universities of India. The Vice-Chancellor should be a whole-time officer appointed by the Chancellor.

(*iii*) The Principal governing bodies.

32. Three principal governing bodies answering to those indicated in paragraph 11 of this Resolution are proposed—

(*a*) The Court would be a large representative body, whose assent would be required for fundamental legislative proposals but not for details of regulations and which would exercise a general supervision over the finances of the University, etc. For the discussion of more detailed matters the Court will have an elected committee of reference whose special duty it will be to discuss matters with the Executive Council.

(*b*) The Executive Council would be a small body, entrused with financial and administrative duties and with considerable legislative powers, but not concerned with the details of purely academic business.

(*c*) The Academic Council would be the supreme body in academic matters and the final authority for most of the ordinary academic business, and would consist mainly of University and college teachers.

There would be other bodies, such as the *Mufassal* Board, the Board of Women's Education, the Muslim Advisory Committee and certain standing Committees.

With a view to the initiation of the new order of things, a small Executive Commission, appointed by the Governor-General in Council, should be appointed immediately after the passing of the Act. It would make arrangements with colleges, draft the Statutes classifying the constituent and University colleges, appoint a provisional committee to deal with secondary and intermediate education, constitute a provisional Academic Council consider financial arrangements and perform other important duties.

(*iv*) University legislation.

33. The Commission found that the existing legislation which governs the activities of the Universities is unduly rigid. It accordingly proposed that, while an Act should be passed in the Imperial Legislative Council repealing the Act of 1857 and, so far as it concerns this University, the Act of 1904, and defining in very general terms the powers and the constitution of the University, the terms of this Act should be elaborated in a number of statutes, Ordinances and Regulations. The first Statute would be scheduled to the Act, but would be capable of amendment by the Court, subject to approval by the Governor of Bengal in Council. Among other things, the first conferment of any University privileges on any institution in Bengal should be through Statute. The Ordinances would govern the daily work of the University, would be made by the Executive Council, though initiated as regards purely academic matters by the Academic Council, and would be subject to the veto of the Chancellor. The Regulations would deal with minor matters and their framing would be entrusted to the various bodies of the University concerned with the matters with which they deal.

Criticisms of the Report.

34. Such, generally expressed and exclusive of many matters which, though less essential for the carrying out of the scheme are nevertheless of considerable importance, are the proposals of the Commission regarding the University of Calcutta. The Government of India accept them as probably embodying the most feasible scheme which is compatible with existing conditions and which at the same time gives promise of healthy development in the future. The legislative measure embodying the Commission's proposals, which it is intended to place before the Imperial Legislative Council will, it is hoped not depart in essential respect from the provision set forth in the Report and only summarised in the broadest lines in this Resolution. The Government of India, however, observe that two members of the Commission were not in entire agreement regarding certain aspects of the proposals and that criticisms have been put forward in other quarters—some to the effect that the changes suggested are too radical, others to the effect that still more drastic alterations are required. It is, therefore, to be understood that, while the forthcoming legislation will embody the essential outlines of the Commission's scheme, there may be room for differences in detail, dictated by the administrative considerations or by public criticism.

Views of the Government of India on the classification of colleges.

35 In particular, the Government of India consider that the treatment proposed for temporarily affiliated colleges may, in practice, lead to difficulty.

If the new organisation in Calcutta is really to assume the functions of an efficient teaching organisation, it will be hazardous to permit the continued existence in Calcutta of a class of institutions insufficiently equipped for participation in the Teaching University and calculated by their proximity to depress the standards which such a University should maintain. If on full consideration these apprehensions are found to be well based, it will be necessary to devise means for dealing with such colleges in a more expeditious manner than that contemplated by the Commission and it will probably prove most satisfactory if the Executive Commission is instructed at an early date to class those colleges which hold out no prospect of fulfilling the conditions of constituent colleges as intermediate institutions which would be definitely separared from the University and placed under the Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education.

The case is different with the *mufassal* colleges, which serve a useful purpose by providing higher education near to the homes of many students and by preventing those students from further augmenting the already overcrowded state of Calcutta colleges. It is, therefore, suggested that provision should be made for renewing the affiliation on present lines of those *mufassal* colleges which cannot immediately be classed either as University or as intermediate colleges.

The Commission apparently contemplated that the separation of intermediate from college classes, which forms the main pivot of their proposals, should not take immediate effect in temporarily affiliated and *mufassal* colleges. The case of the former kind of college has already been treated. But, as regards *mufassal* colleges, while the degree courses continue to be allowed for some time even in those institutions which cannot definitely be classed as University colleges it appears to the Government of India to be important that they should rid themselves from the commencement of the presence of the intermediate students—a condition which should apply to all institutions connected with the University save women's colleges.

Suggested deviations from the Commission's recommendations.

36. The following points indicate the manner in which the questions mentioned in the preceeding paragraph may, in the opinion of the Government of India, suitably be treated. They also indicate certain other deviations from the detailed proposals of the Commission which it may be found desirable to include in the Bill.

(*i*) *Powers of the Chancellor.*—The Chancellor may in some cases be substituted for the Government of Bengal as a sanctioning authority, e.g., as the sanctioning authority as regards Statutes. This change, as in the Dacca Bill, would be made in order to emphasise the personal relation of the Chancellor with the University.

The Chancellor may also be given, as in the Dacca Bill, the power of suspension of operation of an Ordinance which he deems likely to be cancelled by the Court or disallowed by himself.

(*ii*) *The Court.*—The number of members of the Court may be slightly changed by specifying the number of members to be nominated by the Chancellor, by allowing the Chief Commissioner of Assam to appoint members to represent Assam, by including the Chairman of the Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education and the Muslim Advisory Committee, by reducing the number of Vice-Chancellors of other universities and the number of representatives assigned to associations contributing not less than Rs. 5,000, by

committing the representatives of faculties of governing bodies of colleges and temporarily (until those institutions take fuller shape) of intermediate colleges and secondary schools, and by confining the membership of donors of Rs. 10,000 to five years. These changes would slightly reduce the size of the Court, prevent overlapping in its membership, and add a few desirable elements.

(*iii*) *The Executive Council.*—The constitution of the Executive Council may be slightly modified, mainly by the substitution of two Deans of Faculties elected by the Academic council and two appointed teachers elected by the same body for the three university teachers who, the Commission proposed, should be elected by the Academic Council.

Power may be given to the Executive Council in all financial matters within the limits of the budget, also supervisory control subject to certain safeguards over the framing, etc., of new Regulations.

(*iv*) *The Academic Council.*—The constitution of the Academic Council may be slightly modified, mainly by some reduction in the representation of recognised teachers and the Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education and by leaving indefinite the number of representatives of vocational faculties.

It is suggested that it may be empowered to constitute sub-committees or, if it thinks fit, an Executive Committee, and to appoint external, as well as internal examiners, subject perhaps to the retention by the Executive Council of the duty of appointing committees, in consultation with Academic Council, to moderate examination questions and to report results to the Executive Council.

(*v*) *Faculties.*—It is suggested that the membership of these bodies be limited. The Deans should probably be the Chairmen.

(*vi*) *Temporarily affiliated colleges.*—These should be mentioned only in the transitory provisions and it should be the duty of the Executive Commission, before its dissolution, to class them either as incorporated or constituent colleges, or as intermediate colleges

(*vii*) *Conditions of recognition for temporarily affiliated and mufassal colleges.*—The prescription of conditions may be left to the Executive Commission. But, save in the case of women's colleges, the continuance of intermediate and of degree classes in one and the same institution should not be permitted after the date on which the Act comes into force

(*viii*) *Appointments.*—The appointment of the teaching staff will be the work partly of selection committees of the University sitting in India and partly that of some organisation which will be able to arrange for recruiting in the United Kingdom. Two departures from the Commission's Report are proposed :—

(*a*) The nominations of the selection committees may be sent direct to the Executive Council and not confidentially through the Academic Council, since to do so would be to court undesirable discussion and possibly personal intrigue.

(*b*) Cases may arise where a selection committee in England will not prove either the best or a necessary instrument for nomination, and where the Secretary of State could select without the aid of a Committee. But this course should not be adopted unless the Chancellor reports to the Secretary of State that exceptional circumstances exist justifying it.

(*ix*) *Admission.*—Provision should be made as in the Dacca Bill requiring the approval of the Government of India to the acceptance of other

examinations as equivalent to the intermediate and degree examinations or to any other tests which are to be recognised as the minimum qualification admitting to the courses of the University. This seems to be desirable because such examinations will not be confined to Bengal and because the whole question of admission to universities must be dealt with by some central authority if confusion and undue competition are to be avoided. Moreover, lack of uniformity in these matters is liable to prove embarrassing to Indian students proceeding to England.

(*x*) *Territorial jurisdiction.*—It is desirable that the Bill should contain a clause generally similar to section 27 of the Indian Universities Act, VIII of 1904. The limits of the teaching organisation should also be laid down ; and it is proposed to express them as co-terminous with municipal Calcutta as defined in the Calcutta Municipal Act, III of 1899.

(*xi*) *Extinction of privileges.*—It seems necessary to provide for the extinction of all privileges conferred under the existing Act with a view to their re-conferment at the discretion of the Executive Commission.

(*xii*) *The Executive Commission.*—The Executive Commission will be limited to seven members so as to become a more workable body ; and the representation of the Government of Bengal will be fixed at two members.

Certain other deviations are suggested. These are generally of minor importance. They refer mainly to the procedure following an inquiry by the Visitor or appeals from aggrieved communities, the position of the Treasurer, the provision for certain teachers to appear as private candidates, the inclusion of a new body called the Board of Co-ordination to make the most effective use of the teaching facilities and accommodation, provision for permitting a women's college to attain the rank of a constituent college. Some other unimportant changes will probably figure in the Bill ; and it may be found desirable to express in the Bill itself the proportion and method of Muhammadan representation in the large bodies, *viz.*, the Court, the Executive Council and the Academic Council.

Action contemplated,

37. The Government of India propose to place before the Imperial Legislative Council a Bill embodying the main proposals of the Commission with the deviation indicated above. They do not at the present stage commit themselves as regards these deviations or the detailed provisions of the measure. They trust that the Senate of the University of Calcutta and such other bodies as are closely concerned with the questions at issue will forward their opinions at a very early stage through His Excellency the Rector or the Government of Bengal, as the case may be, in such time as to permit of the publication of the Bill by the end of April 1920.

V.—Conclusion.

Need for co-operation.

38. The Government of India are well aware that the proposals of the Commission may excite apprehensions in the minds of some. Vested interests may suspect that they are threatened, the sentiments which have grown round the University as it exists may feel themselves touched. But the scheme which the Commission has framed shows due consideration in all these matters. It is necessary to recognise the task of public instruction in all its branches as an important trust laid upon Government and upon the

nation, in which, while violence to personal interests should where possible be avoided, the greatest good of the majority must prevail. The traditions and the affections which cling round a time-honoured institution will only be strengthened by its development; for progress with the times must now, more than ever, be the watchword in education and the Commission has amply shown that the system in Bengal calls for re-adjustment to suit changing circumstances. It is not pretended that the realisation of the Commission's proposals will be an easy matter. Funds will be required, high administrative ability will have to be allayed and the claims of conflicting interests adjudicated. The Government of India are assured that there is at the present moment in Bengal a strong and genuine aspiration for improved methods in the higher branches of instruction. They feel therefore that they can confidently look for the assistance and co-operation of the educated classes in carrying out the high and difficult enterprise on which the Commission has invited them to embark. They believe that these changes, if successfully achieved, will lead to a better order of things, remove any taint of inefficiency and furnish Bengal with a body of educated youth competent to further her interests in intellectual, administrative and industrial activities.

Reply of the Calcutta University Senate to the Government of India Resolution.

31st March '20

It is generally felt by the Members of the Senate that the Resolution mentioned has created a situation of great gravity. The Resolution contemplates a departure from many of the fundamental recommendations made by the Commission which are treated as if they were of minor importance. Besides this, the whole tone of the Resolution is by no means re-assuring, as far-reaching changes, which are described by the Commissioners themselves as revolutionary in character, are apparently intended to be carried through expeditiously, without adequate safeguards that in the process of rapid reconstruction the facilities for high education will not be seriously impaired. The Senate as also the Councils of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts and Science are carefully scrutinising these points, but the Senate have come to the conclusion that pending the formulation of their views in detail, the attention of the Government of India must be forthwith drawn to one fundamental matter which, it may be said without exaggeration, is ignored in the Resolution.

The Report of the Commissioners makes it abundantly clear that the scheme of reform outlined by them cannot possibly be put into operation, much less carried into execution, without adequate provision for funds. Indeed, the Commissioners devote one entire Chapter (Chap LI) covering forty-five closely printed pages to the financial aspects of their proposals. The Resolution in question is practically silent upon this the root problem. The Commissioners have pointed out in various places of their report that educational conditions are not satisfactory, because sufficient money has not hitherto been spent for educational purposes. The estimates they have made in Chapter LI have no pretension to be either exhaustive or accurate But what is equally important is that during the twelve months that have elapsed since the Report was signed, conditions have so rapidly changed that even if these estimates were accurate when they were made, they would require alteration, in some places, substantial alteration, at the present time. In the opinion of the Senate, it would be a grave error to launch a scheme of such complexity and magnitude without adequate financial guarantees This view may be illustrated by reference to a few details which are in no sense intended to be exhaustive.

The Commissioners have recommended that the existing Colleges should be broken up, each into two divisions; what now constitutes the first and second year classes will (with or without school classes attached) be transformed into Intermediate Colleges, while the present third and fourth year classes will become constituent colleges. The Senate do not, at this stage, wish to pronounce an opinion on the question, whether this scheme is on academic grounds desirable, and whether such partition may not mean in many instances the abolition of the third and fourth year classes The Senate wish now only to lay stress on the fact that the Commissioners themselves have pointed out that this will completely dislocate the finances of every existing Institution, and they have furnished estimates, necessarily very

rough, of the sums which will be required to effect the transformation. It is inconceivable, in the opinion of the Senate, that any responsible public authority (unless it intends to destroy suddenly the present system) can embark upon such reform, without investigation of the funds which will be required and which must be supplied before the change can be accomplished. It is important to observe that this proposal of the Commissioners goes to the very root of the matter, because none of the existing institutions can attain the status of a constituent college, unless the present first and second-year classes have been completely separated from the third and fourth-year classes. It is equally clear that unless there are constituent colleges, the scheme developed by the Commissioners cannot be brought into existence.

The difficulty of the situation may be illustrated by reference to one concrete case, namely, that of the Presidency College. The Presidency College is an Institution owned by the State. If it is to be divided into an Intermediate College and a Constituent College, a new building, a new laboratory and a new library and other equipments must be provided for the Intermediate College, it seems probable that considerable additions also will have to be made to the staff, as according to the plan of the Commissioners, the staff of an Intermediate College is to have no connection whatever with that of a constituent College. Consequently, before this transformation can be effected, an estimate must be prepared—with some approach to accuracy—with reference to the cost of acquisition of land, the cost of erection of the new buildings and the cost of equipment of a new Library and a new Laboratory as also the additional recurring expenditure due to the creation of new teaching posts Such expenditure will most probably require the sanction of the Secretary of State. It cannot, in this connection, be overlooked that even within the last year, after the Commissioners had submitted their report, the cost of land in the neighbourhood of College Square as also in various other parts of Calcutta and the suburbs has increased to a phenomenal extent from various causes, amongst others, the operations of the Calcutta Improvement Trust It would thus be obviously disastrous, if the scheme were first brought into operation and then it was discovered that the necessary funds were not available

But what has been mentioned with regard to the Presidency College applies to other Institutions in at least an equal degree The Resolution contemplates the speedy extinction of what are called temporarily affiliated-colleges, but it does not appear to have been realised that there is not, within the jurisdiction of the University, a single college at the present time which fulfils the requirements prescribed by the Commissioners for a constituent College, and if the destruction of the temporarily affiliated colleges is deemed so desirable an object, that fate is likely to await the large majority, if not all, of the existing colleges, whether maintained by the State or by missionary organisations or by other private agencies It is, however, not the Colleges alone whose needs require consideration The Commissioners contemplate a central organisation in the new teaching University at Calcutta with adequate buildings for lecture halls, libraries, reading rooms and laboratories, and they have furnished some indication of the sums which will approximately be required for this purpose. There are also the Colleges in the Moffassil which will stand in need of considerable outlay. These and many other heads of immediate expenditure are tabulated at page 293 of Vol V of the Report. The Senate have no desire to conceal from Government the fact that they have read the Resolution, not merely with keen disappointment but with grave concern, as no reference is made therein to the financial aspect of the reforms, even in so far as they have received their provisional approval; and it is apparently assumed that the reforms may be initiated without any

reference to the question, whether funds will or will not be forthcoming. In the opinion of the Senate, it would be detrimental to the best interests of education, if such a step were taken without financial guarantees, not merely because the existing system would thereby almost certainly be dislocated without any compensating advantages, but also because the sympathies of all persons interested in the progress of education, whose co-operation, according to the Commissioners, is vitally necessary for the success of the new scheme, would be completely alienated therefrom Such a result as this would unquestionably be lamentable from every conceivable point of view. The Senate further desire to emphasize that mere re organisation of the administrative machinery and the creation of highly paid administrative posts would be futile for the purpose of the reforms. What is most urgently needed is adequate funds for the improvement of the teaching organisation in the University, in the Colleges, and in the Schools, and the Senate are most emphatically of opinion that it would be a great blunder to spend money on salaried Vice-Chancellors, Pro-Vice-Chancellors, Inspectors and other officers, if the Institutions where the students are trained, continue to be starved or half starved from the lack of funds.

In view of all these circumstances, the Senate have adopted the following resolution which they place before the Government for sympathetic consideration and for approval :

"That a letter be addressed to the Government of India, emphasising the "necessity for :

"(1) an immediate scrutiny of the financial aspect of the proposed scheme "of reconstruction of University and secondary education ;

"(2) an accurate ascertainment of the sums, initial and recurring, which "will be needed for the purpose ;

"(3) a definite assurance that the requisite funds will be available for at "least ten years ; and suggesting that the details be worked out by a small "committee appointed by the Government of India, and composed of—

"(*i*) a representative of the Government of India ;

"(*ii*) a representative of the Government of Bengal ;

"(*iii*) three representatives nominated by the Senate."

The reasons already outlined so abundantly support these proposals that a detailed justification need not be attempted with regard to each clause of the motion adopted by the Senate. The first and second clauses are manifestly dictated by ordinary prudence. No sane individual, much less a circumspect public authority, would initiate an extensive scheme of reform, however desirable, unless the necessary funds were available. The attempt to reconstruct without adequate funds, the entire educational machinery of a presidency, would be as open to reproach, if not ridicule, as the endeavour of an individual who, without ascertaining whether he has sufficient money for the purpose, embarks upon the demolition of his ancestral dwelling house and the erection of an expensive structure, which, however ideal, proves in the end to be beyond his limited means. But not only do the Senate insist that the cost of reconstruction of University and secondary education, both initial and recurring, should be forthwith ascertained with some approach to accuracy, they further desire that the sum so determined to be requisite should be guaranteed for a period of at least ten years. The Senate lay the strongest possible emphasis on this request. The Senate are of opinion that the realisation of a reform of this description should not be made dependent, from year to year, upon the chance good will of an individual or of a Government. The Commissioners have pointed out in unmistakable terms that the work of reconstruction must be spread over

many years, and it is indubitable that throughout such period there must be a steady and continuous supply of the requisite funds. In this connection, the Senate cannot overlook that the financial position of the Government, both Imperial and Provincial is in a state of transition in view of the reforms which will come into operation from the commencement of the year. The financial relations between the Imperial and Provincial Governments will shortly be readjusted. Education, it is understood, will be a transferred subject and the responsibility will be cast upon the Minister (and consequently upon the Legislative Council ultimately) to provide the funds required for the development and reconstruction of education in all its grades. No one will venture seriously to question that it would be a blunder of the utmost gravity to launch a scheme of reform of University and Secondary education at this critical juncture in the history of the country without previously ascertaining, first the minimum sum which will be required in the way of capital as well as recurring expenditure to allow the scheme to be fairly launched, and secondly, that the sum determined on investigation to be absolutely essential will be forthcoming for a term of years. The Senate do not consider that ten years is by any means too long a period for this purpose. As an illustration of what has happened in the past and what is likely to happen again if schemes of reform are initiated without adequate funds reference may be made to the chapters on Secondary Education in the Report of the Commission. It is pointed out by the Commissioners that shortly after the enactment of the Indian Universities Act, 1904, steps were taken to improve the condition of secondary education in Bengal. A committee was appointed by Government to prepare detailed plans for the improvement of Schools by means of subventions from the public funds. But although a dozen years have elapsed since the Committee submitted their recommendations the proposed scheme has not been carried into execution. There can be little doubt that if the problem of the secondary education had been seriously tackled and funds provided on a generous scale for its improvement the educational outlook at the present moment might have been fundamentally different.

There is one other question which demands more than a passing reference. Under the existing constitution, the Government of India exercises authority over the University which controls the Colleges as well as the Schools. The Commissioners recommended that the Schools as also the Intermediate Colleges should be placed under a Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education, while the Degree College will be placed under the new University. The Board, in each administrative area, will be under the Local Government concerned, while the reconstituted University will be under the Government of Bengal with His Excellency the Governor as its Chancellor. The Resolution contemplates that legislation should be undertaken, at present, by the Government of India, only in respect of that fragment of the present University, which will become the University of the future, while the other fragment which is now concerned with the Schools and Intermediate Colleges will be left to be treated by the Local Government in its discretion. The danger involved in such piece meal reconstruction by two district authorities, namely, the present Government of India and the future Government of Bengal, are too manifest to require elaboration. The unwisdom of such a course can well be compared with that of the person who gets the superstructure of an edifice constructed first by one architect, and leaves the basement to be reconstructed later by another architect. But the proposal apparently favoured in the Resolution involves a danger of much greater magnitude. The Report of the Commissioners discloses that for more than a dozen years a determined and persistent effort has been made in some quarters to take away the schools from the control of a statutory though semi-official body like the University and to place them under departmental official control. That effort has hitherto been signally unsuccessful in this Presidency, but, it seems, is now to be revived on a more comprehensive scale than before. The Commissioners have by a majority of five

against two (neither of whom had any experience of local conditions) condemned in the most emphatic language imaginable, the proposal to place the Schools under the Department; they have, on the other hand, recommended the creation of a new regularly constituted authority with well-defined executive and financial powers, to supervise the Schools and the Intermediate Colleges. The Resolution brushes away these proposals and favours the highly objectionable view that the proposed new authority should have no statutory position, so that it may be created and consequently abolished or modified in constitution and personnel, by a Resolution of the Executive Government. There can be no room for controversy that this reactionary plan is in substance an attempt to departmentalise not merely the Schools but also the intermediate Colleges. The extreme gravity of the danger to public interests involved in a proposal of this character cannot be overestimated, and the Senate will deal fully, later on, with all the implications of such a scheme; they now limit themselves to the financial aspect alone of the proposals for piece-meal reconstruction. The questions which necessarily arise may be briefly stated. Should the Government of India undertake legislation for construction of the future University, and, without financial guarantees, make over the new University to the Government of Bengal, the very moment the legislation is completed? Should the Government of India, again, undertake such legislation, and, at the same time, leave to another Government and to the uncertainty of the future, action which is vitally necessary for the improvement of secondary and intermediate education? Should not the whole problem of reconstruction be solved by one Government, and that the new Government of Bengal which will be inaugurated next year? If not, will the first Minister in charge of Education, in the new Government of Bengal, be in a position to finance the scheme manufactured in advance for his benefit by the Government of India? Can the funds necessary for the proposed reconstruction of University, Intermediate and Secondary education, be provided out of the existing revenues, or, will it be necessary for the Minister to impose a new tax for all grades of educations. The Senate feel confident that none of these pertinent questions can be satisfactorily grappled with unless the financial aspect of the reforms has been closely scrutinised as proposed by them.

The Senate finally direct me to emphasise that they do not desire that reform should be needlessly impeded, but they deprecate reform on paper and emphatically object to a more reorganisation of the administrative machinery with consequent increase of expenditure thereon. They are most anxious to co-operate with the Government in the accomplishment of a reasonable scheme of reform which will improve the quality of education without restricting the facilities for education; they want more education and better education. But they feel convinced that this end can be achieved, only if sufficient funds are provided, and, the sum requisite must be determined with some approach to precision. In their opinion, the only feasible method is an investigation of the financial aspect of the proposed scheme by a Committee so constituted that it may command the confidence both of the Government and of the public. They accordingly recommend that a Committee of five should be appointed by the Government of India composed of a representative of that Government, a representative of the Government of Bengal, and three representatives nominated by the Senate. The Senate feel confident that if the Government be willing to grant this request for co operation, they will be able to choose as their representative men who are intimately acquainted with the manifold phases of the scheme of reform outlined by the Commissioners, and are at the same time conversant with the details of University, College and School administration; it is men of this type alone who can form a safe and satisfactory judgment upon the difficult and complex problem of transformation of the old order into the new.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA REPORT ON

Indian Education in 1918-19.

1.—Main features of the year.

During the year three factors operated against the progress of of education—war and its results, influenza and a wide-spread failure of crops.

The war—While these events were generally depressing in their influence, they have provided some experience which it is proper to record. Colleges, schools and officers of the department in the Bombay Presidency contributed over 10½ lakhs to war loans, nearly half a lakh to "Our Day," more than a lakh to the Belgian children's relief fund, and more than a quarter of a lakh to entertainments in connection with war relief funds. A single European school in Burma gave Rs. 30,000 to war charities and others gave substantial sums. Schools in Berar contributed large sums. Offers of service flowed in from teachers and institutions of the North-West Frontier Province. In the United Provinces a large amount of publicity work was done by the Educational staff, especially that at the Training College. In the Central Provinces prizes were given for essays, etc., on the War and a cinematograph tour was arranged.

Many teachers and inspectors remained on military duty. Bombay reports thirteen pupils or ex-pupils of European and English-teaching schools killed in action. Between 400 and 500 pupils and ex-pupils of European schools in Burma were on active service; 60 obtained Commissions, 31 were killed in action or died in captivity.

Orders were issued regarding the education at the expense of the State of the children of all who, whether combatant or non-combatant, died or were incapacitated while on the active list. The Silver Wedding Fund, promoted by Her Excellency Lady Chelmsford as a gift to Their Majesties on the twenty-fifth anniversary of their wedding, is to be devoted to the higher or technical education of the children of Indians who fulfil the same conditions. It has reached a total of about twelve lakhs.

Influenza. The terrible epidemic of influenza which, at the close of 1918, carried off millions of lives throughout India, caused grave dislocation in the schools and colleges. But, writes the Director in the Central Provinces, though disastrous to our

numbers, it "called forth all that was best in the life and spirit of many of our schools and colleges. Their volunteer work in general, and the work of some institutions in particular, won the approbation of the Chief Commissioner. Among all the voluntary workers no class won more respect than our professors and masters and the students or pupils whom they organised and stimulated." The Bombay report similarly speaks of the work done by a school during a severe cholera epidemic.

Famine. A wide-spread failure of crops, bringing in its train high prices and famine, doubtless had its effects. But, as shown below, they were less noticeable than on the occasion of previous similar disasters. The Director in the Central Provinces considers that the economic factor as determining school attendance is often exaggerated, and supports his contention by a comparison of rich and poor areas.

Figures of schools and pupils. The effect of these three causes is seen in the figures of pupils. The total of these, whether in public or private schools, amounted to 7,936,577.

The provincial figures are as follows :—

	No. of pupils on 31st March 1919.	Amount of increase or decrease in the year.	Percentage of increase or decrease in the year.	Percentage of the population under instruction.
Madras ...	1,692,951	−3,588	−0·21	4·08
Bombay ...	834,003	+52,329	+6·69	4·24
Bengal ...	1,931,535	−33,738	−1·72	4·25
United Provinces	924,679	+6,421	+0·70	1·97
Punjab ...	477,200	+8,361	+1·78	2·44
Burma ...	572,908	−11,390	−1·95	4·73
Bihar and Orissa	827,140	−25,184	−2·95	2·40
Central Provinces and Berar ...	349,743	−3,701	−1·05	2·51
Assam ...	224,715	−5,370	−2·33	3·34
North-West Frontier Province ...	48,360	+2,226	+4·82	2·20
Other administrations ...	53,343	+2,143	+4·18	3·32
INDIA ...	7,936,577	−11,491	−0·14	3·25

These figures require further analysis on the basis of public and private institutions :—

Province.	In Public Institutions.			In Private Institutions.		
	No. of pupils on 31st March 1918.	Amount of increase or decrease in the year	Percentage of increase or decrease in the year.	No. of pupils on 31st March 1918.	Amount of increase or decrease in the year.	Percentage of increase or decrease in the year.
Madras ...	1,583,087	+ 3,343	+ ·21	109,864	−6,931	− 5·92
Bombay ...	797,406	+56,102	+7·57	36,597	−3,773	− 9·34
Bengal ...	1,862,326	−30,625	−1·62	69,209	− 3,113	− 4·30
United Provinces ...	848,049	+16,116	+2·06	76,630	−9,695	−11·22
Punjab ...	431,628	+11,584	+2 76	45,572	−3,223	− 6·60
Burma ...	377,191	− 6,121	−1 60	195,717	−5,269	− 2·62
Bihar and Orissa ...	789,096	−16,116	−2·00	38,044	−9,068	−19·25
Central Provinces and Berar ...	347,747	− 3,721	−1·06	1,996	+20	+ 1·01
Assam ...	215,448	− 6,021	−2·72	9,267	... 651	+ 7·55
North-West Frontier Province ...	42,637	+ 1,412	+3·42	5,723	... 814	+16·58
Other administrations	44,048	+ 968	+2 25	9,295	...1,175	+14·47
India ...	7,338,663	+26,921	+0·37	597,914	−38,412	− 6·04

The decrease in numbers has taken place in private schools only, public schools showing an increase. The decrease is found principally in the Eastern provinces, particularly in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa which together account for a decrease of over 58,000 and of nearly 47,000 in public institutions, while the Western provinces, namely Bombay, the Punjab and North West Frontier Province show a fair increase totalling some 63,000. It is remarkable that, while on all hands the three causes mentioned above are represented as those which have mainly retarded progress, the very provinces where their greatest effect would naturally be expected, have actually shown slight increases of pupils.

