

EAST INDIA—(CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS).

A D D R E S S E S



PRESENTED IN INDIA TO

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY

AND

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

Presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty.



LONDON:
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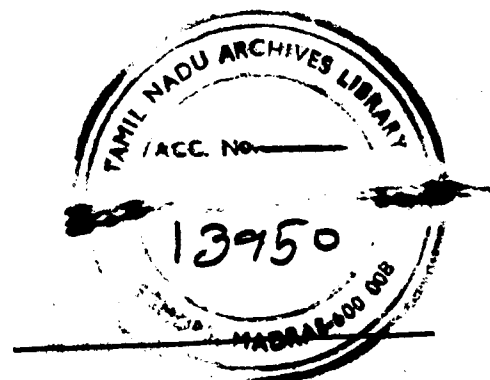
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INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS.

ADDRESSES PRESENTED IN INDIA TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY AND THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

INDIA OFFICE NOTE.

The 112 addresses summarised below were presented to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State between the 15th November 1917 and the 1st January 1918 by deputations representing the various associations and political, communal, and commercial bodies.

Twenty-six deputations were received at Delhi between the 15th and 29th November, 35 at Calcutta between the 3rd and 11th December, 24 at Madras between the 17th and 20th December, and 27 at Bombay between the 24th December and 1st January.

A very large number of associations representing various interests desired to submit their views on constitutional reforms. The selection of deputations was arranged by the Government of India, in consultation with the Local Governments, with a view to receiving from their accredited spokesmen a considered statement of the opinions on constitutional reform of as many sections, classes and interests in India as possible. But it was not possible to arrange for the reception of all the bodies that desired to make representations. In Appendix I. of this volume a brief summary is attempted of the addresses submitted by associations to which it had been impossible to accord a formal reception.

The Addresses included in Appendix I. present no special features distinguishing them from those which were formally presented. So far as they are capable of classification—and the same difficulties in this respect present themselves as those noticed below—it may be stated that 21 come from backward or depressed classes, 10 from Muhammadans, four from Christian bodies, two from Jains, two from Buddhists, three from traders or trading associations, and 17 from district or “people’s” associations. In some cases, which have been noticed, these Addresses were identical with one or other of the Addresses formally presented, or referred with approbation to a presented Address. No attempt has been made in the Appendix to describe the character of the several associations or bodies which forwarded the various Addresses enumerated there, but this will in most cases be apparent from their titles.

The order adopted in this summary is that of date. The deputations received at Delhi came mainly from the Punjab (10), the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh (10), and the Delhi Province (1); those at Calcutta, from Bengal (12), Assam (4), Bihar and Orissa (4), and Burma (5); those at Madras, from the Madras Presidency (21), Coorg (1), and Madras resident in Burma (1); those at Bombay, from the Bombay Presidency proper (18), Sind (2), and the Central Provinces and Berar (5). Associations of an “all-India” character, i.e., not confined to membership to any province, were received at Delhi (5), Calcutta (10), Madras (1), and Bombay (2). In each case a private and confidential interview was accorded to representatives of the association after the formal presentation of the address. Each address in the series thus provided a basis for informal and confidential discussion.

In the summary below the character of each association is briefly described in order to make it clear for what interest each body claimed to speak, while a *précis*

is given of the main points contained in each address, salient passages being textually quoted. In some instances there was sharp difference of opinion between associations which claimed to represent similar interests: a feature due to the fact that the majority of the associations were not political bodies in the Western sense, but were representative of religious communities, or social classes, in which political opinion was not unanimous. Some of the associations are of old standing, and many of these (such as Chambers of Commerce) are not political bodies, but felt that the interests which they exist to represent must be affected by constitutional changes. Other associations are of very recent origin, and in some instances the announcement made on the 20th August 1917 by His Majesty's Government on Indian policy led to the organisation of bodies to represent particular interests. It is impossible to give any rigid classification of the deputations. Some are political associations in the ordinary sense, others denominational bodies, others are Chambers of Commerce, or associations of landholders, others again representative of particular castes or groups of castes. One individual might, and often did, appear as a member of several deputations, which represented, for instance, his religious community, his social class or professional interest, and his individual political views. Nor is it possible (except in a few instances such as the Anglo-Indian community or the Burmese) to classify the deputations by any racial criterion.