The students in colleges have increased from 62,936 to 63,830 by 894 ; in secondary schools the numbers have increased from 1, 198,586 to 1,212,133 or by 13,547 ; in primary schools the pupils have increased from 5, 932,741 to 5,941,482 by 8, 741.

In the third year of the war the increase of pupils amounted to 234,450. In the fourth year it sank to 96,122 ; and I remarked that the adverse influences of the war had begun to work. In the present year the decrease amounted to 11,491.

Perhaps the wonder is that the effects were not greater. During the famine of 1897 the total shrank from 4, 356, 870 to 4,274,275 ; as a result of that of 1899 from 4,452,788 to 4,409,765. During the present year, when a particularly wide-spread failure of the crops was combined with the paralysing effects of war and an unexampled mortality from disease, the decrease has been negligible and is confined to private institutions.

The number of institutions has risen by 428. This in itself is satisfactory. It is less satisfactory, as discounting the optimistic view that one has only to provide facilities in order to increase attendance, that, while the increase in public institutions has been by 1.78 per cent., pupils in them have increased only by 0·37 per cent. Mr. Mayhew, while admitting that much is rightly attributed to the abnormal circumstances of the year, does not consider that their mere absence and a more liberal expenditure of money will in themselves ensure any rapid advance in the vernacular education of either boys or girls. Secondary and collegiate education will soon re-establish itself numerically. The progress of male vernacular education depends on compulsion and a clearer realisation on the part of local bodies of their responsibilities, combined with more systematic consideration of how this responsibility may be discharged. Female education depends on the growth of a demand that does not exist at present."

Expenditure. Expenditure for the pre-war year and for succeeding years was as follows.

Year.	Public funds.	Private funds.	TOTAL.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1913-14 ...	5,50,11,490	4,52,12,387	10,02,23,877
1914-15 ...	6,33,02,792	4,58,67,700	10,91,70,492
1915-16 ...	6,21,68,904	4,86,60,345	11,08,29,249
1916-17 ...	6,14,80,471	5,14,02,597	11,28,83,068
1917-18 ...	6,48,01,690	5,34,07,447	11,82,09,137
1918-19 ...	7,17,26,292	5,81,36,781	12,98,63,073

Public funds are made up of provincial and local (including municipal funds). Expenditure from the former increased during the year by Rs. 52, 33, 461 or 10·7 per cent. that from the latter increased by Rs. 16,91,141 or 10·8 per cent.

If economic pressure has persisted, it has not succeeded in damping the desire for higher education. The increase in fees has been by Rs.21,15,454, of which Rs.9,49,814 represents increase in secondary schools and colleges. In Bengal alone the increase in fees has been Rs.12,69,007. A European citizen of Calcutta has given 10 lakhs largely for the creation of scholarships for European and Anglo-Indian boys and girls, and partly for the education of Indians.

A reference to General Table II reveals the fact that out of the total expenditure from provincial funds upon education the percentage spent upon primary education has increased, while there have been corresponding decreases in the proportion spent upon collegiate education, direction and inspection. Another feature is that, owing partly to an increase in the number of students in government colleges, there has been a substantial decrease in the cost per head, while the cost per pupil in primary schools of all kinds has increased by nearly 13 annas, notwithstanding an increase in the number of pupils, and in government, board and municipal schools by still larger amounts. The general result is that expenditure on universities has increased by $11\frac{2}{3}$ lakhs; on colleges by $4\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs (mainly through increased fees and endowments); on secondary schools by 28 lakhs (to which increase provincial funds contribute $10\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs); on primary schools by nearly 43 lakhs (to which provincial funds contribute $29\frac{1}{4}$ and local fund $6\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs); on special institutions by nearly $6\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs;

and on miscellaneous objects by nearly 19½ lakhs.* These, with other smaller increases, make a total increase of over 116½ lakhs (to which provincial funds contribute 52⅓ and local and municipal funds nearly 17 lakhs).

Imperial grants. Two further imperial grants, each of 30 lakhs recurring, were made during the year. One was for primary education, the other for agricultural and technical (including commercial) education. The grant for primary education was at once definitely assigned in fixed sums to the provinces. Of the other grant (which was made as the result of a resolution brought forward in the Imperial Legislative Council), 21 lakhs was distributed for agricultural education (and a further sum of 1·80 lakh added from the wheat profits) and 9 lakhs for technical education.

The following table shows the grants in lakhs of Rupees.

Year.		Recurring grants.	Non-recurring grants
1910-11 ...		...	93.00
1912-13 ...		60.00	3,87.18
1913-14 ...	old	60.00	...
	new	55.00	0.95
1914-15 ...	old	1,15.00	...
	new	9.00	12.25
1915 16 ...	old	1,24.00	...
	new	...	...
1916-17 ...	old	1,24.00	...
	new	...	...
1917-18 ...	old	1,24.00	...
	new	30.00	...
1918-19 ...	old	1,54.00	...
	new	60.00	1.80
TOTAL ...		9,15.00	4,95.18

* This large item is partially accounted for by the inclusion of items previously shown under other heads.

The table which forms an appendix shows the amounts expended from these grants. Of the total of 1410·18 lakhs allotted 1407.98 have been placed in Provincial balances or otherwise made available for expenditure. The expenditure out of these grants has amounted to 1118.48 lakhs and a sum of 289.50 lakhs remains unspent. There is a small sum of 2.2 lakhs which is held in reserve by the Department of Education. Of the unspent balances 128.39 lakhs are debitable to the recurring assignments, while 161.13 lakhs are debitable to the non-recurring grants. The largest amounts unspent are again in the balances of Bengal.

Main features summarised. The main features of the year then, as exhibited in statistics, may be summed up as follows. Expenditure increased by over 116½ lakhs and now stands at the unprecedented figure of Rs. 12,98,63,073 (£8,657,538). Public institutions have increased by 2,820 and now number 162,330. The pupils in them have also increased, though only by the small figure of 26,921, and now number 7⅓ millions. Even in these public institutions, boys show a decline. The situation has been saved by the girls, whose number has increased by nearly 50,000. Private institutions have declined by 2,392 to 35,017 and their pupils by 38,412 to 597,914, though here also there is a slight increase of girls The net results are a total of 197, 347 institutions and a total of 7,936,577 pupils—the former representing a small increase and the latter a decrease of 11,491. But it is on public institutions that attention naturally focusses. The lack of any increase of pupils corresponding to the great increase of facilities, the fact that girl pupils show increase against a decrease among boys—these have been the not unnatural characteristics of a year of pestilence, famine and the aftermath of war. On the other hand, the renewal of expenditure on educational expansion and improvement and the large increase of public institutions give hope for a rapid restoration of progress in the future. In the quinquennium ending 1902 the average annual expenditure on education, was 376 lakhs. In the quinquennium ending 1907, this figure increased by 118 lakhs, and in the next quinquennium, ending 1912, there was a further increase of 196 lakhs. The average expenditure in the quinquennium ending 1917, though this included nearly three years of war, showed an increase of 357 lakhs, and the past two years have again shown an average increase of 170 lakhs. In seven years, for the most part years of widespread disaster, the annual educational expenditure in India has come within reasonable distance of doubling.

Principal events. Among the principal events of the year may be mentioned the conclusion of the labours of the Calcutta University Commission ; the distribution of the two new Imperial grants to which allusion has already been made ; the sanction of a comprehensive scheme for the improvement of the secondary education in Bengal ; and the institution of the scheme for the education of the children of fallen or disabled Indian soldiers. The Indian Educational Service had hitherto contained only 5 Indians. During the year 13 Indians were appointed to it, and 20 more shortly after the conclusion of the period. The Government of India proposed to local Governments a scheme for making a solid advance in primary education : replies to that reference are not yet completed. Among personal matters there have to be recorded the death of Dr. Venis, a ripe and devoted Sanskrit scholar, and the retirement of Mr. Bain, an inspiring teacher and a polished scholar and author. The remainder of this section deals with matters of general interest.

Pay of Teachers. In *Bombay* the rates of pay for trained primary teachers were radically altered. A teacher now starts on Rs. 15, Rs.20 or Rs.25 according as he has gone through one, two or three years of training, and rises by a time-scale to at least Rs.30, Rs.40 or Rs.60 (in Sind the initial and maximun rates are in all cases, save the Rs. 60 grade, higher by Rs.5). Further, of the total of posts, 10 per cent. for each class of teachers is placed in a selection grade of Rs.40, Rs.55 or Rs.75. The minimum pay of untrained teachers has been raised from Rs.10 to Rs.12 and that of untrained headmasters from Rs.12 to Rs.15. War allowances were also granted to teachers in Governments, Board and Municipal schools. In the *Punjab* the Subordinate Service has been reorganised and divided into two sections. In the Anglo-Vernacular section the initial pay is a grade of Rs. 20-30, the highest Rs. 400. The other section of classical, vernacular and Drill masters : the lowest grade is, Rs. 20-30, the higest Rs. 100-140. District Boards too have, thanks to government grants, increased the pay of primary teachers the scale for whom is now generally from Rs. 15-30 or even Rs. 35. In *Burma* an improved scale for the teachers of Government Ango-vernacular schools was introduced. In *Behar* and *Orissa* an important reform was carried out by the transfer of the Head masterships of Government high Schools and the district inspectorships to the Provincial Educational Service.

Lower inspecting staff was also reorganised, the assistant sub-inspectors inspecting pandits under Boards being replaced by sub-inspectors in government service. The increase in the cost

of a primary school in that province exhibits the fact that the pay of elementary teachers has sensibly risen. In *Assam* the capitation system was abolished. In the *North-West Frontier Province* the pay of junior certificated vernacular teachers, which had been Rs. 16 rising by Quinquennial increments to Rs. 22, was increased to Rs. 16, rising by biennial increment Rs. 25, and that of uncertificated teachers from Rs. 12 to Rs. 14; and here also war allowances were given.

Provident fund. Soon after the close of the year, the Government of India issued a general *Provident fund* scheme for teachers in private employ. Its main features are a contribution by the teacher of one anna in each rupee of his pay (exceptions being made in the case of particularly low-paid teachers) and contributions from the management of the school and Government, each amounting to one-half of the teacher's contribution. The teacher on retirement draws the total deposit from the post office savings bank, together with interest. In the Punjab rules had already been issued much upon these lines.

Systems of grant-in-aid. In Madras the rates of capitation grant payable to trained teachers have been raised. In Burma the grant-system has been simplified; a single maintenance grant is based on the difference between income from fees at standard rates and approved recurring expenditure.

Secondary school examinations. The figures of secondary school examinations were as follows.

	School-leaving examination (including the European high school and Cambridge local examination.)			University Matriculation Examinations.		
	Candidates.	Passes.	Percentage of success.	Candidates.	Passes.	Percentage of success.
1917-18	12,895	8,419	65·2	32,248	16,803	52·1
1918-19	18,011	12,091	67·2	27,935	16,433	58·8

In Madras the number of candidates for the secondary school-leaving certificate again increased and the school-leaving certificate examination in the United Provinces continues to grow in popularity, 26 additional schools having been newly recognised for it. The Calcutta matriculation examination has been abolished in

Burma, where a joint board has been instituted for the conduct of the Anglo-vernacular high school final examination. The joint board instituted in Bombay has commenced operations and negotiations have been proceeding in the Punjab for the institution of a similar body. In the North-West Frontier Province also a school final examination has been established, qualifying in certain groups for admission to the Punjab University, while pupils are also permitted to compete for the matriculation.

The medium of instruction. In the last annual narrative the movement in favour of carrying instruction through the vernacular up to higher stages was noted ; but certain indications were also recorded which seemed to show that the demand for English as the medium and as a subject was increasing. As regards the teaching of English, an important change was made in the Punjab, where the commencement of English previously made in the fourth primary class, was postponed to the middle department in order that rural boys coming to English schools might not be handicapped. It is interesting to observe that though latitude was given to schools under private management to begin English at an earlier stage, if required, the change met with opposition on the ground that the standard of matriculation English was likely to deteriorate. In Bombay too a demand has been made for English in the vernacular school and arrangements have been made for opening English classes in selected vernacular schools. In the United Provinces, English has been made an optional subject in the vernacular final examination.

Manual training. The manual training given in some of the government high schools of the *Bombay* Presidency has greatly interested the pupils, who turn out excellent models. A similar experiment in certain government and aided high schools of *Bengal* has proved successful. In the *Punjab* the policy is pursued of starting a single centre for the various schools of a town. The classes in *Bihar* and *Orissa* continue to do good work and are growing in popularity. A scheme has been made in the *Central Provinces* and a highly qualified instructor obtained from England.

School hygiene. The system of medical inspection started in in the *Punjab* in 1915 is in abeyance owing to the absence of the medical inspectors on military duty. The scheme in *Assam* is proving useful, though not fully appreciated by conservative guardians. Inspection was continued in *Bihar and Orissa* and a whole-time Medical Officer of the status of an Assistant Surgeon has now been sanctioned for each division and a lady doctor for the whole province. There has been a good deal of

activity in organising classes under the St. John Ambulance Association. In *Bombay*, instruction in first aid is regularly given by honorary workers and many boys have appeared for and passed the first aid certificate. In Sind, where snakes are numerous, an attempt is being made to instruct teachers and pupils in the treatment of snakebites. In *Burma*, the Association provided lectures and conducted examinations in seventeen schools and 426 condidates were presented for examination. First aid and hygiene classes are conducted in the Normal School for Women at Jubbulpore in the *Central Provinces*. A number of classes have been started in high schools in *Assam* and it is hoped to make them a regular feature of the high school system.

Hostels. The number of students resident in hostels has risen from 159,815 to 161,716; the capital expenditure from Rs.12,27,119 to Rs25,82,021. In Bombay college hostels are reported to be so popular that accommodation is inadequate to meet the demand for admission.

Religious and moral instruction. Moral instruction is given in all government high schools in *Bombay*. The Director remarks on the good effect produced by healthy sports and the inculcation of the spirit of playing the game. But he wisely says that the direct instruction conveyed through lectures is suitable to the Indian temperament and has its uses. From this Presidency and elsewhere gratifying instances are reported of social service during cholera and influenza epidemics. The report from the *United Provinces* states that religious education finds practically no place in any save denominational schools and that no general demand for it exists. In *Burma*, religious instruction is as far as possible given in government schools, and testimony here also is borne to the value of direct teaching.

Discipline. Discipline on the whole is reported as satisfactory. But there was some trouble in the *Central Provinces* about leakage of examination papers. More serious still, signs are not wanting that political agitation and the unrest characteristic of the times are having their effect in certain institutions. The *Bombay* report complains that undue pre-occupation in politics is effecting the conduct and progress of students. The inspector of schools, *Nagpur*, speaks of the pernicious influence still exercised over schools by agitators and the extremist press. He says that, while control by headmasters is improving, many assistants are still afraid of their pupils and are controlled by their classes. *Assam* reports the burning down of two schools.

Boy Scouts. Schemes for encouraging the Boy Scouts' movement have had varied fortunes. There is considerable activity

in some of the larger cities, and the League of Honour in the *Central Provinces and Berar* has been placed on a regular and recognised footing and is proving very successful. The Boy Scouts system in the schools of Belgaum and Karwar in *Bombay* is said to have improved discipline. In *Assam*, on the other hand, the movement is reported to be either dead or in a state of suspended animation.

Co-operation. In the Punjab lectures were given in schools and colleges on the work of the co-operative societies. The Khalsa College has formed a flourishing co-operative supply society ; and school co-operative societies are springing up in that province.

II.—Universities and Colleges.

Developments in the universities. The principal event of the year was the conclusion of the labours of the Calcutta University Commission. Their report appeared in the following August, and hence will more properly form a topic in the next year's narrative. One of their principal recommendations, the transfer of intermediate classes to the school system, was carried out during the year at the Patna College.

The following developments show that the universities are alive to the necessity of assisting in the commercial and industrial revival which is taking place. In the University of *Madras* classes were opened for a diploma in Economics and are attended by whole-time and part-time students. The *Punjab* University is moving in the same direction and the Senate has accepted a scheme for a diploma of Commerce with a two years course. The Universities of *Bombay* and *Allahabad* already have degrees or diplomas of this nature, the former University is founding a school of Economics and Sociology and has secured therefor the services of Prof. Patrick Geddes; and the University of *Calcutta* has framed a plan which is now being considered in the light of the Commission's report. The *Benares* Hindu University is opening a college of Mechanical and Electrical Engineering.

As regards University Corps, the Bombay report mentions that 417 students of colleges under that University have been enrolled during the year ; two companies have been organised, one for Bombay and the other for Poona Colleges; and it is hoped that this movement will become a permenent feature of university life. Concessions were granted by the same University to deserving students of the Indian Defence Force whose studies had been interrupted.

New Universities. The proposals for the creation of new universities at Rangoon and Nagpur are being completed and

sites have been acquired for their buildings. In persuance of the Calcutta University Commission's recommendations, a Bill was introduced in September 1919 in the Imperial Legislative Council for the incorporation of a unitary University at Dacca.

Colleges. The number of arts (including oriental) colleges increased by 8 to 146 and that of their students by 289 to 50,730. The number of professional colleges remained unchanged at 63, and their students increased by 605 to 13,100.

In Bombay there has been a change of policy. Hitherto colleges have been located only in the larger centres. Now colleges have opened at Surat and at Sangli in the South-maratha country. These, with the Dharwar College and certain colleges in the Kathiawar States, now form a series of outlying institutions; and the Director suggests that some definite line is necessary for the guidance of future developments. Two new colleges were opened in the Bengal *mufassal.* In the Punjab the need has been felt for new collegiate centres and Ludhiana and Multan have been selected as the site for government institutions.

College work. The most noticeable remarks upon college work occur in the Bombay report. "The institution of an honours course" writes Mr. Covernton, "is stated to have carried with it an excessive and unnecessary depreciation of the pass degree, which with its restricted course of study seems to provide only a very narrow culture. The reports of the University examiners on the work presented to them contain much illuminating criticism which might give pause to many students if it were ever read by them and should at any rate afford their teachers not a little material for sober reflection if they are inclined to err on the side of optimism in reviewing the merits of their pupils or the future of university education. Bad English, bad spelling, bad handwriting, irrelevance, verbosity, inaccuracy, untidiness, absence of originality, inability to think or express themselves clearly are charged against candidates of all grades And the charges are not general but are supported by chapter and verse which occasionally furnish diverting reading. Perhaps the subjects which are worst done and in which defects are most dangerous are History, Economics, Science (in the narrower sense) and Medicine. The examiners in Medical Jurisprudence emphasize the lamentable want of observation shown by candidates and their inveterate habit of shirking autopsies, and draw unkind comparisons in matters of writing, composition and relevance with alumni of other Indian universities whom they have recently examined." This is a strong indictment: nor is it minimised by the parting remarks of Mr. Bain, a principal of long experience, who, on the

verge of retirement, laments the deterioration visible in the intellectual capacity of the average student and suggests that it reacts upon the educator. Colleges are said to be overcrowded with youths unfitted for an academic career and teachers have a greater dead weight to lift than they can cope with. The report of the Calcutta University Commission tells a not dissimilar tale from the other side of India.

Lady professors. An interesting experiment has been the temporary appointment of ladies as professors in colleges for Indian youths, owing to the absence of the regular incumbents on military service. At the Elphinstone College, Bombay, Miss A. E. M. Moinet, and at the Government College, Rangoon, Miss M. Kingsley, were thus employed. The experiment was distinctly successful.

III.—Secondary education.

Figures. Last year there was an increase in secondary pupils of 12,251, while in the year under review the increase was 13,547; the total number was 1,212,133. The number of secondrry schools rose by 295 to 8,140. Expenditure increased by Rs. 28,03,825 to Rs. 3,66,71,903.

Middle schools (English and Vernacular) have increased by 145 to 6163 while the pupils in them have decreased by 9,750 597-883. In middle English boys schools the pupils decreased by over 18,000. High schools have increased by the large figure of 150 to 1,986 and their pupils by 23,297 to 614,250.

The figures for Bengal are specially remarkable. Middle schools have decreased in number, many of them having become high schools. High schools have increased by 81, but with a rise of only 8,532 pupils, while in all, schools taken together there has been a loss equal to their gain. The Director remarks on the rapid increase of high schools (114 in two years) and the incommensurate increase in pupils (14,406 in the same period). Thus, while schools have increased by over 16 per cent., pupils have increased only by 6.6 per cent. One of the inspectors notes, the growth of rival high schools springing up to the detriment of efficiency and discipline. A similar cry comes from Bombay, where we hear of schools representing no educational idealist commercial ventures carried on only for pecuniary gain, without regular funds, under careless and ignorant management, indulging in undue promotions and developing an unhealthy rivalry with better managed institutions.

General conditions. The feeling of pessimism produced by provincial reports during recent years with regard to the state of secondary education is certainly not allayed by these remarks

nor by the result of the Calcutta University Commission's enquiries. There is, as the Commission observed, a brighter side of the picture. But, taken on the whole, the prospect is not alluring. One cannot but regard the future of secondary, and consequently of collegiate, education with serious apprehension.

Special developments. Two developments in the United Provinces are worthy of note. Intermediate classes are to be added to certain Government high schools and elementary science is to be introduced as a compulsory subject in Anglo-vernacular secondary schools.

In the Punjab, a new class of school, called the Lower Middle, has been created by the addition of two classes to large and well-staffed primary schools. Also, optional English is now permitted in middle vernacular schools in that province, wherever the parents agree to provide the initial cost. It is expected that this will ultimately result in the production of a uniform type of middle school. Indeed, in most parts of India, the middle vernacular school has had its day. It was often an excellent article, and one cannot but view its passing with regret. But education in English is ever more and more in demand.

IV. Primary education.

Figures. In was observed in the last narrative that from 1912 to 1917 the average annual increase among pupils in the primary schools was 166,117 without taking into consideration the fall occasioned by the exclusion of certain Indian States. During 1918-19 there was an increase of 2,396 schools and of 8,741 pupils.

The figures for the provinces are as follows :—

Province.	Number of primary schools.			Number of pupils in primary schools.		
	1917-18.	1918-19.	Increase or decrease of schools.	1917-18.	1918-19.	Increase or decrease of pupils.
Madras ...	31,722	32,009	+ 287	1,401,774	1,400,994	— 780
Bombay ...	11,142	11,968	+ 826	650,830	701,804	+50,974
Bengal ...	44,111	44,925	+ 814	1,409,316	1,384,201	—25,115
United Provinces ...	11,982	12,653	+ 671	706,549	725,462	+18,913
Punjab ...	6,038	6,123	+ 85	285,589	289,690	+ 4,101
Burma ...	7,614	7,316	— 298	247,869	239,767	— 8,102
Bihar and Orissa ...	25,827	25,652	— 175	711,715	695,256	—16,459
Central Provinces and Berar ...	4,109	4,165	+ 56	286,770	275,713	—11,057
Assam ...	4,212	4,271	+ 59	177,721	172,598	— 5,123
North-West Frontier Province ...	626	665	+ 39	27,502	28,443	+ 941
Other Administrations	492	524	+ 32	27,106	27,554	+ 448
INDIA ...	147,875	150,271	+2,396	5,932,741	5,941,482	+ 8,741

It was characteristic of the figures of last year that the increase of pupils was disproportionately small compared to that of schools. In the present year this characteristic is still more fully emphasised in the case of boys by an actual decrease of pupils (amounting to 33,960) in contrast with the increase of schools, although when boys and girls are considered together there has been a slight increase. Last year the average number of pupils in a boys' primary school was 41 ; in the present year it is 39. Bombay is an exception, the increase of pupils having been fully commensurate with that of schools. In Madras the decrease was confined to schools under private management and mainly to unaided schools. In the Punjab there was a considerate increase of pupils attending board schools which, however, was largely discounted by a decrease in aided and unaided schools. From the United Provinces we hear the complaint that the tendency to withdraw the children from the schools at a very early age is not likely to be overcome merely by an extension of facilities. In Burma there was an actual decrease in the number of schools. Some divisional boards deliberately closed inefficient institutions. The decline in schools of Bihar and Orissa occurred among unaided institutions. Publicly managed and aided schools showed an actual increase and there was enhanced expenditure from public funds

The expenditure on primary schools rose by Rs. 42,84,780 to Rs. 3,53,27,294.

The figures given above deal with primary schools. Pupils in the elementary stages of instruction, whether in primary or in secondary schools, and those in private elementary schools teaching a vernacular are as follows.

—	Boys.	Girls.	TOTAL.
In Primary stage of public schools.	5,306,373	1,203,193	6,509,566
In elementary private schools teaching a vernacular.	298,713	19,199	317,912
TOTAL.	5,605,086	1,222,392	6,827,478

Compulsory legislation. Acts permitting the introduction of compulsory primary education in local areas have now been passed in Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces, the Punjab and Bihar and Orissa. The main characteristics of these Bills are as follows. The adoption of compulsion is left to the local bodies. In all the provinces mentioned the principle of compulsion is extended to municipalities, in Bengal and Bihar and Orissa to unions, and in the Punjab to district boards, cantonments, small towns and notified areas. In Bombay and the United Provinces the Acts apply to boys and girls, while in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and the Punjab they apply only to boys. The compulsory age limits are between the ages of 6 and 11 in Bombay, the United Provinces and the Punjab, while in Bengal and Bihar and Orissa the age limits are 6 and 10. In Bombay, the United Provinces and the Punjab compulsory education is to be free. In the other provinces remission of fees is provided for under certain conditions. In all cases parents and employers preventing children complying with the Act are liable to be fined. In all the provinces provision is made for additional taxation. In all cases provision is made for the exemption from the operation of the Acts of particular classes or communities.

In Bengal compulsion is to be preceded by a general provision of educational facilities for all boys and girls between the ages of 6 and 11; but the compulsion which may follow such general provision is applicable to boys only between the ages of 6 and 10.

The applications for the introduction of free and compulsory education made by the municipalities of Bandra and Surat are still under the consideration of the Government of Bombay. A scheme has been sanctioned for the rapid development of education in the city of Bombay, the municipality receiving grants under the same conditions which have been laid down for other municipalities. Further than this, reports do not indicate that steps have been taken to apply the provisions of these Acts. A similar bill permitting compulsory measures has been introduced in the Council of the Central Provinces.

Condition of primary education. Among definite schemes for the spread of primary education that in the United Provinces continues to operate and its effect is indicated by the solid rise in the number of schools with some increase of pupils. In Bombay the programme is under consideration which will provide a school in every village likely to satisfy the requirements of a minimum attendance. The similar scheme in the Punjab for establishing Board schools at every centre where an average attendance of not less than 50 children might be expected conditional upon a

two-mile limit between the schools was emphasised by the issue of a new circular on the subject intended to push on the expansion. The epidemic seriously interfered with the scheme, but 338 new Board schools were opened. The Director in Bengal complains that, though the Imperial recurring grants, amounting to 22½ lakhs, have made it possible to start new schemes, yet the number of primary schools is still hopelessly inadequate, that there are areas and communities still practically untouched, that the provision for training teachers is insufficient, that their remuneration is inadequate and that the housing and equipment are poor. He considers large additional resources as an essential condition of any real advance.

Development in Burma. The new system of divisional boards in control of primary education in Burma appears at the outset to have given some difficulty owing to a confusion regarding the distribution of functions between the inspecting staff and the boards. Steps are being taken to empower the boards with adequate control over the funds at their disposal and to enable them to regulate the expenditure in accordance with their finances. It is remarked in monastic schools in that province that those called B schools which receive grants-in-aid and which, it was hoped, would gradually obtain complete recognition have not proved so successful as was anticipated and it is now admitted that they should be allowed to revert to their position of private institutions. It is now hoped to open schools for the training of *pongyis* and *upazins* who would be attached to important monastic schools. It is thought that this offers the best way of bringing the monastic schools into the public system without sacrifice of their distinctive religious character.

Buildings The question of the provision of cheap but durable buildings is one of such importance that any new plan which is reported is mentioned in these annual narratives. In the present year, however, no hopeful description is given of new types, although a type for 75 pupils at an estimated cost of Rs. 905 is reported from the Central Provinces.

V.—Professional and special.

Oriental learning. There are 13 oriental colleges, with 661 students, representing an increase of 4 colleges but a decrease of 43 students.

The library of manuscripts at the Deccan College, Poona, was handed over to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, which was also entrusted with the management of the Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series and the grant made for its production. A Superintendent of Sanskrit studies has been appointed for Bihar

and Orissa, and has found the system of teaching in the *tols* highly unsatisfactory. An attempt is being made at the Madwat-ul-ulma, Lucknow, to continue the traditional learning with modern ideas of scholarship and the inspector of Arabic *madrassas* reports well upon some of the literary work which is being done.

Engineering. The four colleges have 1,379 students against 1,365 last year. Schools number 17 with 1,015 pupils, against 19 and 1,673. In Bengal a scheme has been worked out for recruiting to the mechanical engineering classes of the college at Sibpur apprentices of four years' standing from the Eastern Bengal Railway Workshop and thereafter perhaps from other workshops.

Technological. There are 272 schools of industries with 13 524 pupils, against 257 and 13,086 last year. The principal event was the distribution of the new imperial grant for technological education (see page 4).

Among developments may be mentioned the sanction of six peripatetic weaving centres in *Bengal*, the commencement of a scheme of practical training of surveyors in mine surveys and the preparation of new proposals for a Technological Institute in Calcutta. Primary and middle schools in the *Punjab* are taking up simple industrial instruction in such subjects as sericulture, wool-spinning, tree-planting rope-making and even soap-making. In the *Central Provinces* the Director of Industries reports that the schools are doing very useful work, though the expectation that pupils would return to their villages and thus improve rural notions of arts and crafts has been falsified owing to the ease with which they find employment in factories. An instance of the utility of the schools is the acceptance by the army inspector of all leather work turned out by the Nagpur school of Handicrafts in contrast with wholesale rejection of shoes made by contractors. An industrial school has been opened at Sibsagar in *Assam*. It is gratifying to learn that all recent ex-pupils of the Fuller Technical School at Shillong are plying the trades they had studied.

Commerce. There are now 82 colleges and schools of commerce with 4,795 pupils, as against 80 and 4,397 last year.

The development of Commercial and Economic studies in the universities has already been mentioned. The number of students in the Sydenham College, Bombay, continues to increase and the Accountancy Diploma Board has commenced operations. So great was the demand for admission to the Lahore Young Men's Christian Association evening commercial classes that only half the applicants could be admitted; many students, however, do not stay long enough to benefit from the course.

Agricultural education. The Board of Agriculture were asked to consider the policy laid down by the conference on Agricultural education held at Simla in June 1917, and the best methods of giving effect to it. At their tenth meeting held in December 1917 the Board passed resolutions in favour of the establishment of agricultural middle schools and of an agricultural college in each province as soon as such a step is justified by the general development of agricultural education. The Government of India have definitely accepted the recommendations of the Board and have left the initiative to local Governments.

The Imperial grant mentioned above has enabled certain developments to be attempted in the way of giving a more widespread system of agricultural education in the common schools to take up the subject and to provide them with farm-land which will permit of its study in a practical manner. A scheme to this end has been framed in the Punjab and a training class for agricultural teachers of middle vernacular schools has been opened at Lyallpur. In the Central Provinces attention is being paid to the improvement of rural studies. But a demand exists for more formal teaching in agriculture and the services of an expert in the organisation of schools on an agricultural basis are being sought.

Training. Training institutions and their pupils rose by 16 and 1,651 to 834 and 21,527, respectively.

In *Madras* one higher elementary and four government lower elementary training schools were opened. An important development in *Bombay* has been the decision to institute first year training classes in each district under the supervision of a special inspecting officer. As these schools develop second and third year classes every distict will become equipped with a full vernacular training college. Among the subjects are sloyd, music and (for girls) needle work and domestic economy. In *Bengal* there was a decline of three schools and a few pupils. The sanction of the Secretary of State to the strengthening of the staff of the Central Training College, *Lahore*, was received. The policy is being pursued of transferring normal schools from larger towns to country districts, where they will be in more congenial surrounding. The training college at Jubbulpore in the *Central Provinces* was re-organised with the sanction of the Secretary of State; a new normal school was opened at Wardha; and considerable extentions of buildings were undertaken. The *Burma* report shows dissatisfaction with the existing organisation, the complicated system of grades and the recognition for the higher grade of the intermediate examination, which is found to furnish

a wholly insufficient outlook for a high school teacher. Proposals for reorganisation are contemplated.

VI.—Education of special classes.

Girls' education. The number of public institutions for girls increased by 1,106 and their pupils by 48,215. In private institutions the number of pupils increased by 1,024. If girls in boys' schools are added, the total increase is 59,239 These increases in a year marked by difficulties and when the number of boys even in public institutions slightly decreased are a matter for congratulation.

Queen Mary's College for Women, Madras, was placed on a permanent footing with effect from October 1918.

The subjects of study in girls' schools are a matter of frequent discussion and controversy. A new curriculum for Anglo-vernacular schools was issued during the year in the United Provinces but since it does not qualify for entrance to the university it has not been adopted in high schools. It includes domestic science, the teaching of which is likely to give some difficulty though it is generally approved by parents. In the same province the new vernacular curriculum has been in force for 2 years. It is reported that considerable interest is taken by the pupils in hygiene and physiology wherever the teaching of these subjects is reasonably good. There is very little to record in this matter from other provinces save that the new Inspectress of Domestic Science in the Punjab held daily classes in domestic science which were attended by over a 100 girls from various city schools for lessons in cookery and laundry work, while Indian ladies also attended in large numbers.

The number of women under training as teachers increased by 129. It is observed that there is still no college in Bengal for the training of women teachers for secondary schools, though the need of this is urgently felt, and that in the United Provinces a new school was opened at Bareilly.

A conference which met in the Punjab made a proposal that the main element in a girls' school where such schools had to be started should be a plot of ground surrounded by a high wall, the buildings inside being mere sheds built up against the enclosure and the centre grassed and planted with trees. The Director remarks that it appears to offer a practical solution of the very real difficulty involved in the great expenditure in building schools of this kind.

European Education. The number of pupils in European schools has increased by 639 to 44,806.

The main points to notice are the generous endowment of scholarships made by a European citizen of Calcutta and already

alluded to on page 4, the collection of funds in Lahore for the building of collegiate hostels for Anglo-Indians and the transfer of the Lawrence Military Asylum, Sanawar, from the Punjab to the Government of India.

The training and supply of teachers are still attended with difficulties. The masters in charge of some of the students in the Sanawar training class are still on military service and the institution has not yet been provided with its new building though steps have been taken to this end. The projected Training College at Ootacamund has not yet taken shape.

Muhammadan Education. The following table shows the increase in the number of Muhammadans in different kinds of public institutions.

Class of Institution.	No of Muhammadan pupils.		Increase or decrease.
	1917-18.	1918-19.	
Arts Colleges ...	5,549	5,447	—102
Professional Colleges	1,279	1,391	+112
Secondary schools (English) ...	169,388	166,842	—2,546
Middle vernacular schools ...	38,515	39,967	+1,452
Primary schools ...	1,384,638	1,404,597	+19,959
Special schools ...	38,927	41.295	+2,368
TOTAL ...	1,638,296	1,659,539	+21,243

The fall in the numbers in arts colleges and secondary schools is noted with regret. On the whole, however, the figures are satisfactory ; for even where, as in *Bengal*, there has been a decline among male pupils it was less than that among Hindus and there was in that presidency a substantial gain in girl pupils as against a loss among the Hindus. Only in Assam is the position unsatisfactory.

The Government of *Bombay* sanctioned an additional amount of Rs.27, ooo for the payment of grants to primary schools in Sind and created a second post of *Mulla* Deputy Inspector. Further grants to these schools were made and contemplated and fresh

impetus is said to have been given to Muhammadan elementary education in that division. In *Bengal* over half a lakh was given as increased grant to *maktabs* and the establishment of Islamic intermediate classes at the Dacca *Madrassa* was sanctioned. The Director in Burma remarks that the signs of advance are gratifying but that the appearance of stability in the number of vernacular schools is misleading since schools are constantly closing after a brief and inglorious career while new schools are being opened, many of which can only expect a similar existence.

Jains. The *Punjab* reports a total of 1,463 Jains under education, of whom 78 are in colleges, 446 in secondary schools, 936 in primary schools and 3 in special schools. *Bihar and Orissa* reports 157 Jains, of whom 3 are in colleges, 55 in secondary schools, 46 in primary schools, 52 in private institutions and 1 in a special school. The *Central Provinces* report mentions 5,536 Jains under education.

Aboriginals and depressed classes. It is gratifying to notice an increase in the number of Panchama pupils in *Madras.* The Government of that Presidency has ordered that, where schools under the public management are situated in areas from which Panchama children are excluded, the schools should be transferred to some other locality and that in future no school buildings should be constructed out of public funds save in localities accessible to all classes. In some other areas, too, there has been an increase of low caste children, but some reports speak of a decline among aboriginals who no doubt suffered severely from the epidemic. As regards *Burma*, tribute is paid to the desire for education and the excellence of schools among the Karens, while the decline in the number of pupils in a certain Karen High School is explained by the enlistment of the pupils for military employ. Rebellion and influenza are regarded as responsible for lack of progress among the Chins.

APPENDIX.

Statement of Imperal Grants.

(In lakhs of Rupees.)

Province.	Grants.		Expenditure.								Unspent Balance.	
	To end of 1918-19		To end of 1917-18.		In 1918-19 recorded under				Total to end of 1918-19.		At end of 1918-19.	
					Education		*Other heads.**					
	Recurring.	Non-recurring	Recurring	Non-recurring.	Recurring.	Non-recurring	Recurring.	Non-recurring.	Recurring.	Non-recurring.	Recurring.	Non-recurring.
Madras	132·84	69·46	104·44	52·88	27·62	1 25	·36	1·01	132·42	55·14	·42	14·32
Bombay	104 31	61·69	58·92	41·57	15·42	3·45	·09	·31	74 43	45·33	20·88	16 36
Bengal	198·11	150·76	109·44	81·77	25 95	1 88	·93	·13	136·32	83·78	61 79	66·98
United Provinces ...	112·30	76 02	89·33	46·69	21·64		1·33	4·76	112·30	51·45	...	24·57
Punjab	65·66	46·50	50·72	39·39	12·72	..	...	...	63·44	39 39	2·22	7 19
Burma	51 25	38·25	31·44	24·54	7 69	3·78	...	·03	39·13	28·35	12·12	9 90
Bihar and Orissa ...	83 34	42 83	53 39	25·72	12·82	·04	2·50	1·63	68 71	27·39	14·63	15·44
Central Provinces and Berar ...	43·99	25·88	34·69	19·89	9·24	·31	...	·06	43 93	20·26	·06	5·62
Assam ..	28 39	16 00	1, 00	15·70	4·89	05	39	.	23·08	15·75	5·31	·25
North-West Frontier Province ...	15·48	6·07	11·97	6·07	3 21	...	...	...	15·18	6·07	·30	...
Other Administrations	20·07	18 70	14·60	17·81	1·89	·12	1·94	·27	18·43	18·20	1·64	·50
Totals ...	855·74	552 24	576·74	372 03	143·09	10·88	7·54	8 20	727·37	391 11	128·37	161,13

* Edu ational expenditure through Public Works, Medical and other Departments.

Government of India Resolution on

Industrial Commission Report

(For this Report see the Annual Register for 1919)

November 15,—1919

The Government of India received the report of the Indian Industrial Commission on the 29th October 1918 and the Local Governments were addressed on the 7th December 1918 when their views on certain questions of principle were asked for. On receipt of these the Government of India placed their opinions and the proposals before the Secretary of State in their despatch, dated the 4th June 1919. The Secretary of State's reply in his despatch, dated the 25th September 1919, has since been received. The report itself has been in the hands of the public since November 1918, and has formed the subject of numerous comments and discussions both in India and in England. The Government of India are arranging to constitute committees to deal with the proposals of the Industrial Commission for the creation of a chemical service and of an Indian stores department. The terms of reference and the personnel of each of these committees will shortly be announced. With the Secretary of State's sanction the Government of India have ordered the reconstitution of the Indian Munitions Board as a Board of Industries and Munitions to perform the duties described in paragraph 6 of the Secretary of State's despatch. The Government of India have expressed in paragraph 35 of their despatch their high appreciation of the services of the Indian Industrial Commission with which they are glad to find that the Secretary of State associates himself. The thanks of the Government of India are hereby conveyed to the Commission and to its President, Sir Thomas Holland, for their labours and for the comprehensive and well-considered scheme set forth in their report. The Government of India are confident that the members of the Commission will be able to look back to their work in years to come as the starting point of a new era of co-operation between the Government and the industrial public for the economic advancement of India and that their zealous endeavour to this end will find its best reward in the results which the Government of India confidently anticipate from it.

The Secretary of State's despatch 25th, September, 1919 Mr. Montagu writes to the Viceroy :—I accept the two fundamental principles underlying the recommendations of the Commission, first that in future the Government should play an active part in the

industrial development of the country, secondly that the Government cannot undertake this work unless provided with adequate administrative equipment and forearmed with reliable scientific and technical advice. Following on the acceptance of these principles I agree that suitably equipped organisations should be set up in the provincial Governments and in the Central Government in giving effect to this policy. State assistance will take various forms such as research, the survey of natural resources, technical and scientific advice, educational facilities, commercial and industrial intelligence, the establishment of pioneering and demonstration factories, financial help, the purchase of Government stores in India whether in the usual way of business or under a guarantee of purchase over a fixed period, and probably also fiscal measures. The extent to which and the manner in which assistance under each of these heads can appropriately be given will doubtless be considered by Your Excellency's Government. The detailed recommendations of the Commission are examined. It seems desirable that concurrently with the establishment of the new department the powers of the Government of India and of local Governments in regard to direct financial assistance which are now exceedingly limited should be precisely defined. I would be glad therefore if after considering Chapters 14 and 20 of the report you would favour me with your views first, on the main question of the forms which the financial assistance may legitimately take, and secondly on the subsidiary question of the limits within which and the conditions under which such assistance may be given by the Government of India and the local Governments. It would be premature to discuss at this stage the fiscal issue which was deliberately excluded from the scope of the Commission's enquiry and I am not prepared to make any pronouncement on this aspect of the case until the representatives of the people have been given an opportunity to express their views. The question will have to be faced in the near future. I am confident that in the discussions that will take place in India the interest of the Empire as a whole will receive due consideration. Connected with the fiscal question are other needs such as greater initiative and further incentives to production, as well as increased efficiency of labour. You will doubtless consider how far this can be fostered, and I would here only remark in regard to labour that if the efficiency of labour be increased even to a moderate extent India could probably hold her own. If therefore development is to proceed on sound lines and if enduring results are to be obtained, labour must be made more efficient in India where the workers are unorganised. A special obligation lies upon the Government to study their welfare and to secure for them better education, better housing and a higher standard of

living. By her adherence to the International Labour Convention, India will now become subject in respect of labour conditions to international criticism. This need not be resented as it is in the best interest of the country that present conditions should be improved, provided that it is recognised that Indian conditions are radically different from those of western countries and that western standards cannot at once be applied.

Turning now to the points referred to in your letter, I approve in principle the proposal that the provincial departments of industry should be set up on the general lines laid down by the Commission. I accept also the proposed definition of the functions of these departments except that relating to the control of industrial and technical education. I suggest that the local Governments should be left free to revise the list of duties enumerated in paragraph 3 of your letter, so that the new departments may not at the outset be over-weighted, and that so far as possible the branch of work for which the Director is responsible may be in harmony with the scheme of constitutional reforms. Under any arrangements the Director's duties must apparently include both reserved and transferred subjects, but the less this is so the better. For these and other reasons I would prefer to reserve further consideration of the question of handing over the control of technical education to the new departments. Your Excellency's Government are not yet prepared to formulate proposals regarding the organisation of the Imperial department of industries, but propose to set up as an interim authority a Board of Committees which would close the war commitments of the Indian Munitions Board, take over from the Commerce and Industries Department certain items of work, undertake the initial work of organisation and in particular frame detailed proposals for its new permanent department. I sanction this proposal and agree that the Board should retain the powers now possessed by the Munition Board until a permanent department has been created. The Board would not be attached to any department of your Excellency's Government, but would be under the direct charge of the Viceroy, the President of the Board taking part in Council meetings when industrial questions are discussed, but with no power of voting. I am glad to observe that in defining the relations between the Imperial and Provincial departments, you favour a large measure of provincial independence and that within their general financial and other powers the Local Governments would be given a free hand subject to the reasonable reservations detailed in paragraphs 18 and 19 of your letter. I have, however, little doubt that the Local Governments, limited as they will be in respect of resources and staff, will readily seek advice and assistance of the Imperial depart-

ment, but for the most part reference should be voluntary and the necessity of obtaining previous sanction should as far as possible be avoided. When the permanent Imperial Department has been set up it should, when opportunity offers, be placed in charge of a Member of the Council. The volume of the work of the Department is necessarily uncertain, but it is not improbable that at the outset it will sufficiently occupy the whole time of a Member, and in that case I shall not object to a separate membership for industries when legislative authority has been obtained to increase the number of members of Council, but as the work of all the civil departments of Your Excellency's Government will be affected in various degrees when the scheme of constitutional reforms becomes operative and as a readjustment of portfolios will then become necessary, the desirability of placing cognate subjects such as Commerce, under the charge of the member for Industries should be kept in view. The arguments advanced in your letter have not convinced me that it is desirable that these two branches of administration should be placed permanently in charge of separate Members. I approve the appointment of expert committees to consider the recommendations of All-India scientific services. Each Committee should be directed to frame detailed proposals for the organisation and terms of employment of the services if it considers its creation advisable, and to formulate proposals for the location and equipment of research laboratories. I accept the principle of an All-India industrial service and agree that although a training in some form of mechanical engineering will in most cases be the best basis of recruitment, this qualification should not in all cases be required. I understand that it is your intention not to include in the service men of the foreman type or experts engaged for special purposes on short term agreements, but to reserve it for men of good education with technical qualifications of business training. From this reservoir Provincial Directors and Deputy Directors of Industries, Factory managers and perhaps also Factory and Mines inspectors, might be drawn if suitable men are available. I also accept the general principle of an agency for the purchase and inspection of stores in India and approve the appointment of a committee to work out the detailed organisation for an Indian stores department. It has been suggested that with a view to keeping the Indian and Home departments up-to-date a co-ordination of their methods and inter-changes of personnel should take place. This suggestion will no doubt be considered by your Committee. I desire to associate myself with your cordial appreciation of the work of the Commission.

Preliminary Report of the Sanitary Commissioner on

The Influenza Epidemic 1918.

The following are extracts from the Report of the Sanitary Commissioner to the Government of India, Major Norman White, issued in March 1919.

"The pandemic of influenza, from which India has been suffering, was more widespred and more virulent than any recorded in the history of disease. No other outbreak hitherto experienced has approached it in intensity and it is doubtful whether any epidemic disease in the world's history has ever devastated such large areas of the globe in so short a time, and to such a degree as did influenza in 1918. The virulence of the outbreak far exceeded that of the influenza pandemics of 1803, 1837, 1847 and 1890, which were the five years of outstanding influenza mortality in the last century. Moreover, in respect to the frequency of serious complications, the recent outbreak was exceptional in most of the affected areas from which reports are available. In many countries the epidemic assumed proportions of a national calamity. This was certainly the case in India. From the incomplete information at present available, it would appear that no country suffered as severely as did India during the last quarter of 1918. Altogether influenza was responsible for a death roll of approximately five millions in British India alone. Detailed information regarding the incidence of the disease in Native States is not available at the time of writing but it is unlikely that the influenza mortality therein fell short of one million. Without fear of exaggeration, it can be stated then that in a few months influenza was responsible for **six million deaths** in India, that is to say, more than half the mortality attributable to plague in the twenty two years during which plague has prevailed in epidemic form in this country.

3. In the earliest stages of the outbreak in India, as in most other countries affected the disease ran a mild course and the mortality rate was almost insignificant. With the onset of the second epidemic wave fatal complications chiefly affecting the lungs and respiratory tract became very prevalent and were responsible for mortality rates which in many cases were without parallel. The disease spread with lightning rapidity and very few sections of the population escaped. Town and village alike suffered, but on the whole, the mortality and distress was greater in rural than in urban areas.

4. With the rapid increase in mortality which accompanied the second epidemic wave, wild rumours as to the nature and causation of the disease, having little or no foundation in fact,

became extremely prevalent and it would be well to clear the air of some of these, should such false ideas still prevail.

Not a new or War disease.

There is not the least evidence that the disease was any other than influenza; it was in no sense a new disease. It was not an unusual manifestation of plague, the two diseases are completely separate and distinct. There is no evidence which directly connects the epidemic with the war, influenza is not a "war disease" and it prevailed more virulently in countries remote from the war areas than it did in those which were the scene of military operations. There is no evidence that the disease originates in malnutrition; it prevailed in virulent form in countries such as the United States of America where food was by no means scarce; the well-to-do I.C.S. classes were in no sense immune to attack. The incidence of the disease was very high in the well-fed British troops in India; incidentally it may be noted that the incidence was greater among British than among Indian troops. Though no claim that the disease originates in malnutrition can then be substantiated, it cannot be denied that malnutrition was occasionally a factor of importance in determining a fatal issue. A sufficiency of nourishing food both during the attack and during convalescence is more than desirable and it was most unfortunate that the epidemic should have afflicted India in a year when the monsoon had failed. During the latter half of 1918 the stocks of food grains in India were relatively low, prices were abnormally high and scarcity of fodder was responsible for the scarcity of milk which was in some places almost unprocurable. Such wild unfounded rumours as those which attributed the pandemic to the extensive use of poison gas on the western front, or to the evil machinations of our unscrupulous enemy would scarcely have deserved mention had they not been so current in India during the months of October and November 1918.

5. The wide prevalence of the disease under the most diverse climatic conditions makes it impossible that unusual meteorological conditions should have played any important part in producing the high morbidity rates as they appear to have had in India, but little effect on mortality. The recent outbreak has in fact demonstrated conclusively that influenza can spread with almost equal facility under most diverse climatic conditions. In this connection the second virulent wave, which inflicted so great a death rate on the world's population, was experienced in nearly every country at or about the same time. As widely separated and dissimilar places as England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Germany, Switzerland, Tangier, Sierra Leona, South Africa, Canada, United States, Aden, Persia,

Mesopotamia, Afghanistan and all parts of India, all suffered from a very virulent epidemic wave in the month of October. The disease persisted into the following month towards the end of which there was an appreciable decline in the morbidity and mortality rates almost everywhere. This synchronisation of outbreak of the disease in an extremely virulent form in places so diverse as regards climatic and other conditions, is a phenomenon impossible to explain on any theory that has ever been advanced to solve the problems presented by the rise and decline of great epidemics.

6. There is no doubt whatever that the virus of influenza is a living germ capable of being transmitted directly from man to man. The nature of this germ is still a matter about which dogmatic assertions are unwarranted. The so called influenza bacillus was certainly almost constantly present in the cases investigated during the second severe epidemic wave in India; it does not appear to have been demonstrated so frequently during the early mild stages of the epidemic. Whether the influenza bacillus is the true cause of the disease or merely a constant concomitant is a question that is open to doubt. Recent observations that have been made in France indicate the possibility that the true cause of the disease is in some state of its life history ultramicroscopic, or in other words a germ so infinitely minute that the highest powers of the microscope are unable to demonstrate it. Be the primary cause of influenza what it may the mortality of the recent outbreak was almost entirely due to secondary infections with other disease producing germs notably the pneumococcus germ which commonly causes pneumonia. The pneumococcus was constantly associated with fatal cases in India. Much of the mortality in England and other European countries was ascribed to secondary infection with 'streptococcus'—another disease producing germ. No constant association of germs of this latter class with severe influenza cases was noted in India though its occurence has been reported, for example from Assam.

7. Another very striking feature of the recent outbreak was the extreme rapidity with which the disease spread over the globe, a rapidity so great that modern increased facilities for rapid human intercourse fail to supply an altogether adequate explanation.

8. Some authorities affirm that an attack of the disease confers very slight and transient, if any, immunity. If true, it is rather difficult to explain the very short duration of the severe outbreaks, which have been experienced in India, and the complete, or almost complete, disappearance of the disease from places which a few months back were in the throes of a most virulent outbreak.

Several reports that have been received call attention to the rarity of two attacks in the same individual.

10. The first intimation that we had in India of the incidence of an unusual cause of sickness was in the month of June. Towards the end of that month many employees of offices, banks, etc., in the city of Bombay were incapacitated by fever; mill hands and others were likewise suffering. The mortality in Bombay city during the first half of June was not abnormal. In the middle of June sporadic cases were noted in Calcutta, and in Madras towards the end of June. The cases that occurred early in the outbreak were so mild and the mortality caused thereby was so insignificant that it is almost impossible to fix a date for the commencement of the epidemic in India. Consequently it is extremely difficult to ascertain the source from which infection was introduced. It is by no means certain that infection was not already pre-existent in India. In this connection the Sanitary Commissioner to the Government of Bombay describes an outbreak of infectious disease in the Thana district during the early months of 1918, which in certain respects resembled influenza very closely. It is noteworthy, however, that some of the earliest cases diagnised in Bombay occurred on board a transport that arrived in that port at the end of May; while in dock a number of cases of influenza occurred among the crew, who had free communication with the city. The fact that no cases of influenza were noted on board the transport prior to its arrival in Bombay makes it by no means certain that the vessel in question was instrumental in importing infection into the city. Influenza was likewise reported from Karachi in the month of June. In the month of July the disease was fairly widespread, being reported as far afield as the Punjab and the submontane districts of the United Provinces. Reports of outbreaks of influenza among troops were received in July from Maymyo, Karachi, Lansdowne, Jubbulpore, Abbottabad, Khandwa, Fort Lockhart, Quetta, Dehra Dun, Muttra and Chakrata. Though widespread throughout the country during July and August the disease was not accompanied by any very appreciable increase in the mortality rates. In the middle of September, however, the mortality in Bombay city began to rise in an alarming manner until the 6th of October on which day 768 deaths were recorded. This second virulent epidemic wave occurred somewhat later in other parts of India and the total mortality of India in the month of October is without parallel.

Female Education in India.

Government of India Resolution—1st Oct. 1919.

Introduction.

On the 12th October, 1915, a memorial on the subject of the education of girls in India was presented to His Majesty's Secretary of State for India by an influential deputation. The memorial emphasised points which had long caused anxiety to the Government of India—the insignificant number of girls under instruction, the disparity in this respect of the condition of the male and female portions of the population and the consequent danger to the social well-being of the Indian community. It recommended the formation of a representative committee to enquire into the whole subject. Mr. Chamberlain, in welcoming the deputation and agreeing with it as to the importance of the subject, observed that similar representations had apparently not been made in India, indicated that the times were not propitious for the launching of schemes which carried serious financial consequences and left the question of a committee to be decided by the Government of India. The memorial was forwarded by the Secretary of State with his Public despatch No. 191, dated the 5th November, 1915. The Government of India deemed it preferable to invite local Governments to obtain the opinions of competent persons, local bodies, existing committees and other authorities and to forward them with an expression of their own views. The replies have been received and furnish a mass of valuable evidence upon a difficult subject.

It was the intention of the Government of India to place their views on this important subject together with those of the local Governments before the public by means of a Resolution. Various causes led them to postpone this action. The issues connected with the education of boys, which, as explained in their circular letter No. 750, dated the 2nd September, 1918, had long been under consideration, the question of organization raised by the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, and finally the desire to await the views of the Calcutta University Commission, all these afforded ample reason for delaying their pronouncement upon so vital and so difficult a matter. Though these causes still to some extent operate, it is now possible roughly to forecast the influences which will affect education, and the Government of India are no longer willing to withold their pronouncement

upon the conclusions at which they have arrived. The replies sent by local Governments with their enclosures run to great length. It has, therefore, been decided not to reprint them, though it is possible that some local Governments may desire to publish them. The views of the Calcutta University Commission are now public property and an off-print of the chapters dealing with the education of women has been made.

NEED FOR ELASTICITY.

Even now those conclusions can be put forward only with the reserve demanded in a subject regarding which it is difficult to dogmatise for the whole of India. In their Resolution No 301-C. D., dated the 21st February, 1913, the Government of India recognized that the existing customs and ideas opposed to the education of girls require different handling in different parts of the country and hesitated to lay down general lines of policy which might hamper local Governments. They contented themselves with commending five points for consideration. They adhere to those general propositions, which, especially that regarding the type of education to be imparted, will be found repeated in the present Resolution also.

CAUSES OF BACKWARDNESS.

The difficulties which retard the education of girls in India are too well-known to require elaborate repetition. The Calcutta University Commission have emphasised those arising from early marriage, *purda* and the distrust of western education. In doing so, they have described the condition of things prevalent in Bengal. Not all those difficulties are found or at least found in an equal degree in all parts of India, in some of which, for instance, the institution of *purda* is for the most part unknown. But the extent to which obstacles arising from these causes, from conservatism, from ideas of caste, etc., influence the result, is evident from the fact that only 0·9 per cent of the Hindu female population in India and 1·1 per cent of the Mohamedan is under instruction; while among Europeans and Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians and Parsees, the percentages are 23, 8·3 and 14·6 respectively. The paucity of educated girls in the larger communities is a matter of profund concern to the Government, as it was to the deputation which waited upon the Secretary of State. The disparity between the numbers respectively of boys and girls under education constitutes, as that deputation remarked, a grave danger to social well-being. The problem is as yet hardly an educational one. It has its roots in the very fabric of society and only a radical change in the life, customs and ideals of the country will effect its solution.

Recent Progress

Nevertheless the progress that has been made is far from negligible. The total number of girls at school at the time of the Education Commission of 1882 was 127,000. In 1915-16—the year in which the deputation waited upon the Secretary of State—it was 1,186,000 and in 1917-18 it was 1,264,000. Expansion in recent years has been partially checked by the effects of the war. But it is noticeable that in ten years between 1907 and 1917 the number almost doubled. In 1882, again, the proportion of girls to boys under instruction was 1 to 20. In 1917-18, it was 1 to 5·3. This expansion has been due largely to the labours and enthusiasm of a number of philanthropic individuals and societies and partly to a gradual improvement in public sentiment in some of the urban areas. It is also largely due to the constant pressure and perseverance of the educational officers of Government, male and female, who in the face of much discouragement have maintained their efforts for further development—sometimes in the face of apathy and suspicion. The question has been reviewed from time to time, as by the Commission of 1882 and in the Government of India resolutions of 1904 and 1913. Programmes of expansion were requested from the local Governments in 1911 and 1913 and the subject has been carefully considered in recent years by the provincial Governments. Conferences have been held, opinions collected, policies outlined, special committees appointed, new schools opened, new arrangements made for training and inspection and new subjects introduced into the curricula.

Hopeful Signs for the Future.

Thus the expansion in numbers has grown with enhanced rapidity in recent periods and the interest taken in the subject has increased. It is on the interest evinced by the public in the education of girls that future development primarily depends. As the Calcutta University Commission have pointed out, the paucity of private effort (as distinct from Government and missionary effort) in the matter of the post-elementary training of girls which characterises Bengal is not discoverable in all parts of India; and in the city of Bombay alone there are nine private high schools for girls. Indeed in some parts of the Bombay Presidency private effort has manifested itself in a remarkable manner. The success of two women's colleges in Madras is conspicuous and significant. Improvements in the quality of the education of the male sex are calculated to produce a corresponding influence in the attitude towards the upbringing of women.

The loosening in some areas of the joint family system will force younger women, no longer under the tutelage and often the conservative influence of their elders, to seek in education some equipment against the calls made upon them by a new environment. The gradual changes, social and economic, which are slowly permeating the country are bound to have their effect and will, in the course of time, more and more be reflected in public opinion.

Educational Difficulties.

Turning to certain characteristics of the educational system which are often regarded as inimical to the development of girls' education, it must be admitted that the influence of such defects as exist is very small in comparison with that of the larger causes which have been mentioned above and, with the disappearance of those causes, such defects are likely to find their own remedy. The chief difficulties which may be termed educational are the following :—

(i) The difficulty of providing an adequate supply of competent teachers. Resort is still necessary, and is for many years likely to be necessary to the employment of foreigners and members of the domiciled community. Their services are expensive. Indian Christians are also available ; but in many places, it is understood, orthodox opinion prefers instruction by members of the faith professed by the majority of the pupils. Hindu and Mahomedan women adopt the teaching profession only in small numbers. The employment of men in girls' schools is generally deprecated.

(ii) The unsuitability of the curriculum. It is frequently asserted that the curriculum for girls too closely follows that for boys. Over half a million girls are studying in boys' schools ; and for these it is not easy to devise any suitable system. In secondary schools there is a tendency on the part of many parents to oppose any course save that laid down for the University Matriculation. Elsewhere attempts have been made to introduce a variety of courses. The question whether these attempts go far enough is discussed below.

(iii) The dominance of the examination system. This defect prevails only in post-elementary institutions and to a much lesser extent in middle than in high and collegiate institutions. But the extent to which, at least in Bengal, it affects higher instruction is forcibly pointed out by Sir Michael Sadler's Commission. Secondary education for girls, says their Report, "labours under exceptional difficulties in Bengal ; it is surrounded by prejudices : it is distorted, even more unnaturally than the edu-

cation of boys, by the malign influence of the examination fetish." The Commission "feel that the schools must be saved from the desolating domination of the examination system which now mischievously influences all their work."

In addition to these three main defects, there are others of minor importance. In the following paragraphs the different grades of education will be considered and suggestions made for improvement with special reference to the difficulties mentioned in this and in preceding passages.

Primary Education.

More than nine-tenths of the girls under instructions are in the primary stage. Of a total of 19,395 primary schools, 554 are managed by Government, 3,106 by local bodies, and 15,735 by private agency. Of these last, 13,067 are in receipt of aid from public funds. The Government of India have laid down the principle that local bodies should assume a more direct responsibility for the evolution and management of primary education. In their circular letter No. 873, dated the 19th September, 1916, they suggested the withdrawal, whenever this is reasonably feasible, of such restrictions as at present exist on the activities of local bodies regarding such matters as the provision of buildings, the hours of attendance, the grant of holidays, the rates of pay, the levy of fees, the disbursement of grants-in aid, the creation and filling up of appointments, the punishment and dismissal of teachers and (subject to certain conditions) the opening and closing of schools. Difficulties have been anticipated by some of those consulted in the application of these suggestions to girls' schools. Some local bodies have not evinced much interest in the education of girls. There is a tendency to subordinate it to that of boys. Expert opinion is often lacking. On the one hand Government, on the other some special sort of agency, is regarded as a suitable organization for the management of institutions. The Government of India have carefully considered these opinions. Where Government already manages schools, they have no desire to see the system radically altered, since the existence of such institutions evinces the interest of Government in this branch of education and sometimes results in the maintenance of model institutions. Still less do they desire to interfere with privately managed schools, the good work done by many of which they are glad to recognise. But in view of the relation between boys' and girls' education, the advisability of engaging local sentiment and interest to the utmost and the policy of strengthening local bodies by the delegation to them of large

and important functions, the Government of India maintain that those bodies, already constituted as the proper agencies for the diffusion of elementary instruction, must continue to be such in the case of girls and that upon their enthusiasm and the capability for management which they display the future of girls' primary schools will largely depend. The same remarks apply to the divisional boards recently set up in Burma where there are no district boards.

Need for the Co-operation of Ladies.

At the same time the Government of India realise that local bodies, as at present constituted, may sometimes be found lacking in zeal for girls' education and in the particular experience which would enable them successfully to handle it. There is no objection therefore to the establishment of advisory committees or to the inclusion of persons versed in the problem of girls' education as supernumerary members on the educational committees to which local bodies ordinarily delegate some portion of their functions. It is desirable that in such matters the assistance of ladies should, so far as possible, be utilised.

Lines on which Future Expansion may proceed.

The most important matter for consideration in the education of girls is its wider expansion. Recent legislation has placed new powers in the hands of local bodies in certain provinces. In Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces, the Punjab and Bihar and Orissa some classes of local bodies can now elect for compulsory elementary education in the case of boys ; and in Bombay and the United Provinces the provision for compulsion can be extended to girls. It is hoped that these measures will bear fruit. In the meantime, however, local Government and local bodies would do well to collaborate in the work of surveys for expansion. The Government of India are aware of the difficulties of the question. The grounds which lead to the opening of a Government or board school often consist in the belief that there is some demand for education at the centre selected. The results are sometimes disappointing and it is occasionally found necessary to close the school in order to obviate waste of funds. It is suggested that even at the risk of incurring expenditure which, in the first instance, might appear unremunerative, it would be well to create opportunities for education upon some systematised plan, such as the founding of a girls' school in every centre which contains a secondary boy's school, whether of the middle or the high grade. Other systems will doubtless suggest themselves to local Governments as guides.

Interest of Lower Classes to Be Safeguarded.

In order to obviate the possibility that educational benefits may in some places be monopolised by those classes of the community which have enjoyed the larger share of them in the past, it will be necessary to keep a watchful eye upon the interests of depressed and less fortunate classes. It is to be recognised, however, that in some cases the feeling against association with certain castes is more strongly accentuated in the case of girls than of boys. Such feeling, if it were to be ignored in favour of the principle of free admission for all, might result in the occasional collapse of a school. While, therefore, it cannot be denied that maintenance or assistance from public funds involves the right of any child to admission to an institution, some reasonable discretion to be exercised in unavoidable cases must in practice be left to local authorities and the establishment of special schools for lower castes may be found necessary in some areas.

Co-education.

Since no measure is to be overlooked which promises even a possibility of success in prosecuting this most important object, the Government of India would emphasise not only the foundation of new schools, grant of scholarships, etc., but also the retention and, if necessary, the further development of other measures which are at present found in different provinces. Thus, over 500,000 girls study in boys' schools. The defects of such an arrangement are fully appreciated; but in default of more adequate arrangements, it seems desirable that facilities should be offered for small girls in boys' schools where girls' schools are not to be found. Such devices, however, can in no case be regarded as a substitute for the foundation of girls' schools and it is doubtful whether the offer of special grants for girls studying in boys' schools should be retained at any centre where a girls' school is opened.

Elementary Curricula.

The general practice hitherto has been for a local Government through its Department of Public Instruction to prescribe for adoption such courses as the department considers generally suitable, with or without a certain measure of latitude for local or individual needs. There is a good deal of public criticism of this arrangement on the grounds, firstly, that the courses do not allow sufficient variety and, secondly, that they are not properly adapted for the special use of girls. In regard to both these criticisms it is to be remembered that the bulk of the girls under primary

education—over 95 per cent—are in the lower primary or most rudimentary stage of education, and that if, as is inevitable, they are first taught to read, write and figure in their own vernacular the margin for a variety of subjects either in the lower or in the upper primary stage is very narrow. The period during which girls are at school is very short and their attendance often irregular, so that out of the several additional subjects which are usually suggested for their instruction, it is impossible to expect that more than two or three at the most could be taught adequately in one school, even when teachers competent to handle them are to be found, without hopelessly overloading the curriculum and subjecting to a degree of study incompatible with their physical powers even the few girls who proceed beyond the rudimentary stages. It is, however, the duty of Departments of Public Instruction to review from time to time the schemes of study so that these may correspond as far as possible with modern ideas and local opinion and to suggest for the higher primary classes a limited number of alternative courses. For the rest, the procedure laid down in the circular of the 19th September 1916, already alluded to, should be followed. Account should be taken of the fact that any such alternatives are meant primarily for schools where girls alone are taught and of the varying needs of different classes and tracts and of town and country; and it would add to the authority of these schemes if they could be set forth after consultation with intelligent un-official opinion. The courses having thus been devised, the local bodies concerned would be at liberty to prescribe for the classes concerned—both in their own schools and in those to which they give aid—the particular subjects to be studied, provided, of course, that the staff possesses the qualifications necessary for the teaching of those subjects.

Desirability of Special Text-books; and of Religious Instruction.

Two special points arise in connection with the curriculum. It is a matter for consideration whether it would not be well to produce special text-books suitable for girls in the higher classes of primary schools. In some provinces the production of special text-books is believed to have been attended with success. Second, there is a growing feeling against the exclusion of religious teaching and observances from school life, and the feeling is more accentuated in the case of girls than in that of boys. In Government and board schools such teaching cannot ordinarily be given in school hours; but the codes in several provinces admit of facilities for religious teaching out of school hours and when

there is a demand for such teaching local arrangements may be made as far as possible to meet it. In Hindu schools the teaching of elementary Sanskrit, of tales from the epics or of religious music is often advocated with the object of introducing a religious element into the teaching. In schools predominently Mohamedan, the reading of the Koran is demanded and facilities for this can generally be given. The Government of India are of opinion that it would not be advisable to lay down any uniform system to be followed in all localities in respect of religious teaching either for boys or for girls but they feel that in the case of girls a rather greater degree of elasticity can be given to the curriculum in this respect and local bodies should do what they reasonably can to meet genuine local sentiment in the matter.

Secondary Education.

Of the girls at school something less than 2 per cent are in the secondary stage, but the influence of this stage of education on the future of the country is very considerable and the problems which it presents are among the most difficult in the educational administration of the country. The management of the existing secondary schools is almost entirely in private hands, Government having but few schools of its own of local bodies fewer still, though the bulk of the schools receive financial aid from Government. In the case of boys, primary education is quite as much as local bodies can undertake. They may be expected to interest themselves in girls' primary education also In these circumstances and for various reasons they cannot be expected to do anything substantial for girls' secondary education. It will probably be necessary, therefore, that the general control and supply of funds should rest with the Gevernment, but this need not involve the management by Government of any large number of schools. The working of secondary education among girls is a matter of some delicacy in which a special degree of elasticity and personal feeling is required which Government can seldom hope to provide as adequately as private societies or individuals, and the general form of management should as at present be of a private character, aided by funds from Government, and under Government inspection and control. It would seem advisable, where possible, to associate with the Education Department one or more advisory committees, consisting as far as possible of ladies, similar to that previously constituted by the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam. Such committees would be unnecessary where secondary schools are under fairly effective managing boards, and the personnel of the advisory committees would largely be a repetition of that of the managing

boards of the several schools. Efforts, however, might be made to induce the school authorities so to constitute their own boards as to render them, as far as possible, responsive to local public opinion as regards the character of the education to be imparted in the schools.

Secondary Curriculum.

There is no point upon which there is greater diversity of opinion than the character of the secondary education which should be imparted to girls. As in other countries, there are two main schools of thought. The difference between them is for various reasons more marked in India than elsewhere. The one school would bring up girls on lines as similar as possible to those laid down for boys and would prepare them for a university career. The other would prepare girls primarily for home life and hold that women should be educated in all that concerns enlightened mothering, a good standard of maternal physique, better care of infancy, appropriate feeding, care and management of children, effective attention to children's diseases, and generally to their physical condition, good sanitary environment and other matters of domestic concern.

Views of the Calcutta University Commission.

This question has been discussed at length in the opinions which reached the Government of India as a result of their reference. The Government of India have also had the advantage of the views of the Calcutta University Commission on this subject and on that of the collegiate education of women. The portions of the report of the Commission which deal with this subject are chapters XIV and XXXVI, together with certain recommendations in chapter III. The condition of thing, which the Commission reviewed in Bengal, is not entirely reproduced in other parts of India, although the inadequate number of girls' schools may be regarded as a common feature.

Two Types of Secondary Schools Recommended

The Commission recognize as already in existence two types of secondary schools. They suggest that in future schools should be so organized as to meet, on the one hand, the needs of the majority who will spend their lives in the *zenana* and whose education will cease at an early age and, on the other hand, those of the small but important minority who will take to professional service or play a part in the progressive section of Indian society. Both these types would fall under the general control of a body which the Commission call the Board of

Secondary and Intermediate Education. It is an important part of their proposals that this board should generally manage the education now classed as secondary and also that which at present ends with the Intermediate examination, they propose, however, for schools for the former type of girls (which they denominate *parda-nishin* schools) a special body acting under the board and consisting very largely of women. For girls of the second type they consider that the maintenance of schools of the existing pattern will still be necessary and that the standard of attainment should as nearly as possible correspond with that of boys' schools. At the same time the subjects of the course might with advantage be modified so as to avoid too sharp a differentiation between the *parda-nishin* and the non-*parda* school. The Commission have recommended the creation of a standing committee on girls' eduction which would be advisory to the Secondary and Intermediate Board and which would frame the curricula and conduct the examinations for these schools. The Government of India have not yet fully considered the various proposals of the Commission. They recognize that the creation of *parda-nishin* schools will be a matter of difficulty and of very great expense and they do not overlook the obstacles which in some parts of India have stood in the way of what is now known as the system of *zanana* classes. Thev fully accept, however, the two principles which underlie the proposals of the Commission, namely, the modification of the curriculum in order to suit the needs of girls and women of different classes and secondly, the utilization of the advice of ladies in formulating a suitable system of instruction. They also heartly endorse the statement of the Commission that the *parda-nishin* school will eminently be a field for the munificence of enlightened Indians, without whose aid and encouragement schools of this type are scarcely likely to come into existence or to thrive.

Effect of Examinations.

The oppressive effect of examinations upon girls has been a matter of constant complaint. The Government of India endorse the view of the Commission that in the case of *pardanishin* schools there should be some form of examination at the end of the course, but that it should not be compulsory and that it should be differentiated from the corresponding examination for boys and conducted in part through oral tests by competent women visiting examiners ; and that in non-*parda* schools it would be the duty of the Secondary and Intermediate Board to ensure that the standards of attainment represented by the examination correspond to those of the examination for boys,

though this would not imply the use of identical papers, nor preclude the use of oral tests or the weighing of records of school work, which in view of the small number of pupils concerned would be specially practicable and easy.

Importance of Middle English Schools.

The remarks made above apply especially to high schools. But for a long time to come the midle school will represent an institution of great importance in the education of girls, seeing that in view of the paucity of high schools, the great expense involved in their maintenance and the social causes which still hamper progress, the middle school is likely often to remain the only institution to which the majority of girls who desire education above the elementary stage can aspire and beyond which it will be impossible for many of them by reason of social exigencies, etc, to proceed. Opinions are divided regarding the stage at which the teaching of English should commence. This is one of those matters in which the Government of India consider that respect should be paid to local opinion. It is obvious, however, from reports which have reached them that the value of English education among girls is much appreciated and they would strongly urge upon local Governments the advisability of establishing a close network of Anglo-vernacular middle schools which will provide women suitable for training as teachers of lower classes and will perhaps more than any other type of institution disseminate an interest in the advancement of girls' education.

Collegiate Education.

The number of girls at present studying in Arts Colleges is 914. The Calcutta University Commission have declared that the intermediate classes do not properly from a part of collegiate or university education. If this proposition is accepted (and it had previously been put forward by various authorities in India) then the number of girls who are doing rea luniversity work is infinitesimal—in the three colleges in Calcutta the Commission found that there are only 53 students attempting such work. The Government of India, however, are impressed with the success already mentioned of the two women's colleges in Madras.

Calcutta University Commission's Recommendations.

Among the recommendations of the Commissions are the following. In view of the small number of girls concerned, the work of the intermediate and degree stages might continue to be carried on under the same direction and by the same teachers,

though, so far as possible, the intermediate work should be done by school methods and should also be developed at some selected high schools. There is need for inclusion in university courses for girls of subjects whch are likely to appeal specially to women. A Board should be constituted in the reorganized University of Calcutta on lines (similar to the standing committee advisory to the Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education), which would organize the provision of advanced education and make proposals regarding the adaptation of the degree courses to the needs of women, subject to the approval of the academic authorities of the University. On the difficult subject of economy in university training for women the Commission emphasise the need of co-operation among the colleges. They consider that, while university classes should as a matter of principle be open to qualified women students, under existing circumstances such facilities will be very little used. The conditions which prevail in Bengal in this respect are not to be found in all portions of India. In Bombay and elsewhere a certain number of women study in men's colleges and this is particularly the case in professional colleges. The Government of India, however, fully realize the desirablity of instituting separate collegiate institutions for women staffed by women, but with arrangements, if necessary, for lectures in certain subjects by the professor of neighbouring men's colleges. Their views upon the other recommendations of the Commission must naturally await the consideration of the Commission's proposals for university education as a whole.

Training of Teachers.

It is desired on all hands that schools should be staffed by trained women teachers ; but the number of Indian ladies who are willing to teach or capable of doing so is yet limited. The number of those under training has indeed shown an appreciable increase during recent years and now stands at 3,096 as against 2,234 in 1915. These numbers, however, are altogether inadequate. It is, therefore, often unavoidable to employ to a lage extent the services of mission societies of English ladies specially recruited and trained, of members of the domiciled community and of Indian Christians. The labours of these classes of workers are responsible for much of the progress which has already been made. Naturally, however, there is a feeling in many quarters that Indian girls should be instructed by those of their own race and creed. A considerable number of European ladies at present employed in education in India are actually engaged in the preparation of Indian women for this profession.

Source of Supply.

The Calcutta University Commission recognize that women teachers of two types are required—those capable of doing high school work and of teaching through the medium of English and those who teach in primary schools and the lower classes of secondary schools. The Government of India consider that the supply of the second class of teachers will best be met from among the pupils of the middle schools which they would like to see established after the pupils have undergone a supplementary course of training ; and from the widows' homes which have been established in several parts of India. The sources of supply, however, should not be utilized to the exclusion of the existing training schools, which, on a limited scale, are doing most useful work.

As regards teachers of higher type, the Commission recognize that, if their programme of development is to be carried out, the necessary recruits can at present only be obtained from Britain or America. This remark, however (written in application to the Presidency of Bengal, though undoubtedly applicable to a large degree elsewhere), is tempered by the recognition that the more orthodox section of Indian society fears the unsettling influence of western women and that for the *parada-nishin* type of schools there must be a large increase in the number of well-educated Indian women teachers. The Government of India are fully alive to the advantage of supplementing the efforts of Government by the service of competent private bodies in the task of training women teachers. They incline also to the view of the Commission that this work should not be treated as apart, that it can be carried on as a portion of the ordinary teaching work of schools and university courses and that education may fitly form a subject in the courses leading to the intermediate and degree stages. In this connection, the follwing passage from chapter XXXVI of the Commission's Report is quoted :—

"We would suggest (1) that post-graduate classes in the university department of education which we shall propose should be thrown open to women equally with men ; (2) that education should be introduced as one of the subjects for the degree, and that instruction for this purpose should be provided by the three Calcutta women's colleges in co-operation ; (3) that an introduction to the methods of teaching should be also made one of the possible subjects at the intermediate stage, as has already been suggested in the case of intermediate colleges for men, and that this option should be offered in all the women's

colleges ; (4) that training for the L. T. diploma and for the B. T. degree should be given in the women's colleges on a co-operative system, under the direction and advice of the university department of education, which might afford much assistance."

Professional Training.

Apart from the training of teachers it has been recognized by many authorities, including the Calcutta University Commission, that the profession in which there is the greatest need for women is the medical. After discussing the difficulties of the situation and the proposal, now abandoned, to exclude women from the Calcutta Medical College, the Commission conclude that all the existing arrangements are little better than makeshifts and that until Hindu and Mussalman society has materially modified its attitude on the training of women no real solution for this problem will be possible. They consider, however, that one obstacle should be removed, namely, the difficulty of obtaining the requisite preliminary training. While it would be very expensive to provide this in any single college it might be possible to make use of some of the teachers in the laboratories provided for men in the preliminary medical subjects. These suggestions are endorsed by the Government of India and the attention of the Governments both of Bengal and of other Presidencies and Provinces is invited to them.

Conclusion.

In some of the opinions received by the Government of India it is contended that the progress of female education is not primarily a matter of money but of social development and it is urged that in many cases schools have been opened but have failed to attract scholars. By many others it is held that the expansion of girls' education is mainly a matter of finance and that if only more money can be spent on schools and on the training of teachers the number of scholars will rapidly advance. There are doubtless parts of the country in which the former of these views is a correct representation of facts. There are tracts, however, where substantial sums of money can be spent usefully in starting new schools, in strengthening the Inspectorate, in experimenting with widows' homes, secondary schools of the types described above, and the like. Where anything can be done by the expenditure of money in such cases it is hoped that local Governments and local bodies will be liberal in doing what their resources permit. At its present stage the education of girls needs more financial fostering than that of boys: Primary education must mainly be free : scholarships and

studentships must be given more lavishly; grants-in-aid must be calculated more generously; and the greater expensiveness of secondary education has to be practically recognized. For part of the expenditure involved it is hoped that private endowments may be forthcoming, and so far as public money is required the responsibility rests primarly with the provincial governments and the local bodies concerned. The Government of India have of late years given considerable grants to help in various educational activities, more especially in primary education and the training of teachers and the utilization of these grants is by no means confined to the education of boys. But since the impending changes in the relations between Imperial and Provincial finance will in all probability involve the complete dissociation of the former from educational expenditure in the provinces, the provincial and local agencies will become not merely primarily but exclusively responsible for the future development of the education of girls. It will rest with them to decide how far they will be able to devote public money to furthering this form of education, and it is hoped that the suggestions which have been put forward in the preceding paragraphs will be of assistance in indicating the objects on which such money can most usefully be spent and the directions in which the education of girls can most profitably be guided. Hitherto the difficulty has often been not so much in the actual provision of funds as in the discovery of opportunity for their fruitful expenditure. There can be little doubt that in future such opportunities will largely increase. Although it has to be admitted that the total number of girls under education is at present infinitesimal, the progrees made in the last few years is significant, the interest now evinced in the subject is a hopeful sign and the enhanced rate of development in the education of boys, especially in its higher branches, is bound to influence favourably the popular attitude towards the education of girls. There is every reason, therefore, to hope that the demand for girls' education and the supply of means to foster its growth may in the future so react upon each other as to provide for an early and substantial development of this important factor in the progress of India.

Review of Trade in India

1917-18

A Report is published periodically by the Department of Statistics, India, reviewing India's trade. It roughly shows the future developments and the lines on which progress is likely to take. The Report for 1917-18 begins by pointing out that "for the fourth year in succession the Review of the Trade of India has been written amid the tumult of a world at war. Three years ago few of us dreamt that India, being far distant from the titanic struggle in Europe, would have experienced the great changes that have taken in her commerce and industry. In Commerce the continuous demands on the part of the Allies stimulated the export of commodities of vital or national importance, and at the same time altered the direction of trade, in industry necessity was the mother of invention, and the War has been a great impetus to industrial development. The share of manufactured goods in the export trade of the year increased to 31 per cent. from nearly 24 per cent., the pre-War average. Owing to the phenomenal shortage of ocean freight and restrictions in the outflow of merchandise in various ways, India (which had held before the outbreak of War the second place in the Empire's trade, next only after the United Kingdom) gave pride of place to Canada." The value of the overseas trade in merchandise was nearly Rs. 393 crores as against Rs. 395 crores in the previous year and Rs. 370 crores, the pre-War average. In exports of merchandise there was a decrese of 1 per cent., while imports were approximately the same in value as in the preceding year. Prices have had a great effect, as was to be anticipated in the value of the trade. Had the prices of the previous year prevailed the value of the import trade would have been Rs. 122 crores instead of Rs. 150 crores, and that of the export trade Rs. 216 crores instead of Rs. 233 crores. Import prices rose, as compared with the previous year, 23 per cent., while exports rose 8 per cent.

2. During the year India sent goods to the value of Rs. 127 crores to the United Kingdom and other parts of the British Empire and Rs. 90 crores to the Allies. The bulk of exports to the United Kingdom and her Allies consisted of articles of national importance. The quantities exported of food grains, especially wheat, barley, and gram, jute manufactures, tea, and tanned hides considerably increas-

ed as compared with the exports in the pre-war period. The total value of food grains exported amounted to nearly Rs. 54 crores as against Rs. 46 crores, the pre-War average, and of this amount wheat accounted for Rs. 19 crores. The export of jute manufactures was valued at approximately Rs. 43 crores as against Rs. 20 crores in the pre-War quinquennium, while tea was exported to the extent of Rs. 18 crores, the pre-War average being Rs. 13 crores, and tanned hides Rs. 5 crores as against only Rs. one half crores in the pre-War period. "War time prosperity has, so far as our industrial activities are concerned, continued to bring grist to the mill. The trade returns of the year are surprisingly good considering the restrictions prevailing upon exports, and the difficulties of freight and finance." This is well illustrated in the statement of Bank Clearings, which reflects the activities which the country continues to experience mainly, if not wholly, as an outcome of conditions in Europe. Company flotations similarly illustrate this industrial prosperity. Prices of securities and shares show a general increase so far as industrial matters are concerned, while there was a decrease in the market price of Government securities and Municipal debentures.

3. Of the detailed analysis of India's trade in 1917-18, the following is a summary. In cotton piece goods, India's largest import, there was a decrease in quantity coupled with a large increase in value. The share of the United Kingdom in grey goods decreased to 87·2 per cent from 98·8 per cent in the pre-War quinquennium, to coloured goods to 91·8 per cent from 93·5 per cent, while that of white goods increased slightly to 98·8 per cent, from 98 per cent. Indian mills showed an increase in the production of finer varieties of cotton fabrics, particularly coloured goods, and also an increase in the production of high counts of yarn spun. Japan considerably increased her share in the imports of cotton piece-goods, the quantity imported from Japan in 1917-18 being 30 times that in the pre-War period. Next to cotton piece-goods sugar is India's largest import. The total imports of sugar were 7 per cent larger than those in the previous year and Java continued to be the principal source of supply. The review on the iron and steel import trade illustrates how great were the demands on the part of the Allies for the manufacture of iron and steel into munitions of War. The total imports were less by 79 per cent the pre-War average. The value of the imports of railway plant and rolling stock was only one-ninth of the pre-War quinquennial average. Kerosene oil was imported only to the extent of 31 million gallons as against 49 million gallons in the previous year and 67 million gallons, the average import before

the War. An interesting feature of the year's trade in mineral oil was the increase in the imports from Persia. In the imports of provisions, an interesting change in the direction of trade has taken place as Australia has increased her share in the imports of biscuits from 5 per cent during pre-War times to 52 per cent in 1917-18, and also increased her supplies of bacon and hams, cheese, canned and bottled provisions, jams and jellies. The United States was the largest provider of condensed milk followed by the United Kingdom, Australia, and Holland. The quantity of brandy imported was 228,000 gallons and of whisky 656 000 gallons. The imports of beer were 1, 858,000 gallons as against 2,586 gallons in the previous year. A very interesting feature of the trade in beer is that for the first time Japan took the lead, the United Kingdom having hitherto been the largest supplier. On account of the embargo on imports, the number of motor cars decreased by 73 per cent., and the year, like its two predecessors, was the year of the American motor car in India.

4. In the export trade there were several interesting features. The chief feature of the year was the large increase of 52 per cent in the value of food grains exported, a result of the unusually good monsoon which is the jugular vein of India's trade. Another feature of the export trade was the increase in the value of raw cotton exported by 18 percent above that of the previous year. The exports of jute manufactures amounted to nearly 720,000, tons valued at nearly 43 crores. In three years the Jute mills of Bengal have shipped on Government account 1,073 millions of bags and 375 million yards of cloth. Another feature of the export trade was the large decrease in raw jute, seeds and raw hides and skins. Raw and manufactured cotton was the chief export during the year as was jute in the two preceeding years. The exports of tea were the highest on record—359 million lbs., or 95 per cent. above the pre-War average. The exports to the United Kingdom were 37 per cent. above the pre-war average and the direct shipments to the United States were nearly seven times those of 1916—17 and more than eight times the pre-War average.

Indian Trde and War

In the direction of India's trade the effect of the War has been to increase the trade of India with other parts of the British Empire. The share of the British Empire in 1917-18 rose to 57 per cent from 53 per cent in the pre-War quinquennium. Trade with foreign countries decreased from 47 per cent. to 43 per cent. The most interesting feature in regard to the direction of trade is

the large increase in the trade with Japan and the United States. Mr. O'Coonor, late Director General of Statistics, wrote in the *Review of Trade* for 1883-89 regarding the trade of Japan that "Imports from Japan are quite trifling averaging less than three lakhs annually in the last five years, and there are no indications of an increase unless the imports of copper should be resumed." When the long list of imports at the present time is examined the progress in our trade with Japan cannot be termed other than phenomenal. In 1917-18 the total trade with Japan exceeded that with other countries except the United Kingdon and was valued at 52 crores. This was an increase of 400 per cent. in imports and 103 per cent. in exports over the pre-War average. The value of the trade with the United States had grown to twice what it was in the pre-War period being second only to that with Japan. Half of the import trade with the United States was made up of iron, steel, and mineral oil, while the trade with Japan was chiefly in the import of cotton manufactures, matches, metals, silk manufactures, and glassware and in the export of raw cotton.

Frontier Trade

An interesting feature noted on the frontier trade of India is the increase in importance of the Shan States in the production of lead and silver. Owing to the large output of the mines near Namtu the production of refined silver in two years has risem from *nil* to over one-half million ounce, and the production of refined lead from nearly 7.000 tons to 17,000 tons. In the rail and river-borne trade the statistics of the movements of price goods are of considerable interest as they were 60 per cent. below those of the pre-War year. Of the consuming provinces, Bengal and Madras showed a decrease of 42 per cent each, the United Provinces 28 per cent and the Punjab 14 per cent. In the net imports of kerosene oil by rail and river, Bergal showed a decrease of 30 per cent. Madras 17 per cent., Bihar and Orissa 14 per cent., the United Provinces 14 per cent., Bombay 7 per cent. and the Punjab 17 per cent. Railway earnings which are always a valuable index to the general movement of the inland trade of the year were 20 per cent above those of the pre-War year and 8 per cent above the previous year.

7. One of the most interesting features, if not the most interesting, is that dealing with the excess of exports over imports, and the liquidation of this large trade balance which India has enjoyed in recent years mainly on account of the insistent demand on the part of the Allies for her products. The gap between exports and imports of merchandise was £61 millions sterling, as against £63 millions in 1916—17, and £52 millions the pre-War average. The

net balance was estimated at £11,590,000 as against £30,305,000 in 1916—17. A caveat, however, is added that "it must suffice to affirm at the risk of wearying the reader with so many repetitions on this subject that there are more things in regard to India's balance of trade than are dreamt of in the philosophy of the Indian trade returns." The increase in the net imports of treasure was mainly due to large imports of gold, and the statistics of treasure show that India has been absorbing considerable amounts of the precious metals in spite of the War. The absorption of gold during the five years ending March 1918 amounted to more than one-half of the world's yearly production and the net imports of silver in the same period nearly twice the world's annual production.

Export and Import Trade of India 1918-19

Review of Indian Trade 1918-19

A widespread famine following a drastic failure of the 1918 monsoon was the feature of the year under Review. This naturally led to a serious outbreak of an Influenza Epidemic upon a de-vitalised people, taking the huge toll of life of six millions in the course of a few months. Pre-occupations of the war engaged Government in the production of Munitions of war, in the exportation of foodstuffs and articles of national importance to the war theatres. This served to drain the country of supplies for the armies, including the armies of the allies, and economic distress of the people was as acute as never before. Consequently agriculture, now the only occupation of the people, greatly suffered, and to crown all the unhealthy speculation of capitalists forced up prices to an extent undreamt of before. The year under Review was made up of crashing crises and dramatic changes. Production held up, prices forced up, sudden rise in exchange, a silver crisis, the sudden collaspse of the German offensive followed by an equally sudden armistice came in quick succession, and dislocated reasonably anticipated prospects of trade and industry.

The total value of the Overseas Trade in Merchandise was nearly Rs. 420 crores as against 393 crores of 1917-18 and Rs. 370 crores, the pre-war average. The total value of imports was Rs. 169 crores as against Rs. 150 crores of 1917-18 and Rs. 145 crores the pre-war average. The total value of exports was Rs. 239 crores as against Rs. 233 crores in 1917-18 and Rs. 219 crores the pre-war average. The greatest profiteers were the Jute manufacturers. The total value of the export of Jute manufactures amounted to Rs. 52 crores as against Rs. 19 crores. Then come Tea and also the Railwaymen earning a rich harvest of dividends. The rise in prices accounted for the increase in the value of exports and imports and the higher profits went into the coffers of capitalists and speculators. The returns hence do not show the prosperity of the people nor in the increase of actual economic produce though imports increased in value by about 16 per cent, exports by 9 per cent, and re-exports by

as much as 215 per cent. Government stopped the import of Gold on private account and imported a huge lot of Silver from the United States of America to meet the sudden Silver crisis. For the financial position of the country in this period—See part I, page 114 to 144.

The Import Trade

The total of the imports in 1918-19 was Rs. 169 crores (£113 millions), an increase of nearly Rs. 19 crores (£13 millions) or 12 per cent. over the preceding year. This is an increase of Rs. 23 crores (£15 millions) or 16 per cent. above the annual pre-war average. The value of the import trade in 1918-19 was the highest yet recorded, with the exception of the pre-war year 1913-14. This increase in value is due to the unprecedented rise in prices which is one of the immediate effects of the War.

The main features of the statistical returns as compared with those of 1917-18 are (1) the large increase of Rs. 4,69 lakhs or 60 per cent. in the value of iron and steel imported, and of Rs. 4,57 lakhs or 106 per cent. in the value of imported cotton twist and yarn; (2) the increase in silk manufactures, raw cotton, wheat, Railway materials, liquors, mineral oil other than kerosene, spices, apparel, machinery, and articles imported by post; and (3) the decrease in kerosene oil, matches, and timber.

The value of the **imports into Bombay** increased by about Rs. 14 crores or 25 per cent. mainly owing to cotton twist and yarn, and piece-goods. **Bengal** showed an improvement of Rs. 6 crores, chiefly in metals and manufactures of metals, and Burma of nearly 1 crore of rupees, and in Sind there was a decrease of Rs. 2 crores.

The Chief Imports are tabulated below :—

	Pre-war average	War average	1918-19.
	In lakhs of Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Cotton goods	4,841	4,743	5,169
,, yarn	377	495	887
Sugar	1,317	1,470	1,561
Iron and steel	1,117	961	1,245
Railway plant and rolling-stock ...	611	348	104
Machinery of all kinds, including belting	580	576	586
Silk, raw and manufactures ...	394	393	475
Chemical, drugs, etc.	213	342	422
Mineral oil	372	402	361

Liquors	202	236	337
Hardwar	317	279	321
Paper and paste board	127	196	272
Salt	79	181	233
Provisions	205	215	194
Motor cars and Cycles	100	111	38
Spices	154	196	241
Woollen manufactures	308	181	217
Instruments, apparatus, etc	135	165	216
Tobacco	71	132	214
Apparel	146	143	183
Matches	88	153	164
Dyeing and tanning substances ...	133	106	158
Paints and painter's materials ...	71	99	127
Seeds	7	58	125
Glass and glassware	162	128	124
Grain, pulse and flour	19	63	112
Haberdashery and millinery ...	136	102	106
Wood and timber	79	102	100
Soap	61	96	100
Fruits and vegetables	107	110	93
Articles imported by post	169	277	496

Cotton goods.—Large quantities of Cotton twist yarn and very little of piece goods came to India as imports. The total value of cotton manufactures including twist and yarn imported into India is Rs. 61 crores as against 57 crores of the preceding year and 52 crores of the pre-war annual average. Of the tolal value of all imports these amounted to 36 per cent as against 38 of 1917-18. Twist and yarn alone came to the extent of 38 million lbs as against 19 of preceding year, and 42, the pre war average. The total value was Rs. 887 lakhs—an increase of 106 per cent over 1917-18 and of 135 per cent over pre-war figure. The average value per pound rose from Rs. 2-3-5 to Rs. 2-5-3. Piece goods, India's biggest import, suffered during the year to 43 per cent.

Sugar.—Next to Cotton manufactures, sugar is India's largest import, though she was once the largest sugar growing country, the trade having been allowed to dwindle in the interest of western planters. The total amount imported during 1918-19 was 507 thousand tons of the tolal value of Rs. 1537 lakhs. Of this 363 thousand tons came from Java, and about 70 thousand each from Mauritius and the Straits.

1917-18
(YEAR UNDER REVIEW)
IMPORTS

1909-10 TO 1913-14
(PRE-WAR AVERAGE)
IMPORTS

	Rs. (lakhs)
Five yearly averages.	
Average of five years ending 1903-04 ...	121,31
" " " " 1908-09 ...	161,84
" " " " 1913-14 pre-war average ...	219,50
" " " " 1918-19 war average ...	215,96
Yearly total.	
Year 1913-14 (pre-war year)	244,20
" 1914-15	177,48
" 1915-16	192,53
" 1916-17	237,07
" 1917-18	233,44
" 1918-19	239.31

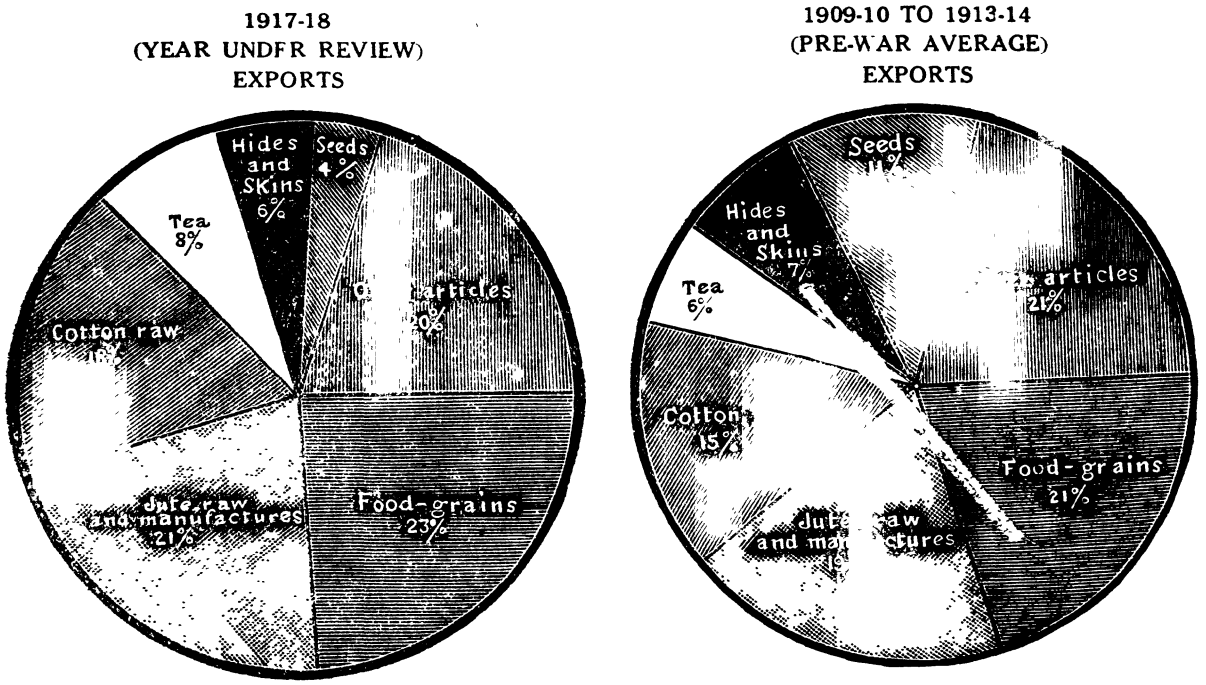
The important features are (1) the large decrease of Rs. 14 crores in the value of food grains exported ; (2) a decrease to the extent of Rs. 12 crores in the exports of raw cotton : (3) the large increase of Rs. 10 crores of jute manufactures exported ; (4) the recovery of Rs. 6 crores in last year's low exports of raw jute ; and (5) the increases in the value of seeds (Rs. 3 crores) raw and tanned skins (Rs. 3 crores), tanned hides (Rs. 2 crores), raw wool (Re. 1 crore), and oils (Re. 1 crore).

The chief exports were : jute, raw and manufactured ; cotton, raw and manufactured ; grain, pulse, and flour ; hides and skins, raw and tanned ; tea ; and seeds. Raw and manufactured jute was the principal export in the year under review, as was cotton in the preceding year. Manufactured jute by itself was the chief export of the year, reaching the record total of Rs. 52 crores, and exceeding the export of raw and manufactured cotton taken together by Rs. 7 crores.

The value of the export trade of **Bengal** increased by Rs. 18 crores or 21 per cent. mainly due to the larger exports of raw jute and seeds and also, to increase in the price of manufactured jute. **Bombay** showed a decrease of Rs. 10 crores, chiefly in raw cotton and wheat, and Sind of Rs. 9 crores in food grains, especially wheat and barley. Burma showed an improvement of Rs. 4 crores and Madras. of Rs. 3 crores. These figures suggest the prosperity of Calcutta's export trade during the year ending March 1919.

Jute and Jute Manufacturers.—The total value of raw jute exported was Rs. 13 crores and of manufactured jute Rs. 52 crores. The combined value (Rs. 65 crores) was the highest recorded ; representing 27 per cent. of the total value of the export of Indian merchandise as compared with 21 per cent. in 1917-18, and 19 per

PRE-WAR EXPORTS AND IMPORTS—THE SHARE OF PRINCIPAL ARTICLES IN THE IMPORT AND EXPORT TRADE IN 1917-18, AS COMPARED WITH THE AVERAGE OF THE FIVE PRE-WAR YEARS, 1909-10 TO 1913-14.



cent. in the pre-war quinquennium. Jute manufactures alone accounted for 22 per cent. of the total exports of the year as against 9 per cent. in the pre-war quinquennium. The value of raw jute exported nearly doubled, while that of jute manufactures was 23 per cent. above that of the preceding year. Bengal alone had 99 per cent. of these exports.

Raw Jute.—The total quantity exported was 398,100 tons or 2,229,600 bales of 400 lbs. each. This is 43 per cent. above the exports of the preceding year, and 48 per cent. below the pre-war-normal. During the first eight months of the year the quantity exported showed an increase of about 80 per cent. In the later months, December to March, after the armistice was signed, there was a steady decline. The value of the year's exports was Rs. 12,72 lakhs. an increase of 97 per cent. over the preceding year. Had the prices of 1917-18 prevailed, the value would have been Rs. 9,24 lakhs, or there was an increase of Rs. 3,48 lakhs on account of higher prices.

Jute Manufactures.—In the period under revied Jute manufactures were for the second time India's chief export. There was a decrease in the quantity exported but a very large increase in value on account of higher prices. The total weight of jute manufactures exported was 681,600 tons, a decrease of 5 per cent. as compared with the preceding year, while the value of these exports increased to Rs. 52 crores, *i.e.* by 23 per cent.

Raw Cotton.—The quantity of raw cotton exported abroad in 1918-19 was so low as only 183,950 tons or 1,030,100 bales of 400 lbs. each. There was a decrease of 50 per cent. in quantity as compared with the preceding year, and of 57 per cent. as compared with the pre-war quinquennium. Before the war the British Empire had 6 per cent. of this trade, the Allies 69 per cent. of which Japan took 42 per cent. and the enemy countries 22 per cent. In the year under review the share of the British Empire was 9 per cent. and the Allies 90 of which Japan alone had 76 per cent. Under the prices of 1917-18 the value would have been Rs. 21,47 lakhs, but it rose to Rs. 30,98 lakhs, or in other words, there was an increase of Rs. 9,51 lakhs due to higher prices. The wholesale price of Broach cotton per candy of 784 lbs. at Bombay was no less than Rs. 711 at the beginning of the year, and rose to Rs. 915 in August. There was a fall in the later months of the year, and the average for the year was Rs. 692 as against Rs. 507 in the preceeding year and Rs. 303 the pre-war average. The 1918-19 crop was estimated to yield 3,670,000 bales of 400 lbs. each against 3,998,000 bales in 1917-18, a decrease of 8 per cent.

Cotton manufactures.—In regard to Indian piece-goods, exports and production were above the pre-war average, but less than

in the preceding year. In twist and yarn, however, there was a decrease both as regards exports and production as compared with 1917-18 and also with the pre-war normal.

Cotton yarn.—The production was 615 million lbs., a decrease of 7 per cent. as compared with 1917-18, and of 5 per cent. as compared with pre-war average. The reduction in exports was much grater than the decrease in production. The total quantity, nearly 64 million lbs, was 47 per cent. below the preceding year, and 67 per cent. below the pre-war average. Most of the principal consuming countries took less yarn, the remarkable decrese in the case of China being from Rs. 102 million in 1917-18 to 49 million lbs in the year under review or 52 per cent.

Cotton piece-goods.—The exports of Indian made piece-goods was 149 million yards or 65 per cent above the pre-war average, but 21 per cent. below the preceding year. The value of the exports, notwithstanding a decrease in quantity, increased from Rs. 5,54 lakhs in 1917-18 to Rs. 6,45 lakhs on account of higher prices. Had the prices of the preceding year prevailed, the value would have been Rs. 4,43 lakhs. There was therefore, an increase of Rs. 2,02 lakhs due to a higher range of prices. The exports were as follows :—

The Indian Science Congress

Bombay—13th January 1919.

The Indian Science Congress began its sessions at Bombay in the Sir Cowasji Jahangir Hall. There was a large attendance of scientists of different persuasions who came from distant places in India. His Excellency the Governor of Bombay opened the proceedings in a short speech welcoming the Congress to Bombay. Sir Leonard Rogers, the president, then delivered his address. In the course of a long speech mainly devoted to his classic researches in Cholera and tropic diseases, he said :—

"The great lesson to be derived from the researches on cholera which I have related is the importance of combined clinical and pathological investigations. So strongly do I hold the necessity of medical research workers being in the closest possible relationship with large hospitals to enable them to work on practical lines that I regard Pasteur's great discovery of his preventative treatment of hydrophobia as having been a curse rather than a blessing to India, because it has led to three important research laboratories being placed on remote hilltops for the sake of the relatively insingnificant mortality from hydrophobia to the grave detriment of work on all the more important tropical diseases.

"The serious disadvantage which so many of the members of the bacteriological—or as it should be called medical research—department now labour under by their divorce from large hospitals in the plains will be partly removed when the schools of tropical medicine in Calcutta and Bombay are opened, when team work so essential to the solution of the larger medical problems will be possible. In addition, all the larger hospitals should have whole-time pathologists, both to enable the abundant clinical material they contain to be made available for research purposes, and also to allow the clinical staff and the patients to have the immense advantages in the diagnosis and vaccine and other lines of treatment which a bacteriological laboratory affords through recent advances in our knowledge of medicine.

"During the last nineteen years I have had unrivalled opportunities for combined clinical and pathological research, although the expenses of living in Calcutta are so great that I could not have afforded to retain the post on the pay it carries and continue my investigations, but for the accident that I married late in life ; surely not a very satisfactory state of affairs, to which I shall

return immediately. The access of pathologists to the clinical materials necessary for their researches may sometimes be a difficult problem, although as a rule clinicians are quite willing to give the necessary facilities. For some researches, however, more complete control of clinical cases is required and this urgent need led me with the invaluable help of Sir Kailash C. Bose to collect the money required to build the Carmichael hospital for tropical diseases as an integral part of the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine. This allows the cases of any special disease under investigation to be placed at the disposal of a particular research worker to the necessary degree without his being burdened with the charge of clinical material of all kinds, as in former days, to the detriment of his research work. In future I understand pathologists of our medical colleges will be supplied from the bacteriological or research department and will make the subject their life-study, and not be eligible for clinical posts. In order to get the Medical Officers with the highest abilities and scientific training required for success in research to devote their lives to it and to abandon the much more lucrative clinical side of medicine, it will be absolutely necessary to give them salaries in proportion to the long and expensive scientific training of from six to eight years which they receive after finishing their general school education.

The Parsimonious Gain.

'Unfortunately the shortsightedness, to put it as mildly as possible, of the controlling service in India, the senior members of which, admitted before the age of entry was raised to the present standard, were recruited from schools, often with the aid of cramming and almost invariably without any scientific knowledge, and whose education ceased before they became of age, has for long used its almost uncontrolled power in India to prevent the more highly educated members of the scientific services including the medical, from receiving pay adequate to their training, much less the princely salaries which the Indian Civil Service obtain for themselves.

Ignorance of Simla.

"That the Simla authorities are still quite unaware of the value of scientific training and experience will be clear from the fact that when recently sanctioning a new appointment as director of a postgraduate scientific school and research institute, they cut down the emoluments recommended by the local Government, which is finding the money, to below a comfortable living wages in the expensive location of the institution, and actually to below

the present pay in a much less responsible position of the very officer whose nomination to the post they at the same time accepted, and that too although he happens to be a Fellow of the Royal Society. Further proof of the truth of the above statement is surely unnecessary.

"Now that the world-wide devastation and the destruction of irreplaceable human life has at length ceased, I should like to see the flow of money diverted to the noble object of saving life by means of a great extension of medical research, and I can conceive of no more fitting thankoffering for the delivery of the world from the greatest menace that has ever threatened modern civilisation. What is wanted is an Indian Rockfeller to come forward with a crore or two of rupees, backed by large contributions from many others, to be devoted to the aid of genuine medical research all over India independently of race or position, under the control of a governing body, the Chairman and a large majority of whom should be scientific experts.

Papers Read.

Next day, January 14th, the following papers were read :—

1. "The use of nitrogenous fertilisers in India" by Mr. C. M. Hutchinson of Pusa was, in the absence of the author through illness, read by Mr. J. Mac Kenna, Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India. The author, referring chiefly to the conditions prevailing in north-east India, pointed out that nitrogen is by no means always a limiting factor in many Indian soils, and said that caution was necessary in the indiscriminate application of nitrogenous manures, as under such treatment, the exhaustion of mineral fertilising resources of the soil might easily result. The only small portion of nitrogen present in the soil is in the form immediately available for plant food, the proportion available depending on the rate at which breaking down of protein matter and nitrification are taking place. Protein fermentation may easily take an undesirable direction leading to an accumulation of products not directly useful, while at the same time, owing to intensive cultivation, the carbohydrate material in the soil is greatly diminished, with the resulting decrease in nitrogen assimilation. Hence, if intensive methods of cultivation are to be maintained, these losses must be made good by the addition of nitrogenous materials under carefully controled conditions. The point is:

can an Indian afford these aplications? This is an economic question which it is at present difficult to answer, and involves such questions as the limiting of exports of oil-seeds and electrolytic production of nitrogenous compounds. These are questions which will soon have to be faced, if ultimate impoverishment of Indian soils is to be avoided.

2. Mr. R. L. Mackenzie Wallis, M. A., M. S. A. read an interesting paper on the subjects of "Colloids and their Relation to Industry." After general introduction, the writer dealt particularly with the subject of protective colloids, instancing the use of dextrin, starch, etc., for the prevention of boiler scale, the use of gelatin in electroplating to keep the metal in finely divided amorphous condition. The application of colloid chemistry to foodstuffs had enabled the author to produce in India for few annas a pound of food material formerly sold for exports at nine shillings a pound. By the use of protective colloid he had also been able to make invalid food the digestibility, and nutritive properties of which were high. The use of colloids in medicine, particularly in the reduction of laxicity of certain drugs was touched upon. Details were given of the author's recent work on the method of preparation of pure casein, and its behaviour with various solvents, particularly pysidine. A glue powder of great adhesiveness on moistening prepared from lime and casein was exhibited, and the author anticipated that casein preparations would be used as a substitute for farina in sizing for water-proofing canvas, for protecting stone-work and preventing the corrosion of metals.

Agriculture and Applied Botany.

Mr. Keatinge presided at the opening of the Agriculture and Applied Botany Section of the Science Congress on 15th January. His Presidential address dealt with some economic factors affecting agricultural progress. In the course of his address Mr. Keating said :

"You discover something which should be of great value to the community, but the economic condition is often such that hardly any one is in a position to take advantage of your discovery. This cannot fail to be very disheartening to yourselves and to the public which is looking for material advancement at your hands, and to the Governments to whom we have to look for increased support. If the existing economic difficulties were insuperable there would be little use in railing against them but it is because I believe that they can be overcome and that a situation can be created in which practical value of labours can be greatly

increased that I venture to address you on the subject. Stated in its briefest possible form my proposition is this. In farming there are two fundamental units—farm and farmer. For agricultural purposes it is necessary that farm should be a fixed and permanent unit, so that it may admit of permanent improvement and adequate development, and that the farmer should be a fluid and movable unit, so that the right men may get to right places. Speaking generally, we find to our misfortune that in India the exact reverse is the case—that farm on the one hand, is subject to a continuous series of economic earthquake and that the farmer, on other hand, is fixed and rooted. Speaking of farm he said that not only was land totally undeveloped as development was known in other countries, but the idea of progressive development was hardly understood by others.

Turning to farming, he said the point was that the farmer was fixed and permanent. His farm might fly into fragments and grow steadily smaller, but, generally speaking, he himself persisted whether he were good or bad farmer. In the highly individualistic and competitive countries, efficiency was secured largely by the elimination of the unfit who were squeezed out of race by keen competition, coupled by the high standard of living. Law was in constant operation in England, and there had been periods of agricultural depression there, when unprogressive farmers had been ruined and squeezed out wholesale, while, on the same kinds of soil, it was recognised that bad farmer could hope, even in prosperous times, to survive many seasons. In rural India, however, competition was less keen, standard of living lower, and easy going tolerance combined with the elastic joint family system, helped it to tide the less effective members over their difficulties and to keep them in their place of subordination of more effective members of the community.

In conclusion he said: We may then sum up the situation thus. The majority of the farms are of wrong size and wrong shape. They are not permanent units and are not susceptible of orderly and adequate improvement. The majority of the farmers are different in skill, industry and energy and balance a low standard of endeavour by a low standard of living. These are the fundamental obstructions to agricultural progress to which I have to refer. The question is how we are to overcome them. It is clear that what we have to do is to endeavour to create and maintain suitably sized and suitably situated holding which will admit of adequate development, and to arrange that there shall be nothing to prevent these economic units from passing by natural laws into the hands of most progresive farmers who will be in a

position to make the best use of them. If we can do this, we can trust to natural fertility of soil and natural industry of the farmers to secure the progress which we desire, aided by scientific investigations which had been made and which will be made in future. But until we can do this, we shall not secure anything like full results that we look for from our natural advantages or from our scientific labours Now what is it that prevents us from taking action of the nature indicated? Whenever any remedial action of nature is suggested, it is always urged that the people have not asked for such action and do not want it, as such action would be opposed to their religion and to their sentiments, and that a shuffle of farms and of farmers would constitute a political danger. These aspects of the question must be carefully considered. This is a country where religious and sentimental ideals count for much, where political dangers must be given due weight, but there is also persistent demand on the part of a section of the population for material progress. We have come to the parting of ways, and India must decide which road she wishes to take. You may set up a sentimental ideal and an asthetic ideal and an ideal of voluntary poverty or an ideal of political caution. Such ideals are quite intelligible. The trouble is that to a large extent they are not compatible with the ideal of material progress. All that I say is this. If the former ideals are chosen to the exclusion of the latter, let us stop all talk of rapid material progress, for we shall have deliberately refused to take first steps that lead to it.

3. Mr. Keating's paper was followed by a paper by Mr. B. C. Burt on "The fragmentation of holdings as it effects the introduction of agricultural improvements." It was pointed out that, though the question of un-economic holding is complex, progress most necessarily be gradual and follow the general economic development. There is opportunity for immediate steps to discourage the fragmentation of holding. Instances were given of specific agricultural improvements, the introduction of which was delayed by the existing conditions and of marked results that had resulted from some experiments in consolidated holdings in U. P.

A spirited discussion followed, in which Dr. Mann, Mr. Howard, Mr. Keatinge, Mr. Kulkarni and Mr. Joshi took part, and stress was laid by the various speakers on the necessity for legislative assistance in meeting the difficulty and of the desirability of more concrete example of what might be achieved.

4. Mr. Howard's paper on "Drainage and plant growth," which was well-illustrated by lantern slides and the specimen brought

out very clearly the close relationship between health, vigour and the yield of various crops, and the degree of drainage and soil æration. Details of the experiment were described, proving the result of Java indigo in Bihar, which had often been attributed to the lack of available phosphate, but was really due to interrupted sub-soil drainage, due to the rise of rivers in monsoon, adversely affecting a deeprooted plant and that they could largely be got over by the use of suitable shallow rooted types.

5. The paper by Mr. C Ingles on "Land drainage" in irrigated lands in Bombay, Deccan which followed dealt with exceptional subsoil conditions found to exist, and showed that in order to deal with the damage caused by the spread of alkali, it was necessary to locate and open up natural deep drainage which was often quite distinct from the superficial drainage lines.

6. Mr. Anstead's paper on the "Prevention of soil æration in estates in Southern India" described a method of building up terraces applicable to the existing plantations, and also an alternative method of preventing erosion on steep slopes by encouraging the growth of the selected weeds, instead of clean cultivation

7. Mr. C. Dobbs on the "Frequent failure of a large proportion of rice crop" in Chota Nagpur outlined the unusual conditions of rice growing on these plateaus, and described a method of protection now being experimentally tested near Ranchi, which, if successful, will make the tract far less precarious

8. At the medical section Col Sir Leonard Rogers read a paper on "Sodium morrhuate" in the treatment of tuberculosis. He said that tuberculosis was the greatest scourge of mankind and was a serious problem in india. His work in connection with the treatment of this disease originated in connection with his researches in the treatment of leprosy with injections of gynocordates. He prepared a sodium morrhuate and mentioned several cases where considerable improvement had followed after treatment with injections of this drug.

Geological Section.

In the geological section of the Congress seven papers were read. Of special interest was a paper by Messrs, J. Coggin Brown and A. M. Heron on the distribution of ores of tungsten and tin in Burma. The authors pointed out the genetic relationship of these ores to granitic intrusions and on this basis were able to indicate the existence of vast tracts of country in Burma that have been very imperfectly explored, and which should prove to contain deposits of these two metals

Prof. D. N. Wadia of Jammu exhibited an interesting series of boulders illustrating a gradual passage from an altered gratto to an eclogite like rock due to tectonic pressure.

Mr. H. Walker's paper describes 4 falls of stony meteorites in India during 1916 and 1917. These are representatives of the visitors from outer space referred to by Dr. Gilbert Walker in his lecture on "Life of a star."

Mr. I. C. Chriko's paper on tho geology of Travancore led to an interesting discussion on the nomenclature of laterite, whilst in Mr. A. Ghose's paper on the sedimentary origin of Dharwar formation, the evidence of the existence of life in Dharwar line was briefly reviewed.

The section of the Physics and Mathematics met under the presidentship of Dr. D. N. Mallik. Mr. V. H. Jackson read a paper on the "Earth air current at Patna," and described the latest refinements in his apparatus. He was followed by Dr. Gilbert T. Walker who gave a simple explanation of the fact that a billiard ball when struck with the left side curves to the left when travelling with nap of the cloth, but to the right when moving against the nap in a similar way. The reason for the curved path of a curling stone was given.

After his paper, Dr. Walker showed some interesting tops, one of which would only spin in one direction, while another stood up while at rest, but fell over on being rotated.

Other papers read were by Prof. Raman on "Resonance" and by Father Steichen on the "Tonisation of the air."

The Indian Science Congress met again in the Institute of Science Buildings on Jan. 16. The sections were Chemistry, Zoology and Ethnography, Pure Botany, and medical Research. Two presidential addresses were read, one in the Chemistry Section, and the other on "Post War Zoology" by Mr. F. M. Howlett, B. A. F. E.S. In the other sections a number of papers were read in the afternoon.

The President of the Section of Zoology and Ethnography delivered his presidential address. In the course of his remarks he said:

"There is one remarkable modern development of the study of animals, especially of man, which can hardly fail to hold one's attention. I mean the development of the idea that underlying the morphological characters of an organisation there is another of no less definite chemical characters. That each order of the family genus and species has an individuality, quite apart

from that which we have in the past made the basis of our zoological classifications, that is to say, a definite chemical personality as definite in its way as that complex morphological and physiological characters that go to form our ordinary every day concert of a mouse or an elephant. If bodies of different animals are analysed or if particular organs or tissues are analysed, they are found to be by no means of the same composition in different genera and the same holds when the chemical behaviour of tissues is examined such as the absorptive power of blood for oxygen or the action of excretory organs. The lecturer then gave a series of demonstrations by graphs of relative "attractiveness" of insects and their foods.

After the close of the presidential address Mr. Howlett read two papers on the genesis and varieties of outrigger, etc.

These papers were followed by no less than five others dealing with fishes. One of the papers by Mr. I. Southwell and Mr. Baini Prasad dealt with the types of embryonic development in sharks; it provoked a brisk and instructive discussion which brought out the fact that the shark, fishes of the most ancient lineage, long ago anticipated man and the higher mammals in the devices they evolved for the proper protection and nourishment of their developing offspring.

Captain D'Mello exhibited a series of lantern slides showing the types of remarkable triconymphine parasites which infest certain species of termites in enormous numbers. A termite's interior was shown to be a varitable microcosm, full of warring interests and activities; further investigation of this subject might lead to the methods of checking the multiplication and with it the ravages of these most annoying and destructive pests.

The Chemistry Section assembled to hear the presidential address delivered by Mr. F. L. Usher on a review of the evidence for transformation. Mr. Usher gave an account of the experiments of Sir William Ramsay and his coworkers on the transmutation of elements, and briefly considered the evidence which has been adduced for and against the hypothesis of transmutation.

Dr. Watson then described some work carried out by Mr. Paranjpe and himself on the absorption of hydrogen by quartz at low temperatures, and having for one of its objects the measurement of correction to be applied to the readings of the hydrogen thermometer which is used as a standard. Dr. Watson also gave an account of his experiments on the relation between the gas absorbing properties of cocoa-nut charcoal and its method of pre-

paration, this material having been used to some extent on the fighting fronts as a protection against poison gas.

Dr. Studborough next gave an account of some more work carried out, at the request of the Indian Munitions Board, by Dr. Watson, Mr. Varma and himself on the manufacture of glycerine by means of a ferment found in castor seeds, and dealt with the difficulty presented by the "middle layer" which retains glycerine and so reduces the yield.

At the meeting of the medical Research Section Col. Cornwall, I. M S., read Lt. Col. Mac. Carrison's paper on "Pathogenesis of deficiency diseases Major Greig, I M S., read a paper on "deficiency diseases giving his own personal observations and made a few remarks on the papers of Capt. Shorten and Col. Mac Carrison.

Pure Botany section met next Mr. S. R. Kashyap, presiding. The order in which the papers were to be read had to be a little changed owing to the absence of some gentlemen who had to read papers at the beginning of the meeting. The following papers were read: (a) The Rhizome and frond of Goneiopteris Prolifera by Mr. G. S. Cheema. Among the many things he described the periodic growth of the Rhizome, dimorphic leaflets, the structure of the axillary bud and the small size of a few spores in each sporangium (b). Notes on Vallisneria by Prof. Kenoyer. Some forms of Vallisneria were described, and the plants were exhibited. The President showed some specimens of Vallisneria from Lahore, and pointed out that in these the staminodes in the female flowers were absent.

(c). "Myxocophyceae of Lahore" by Mr. S. L Ghose. A list of the species occurring in Lahore was given with their habitat and mode of perennation Variability in flower of jasminum malabaricum by Dr. H. H. Mann. Numbers of parts of the calyx and corolla as seen in a very large number of the flowers were given and their Variability discussed. Stress was laid on the quantitative data in describing the plants. The paper was followed by a very interesting discussion on the nature and the limits of species and other related points, in which Prof. Fyson, Father Blatter, Mr. Aiyangar, Mr.Howard add the President took part.

"A general consideration of some aspects of the fresh water Algal Flora of Madras" by Mr. M. O. Parthasarathy Aiyangar. The relation between the climatic factors and species was considered and a list of species was given with notes on them.

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The Hindu University.

FIRST CONVOCATION—17 JANUARY 1919

The first Convocation of the Benares Hindu University was held on 17 January in the spacious Quadrangle of the Central Hindu College under a tastefully decorated Shamiana. The large gathering of spectators included many distinguished scholars and educationists who had helped the university with large donations. Prominent among whom were H. H. the Maharaja of Benares and his heir apparent. On the left of the platform were seated the Senators of the Hindu University in their distinctive academical gowns, and in front were seated the first batch of graduates who passed the University test in the year 1918. They looked well in their gowns of mauve with yellow border and large light green turbans. Conspicuous among them was Miss Braj Kumari, the only lady graduate of the first year.

Punctually, at 3 P.M., the officers of the University, headed by the Chancellor, H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore, walked into the Pandal in procession and took their respective seats.

THE CHANCELLOR'S SPEECH.

In the course of his speech the Chancellor said :—

This University is the most striking manifestation of India's effort at self-determination and self-expression. It is, or it ought to be, the embodiment of the very soul of Hindu India, her noble traditions, elevating impulses, and devotional culture. It is the first private University in the country as contrasted with Government foundations, and it has, for that reason, possibilities of freedom and self-development peculiarly its own. Along with the project for the Aligarh University, which I sincerely trust, will soon be an accomplished fact, it has done much to quicken the confidence of Indians in their capacity to take independent charge of education in all its grades and is entitled, in no small degree, to the credit of having ushered in a new epoch in the history of higher education in India—an epoch marked by the foundation of compact unitary Universities of the teaching and residential type, organised and administered by Indians and adjusted, in varying degrees of completeness, to the special conditions, requirements and aspirations of Indians.

Economic Progress.

Besides, we have to bear another factor in mind. The modern age is characterised by the knowledge and cultivation

of the physical sciences and by their increasing application to the methods of economic life. Scientific knowledge and economic progress go hand in hand and from the very foundations of National life, and unless we achieve both, we are bound to fall behind in the march of progress. This University should, therefore, address itself to the development of its modern side by organising such practical Faculties as those of Technology, Applied Chemistry, Agriculture and Commerce, so that trained talent may be available in the country for the development of its vast and varied material resources. Let the University turn out a new type of learned men who will be fit to be the captains of our commerce and industry, leading the country along the paths of a sound economic advance and winning for her a leading place in the international industrial struggle.

Not over Education, but Mis-education

There are some people who think that India is becoming over-educated, and who point to the large number of students seeking admission into the different Universities and to the glut that there is in the market for their services as reasons for their belief, but compared with foreign countries, the number of people who have any education in India is deplorably small, those possessing higher education is smaller still, and there seems to me to be no justification for regretting an increase in the number of our graduates. But all the same, there must be some good reason somewhere for the distrust and suspicion with which the overflowing of schools and colleges is looked upon by some friendly critics. I venture to suggest that the real trouble is not over-education but mis-education by which I mean the giving of the wrong kind of education. Doubtless in early days the necessities of Government service had a predominant influence in determining the extent and character of the education given in India and the evil complained of viz., mis-education, is due to the insistence on a type of education which is no longer suited to our conditions, which has been outgrown in most other countries and which requires to be altered in accordance with the larger conceptions of education now prevailing. One of the inevitable results of this policy is the fetish which is still made of Government service which is the "be all" and "end all" of a majority of the graduates who leave our Universities. It looks a simple truism to say that popular education cannot in all points be similar to education intended for a limited purpose or for a limited class, but it is the neglect of this truism that must be held to be responsible for one unsatisfactory aspect of education in India. The more popular a system of education is the more

thorough should be its impregnation with the industrial spirit, which will be also have the further effect of giving the precept regarding the dignity of labour more reality than it has possessed so far in India.

Importance of Technology

It is gratifying to find that the Benares University has already recognised the importance to Technology, and has made preparations for the formation of Faculty in this subject. In this connection, we may gratefully acknowledge the princely donation which has been given by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala in aid of the Department of Technology I trust that the steps taken to establish the Faculties of Agriculture and of Technology will soon lead to tangible results. This country will, I am sure, realise that to equip and conduct a Technological Faculty on up-to-date lines, keeping pace with the improvements in the mechanical arts and sciences that are effected almost day by day, will cost a great deal of money and that it will not be possible to carry on operations successfully unless Universities in British India continue to be mainly examining bodies.

Existing System of Education.

Apart from the dissatisfaction caused by the examining type of university, there has been a growing feeling in the country that the existing system of university education has not been sufficiently corelated to the practical needs of the fast-changing material and economic conditions, and has not been sufficiently alive to the necessity for the preservation of Hindu culture and ancient learning in the forcible impact of Western knowledge and western culture. It was felt that the existing universities had, rightly or wrongly, neglected the need for religious instruction, had done little for the enrichment of vernacular literature, and the popularisation of Western knowledge and had not sufficiently interested themselves in the promotion of higher technical and vocational education.

The object of the promoters of the Hindu University were intended to be accomplished by the creation of a teaching and residential university, by the insistence upon religious instruction to Hindu students, and by the entrusting of the management to a non-official body capable of quicker movement in response to public opinion, and freed from some of the inevitable restrictions of State. The lines on which the Hindu University had been constituted give us an ample measure of freedom to enable us to satisfy all these needs, and our achievement will only be limited by the funds we can secure and by the amount

of co-operation and steady effort it may be possible for us to enlist in the work of the university.

Object of Hindu University.

The Hindu University is not intended to be a reproduction of the type of Indian universities now in existence, but to conform to the best ideals of university organisation, which have need be formulated. I have heard it said in some quarters that the Hindu University must be of a distinct type, different not merely from the Indian Universities, but also from the Universities, of the West. To a certain extent this must be conceded in so far as the Hindu University aims at the preservation of ancient learning and of Hindu culture in the highest sense of the term, the provision of instruction, the essential principles of the Hindu Religion and the investigation of the problems peculiar to India and the application of science to Indian condition, but in other respects the ideals of the Hindu University must necessarily be the same as those of the best modern universities of the West. The provisions of equipment and facilities for scientific research, the fearless pursuit and discovery of truth and augmentation of the sum of human knowledge must necessarily be included among the aims of the best universities.

Tendency of modern Universities.

It has been observed that the tendency of the modern Universities is towards specialisation in an extremely narrow field and that it is necessary to correct this tendency by greater co-ordination among the subjects of study and by a comprehensive view of the correlations of different science. The need is as much felt and emphasised by thinkers in the West as here.

Teaching in Hindu University.

Fear has been expressed in some quarters that the teaching in the Hindu University might treat everything contained in the Puranas without reverence and as entitled to equal weight, and that, if for instance, the system of geography or of mythology contained in them were to be taught as a body of facts, it would be rendering itself ridiculous and exercise a mischievous influence. Critics of this sort are unaware that the spirit of rational investigation has always occupied a place in the history of Indian thought, and that the principles of interpretation supplied by our Shastras furnish means for sifting the essentials of religion from the unessential elements. There is no apprehension of the Hindu University following any such reactionary course.

Management and Policy.

Referring to certain complaints made as to the management of the Hindu University and the policy which it has followed

the speaker said that in a speech recently made in the south, it was observed by Sir Robindranath Tagore that even in the Hindu University he could find very little that could be called really Hindu. What was probably in the mind of our illustrious countryman was that proper provision had not been made for the teaching of religion in the curricula. As already pointed out, eligious instruction was one of the objects with which this University was founded, and it is therefore, pledged to provide for such instruction The subject of proper organisation of religious instruction has been entrusted to a committee of the Faculty of Theology and the preparation of suitable courses is still under consideration.

Regarding another complaint that the University has not formulated its ideals or methods to be adopted for their attainment. He said that the ideals cannot well be totally different from those of the modern universities of the best type. Theoretically, it might be desirable for the University to assume for its domain every department of human knowledge, but financial, regional and other practical limitations must stand in the way of any ambitious assumption of an encyclopædic character. The effect of these limitations will be particularly obvious in departments of applied science. What branches of applied science can be undertaken by the University must depend upon these limitations and upon the urgency of the needs of the country. The dawn of a new era of industrial development is in sight, and it is the duty of the Hindu University to undertake the training of young men in those departments of applied scientific knowledge which are likely to be of most use in our present condition. In this view of the most important subjects in which this University should provide teaching, are engineering, agriculture and commerce.

Mechanical and Engineering College.

The question has been engaging the attention of council of the University and it has been decided to start a college of mechanical and electrical engineering being probably the most pressing necessity of the day. Yet another reason for giving precedence to the claims of instruction in engineering is the magnificent donation during last year by His Highness the Maharaja of Rs. 5 lakhs for a non-recurring expenditure and Rs. 24,000 per annum for the maintenance of Chairs for mechanical and electrical engineering which have, fortunately, been able to secure the services of Mr. C. A. King, professor of Mechanical Engineering at Sibpur, as the Principal of our Engineering College,and a scheme has been pre-

pared by him providing for instruction in mechanical and electrical engineering up to the standard of the B. Sc., London in these subjects.

Agricultural College.

In agriculture a scheme has been prepared by Dr. Harold Mann, of Poona. This also has been referred to a committee for report. His proposals for an Agricultural College and farm with all their accessories also involve an initial expenditure of about Rs. 10 lakhs and a gross recurring expenditure of about a lakh of rupees. These figures may appear high, but they are certainly not extravagant. Our aim should be to afford the very highest standard of education possible. Any stinting of money in securing the efficiency of equipment and staff would be a very unwise piece of economy.

Gift of the Maharaja of Benares.

Sir Sivaswamy then announced that His Highness the Maharaja of Benares had promised to grant a permanent lease of 1200 acres of land adjoining the University grounds to carry out agricultural development of the University.

Original Investigation and Research.

Continuing, he said: The University will have fulfilled only a part of its work if it confines itself to the provision of a sound liberal education for the rank and file of its undergraduates. An equally important if not higher object is the promotion of original investigation and research. This can only be accomplished by the provision of sufficient facilities for research to the professorial staff, by the encouragement of post-graduate work by the most brilliant students in seminaries and libraries in intimate association with and under the living inspiration of, the professors who are themselves engaged in original work, and by the establishment of residential fellowships and foreign scholarships for research. The importance of this subject has not been overlooked by the Council, and the scheme will be carried out as soon as necessary funds can be made available.

University Reform.

I shall now pass on to one or two questions of University Reform which have engaged the anxious atten ion of all who have devoted any thought to the improvement of our Universities. I wish, first, to refer to the imperative need for mitigating the baneful effects on education of the system of examinations. Even in the old teaching universities of England it has been felt that examinations occupy an undue share of the attention of the students, and are inimical to the best interests of education. The conclusions arrived at by the Haldane Commission on University

Education in London was that examinations were an insufficient and inclusive test of a real university education, that due weight should be given to the whole record of the student's work in the university and that, if scope for individual initiative was to be allowed to the professors and the students were to fully profit by their instruction, it was necessary that subject to the proper safeguards, the degrees of the university should practically be the certificates given by the Professors themselves. Anyone with a knowledge of the state of things in this country will readily admit that examinations have become the ends of student life, and have had a disastrous effect upon the whole system of education. In the case of a unitary University like ours, managed by a non-official body and labouring under no necessity of maintaining a uniformity of standard by a system of external examinations, it should be possible to check the evil either by abolishing examinations or by reducing their importance as a qualification for degrees. There may, however, be more difficulty in eradicating the evil than may appear at first sight. The fact that the examination system will continue to flourish in some form or another and be accepted as furnishing a hall-mark for the issue of degrees in the adjoining State Universities, the unfortunate tendency of large numbers of graduates to seek employment under the Government and the jealous suspicion with which the Government is likely to regard degrees issued upon a system of no public examination as a form of debased coinage and the deep-rooted desire on the part of the parents of the students for the B. A. attainment of distinction by their sons in the examination races, are some of the factors with which our University will have to reckon in introducing an urgently needed and most wholesome reform. It is also necessary to bear in mind that it will take some time, after the University is fully organised, for the professorial staff to acquire the confidence of the public in their impartiality and standard of judgement. It may be mentioned, in passing, that in Japan to which our countrymen are often disposed to appeal by way of a model, the examinations in the Universities are frequently oral and not written, and that marks are neither published nor classified in any way. Yet another defect in the existing system which obtains in a much more intensified form in this country than in England is the unfitness of a large majority of the students at the school-leaving or matriculation stage to enter upon a University course. The remedy, in my opinion, is not to extend the school course and impose upon the students an additional year of instruction under more or less the same class of teachers, under whom they are educated

up to the sixth form, but treat the intermediate examination as the stage at which the real university education should begin and to extend the course for the B. A. examination for pass and honours alike to a period of three years, the abler students alone being allowed to take the honours course, and the rest being allowed to take the pass course. Our University will not have fulfilled its purpose if it retains the defects of the existing Universities and makes no attempt to follow a policy more in keeping with the trend of the best educational opening.

Conclusion.

In concluding his address the Vice-chancellor hoped that Kashi (Benares) which has through centuries of political disturbance and onslaught of rival faiths ever maintained its position as the citadel of Hindu faith and carried the torch of Hindu learning and Hindu culture will continue to remain a shrine of learning, both oriental and western, through its Hindu University when fully developed.

The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya then in a brief speech appealed for further donations, and announced that a rich Marwari gentleman, of Benares and Calcutta, had just contributed Rs. one lakh and a half towards the building of students hostels for the Hindu University and Mr. Baldeodas Doodhwalla, another Marwari gentleman, has signified his intention of paying Rs. one lakh for Ayurvaidic education to be undertaken by the University.

The Convocation then dissolved.

Indian Science Congress

Nagpur, Jan. 13th. 1920.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS BY SIR P C. RAY, D.SC., PH.D.

We stand to-day at the threshold of a critical period in the history of our country. The war has happily terminated, and we are in the midst of rejoicing over the Peace Celebrations. It has been truly said that the late war called for every ounce of scientific knowledge and effort, that the great nations have been straining their utmost and that the scientific battle has been fought by the laboratory men Indeed, it was from the nitrogen of the air out of which Germany manufactured synthetic nitric acid and thus defied the world for four years and more in spite of the stringency of the blockade. It is now becoming abundantly clear that the fate of a nation will henceforth depend more upon the achievements of its students of science than upon the skill of its generals or the adroitness of its diplomats and statesmen. Let me illustrate what I have said by a concrete example. The first thing which America did, when she joined the Allies, was to initiate a census of chemists, and in July 1917, a fully detailed description was available of some 15,000 chemists resident in the State, and a research staff consisting of 1,200 technical men with necessary assistants was enlisted for the research division of the chemical warfare service alone.

Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war. The sudden and unexpected stimulus which chemical research obtained during the war has been the means of calling into existence a trained band of workers especially in the Allied countries. In England, for instance, vigorous attempts are now being made to manufacture dyes and fine chemicals backed by heavy subsidies from the state and countervailing duties. It now transpires, however, that Germany, though worsted in the war and her resources enormously crippled has had her chemical plants practically unimpaired and her army of chemists undiminished in vigour. It is suspected in fact that she is already putting forth mighty efforts to oust her rivals and capture her lost markets. England's preoccupation has also been America's opportunity. During the first three years of the war, secure in her envied neutrality, she reaped a golden harvest by selling raw materials and munitions to the belligerents, and her chemical industries have got such a fillip that in the near future the Indian market

bids fair to be flooded with heavy and fine chemicals and dyes manufactured in America. By a bitter irony of fate, England has materially helped America in this respect.

Emerson says somewhere that a chemist will readily confide his secrets to a carpenter, secrets which he will not impart to a brother chemist for all the world. The accumulated experience of generations of English and French chemists was thus gained by America at almost a bound. Japan has not been slow in stealing a march over us; her volume of exports to India has trebled within the last two or three years. The question now arises; Where does India stand in this formidable world competition? The answer is, nowhere. It is sad to reflect that nothing short of the cataclysm of the late Armageddon could rouse us from our stupor and make us realise that like so many other countries, India must be not only self-contained in the production of her own requirements, but learn to convert vast supplies of raw-materials into manufactured products. India has now an enormous amount of leeway to make up We must now put forth all our energies and make vigorous and sustained efforts so as to be able to stand a fierce world competition.

(After pointing out that want of general education is a bar to scientific progress, the President continued):—I feel it my duty to take a rapid survey of the future of science in India, and suggest steps which ought to be taken for the proper culture and development of science in India. By this I mean that educated Indians should take a greater part in original investigations, and steps should be taken for the diffusion of scientific knowledge among the rank and file of the people. The cultivation of science must be entrusted, as is the case everywhere in the civilised world, to the professors in colleges and universities, to the teachers in the secondary schools, and to the officers in the various scientific departments of the State, and there must be a good proportion among the *intelligentsia* in the country to take interest in the pursuit of science and encourage its votaries. The visions of the early educationists, in this respect, have proved quite illusive; the contribution to science by Indians has been extremely meagre. Japan entered the race some thirty years after India, but by what a vast distance she has left us behind! Within the short period of forty years, she has built up an educational system which is the admiration of the civilized world, while her contributions to science have been very valuable, and are daily growing in volume and importance.

Let us now see where the fault lies. The Scientific Services of the Government are posts of great value, prospect, and securi-

ty; they afford to their holders unique opportunities, rare and valuable materials, for study and investigation. But with what studied care the Indians are excluded from these Service will appear from the following table compiled from a recent Government report.

The following Table shows the composition of the existing Scientific Services.

Offices average pay (Imperial Grade)

Name of the Service	Europeans	Indians	European Scale.	Indian Scale.
Botanical Survey ...	2	0	1,000	0
Geological Survey ...	16	0	1,010	0
Zoological Survey ...	3	1	970	700
Agricultural Service ...	38	5	1,000	460
Forest Service ...	9	1	1,040	660
Medical and Bacteriological Service (on Civil Employment)	24	5	1,220	500
Indian Munitions Board ...	11	1	780	300
Meteorological Department ...	10	2	970	770
Veternary Department (Civil) ...	2	0	1,100	...
Education Service* ...	34	3	910	490
Indian Trigonometrical Survey	46	0	...	...

All of these officers except one are Royal Engineers, and hold military rank. The provincial service, which is also highly paid, consists of 112 officers, of which nearly 80 per cent are Europeans and Anglo-Indians, without any academic distinction.

Among the occupiers of these posts, there have been many distinguished European servants of great name and fame. I do not for a moment wish to minimise their achievements. The credit of their work, however, belongs to their own native countries, and the results of their experience are enjoyed by their own countrymen. I shall try to make my point a bit

* The Indian personnel has been recently strengthened by certain fresh appointments.

clearer. The Indian lives and moves and has his being in the midst of his own people ; the European, somehow or other, lives in a world apart, and from his exalted position of aloofness and isolation fails to inspire those who may happen to come into contact with him. Moreover, the European, when he attains the age limit, retires to his own native land, and the accumulated experience gained at the expense of India are lost to the country for good. In a word, the present system arrests Indian intellectual growth and inflicts a cruel wrong on India.

In Japan, on the other hand, western experts were at first imported for organization of the scientific services ; but they have gradually been replaced by the Japanese scholars. Japan can thus shew an Omori in seismology, a Kitasate in bacteriology and a Takamine in biological chemistry, not to mention a host of other eminent names.

In India, however, taking for example only one instance, the Trigonometrical Survey is entirely reserved for and manned by Royal Engineers with military rank. I do not see why this should be the case. In England, France, and Germany, civil graduates with scientific qualifications are being employed in increasing numbers. Even in India, in the early fifties of the last century, we find that Radhanath Sikdar, an alumnus of the old Hindu College, was the right-hand man of Colonel Everest, of the Trigonometrical Survey, from whom the highest peak of the Himalayas has derived its name.

In order to make India self-contained, the Government has proposed to institute a Chemical Service. Probably in the near future, departments of aerial navigation, marine engineering, including naval architecture, will have to be organized. The utilisation of Indian brains in these departments should be regarded as pivotal.

Coming now to the second point, *viz*, the contribution to science by Indian professors, the result has been disappointing so far as the Government service is concerned. And for this the service system is responsible. Take for example the Chairs in the Presidency College of Calcutta, probably the premier College in India. The Chairs are as well paid as any in the world, and the advantages and facilities afforded to the professors are the best available in India. There is sometimes the honoured tradition of an Eliot or a J. C. Bose or a Pedler connected with some Chair. Naturally when a vacancy arises, the aim should be to fill up the posts by able and enthusiastic workers on the subject so as to preserve the tradition and the continuity of the fame attached to such a post. But what happens under the service

system? Either a raw, untried graduate is brought out from England or it automatically falls to some senior man in the service whose only title to the post is his seniority, which often goes hand-in-hand with senility. In ninety-nine cases out of hundred, the successor so chosen, has no single original work to his credit, and may have lost all touch with the progress of his subject. Enormous facilities at his disposal thus remain unused as long as he encumbers that post.

It would be interesting to examine the condition of things in such free countries as are unhampered by hide-bound and fossilized system. At Cambridge Rayleigh suceeds Maxwell, J. J. Thomson in the post of Cavendish Professor of Physics. Again take the method of selection of College and University professors in Italy as described by Dr. Young :—"The Committee of the most famous professors in the subject in which the Chair is vacant, appointed by the Government *ad hoc* to report on the various candidates, is only allowed to consider the *work done by the candidates* during the five years immediately preceding the election. And it is only in the case of candidates of world-wide reputation that work anterior to this period is even tacitly assumed. The excellence of this procedure has secured for Italy a succession of brilliant professors, who more than hold their own, when the resources of the country are considered."

The selection of men for professorships in our country lies entirely in the hands of a few big officers. In the case of the lower services, it is the India Council. It is a continuation of the old Nawabi system. Generally the Directors or the officers of the Selection Bureau, are men who might have achieved some academic distinction at some period of their career (but this is not always necessary), but having taken to administrative work for long years, are entirely out of touch with the progress in the different branches of knowledge. Such officers are by habit and temperament unfitted to judge the merits of rival candidates, and generally very unfortunate selections are made. The evils of the present method of recruitment to the posts of Professors have been pointed out by the Calcutta University Commission who have suggested organization of teaching work on a professorial rather than on a service basis.

The authorities in this country are never tired of singing the praise of men trained in the West. In practice, however, even a third class man of London, or a pollgraduate of Oxford or Cambridge is preferred to the best of Calcutta graduate including Premchand Roychand scholars, or Doctors of Science and Philosophy,—men who have proved their merit by publishing original

works in the pages of the journals of learned Societies of the West. The folly of appointing a raw, untried graduate to the charge of a College or University Chair is thus expressed by Dr. Young :—

"In England, on the other hand, a large proportion of the Chairs at the chief Universities are held by men who, at the time of their appointment, would have been regarded on the continent as, at best, promising young students. These men have continued to hold the same posts for twenty years or more, and will continue to hold them till the time comes for their retirement when such retirement is obligatory. Some of them will die in harness and will, at the moment of their disappearance from the scene, still have nothing to point to but their original academic success at Cambridge. There are, of course, notable exceptions, but it is still unfortunatelv the case that the majority of professors and lecturers in the Universities and Colleges of England are men of this type."

A signal proof of what can be done by Indians, when they are allowed to work under a healthy and free atmosphere, is afforded by the University College of science, Calcutta. This College grew out of the magnificent and princely gifts of Sir Rash Behari Ghosh and the late Sir T. N. Palit, and was established in 1916 ; but owing to limitation of funds, the laboratory, the library and the workshop could not be properly organized. In spite of these dicouraging conditions, it is the only institution which has shown anything like life and activity as evidenced by the output of original contributions published in the leading scientific journals of England and America. During the academic year 1918-1919, there were seventeen original contributions from the department of Applied Mathematics, twenty-four from the Physics dapartment and twenty-one from the Chemistry department. Yet this promising institution is treated like a charity boy by the Government and has had only miserable doles ladled out to it,

What little has been done by them only goes to prove their potentiality, their latent capacity for the work to be undertaken in the future. It is, therefore, necessary that steps should be taken to allow Indians to stand on their own legs. They should not be in perpetual leading strings. The policy which has hitherto been the guiding principle is that everything should be done for them and nothing by them, and this goes to explain their virtual ostracism from the higher responsible posts in the various Scientific Services. A vast amount of ability and potential energy is thus allowed to run to waste. Japan has all along followed a course which is the very reverse of that adopted here and with what happy results I need not say. A self-contained

India, such as the Indian Industrial Commission looks forward to, presupposes that the experts, specialists and workers which the industrial awakening would demand should be created within her own borders.

Considered from every point of view the progress of scientific knowledge is imperatively necessary to our individual and national growth. For the accomplishment to this object the whole-hearted co-operation of both the Government and the people is indispensable. While the Government must be more liberal in its grants for the cultivation of science our public-spirited and patriotic countrymen have also a duty to perform. Science owes a great deal to the millionaires of the world. In our country too the examples of Tata, Palit and Ghosh are not wanting. I stand on the platform of a city which is the home of a thriving cotton-industry. Here we have merchant princes and successful mill-owners and businessmen. The great philanthropist, Andrew Carnegie, himself a self-made man, acted on the motto that "to die rich is to die disgraced" and gave away more than one-hundred crores mainly for workingmen's reading rooms and research institutes. I appeal to our wealth and eminence to follow in the footsteps of the great benefactors of men and I am sure that with their help the cause of science will flourish. The colleges where, at present, Indian voteries of science carry on their modest and humble researches have got to be multiplied many times over. More attention should be given in each University now existing in the country to the cultivation of pure science, particularly physics and chemistry, and more colleges and institutes should be established all over the country for the study of applied science. It must not be forgotten that the present industrial paralysis of the West offers a golden opportunity to the East to wake up. And if India, by the grace of God, will avail herself of this opportunity to raise equal to the occasion, if her men of science and industrial pioneers will put their shoulders to the wheel together, if the study of physics and chemistry, of mining and engineering, of marine and aerial navigation and of the biological sciences will succeed in enlisting on their behalf the energy and enthusiasm of thousands of votaries, if the young men of the middle classes will crowd in great numbers the science colleges and the technological institutes more than the law colleges, if the scientific services of the State be thoroughly Indianised, if her rich men will award more scientific scholarships and establish technical schools, India will not take a long time in coming to the forefront of nations and making her political renaissance not a dream but a reality.

REPORT OF THE
Indian Currency Committee.

The Report of the Indian Exchange and Currency Committee presided over by Sir Henry Babington Smith was published in India on Feb. 2, 1919. It was unanimous except Mr. Daiba M. Dalal, the only Indian member, who submitted a dissenting minute.

The fundamental recommendations of the report are as follows :—

(*a*) that the present rupee, unchanged in weight and fineness should remain unlimited legal tender ;

(*b*) that the rupee should have fixed exchange value and that this exchange value should be expressed in terms of gold at the rate of one rupee for 11·30016 grains of fine gold, that is, one-tenth of the gold contents of the sovereign ;

(*c*) that the sovereign which is now rated by law at rupees 15 should be made legal tender in India at the revised ratio of rupees ten to one sovereign ;

(*d*) that the import and export of gold to and from India should be free from Government control as soon as the change in the statutory ratio has been effected, and that the gold mint at Bombay should be open for the coinage into sovereigns of gold tendered by public ;

(*e*) that the notification of Government undertaking to give rupees for sovereigns should be withdrawn ;

(*f*) that the prohibition on the private import and export of silver should be removed in due course and that the import duty on silver should be repealed unless the fiscal position demands its retention.

The following is the official summary of recommendations:—

(i) It is desirable to restore stability to the rupee and to re-establish the automatic working of the Indian currency system. (Para. 36.)

(ii) The reduction of the fineness or weight of the rupee (Para. 38), the issue of 2 or 3 rupee coins of lower proportional silver content than the present rupee (Para. 39), or the issue of a nickel rupee (Para. 40) are expedients that cannot be recommended.

If the legal tender limit of one rupee for the 8 anna nickel coin should prove an obstacle to its free circulation the question of raising the limit to Rs. 5 or Rs. 10 should be considered. (Para. 40.)

(iii) The maintenance of the convertibility of note-issue is essential; proposals that do not adequately protect the Indian Paper Currency from the risk of becoming inconvertable cannot be entertained. (Para. 41.)

(iv) The rise in exchange, in so far as it has checked and mitigated the rise in Indian prices, has been to the advantage of the country as a whole, and it is desirable to secure the continuance of this benefit. (Para. 50.)

(v) Indian trade is not likely to suffer any permanent injury from the fixing of exchange at a high level.

If, contrary to expectation, a great and rapid fall in world prices were to take place, and if the costs of production in India fail to adjust themselves with equal rapidity to the lower level of prices, then it might be necessary to consider the problem afresh. (Para. 51.)

(vi) The development of Indian industry would not be seriously hampered by a high rate of exchange. (Para. 52.)

(vii) The gain to India of a high rate of exchange for meeting the Home charges is an incidental advantage that must be taken into consideration. (Para. 53.)

(viii) To postpone fixing a stable rate of exchange would be open to serious criticism and entail prolongation of Government control. (Para. 58.)

(ix) The balance of advantage is decidedly on the side of fixing the exchange value of the rupee in terms of gold rather than in terms of sterling. (Para. 56-7).

(x) The stable relation to be established between the rupee and gold should be at the rate of Rs. 10 to one sovereign, or, in other words, at the rate of one rupee for 11·30601 grains of fine gold, both for foreign exchange and for internal circulation. (Para. 59).

(xi) If silver rises for more than a brief period above the parity of 2*s.* (gold) the situation should be met by all other available means rather than by imparing the convertibility of the note-issue. Such measures might be (*a*) reduction of sale of Council bills; (*b*) abstention from purchase of silver; (*c*) use of gold to meet demands for metallic currency. If it should be absolutely necessary to purchase silver, the Government should be prepared to purchase even at a price such that rupees would be coined at a loss. (Para. 59.)

(xii) Council drafts are primarily sold not for the convenience of trade, but to provide for the Home charges in the widest sense of the term. There is no obligation to sell drafts to meet all trade demands; but, if without inconvenience or with advantage the Secretary of State is in a position to sell drafts in excess of his immediate needs, when a trade demand for them exists, there is no objection to his doing so, subject to due regard being paid to the principles governing the location of the reserves.

Council drafts should be sold, as now, by open tender at competitive rates, a minimum rate being fixed from time to time the basis of the sterling cost of shipping gold to India. At present this rate will vary; but when sterling is again equivalent to gold, it will remain uniform (Para. 61.

(xiii) The Government of India should be authorised to announce, without previous reference to the Secretary of State on each occasion, their readiness to sell weekly a stated amount of Reverse Councils (including telegraphic transfers) during periods of exchange weakness at a price based on the cost of shipping gold from India to the United Kingdom. (Para. 62.)

(xiv) The quantity of gold taken by India for all purposes in the period before the war was not disproportionately large having regard to her social customs and economic position; but more productive methods for employing wealth should be encouraged. (Para. 63-4.)

(xv) The import and export of gold to and from India should be free from Government control. (Para. 65)

(xvi) The Government should continue to aim at giving the people the from of currency which they demand, whether rupees, notes or gold; but gold can be employed to the best advantage in the Government reserves, where it is available for meeting the demand for foreign remittance.

It would not be to India's advantage actively to encourage the increased use of gold in the internal circulation, but it may for some time be difficult to meet all demands for metallic currency in rupees, and a more extensive use of gold may be necessary. In order that confidence may not be disturbed by exceptional issues, the issue of gold coin in moderate quantities should be one of the normal methods of meeting demands for currency. (Para. 66.)

(xvii) The Bombay branch of the Royal Mint should be reopened for the coinage of sovereigns and half-sovereigns and facilities should be afforded to the public for the coinage of gold bullion and for the refining of gold. (Para. 67.)

(xviii) The obligation of the Government to give rupees for sovereigns should be withdrawn. (Para. 68.)

(xix) Opportunities should be afforded to the public to exchange sovereigns in their possession at the rate of 15 rupees per sovereign at the time of the introduction of the new ratio. Similar opportunities should be given to holders of the gold mohur which should eventually be demonetised. (Para. 69)

(xx) The prohibition on the import of silver should be removed as soon as is convenient. (Para. 70.)

(xxi) When the prohibition on the import of silver is removed the import duty should also be removed, unless the fiscal position demands its retention. (Para. 72.)

(xxii) The prohibition on the export of silver should be retained for the present with a view to the protection of the silver currency depletion by export.

If the silver mined in India should cease to be purchased by the Government, its export should be permitted under licence. (Para. 72.)

(xxiii) Improved banking facilities aud increased opportunities for the investment of savings should be afforded. (Para, 73.)

(xxiv) No recommendation is made for modifying the present practice regulating the purchase of silver for coinage. (Para. 74.)

(xxv) The statutory minimum for the metallic portion of the paper currency reserve should be 40 per cent of the gross circulation.

As regards the fiduciary portion of the reserve the holding of securities issued by the Government of India should be limited to 20 crores. The balance should be held in securities of other Governments comprised within the British Empire, and of the amount so held not more than 10 crores should have more than one year's maturity, and all should be redeemable at a fixed date. The balance of the invested portion above these 30 crores should be held in short-dated securities, with not more than one year's maturity, issued by Governments within the British Empire.

The existing permissive maximum of 120 crores should be retained for a limited period.

The sterling investments and gold in the Paper Currency Reserve should be re-valued at 2s. to the rupee. The depreciation which will result from this revaluation cannot be made good at once, but any savings resulting from the rise in exchange will afford a suitable means for discharging this liability in a limited number of years. (Paras. 78-79.)

(xxvi) With a view to meeting the seasonal demand for additional currency provision should be made for the issue of notes up to 5 crores over and above the normal fiduciary issue as loans to the Presidency Banks on the security of export bills of exchange. (Para. 80).

(xxvii) The silver and gold in the Paper Currency Reserve should be held in India except for transitory purposes' (Para. 81.)

(xxviii) As soon as circumstances permit, free facilities for the encashment of notes should be given, and the restrictions imposed during the war should be withdrawn. The Government should have the option of redeeming its notes in full legal tender gold or silver coin (Para. 82).

(xxix) No limit can yet be fixed to the amount up to which the Gold Standard Reserve should be accumulated, and when profits again accrue on the coinage of rupees they should be credited in their entirety to the reserve. (Para. 83).

(xxx) Under present conditions Government should hold such gold as they obtain in the Paper Currency Reserve rather than in the Gold Standard Reserve. The Gold Standard Reserve should, when practicable, contain a considerable proportion of gold; but the most satisfactory course at present lies in keeping the reserve as liquid as possible by the holding of the securities with early dates of maturity.

The amount of securities in the reserve with a maturity exceeding three years should not be increased, and the aim should be to hold all the invested portion of the reserve in securities issued by Governments within the British Empire (other than the Government of India) and having a fixed date of maturity of not more than 12 months. (Para. 84.)

(xxxi) A portion of the gold in the Gold Standard Reserve, not exceeding one-half, should be held in India; the sterling investments should continue to be held in London. (Para. 85).

We desire to place on record, the Committee add at the conclusion of their Report, our high appreciation of the services rendered by Mr. C. H. Kisch, C.B., and Mr. H. Denning, I.C.S., as Secretaries to the Committee. They have discharged the duties entrusted to them with unfailing promptness and courtesy, and their valuable assistance has greatly facilitated our enquiry..

(Signed).—H. Babington Smith, C halmors, Marshal Reid, J. B. Brunyate, F. C. Goodenough, C. S. Addis, C. T. Needham, M. M. S. Gubbay, W. B. Hunter, T. W. McMorran.

The Minority Report of Mr. Dalal.

The following are the recommendations which Mr. Dalal has made in his minority report :

(*a*) The money standard in India should remain unaltered; that is, the standard of the sovereign and gold mohurs with rupees related thereto at the ratio of 15 to 1.

(*b*) Free and unfettered imports and exports by the public of gold bullion and gold coins.

(*c*) Free and unfettered imports and exports by the public of silver bullion and silver coins.

(*d*) The gold mint at Bombay to be continued and to receive gold bullion from the public and to coin free of charge gold mohurs of the same exact weight and fineness as the sovereign and to hand them over to the tenderers of gold bullion in less than 15 days.

(*e*) The Bombay mint to undertake refining of raw gold for the public and not to make any profit on the transaction.

(*f*) The existing silver rupees of 165 grains of fine silver at present in circulation to continue full legal tender.

(*g*) As long as the price of silver in New York is over 92 cents Government should not manufacture silver rupees containing 165 grains fine silver.

(*h*) As long as the price of silver is over 92 cents Government should coin 2 rupees silver coins of reduced fineness compared with that of the present silver rupee and the same to be unlimited legal tender.

(*i*) Government to coin a new 8 anna silver piece of reduced fineness and the same to be unlimited legal tender.

(*j*) Government not to coin an 8 anna nickel piece.

(*k*) Government to sell Council bills to competitive tenders for the amount defined in the Budget as required to by Secretary of State. The Budget estimate to show under separate headings the amount of Council bills drawn for Home Charges, for Capital Outlay, and Discharge of Debt. Council bills to be sold for Government requirements only and not for trade purposes, except for the purpose mentioned in the next succeeding recommendation.

(*l*) "Reverse" drafts on London to be sold only at 1S. $\frac{29}{32}$d. The proceeds of "Reverse" drafts to be kept apart from all other Government funds and not to be utilised for any purpose except to meet drafts drawn by Secretary of State at a rate not below 1s. $\frac{3}{32}$d. per rupee.

(*m*) Currency notes should be printed in India.

(*n*) Government not to interfere with the immemorial practice of the Indian public of melting current coins.

(*o*) The sterling investments held against the Indian note issue to be liquidated as early as possible and transmitted to India in gold.

(*p*) The use of one-rupee currency notes to be discontinued as early as possible and mean while not to be forced into circulation.

SECRETARY OF STATE'S VIEWS

The following announcement by the Secretary of State regarding the recommendations of the Indian Currency Committee, is published for general information :—

"The Secretary of State for India has considered in consultation with the Government of India the majority and minority reports received from the Committee appointed by him under the chairmanship of Sir Henry Babington Smith, to advise on the subject of Indian exchange and currency. The majority report, which is signed by the Chairman and all members of Committee, except Mr. D. M. Dalal, states as its object the restoration of a stable and automatic system and the maintenance of the convertibility of the note issue.

3. After setting forth the main recommendations, the Secretary of State proceeds : These recommendations develop with the necessary modifications required by altered circumstances the principles on which the Indian currency system was established before the war, and are accepted by the Secretary of State in Council as expressing the goal towards which Indian administration, following the previous policy, should now be directed.

4. Under the conditions existing prior to the war sterling and gold were identical standards. The existing disparity has made a choice between these standards necessary, and the Committee's recommendation is in favour of placing the rupee on a gold basis.

5. In recommending a rate, namely that above mentioned, for the exchange value of the rupee the Chairman and majority have taken account of the high range of silver prices and of the importance of safeguarding the convertibility of the Indian note issue by providing so far as possible that the token character of the rupee shall be restored and maintained, *i.e.*, that the Indian Government may be in a position to buy silver for coinage into rupees without loss. They were also impressed by the serious economic and political risks attendant on a further expansion of Indian prices such as must be anticipated from the adoption of a low rate.

6. The arguments advanced in favour of a gold basis and of high rate of exchange appear to the Secretary of State in Council to be conclusive, and he has decided to take the necessary steps to give immediate effect to the recommendation on these points. Accordingly, the Government of India have to-day announced

that the rate which they will pay for gold tendered to them under the Gold Import Act by the private importers will henceforth be fixed at one rupee for 11,30,016 grains of fine gold, *i.e.*, Rs. 10 for the gold contents of the sovereign. The consequential changes in the regulations relating to the sale of Council drafts by the Secretary of State in Council and of reserve drafts by the Government of India will be notified separately.

7. The question of the internal ratio presents special difficulties. The Committee recommend the maintenance of gold on a legal tender footing especially in view of possible difficulties in obtaining adequate supplies of silver. A fixed ratio must, therefore, be established between the rupee and gold, as used in the internal circulation, either one sovereign for Rs. 10 or in correspondence with new exchange ratio. Therefore alternative would give the sovereign the status of an over-valued token coin, necessitating permanent control over the import of sovereigns and making an open gold mint impossible. The Secretary of State in Council agrees with the Committee that such conditions ought not to be contemplated as a permanent arrangement. On the other hand, the lower ratio cannot be effectively introduced while a great disparity continues to exist between the commercial price of gold in India and the intended Indian mint par of one sovereign for Rs. 10.

8. Present conditions are a product of the war and in some respects artificial. They cannot be immediately remedied without the risk of shock to the economic and monetary system in India, and of reaction elsewhere to which India cannot in her own interests be indifferent: a gradual process of rectification and of adjustment to new conditions is required. For some time past action has been taken in India to reduce the premium on gold by regular Government sales of bullion to the public and this measure will be further developed. It may be expected that in that way a natural adjustment may be effected until the path to legislation is cleared.

9. The Secretary of State has decided, therefore, first, that the import of gold shall continue for the present to be controlled by license under the Gold Import Act, with a fixed acquisition rate as mentioned above; second, that meanwhile, periodical sales of gold bullion to the public shall continue; and third, that as a provisional measure during the transition period sovereigns shall remain legal tender at the present ratio of Rs. 15.

10. In arriving at these decisions the Secretary of State in Council has not failed to give careful consideration to the minority report signed by Mr. D. M. Dalal. Mr. Dalal's main object is the

effective restoration and maintenance of the ratio of 15 rupees to a sovereign as a measure both of exchange and of the circulating value of the rupee. In order to secure this he relies upon freedom for the melting and export of rupees and correspondingly to freedom for the import of gold. To meet the possible result in shortage of silver coins he recommends that as long as the New York price of silver remains above 92 cents Government should coin two rupee silver coins of reduced fineness, the coinage of rupees of the present weight and fineness being meanwhile suspended and only reissued when the price of silver falls to the figure named. He also recommends that sterling drafts on the Secretary of State should be sold only at Is. $3\frac{29}{32}$d.

11. The Secretary of State in Council is satisfied that this programme could not be adopted without untoward consequences. The heavy exports of silver coin to be anticipated under the scheme must threaten not only the whole silver circulation but also the Government reserves of silver coin, and entail the gravest risk of inconvertibility of the Government note issue. The demand for the gold required continually to make this deficiency good must greatly aggravate any strain there may be on the gold stock of the world when the freedom of import is restored. Nor is it safe to assume that these difficulties could be met by issuing new silver coins of inferior fineness; the evidence against the acceptability of an inferior substitute for the present rupee has impressed the majority, and their recommendation on this head is accepted by the Secretary of State as decisive. Mr. Dalal's recommendation in regard to the rate for sterling drafts, if adopted, must produce an immediate crash in exchange bringing unmerited disaster to those who have reasonably relied on some continuity of policy. The only cover which his scheme affords is the export of the country's circulating currency. In any case even if a return to the pre-war level of exchange could be accomplished without a shock to trade or risk to the Currency system it would lay India open to a further serious inflation of prices, while the majority's recommendation would tend towards reduction of general price levels in India.

12. Both during and since the war Indian currency and exchange have presented problems previously unanticipated and more perplexing than any encountered since the decision to close the mints in 1893. But the Secretary of State in Council is satisfied that decisions reached promise an eventual solution, and he desires to express his acknowledgment to the Committee and their Chairman for the ability and thoroughness with which they have explored the issues and framed their recommendations."

Industrial and Commercial Congress.

A Joint Session.

Bombay, 23rd. January, 1920.

The Joint Session of the Indian Industrial Conference and the Indian Commercial Congress opened at the Town Hall, Bombay, on January 23, 1920. About 150 delegates and a fairly large number of visitors attended. Among those present were the Hon. Mr. Yakub Hasan, Lala Harkishenlal, Sir Dinsha Wacha, Hon. Mr. Purshothamadas Thakurdas, Mr. R. B. Bell, Director of Industries, Hon. Mr. Parekh, Mr. S. R. Bomanji, Mr. Ambalal Sarabhai, Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya, Mr. S. G. Ghose and many others.

Reception Committee Chairman's Address.

Mr. Jehangir Bomanji Petit, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the delegates, delivered a lengthy address. He claimed that the Industrial Conference had succeeded in creating an intelligent and powerful public opinion on mercantile and commercial matters, and explained the reasons for the amalgamation of the Commercial Congress with the Industrial Conference. The Reform Act was an important step towards the realisation of their ideal, and the atmosphere created was encouraging and helpful. The Industrial Commission Report marked a new era of broad and statesman like industrial outlook on the part of the Government. Mr. Petit, however, deplored the deliberate removal from the scope of the enquiries the question of the adjustment of tariffs. What has been vouchsafed to them in the Reform Act was not real fiscal autonomy. It was only a step in that direction, and he hoped that complete transfer of it to the people would not be withheld longer than necessary.

Proceeding, Mr. Petit directed attention to the principle of imperial preference, and protested against what he described as an indirect and flank movement in relation to the export of hides and skins. It was preference at the expense of Indians.

The speaker next invited attention to the restrictions upon the import of dye stuffs and declared that the action was in the nature of a subsidy and created unfair monopoly in favour of English dye manufacturers at the expense of, and to the detriment of, Indian commerce. Indeed when one seriously considered the entire policy adopted in the past by the Government of India and England under one pretext or other towards Indian trades and industries one could not escape the inevitable conclusion that both the Governments were not always serious in repeated professions of solicitude for mercantile and industrial welfare of India. The new era and the transferring of industries department, he hoped, would mean a different and straightforward attitude towards India.

Referring to the exchange question, Mr. Petit pleaded for a definite declaration of policy, and hoped there was no truth in the rumour that the Currency Commission report was going to remain a sealed book for sometime to come. In any case, India must emphatically decline to be treated any longer as a mere pawn on the imperial chess-board and must insist upon determining her own exchange policy for the future.

Touching on the labour question, Mr. Petit said, they must consider the question from a National and wider standpoint. His difficulty in discussing the subject was enhanced in consequence of the mill strike. First of all, he was open to admit that much remained to be done by the employer for the comfort and well-being of workers, but something had already been done and much was still being done. How were they going to meet the new conditions, not reorganising strikes, not by imaginary grievances, not by fomenting trouble where none existed. The pseudo-philanthropists, if they had any regard for the Motherland, had better devote themselves to the task of pointing out to the labour its deficiences and responsibilities, side by side with its rights and privileges and devise newer methods of progress and improvement. Did they know, asked Mr. Petit, in spite of cheap labour and longer hours of work, that their cost of production was higher than Lancashire, due to labour inefficiency? They had noticed recently that attempts were being made by interested people to induce labour to put up extravagant demands in the settlement of its troubles, the causes and conditions of which they did not understand and did not appear to have taken the trouble to study. Such people seemed to forget that conditions in India differed very much from

those of Europe and America. To try to draw a parallel between them was to go beside the mark. There was considerable constructive work to be done in different directions for the amelioration of the conditions of labour. Let friends of labour, pleaded the speaker, shower their sympathy in such a programme instead of coquetting with it on the off chance of becoming popular heroes and frittering away energy in formulating demands based on European conditions which did not apply here. Otherwise, in a short time, they would have all the bad and see one side of European unrest reproduced here without any of its redeeming features, and their industries, weak and inefficient as they were, would be still more handicapped. " Whatever you do," said Mr. Petit, " Please do not fall within the clutches of Trade Unionism. It is sapping the very foundations of European trades and industries.. You need not allow yourself to be tyranised by capital. Nobody wants that. The way to avoid it is not to allow yourself to be driven under the tyranny of labour. Trade Unionism has proved itself to be a peril to civilisation and a canker to trades and industries of Europe and America. Let us in this country profit by their experience and avoid these dangers. The course of modern trade unionism is coercion and intimidation and enforcement on all and sundry at the point of bayonet, of the dangerous doctrine of less work and more pay. Europe is already beginning to suffer from the consequences of this spirit of intimidation and artificial restlessness, which is fast leading to serious national disaster in the form of declining wealth and rapid reduction of its productive capacity. The men of thought in Europe are now staggered at the prospect that is in sight in view of these conditions, and realise more bitterly than ever the fact that what is most needed is the formulation of means for rapid and increased production. If we are to hold our own in the industrial struggles of the future let us steer clear of those dangers which are already eating the vitals of Europe and America.

Election of the President

Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy was then formally elected as President. He thanked the Conference and extended, amidst cheers, a welcome to Mr. Harkishen Lal. The President, before proceeding with the address, announced that messages had been received from the Governor of Bombay, Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Mrs. Besant, Dr. Mann, Mr. M. B. Dadabhoy and others.

Presidential Speech.

Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,--I thank you for the honour you have done me in inviting me to preside over this joint session of the Indian Industrial Conference and the Indian Commercial Congress. Before I ask your attention to the great commercial and industrial issues which are occupying our minds, there are certain domestic points which require explanation. The first is the movement of this session from the venue of the Indian National Congress to the City of Bombay ; the second is the amalgamation of our two organizations. For the past two years it has been felt that the holding of the Indian Industrial Conference at the same time and place as the Indian National Congress involved serious disadvantages. During the Congress week not one but nearly a dozen Conferences hold their sessions. The Congress alone fully occupies the last four days of the year. Moreover, since the Lucknow session the proceedings of the Congress have grown enormously in public interest and importance owing to the political issues before the country ; these conditions left little time for the Industrial Conference and at some sessions only two hours were allotted to it in a crowded week. We felt that it was impossible adequately to deal with the important and varied topics on which the industrial and commercial opinion of the country ought to be focussed in an hour or two snatched from other interests, and so it was decided to hold this session in Bombay soon after the Congress week. The sessions of the Commercial Congress, as you know, have been in abeyance for the past four years. During that period we have, each of us, been occupied in assisting to bring the war to victory. The questions, which arose, were urgent war questions, which were more quickly and effectively dealt with by Conferences between commercial organisations and the officers of Government than by prolonged sessions. But with the conclusion of the Armistice, and still more emphatically with the signing of the Peace Treaty which has just been ratified, great questions of commercial policy have come to the forefront again ; it has become necessary to mobilise our views upon them. And as there is no conflict of interest between Indian industries and Indian commerce, but rather are the two indissolubly associated, we have decided that separate sessions of the Indian Industrial Conference and of the Indian Commercial Congress would involve duplication of agency and diffusion of effort : therefore, our session is a joint session of these two organisations and we purpose always to meet in common

in future. I am confident that these changes will tend to greater efficiency and will meet with your approval.

No ordinary times.

These are no ordinary days in which we live. The greatest war in history has been fought to its conclusion. We rejoice at the tremendous victory of the British Empire and its Allies; we offer our respectful and heartful congratulations to His Majesty the King Emperor in the success which has crowned British Arms; we are proud of the part which we have been privileged to take in the struggle. But we are learning that the achievement of victory is only one part, perhaps not even the greater part of a conflict as titanic as that from which we have emerged. Peace has brought enormous problems in its train. In the countries of the Allies there is the immense task of readjusting a social and industrial machine almost completely converted into war debt, the great social upheaval created by the clash of new and stronger ideas with ancient civilisation and of a rise in world prices, which threatens to be permanent, dislocating the organisation of society. At this distance it is difficult for us to appreciate all that has been done in the United Kingdom which bore the main industrial burden of the war, in switching from war to peace conditions; but even here we can perceive the immense work that has been accomplished. In the countries of our former enemies the shock has been still greater, because of the pressure of the British blockade, and a generation must elapse before anything like normal conditions can be restored. Then in Russia absolute chaos reigns, and the disorders of which it is the focus are spreading to Central Asia and threaten the Gates of India. All these questions have a vital interest for us, because they have produced a radical alteration in the orientation of Indian trade; they raise special problems for us, which we must study and understand, for they lie at the root of our progress and prosperity.

Whilst these world issues are of the most momentous character, events especially affecting India have been scarcely less important. Since the signing of the Peace Treaty and almost on the eve of the formal ratification of the Treaty, the Reform Bill has become law. This Act is a great and noble achievement of the British Government. It is a symbol of the aims and ideals which, however slowly we may have moved towards their attainment, have always dominated the British people in their attitude towards the various lands which make up our mighty Empire. It is the natural out-

come of a war of right against might, of democracy against autocracy; we rejoice that the principles which animated Great Britain in fighting to the death against Germany and her satellites have so promptly and liberally been acted upon in the enlargement of the constitution of India. India gave her best, and that cheerfully and willingly, in the prosecution of the war; it is but meet that the British Government should recognise these loyal services and consider India as an equal partner in the Empire. These are not merely political issues; the Reform Act vitally affects the trade and industry of this country. The development of our economic forces depends in a material degree upon peace and prosperity in the land upon complete harmony between the Government and the people, and above all upon a political constitution which shall make for perfect freedom and liberty in our industrial development and the banishment of all artificial restrictions on its free growth.

And that brings me to the most important passage, from our point of view, in the report of the Joint Committee of Parliament on the Indian Reform Bill. The Committee laid down in clear language, that a satisfactory solution of the fiscal question "can only be guaranteed by the grant of liberty to the Government of India to devise those tariff arrangements which seem best fitted to India's needs as an integral portion of the British Empire..... Whatever be the right fiscal policy for India, for the needs of her consumers as well as for her manufacturers, it is quite clear that she should have the same liberty to consider her interests as Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa."

Partial Fiscal Autonomy

If there was one platform in the whole of India on which people of all shades of opinion are united, it was the demand for the fiscal autonomy. It was not the cry of any section of political agitators; the wisest and the sanest in the land also joined hands in pressing for such a measure. In my speech as president of the first Commercial Congress I emphasized that the Government of India must be free to adopt, in consultation with the representatives of the people, the fiscal policy most conducive to the best interests of the country without interference either from the Imperial Government or the Secretary of State for India and that in a word we wanted Self Government in commerce and industry." It is a matter of no small gratification to us that the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for India, whose love and sympathy for us are so well-known, has been able to secure the first step towards

fiscal autonomy for us by providing in the Reform Act recognition of the contention that the Secretary of State should so far as possible abstain from intervention in fiscal matters when the Government of India and the Indian Legislature agree, and should only intervene to safeguard the international obligations of the Empire or any fiscal arrangement within the Empire to which His Majesty's Government is a party. I honestly believe that this is a real first step towards securing to India her just demand, though I wish that we had secured the same full fiscal freedom which the British Dominions enjoyed. I am sure there is no need for us to give the assurance to the British public that India will exercise her fiscal power with due regard to all her obligations to the Empire. There are several questions for instance, the abolition of the excise duties on the manufacture of cloth, whereon the Government of India and Indian commerce and industry are at one, although an autocratic Secretary of State may be given an elastic meaning to the proviso above referred to, and though there may be occasions on which the Government of India and the Imperial Legislative Assembly may not agree—at least as long as the constitution of the Central Government remains as it is—yet I hope that the concession secured will prove fruitful.

In reviewing the Despatch of the Government of India with regard to the Industrial Commission's Report, the Secretary of State observed that " it would be premature to discuss the fiscal issue which was deliberately excluded from the scope of the Commission's inquiry " and was " not prepared to make any pronouncement of the aspect of the case until the representatives of the people had been given the opportunity to express their views." Subsequently the Hon. Sir George Barnes, Member for Commerce and Industry, observed in his reply to the representation of the Committee of the Indian Merchants Chamber, that a Committee of the Imperial Legislative Council would be appointed to go into the question of Imperial Preference and to submit their Report. It is not clear whether the inquiry referred to by the Secretary of State and that Committee referred to by the Hon. Sir George Barnes is going to be one and the same, or to be by different bodies. He should like, however, to urge that the committee referred to by the Hon. Member for Commerce and Industry should have wide powers given to it under its terms of reference, so that it can go into the whole question of tariffs and not simply deal with one aspect of the fiscal question, namely, Imperial Preference. In fact, the Secretary of State mentioned in his recent despatch that he was

not prepared to make any pronouncement on the fiscal issue until the representatives of the people had been given the opportunity to express their views. We may hope, therefore, that the proposed Committee will take public evidence also regarding this question. It has been said in some quarters that the protest of the Indian commercial bodies against Imperial Preference is due not so much to their objections to foreign countries like Japan dumping to their goods here, but is directed primarily against Manchester. That is taking a rather uncharitable view of our attitude. Our protest rested in the first place on the method and manner in which Imperial Preference was introduced; and secondly on our desire that before such a wide question is decided Indian public opinion should be fully consulted. His Excellency the Viceroy, in his recent address to the Conference of the English Chambers of Commerce, observed that it was not the Government of India's intention to adopt preference as a general policy without full discussion and full support from enlightened public opinion. That announcement has gone a long way to re-assure the commercial community, and it may be hoped that the report of the Committee to inquire into this question will be such as to satisfy Indian commercial opinion.

Transference of Industries.

The political changes adumbrated in the Reform Act propose that Industries in the provinces should be treated as a transferred subject and thus recognise the justice of the demand made by the representatives of the people before Lord Southborough's Committee and the Joint Committee of the two Houses. I noted with a deep regret that Anglo-Indian Chambers of Commerce pressed the contrary view strongly before the Joint Committee and expressed alarming opinions regarding the future of the trade and industry if this were made a transferred subject. It is, unfortunately a peculiarity of this country that exotic trade and industry think their interests demand that the administration of trade and industries should be in hands other than Indian. Indians have proved their capacity to hold the highest positions under the State. They have proved also their fitness to establish and manage commercial and industrial enterprises of a great magnitude. I do not know in what words to characterise the attitude of those people who, in face of this tangible evidences of the fitness of Indians to manage above all the departments of commerce and industries, seek to make out a case against transferring these branches of the administration to Indian control. In fact I go

further and say that the backward condition in which India finds herself in regard to her industrial growth is due to the official machinery being in the hands of the members of the Indian Civil Service who, in the majority of cases, are practically out of touch with the realities of Indian trade and industries. British trade and British industry flourish in all countries, even where they have no preponderating voice; I see no reason why in a self governing India they should be threatened with any risk. In fact, the greatest argument against this onesided contention is afforded by the experience of several newly started industrial and commercial concerns a majority of which have decided to adopt British management. Commerce and industry are not, and can never be, the monopoly of any nation or country; it is but right and proper that our British friends should co-operate with Indian commercialists and industrialists in order to stimulate our economic growth instead of "sulking in their tents" and trying to put impediments in the way of Indians assuming the control of Departments of Commerce and Industries.

With the end of the war and the gradual restoration to normal conditions of peace a vigorous impetus has been given to the starting of joint stock concerns in India which have been floated to an unprecedented extent, especially in Bombay and Calcutta. The Hon. Member for Commerce and Industry has warned us against too much haste in these enterprises which he thinks is fraught with grave possibilities. I agree with him only in so far as a word of caution requires to be given to the commercial and industrial public, as also the investing public in general, that the success of all these concerns requires skill and knowledge as well as work of an honest and conscientious character and scrupulous regard to the interests of the shareholding public. But our industrial growth is forced upon us first by the inability of the manufacturing nations to supply our clamant needs, and secondly by the paramount and patriotic duty of fostering our industries and utilising in the country our abundant supplies of war material, in order to lighten the dependence of three-fourths of the population on a precarious rainfall. What is wanted is, however, not the rigid and inelastic curtailing of new enterprises; but a genuine desire to make their work as successful as possible with the help of expert management. I rejoice, therefore, to note that our countrymen have begun to realise the importance of what I would call the three essentials to the development of trade and industry, namely, banking, shipping and insurance, without which no civilised

country has worked its way upward in the development of trade and industries.

Railway Problems.

If there is this duty on the part of the people to run their enterprises on sound and upright lines, there is an equal duty and responsibility on the shoulders of the Government to see that all obstacles, impediments and unnatural restrictions in the way of trade and industries are removed. The railways present several problems which should be tackled promptly by Government as our grievances are years old and it is high time they were removed. One of the main questions of railway policy with which the Indian public have identified themselves is the State Management of Railways. It is disappointing to note that though this question has been before Government for several years, no practical steps have been taken in this direction. On the contrary, the lease of the East Indian Railway Company was extended by another period of two years in spite of strong public opposition. A Committee is now, however, to be appointed by the Government to go into the question of State *versus* Company Management of Railways, and it may be hoped that with the help of its report, which will be a comprehensive document with all facts and figures, the Government will be able to meet the wishes of Indian people in this respect. With the restoration of peace conditions we must be prepared to face an overgrowing expenditure on our Railways. The Indian people will not grudge this expenditure if side by side with it they receive facilities both in passenger travelling and in the movement of goods. There will be resolutions put before you dealing with some of these questions which are hardy annual's and I shall not enter deeply into them hoping that the discussion which will ensue will convince Government of the necessity of effecting speedy reforms in the administration and constitution of the Railway Companies.

Problem of Currency and Exchange.

One question which occupied the attention of the commercial community to a very large extent during the year which closed on the 31st December was the problem of currency and exchange. During the war period imports of gold were practically stopped and the Indian people became very large purchasers of silver. There was also a heavy balance of trade in favour of India owing to the increase in her exports to meet the war-time requirements of Great Britain and her Allies ; and to finance these heavy shipments

large blocks of Council Bills were sold by the Secretary of State, with the result that equally heavy payments had to be made in silver in this country to exporters and others. The Government of India, which is one of the biggest purchasers of silver in the world, had to increase its silver purchases and owing to the general shortage of silver in the world, combined with these causes peculiar to ourselves, silver mounted to the dizzy heights with which you already had become familiar. These revolutionary changes in the position of the silver market produced that other great problem, the problem of Exchange. Our rupee value was fixed with relation to prices of silver at 1*s.* 4*d.* and the Government frankly said that with silver 60*d.* and later on above 70*d.* they could never coin rupees at a loss and keep exchange at its old level. Exchange, therefore, which had risen to 1*s.* 6*d.* mounted up to 2*s.* 4*d.* in the middle of December 1919. The worst feature of these constant changes was that it left the whole of the commercial and industrial community in a state of indecision and flux, and its operations had to be curtailed to a large extent because of exchange uncertainties. Several telegraphic representations were made by Indian commercial bodies who brought to the notice of the Government the disadvantages which would accrue to trade and industry, if no restrictions were placed upon the fluctuating Exchange. Government, however, had to confess its inability to do anything in the matter and was buffeted by varying currency billows. No doubt here were world forces at work in determining Exchange; but if the interests of this country had prevailed or at least received the attention they deserve, it might not have been impossible to obtain an amount of gold in payment of the balance due sufficient to ease Exchange or minimise its fluctuations. The only solution of all these difficulties according to my own view is the free import of gold. Such an import, if allowed, would restore the conditions when a favourable balance of trade would be met by imports of gold, and when Government, with the Damocles Sword of inconvertibility hanging over its head, would no longer have to vary Exchange and throw the whole of the import and export trade into confusion.

Industrial Commission Recommendations.

The main recommendations of the Industrial Commission have been accepted by both the Government of India and the Secretary of State; already acting on some of these recommendations, the Government of India have appointed a Chemical Services

and Stores Purchase Committee to go into the question of the organisation of the scientific services and of a Store Purchasing Department in India. The Department known as the Munitions Board will be transferred into a Department of Munitions and Industries, and for the time being its portfolio will be in the hands of His Excellency the Viceroy. The Industrial Commission strongly recommended the creation of a Department of Industries with an Imperial Service. Questions have been raised from several quarters regarding the advisability of creating more services in our midst and increasing thereby the burden on the Indian taxpayers. I am convinced, however, that if the development of trade, and industry in a huge country like India is to progress on sound and systematic lines there must be a suitable, well planned official agency staffed by an organisation of capable and expert men. The recent war has demonstrated with peculiar force that a nation whose industry and science is developed is sure to be a powerful nation. Chemistry and the Allied sciences have proved to be of tremendous service to the defensive warfare of every nation, and unless India has an Imperial Chemical Service it is hopeless to expect her to develop her chemical industries to such an extent as will enable her to be self-sufficing in times of emergency. I could have wished that the Imperial Department of Industries had come at once into being and that a full fledged Member for Industries had been at once appointed. This wish of mine is all the stronger, as the Government of India have already secured the services of such a capable and far-seeing industrial expert as the Hon. Sir Thomas Holland as President of the New Board of Industries and Munitions. He could very well have been given the portfolio of the Department of Industries at once. While discussing the recommendations of the Industrial Commission I cannot omit mention of the great service rendered by the Hon. Sir Thomas Holland to the industrial development of the country. He rendered a still greater service to the land by assuming charge of the Indian Munitions Board when the demands on India for war materials were assuming gigantic proportions in relation to our then manufacturing and producing power. At that time the military prestige of India had sunk to a low ebb on account of the misfortunes to British arms in Mesopotamia. His dynamic energy and catholic knowledge, however, increased our military capacity to undreamt of proportions and by contributing to the ultimate victory in Mesopotamia and elsewhere brought prominently before the world the part which India played in wining the war. I am

confident that under his able and resolute direction the new Department of the Industries will be a great factor in our industrial development. I have seen no sufficient reason adduced why this part of the programme of the Industrial Commission should be postponed and a temporary arrangement set up whereby our industrial interests will be supervised by a Board of Industries with a President, the portfolio being in the hands of His Excellency the Viceroy and I trust that this temporary arrangement will not be maintained a day longer than is necessary for the formal creation of a new Department of the Government of India, specially charged with this work and under the direction of its own Member of Council.

Definite Lines of Advance.

But, gentlemen, if the industrial development of this country is to be on sound lines, and if we are to derive the fullest advantage of the new Department which is to be set up and the new expert staff which is to be entertained, we must take broad views. I venture to say that there has been in some quarters much too narrow a view of the work and recommendations of the Industrial Commission—to say that its work has been confined to proposing a scheme for the creation of two more services and to ignore the very substantial character of its other recommendations. If you study the Report of the Commission carefully and as a whole, you will find that it commends definite and valuable lines of advance. There is no Aladdin's lamp to create industries where there are none. It requires the hard and patient toil of years to start into being and to consolidate the different industries which go to make the industrial life of a nation, and for this nothing is more essential than a sound and systematic organisation and the establishment of clear principles guaranteeing that the Government will always be actuated by the desire to give every encouragement to indigenous industries. The Industrial Commission's Report may have its defects, but I hope I shall carry you all with me when I say that it has pointed out in definite terms the agencies and the principles which should guide the policy of the Government with regard to industrial undertakings. Take, for instance, the Stores Purchase question. If the recommendation of the Commission that Department of Stores Purchase should be established in India is carried out in full, it will go a great way towards establishing several new industries in our midst. What I hope, however, in this connection, is that Government will not overlook the claims of Indians for employment to the different services to be created,

as I venture to believe that an Indian agency is best suited to the staffing of such an organisation as the Department of Industries. Sins of ommission on this score are sometimes belittled under the plea of the absence of suitable men. With the establishment of technical and technological Colleges and the opening of Government and Railway Workshops for the apprenticeship of Indians, such a plea will not hold good. It is moving in a vicious circle, surely, to refuse appointments to Indians on the ground of their want of experience and then to put bars against their getting such experience.

Necessity of Consulting Indian Commercial Opinion

The Indian Merchants Chamber several times pressed upon the attention of the Government the necessity of consulting Indian Commercial opinion and giving it a voice in the deliberations of the Conferences held to discuss Peace Terms when the war closed. Unfortunately, though the Indian Community reminded the Government of this suggestion after the declaration of the Armistice, no representatives of the Indian Commercial Community were appointed at the Peace Conference. We are sure that the Right Hon. Mr. Montagu, the Right Hon. Lord Sinha, and his Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner put before the Peace Council the views of the Indian Commercial Community with vigour and ability, but also it would have been better if the Government could have seen their way to coopting a representative of this important community. We may, however, now hope that with regard to any commercial treaties which may be entered into with foreign countries Indian Commercial opinion will be fully consulted. In this connection I may also repeat what has been several times emphasized by the Bombay Indian Merchants Chamber, and also the Indian Industrial Conference, that Indian Commercial attaches should be appointed to all British consulates. Indian trade with Mesopotamia and East Africa is likely to develop to a large extent in the near future and it is essential that Indian commercial interests should be safeguarded by having an Indian Trade Commissioner in both these countries. Talking of East Africa reminds me of the short-sighted and anti-Imperial campaign which has been started by the European settlers against Indian residents in East Africa. The comfortable belief was fostered that though there were several harassing disabilities on Indians in South Africa, there were perfect liberty to colonise East Africa. In fact, several leading publicists cherished visions of East Africa

being given up to India for colonising purposes. Unfortunately even after the great services India rendered to the British Empire in clearing East Africa of Germans, the fate of our Indian brethren there is at present far worse than it was in pre-war days. You must have recently read the pathetic message of the Rev. C. F. Andrews regarding the condition of Indian settlers in East Africa. One cannot maintain calmness of mind when he perceives that the Indians who have contributed their utmost to the developments of East Africa, who were the first settlers in the country, and who co-operated during the war to such a large extent, are now threatened with eviction and deprivation of all their rights and privileges throughout the narrow vision of British settlers. The grounds adduced for such action are the most damaging to our self-respect ; and all our countrymen should raise an united protest against the unjustifiable allegations made by a handful of European settlers to serve their own interest. The Congress is vitally concerned in this question, for Indian traders and merchants had no little hand in developing East Africa, and I hope that you will all support the resolution which will be placed before you dealing with this subject.

Labour Problem.

I should like, if you will permit me to pass on to another subject as vital to the economic interests of the country, perhaps more important in the present stage of our evolution than some of those on which I have just touched—the great problem of Indian labour. Labour has perhaps rather narrowly come to signify the large classes of workmen who constitute the rank of the Industrial army. But more correctly speaking, every man and woman who toils to add to the wealth of the world is a labourer in his or her own way, whether he works with his hands or his brain or with his peculiar or acquired skill. He who toils to create wealth is a labourer. But when we speak of Indian labour we somehow or other confine ourselves to the working classes whose conditions, I may frankly say at once, are not what they ought to be, or what they could be. The vital and fundamental consideration in every industry and trade is human efficiency. And it is a matter of grave concern to us that the level of our general efficiency should be as low as it is. For in the race of life, and especially in a competitive world, efficiency coun s far more than anything else. The one great problem before us to-day is how to increase the efficiency of Indian labour. It is an old, old problem which we

are still far from solving. Yet it is on the solution of this great problem that India's survival as an industrial country will depend in the years to come in competition with the great industrial nations of the world who have the advantage of a tremendous start over this country. We have all been thinking, and thinking a good deal, since the first Steam Factory was erected in this country of the necessity for developing the human skill of the country for Industrial requirements. If India is to remain a farm for raw material and a market for the manufacturing world, then by all means let us remain content and happy as we are. But if your object and mine, if the object of these Conferences and Congresses is to raise the efficiency of every man and woman in this country, if our aim is to strengthen it so as to enable it to stand up against the world rush for raw material and markets, if our aspiration is to take our own resources in our own hands, and from out of the fulness of our own soil produce all the raw materials required not only for our every day comfort, but for our vital happiness and progress, if it is our object to see that a human being in this country goes hungry or deprived of the opportunity of bringing out that is highest and best in him for the service of the Motherland, then I say it is the bounden duty of each one of us who has had the good fortune of having moved a little further up the ladder of life to see that those who are still behind us come forward to join hands with us in the uplift, in the development, in the salvation of the land of our birth. Many of us in our own humble way have perhaps already tried to add a little to the volume and to the rate of Indian progress. But I should like to take this opportunity of saying deliberately that it is the people of the country who have done most to develop its resources, human and material, and that the credit of the stage at which we have arrived belongs less to the Government of the land. Peace and order may too often be drawn out to mean inaction and inertia. The requirements of progress, I submit, are as vital to the growth of the country as peace and order. Happily, of late years Government has begun to interest itself in the Industrial development of the country. We hope that under the new constitution, that interest will be sustained and will grow. For the interest both of the Government and the people demands that steps should be taken by the individual and by the State to ensure the greatest rate and widest range of progress in every possible form of trade and industry. May I, therefore, submit with all the emphasis at my command that the State can do more than it has done in the past, and ought to do more in the

future if it values the contentment and happiness of the people of this country? Every people must work out its own economic salvation; but I agree also with those who say that, after all, in the modern world all power is concentrated in the engine of the State; and if the engine of the State does not move, wielding as it does its tremendous power, the shoulders of the people may be bruised and they may remain helpless in the great up-hill climb. The State, for instance, can do much to improve individual efficiency. What is of our own efficiency I ask you when 94 per cent. of our people are unable to read and write? Is there not room enough as much for individual philanthropy as for Government action, in such a matter as the education of the people? In thirty years without the wealth and the resources that we command, Japan banished illiteracy and prepared herself to take her place in the industrial organisation of the world. Will not, I ask again, the Government of India and our Provincial Government in the new regime attempt to do what Japan began to do forty years ago? Education is the fundamental basis of industrial efficiency and if I have dwelt on this question perhaps at a length longer than I ought to have done, it is because I feel that in the new times that are dawning upon us we must place this great subject of Education in the forefront of our National programme.

Need for Education.

The evils from which Indian labour at present suffers will not resolve themselves into ordered and well-grounded progress, once our labour has received the great baptism of Education. For with education will come a better appreciation of sanitation and with sanitation and health greater physical strength, and with greater physical strength combined with an enlightened mind, will come greater efficiency. With greater efficiency, greater and better production will be possible, which in its own turn will create more wealth. From out of that greater wealth labour will, I am sure, have its own larger share, and with increased earnings, the comfort and well being of the labourers themselves will increase. The point is that if the labourers in this country are to receive a fair share of the wealth they help to create, they will be enabled to do so ultimately and only by increased and better production, which, however can only be done by increased efficiency, at the roots of which is only Education, the vivifying sap of life. Hours of work, wages, housing, insanitation, intemperance, all these problems will resolve into contentment, happiness

and progress once the warm light of knowledge dispels the darkness in which labour in India at present lives and moves and has its being.

I for one am not pessimistic about the solution of these problems. Every industrial country at some time or other of its industrial evolution has had to face these problems. We, coming far behind them, may learn our lessons from the hard and bitter experience that they have had to go through. All the same evils must and do exist in any transitional period, the more so when an agricultural country develops within itself urban concentration for industrial purposes. And I am sanguine enough to believe that in the peaceful years that are before us the problems which our labour is confronted with will disappear one by one. If, for instance, you can produce some day in the future within 8 hours what it takes now 12 to produce, there is no reason why the labourer should work more than 8 hours. If, again, he produces more and adds to the wealth of the country, there is no reason why his wages should not be higher. But the fundamental consideration that I should like to urge for your serious consideration once again is the necessity of increasing efficiency by diffusing education. And in that great work, may I hope with you that the Government of the country will play its part as it should.

I have spoken of the transitional stage in the evolution of Indian industry. During that stage and until through the spread of education and the improvement of wages, the Indian labourer is capable of standing entirely on his own feet, the State and other bodies have a special responsibility to discharge in such matters as housing. This is a problem of peculiar intensity in Bombay, where great industries have established themselves in a narrow and crowded Island, where land is exceedingly expensive and limited in area at any price. The result is that the provision of houses has not kept pace with the increase of the population and in many parts of the Island we have terrible congestion and most insanitary conditions. This question is always before us and demands our earnest attention but it can be effectively solved only by complete co-operation between Government, the Municipality, the Improvement Trust and every individual or corporate employer of labour. We rejoice that His Excellency is devoting his talents, experience and driving power to the question, and I should like on behalf of all the interests represented here, to assure him of our cordial, nay, enthusiastic co-operation. Good housing

will do much to improve and stabilise our labour; it must have direct bearing on the efficiency of that labour ,for efficiency attainable only through the establishment of healthy living conditions. I look forward hopefully to the issue of the great plans which His Excellency has formulated; it will be our privilege to do our part in bringing them to early and satisfactory fruition.

New Era.

Gentlemen, we have entered upon a new era. Under the Reform Scheme we shall have a large power in our hands for the development of trades and industries. At such a juncture it is most essential that trade and industry must make themselves heard and that in no uncertain manner. It is a universally accepted principle in countries where democratic institutions flourish that agitation is the watchword of every movement. I fear that our public institutions concerning themselves with the development of trade and industries are not yet as vocal and as earnest in their work as they should be. This listlessness, if I may term it so, this shortsighted method of working should cease and give place to better methods of co-operation, and large perspectives and ideals, whereby we shall be able to assure a constant and careful watchfulness to safeguard the rights and privileges of Indian trade and industries. Our Indian Chambers of Commerce are few and far between, and even the existing ones suffer from a shortness of funds to carry out the large programme of work which the commercial community expects them to discharge. These Chambers of Commerce must be multiplied and every town of commercial and industrial importance should have its own Chamber of Commerce, and if possible also an industrial organisation, so that all this network of bodies can weld together the policy of the commercial community on matters affecting its interests and put whatever grievances it has before the proper authorities. The Commercial Community has numerous grievances; with regard to railways and shipping, for instance; but on account of the lack of vigilant propaganda and effective institutions to carry on such a propaganda, many such abuses are never brought to light, with the result that our trade and industries cannot attain the expansion which it is our object to achieve. In France and Germany these Chambers of Commerce are almost official bodies entrusted with several responsibilities by the Government. In this country they are merely advisory bodies and have practically no executive authority, even as regards their members and the commercial community. The

state of things should be changed and it lies with you, gentlemen, as representing the different Chambers of Commerce and the different Industrial and Commercial Associations in the country to develop a spirit of corporate activity for Commercial and Industrial interests among your constituencies. Unless we have these organisations, the power we have under the new scheme of reforms will not be fully utilised for our good. I appeal to you all, therefore, to stand and work together for the economic progress of India and for her rise to her full status amongst the nations of the new world which is opening out to us.

RESOLUTIONS.

1. The President moved the first resolution expressing loyalty to His Majesty the King Emperor and recording thanks for the Royal Proclamation which, the resolutions said, constituted the "New Magna Charta of India" and was the "Symbol of sympathy with which it has been the privilege of India to be regarded by the British Crown".

2. Mr. V. P. Vaidya next moved a resolution on the Reform Act welcoming the Act and thanking the Parliament and especially Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha "for being mainly instrumental in placing the Act on the statue book," and especially welcoming the transference of industries to Indian Ministers. The resolution also regretted that the element of responsibility had not been introduced in the Central Government as to make it amenable to popular opinion in the direction of expansion of trade and industry, and further regretted the exclusion of the province of Burma as being seriously prejudicial to the economic interests of the province and the country.

3. Dr. Banerjee, Calcutta, next moved the resolution on fiscal autonomy which, while appreciating the concession regarding fiscal autonomy for India embodied in the reform Act, expressed apprehension that, owing to the constitution of Central Government the just demand of the Indian industrial and commercial community may not be satisfied and the object of the reform measures may be defeated and urging the working of the Act should ensure effective use by India of its fiscal powers to carry into effect such tariff arrangements as may be best fitted for India's needs. The Conference further demanded that, pending the attainment of such autonomous powers, the Government of India should impose retaliatory duties

against such dominions and such colonial possessions of the Empire as have imposed differential tariff against this country.

4. Mr. Jamshed M. Mehta, Karachi, next moved the following resolution on Imperial Preference.—

That this Conference strongly disapproves of the policy of Imperial preference attempted to be introduced as manifested in recent legislation regarding the export of hides and skins and urges that no measure of Imperial preference should be adopted till the whole question has been examined by a Committee fully representative of various industrial and commercial interests of the country and charged with powers of taking public evidence regarding all fiscal questions as indicated in the despatch of the Secretary of State reviewing the report of Indian Industrial Commission and until Indian legislature is in a position of deciding for itself a fiscal policy best suited to the interests of the country and of carrying it into effect as urged in the resolution on fiscal autonomy.

5. The Conference then adopted the following resolutions :—

This Conference is emphatically of opinion that preference should be given to (1) Indians on the proposed industrial and chemical services, (2) Indian enterprise in the matter of concessions with regard to the development of natural resources of the country, railways, shipping, manufactures and concessions in the matter of raw materials, etc., (3) Indian firms and manufactures in respect of the purchase of stores for the requirement of Government Depart ment and local bodies and railway companies.

Enquiry into Labour Conditions.

6. That in view of the present conditions of labour the Conference respectfully requests the Government of India to appoint a Commission, fully representative of labour and capital, to fully investigate labour conditions in India, such as wages, education, housing, hours of work, etc., and to submit such proposals for improvement as may be compatible with the healthy growth of industry.

The Imperial Bank.

6. The following resolution on Imperial Bank was then taken into consideration :—

That the Conference considers that the bill dealing with the proposed Imperial Bank should be published in full detail and criticism invited from public before any definite action is taken and that the amalgamation as proposed is not calculated to sufficiently safeguard Indian interests and urges the Government should not

support the scheme unless provision is made for adequate Indian representation on all boards and that the proposed bank should not be debarred merely on account of any competition with exchange banks from any kind of legitimate banking business if advised by the central board.

Liquor Traffic.

7. The next resolution on liquor traffic, urging the early total prohibition of manufacture, import and sale of liquor in India for intoxicating purposes, was moved by Mr. Mavji Govinji and was seconded by Mr. Muherji who recently returned from America.

Mr. K. Natarajan welcomed the resolution emanating from the Industrial and Commercial Congress as signifying the combination of moral and spiritual forces which were the life breath of all nations with industrialistic forces of the country and as a moral and material necessity for mobilising India's forces and energies and stopping the wastage of the nation's energy by the prevalence of liquor habits. The resolution was enthusiastically adopted.

8. The President next put the following resolution from the chair :—

The Conference recognises the urgent need of having Indians with trade experience as trade representatives in most important commercial centres of the world to look after the industrial and commercial interests of India and strongly recommends the Government to appoint immediately Indians as commercial attaches at least in the United States of America, Germany, France, Japan and China and Trade Commissioners in East Africa and Mesopotamia.

9. The Conference next adopted a resolution condemning in emphatic terms the anti-Indian agitation in South and East Africa and urging retaliatory measures against the British Colonies that meet out to Indians differential treatment by closing British or Indian services to the citizens of those colonies and by prohibiting export of all raw materials and also resolving to send a deputation under the auspices of the Imperial Citizenship Association under Mr. C. F. Andrews' leadership to assist in leading evidence before the South African Commission and then to go to England.

Currency Committee Report.

10. The Conference also adopted a resolution moved by Mr. Vidyasagar Pandya, Madras, urging early publication of the

Currency and Finance Committees report and to defer definite action till public opinion had been ascertained and urging in the meantime the removal of embargo on the import of precious metals.

Resolutions protesting against restrictions on the imports of dye-stuffs, excise duty on Indian mill-made clothes and advising steps to be taken to control high prices with the co-operation of a non-official agency and welcoming the technological course newly adopted in the Punjab University and recommending its adoption by other universities and expressing votes of thanks to the President and the organisers of the Conference, etc., were passed.

Sir Fazulbhoy, in his closing address, emphasised the educative value of the Conference and dwelt on the work before them. And then the Conference dissolved.