With due allowance for these difficulties of classification, it may be useful to state that 19 deputations represented landowners' interests and 11 commercial or business associations; 23 deputations were exclusively Muhammedan, one Sikh, one Parsi, one Jain, one Buddhist, five Christian, five composed of higher caste Hindus, while eight claimed to speak for lower or depressed castes. So far as race does not coincide with religion (as it does, for instance, in such cases as that of the Parsis), 12 addresses came from racially homogeneous bodies, eight deputations being European or Anglo-Indian, two Burmese, and one Karen (from Burma), while particular races (as distinct from castes) in India proper were represented by deputations from the Utkal or Uriya people (Orissa and the neighbouring territories), Andhra or Telinga (Madras Presidency), and the hillmen—Bhutias and Lepchas—of the Darjeeling district (Bengal Presidency). Any attempt at closer classification would be misleading.

It is equally difficult to classify the addresses on any basis of political opinion. For example, several deputations expressed general support of the scheme adopted by the National Congress and All-India Moslem League, but at the same time criticised some particular feature of it as unacceptable to the communities or interests which they themselves represented. But it may be useful to give some indication of the general trend of the addresses with regard to the main political or constitutional questions that attracted public interest in India. On the question of the extension of local self-government there was no substantial difference of opinion, all the addresses which mention the subject agreeing in principle that the local bodies should be popularised and that official control should be relaxed.

On constitutional questions generally the majority of the addresses refer to one or more of the three definite schemes which had been published and discussed—the Memorandum presented to the last Viceroy by 19 Members of the Imperial Legislative Council, the scheme adopted jointly by the Indian National Congress and the All-India Moslem League, and the Memorandum of the late Mr. Gokhale, published after his death. For convenience of reference these three documents are reprinted in full in Appendix II. to this volume. Some of the addresses commented on the fact that Government had not as yet promulgated any detailed scheme of constitutional reform. The Congress-League scheme is substantially the basis of 40 of the addresses (including in this figure Provincial Committees of the National Congress).

With regard to the constitution of the executive government in the Provinces, the majority of the addresses propose that each Province should be under a Governor in Council. Opinions differ as to the exclusion (whether by law or by practice) of members of the Indian Civil Service from the highest executive posts. There is a general consensus of opinion in the Indian addresses that half the executive council should be Indian, but sharp difference as to the method of their appointment, the alternatives being nomination (as at present) and election by the elected (or, alternatively, the non-official) Members of the Provincial Legislative Council.

The composition, and method of election of the Provincial Legislative Councils bulks more largely in the addresses than any other subject. Enlargement of these Councils is generally advocated, as is a substantial majority of elected members. A Second Chamber is suggested by four bodies representing landowners. As regards the electorate, there is a very general demand for a broader franchise than the present one, and while opinion is divided as to direct or indirect election, the great majority of these addresses which mention the matter prefer direct election. The principle of an universal system of purely territorial constituencies is recommended by a few Hindu associations, but the communal representation of Muhammedans had been accepted by the Indian National Congress, and is strongly pressed in the Muhammedan addresses. The extension of communal representation to classes other than the Muhammedans, strongly opposed by the Congress school of thought, is advocated in several of the landowners' addresses, and is earnestly sought by the Sikhs, the Anglo-Indians, the Indian Christians, and the backward or depressed classes of Hindus. Several plans for the safeguarding of minorities by special representation, or for the better representation of commercial or industrial interests will be found in the addresses which do not follow the Congress-League scheme.

There is a general demand for "provincial autonomy," though comparatively few of the addresses discuss in detail the apportionment of powers between the Provinces and the Government of India. There is also a general opinion that the powers of the Legislative Councils should be increased so as to subject the Executive Governments of the Provinces to a large degree of control by the Legislative Councils in legislation, administration, and finance. The proposal of the Congress-League to make resolutions on administrative matters binding on the Executive Government (subject to a limited veto of the Governor), to require all items of expenditure to be embodied in money bills, and to reserve to the Governor-General alone the power to veto bills passed by the Legislative Council, is accepted in general terms by very many associations, though others hesitate to go so far, or have their own suggestions.

With regard to the Government of India, there is general agreement that (as in the Provinces) half the members of Executive Council should be Indians, while opinions again differ sharply between nomination and election. The present statutory obligation that a certain proportion of members of Executive Councils should be (not members of the Indian Civil Service, as is often stated, but) persons who have rendered a certain number of years in the service of the Crown in India meets with much criticism.

The composition of the Imperial Legislative Council (on which there is at present an official majority, while Provincial Legislative Councils have unofficial, though not necessarily elected, majorities) was less discussed than that of the Provincial Legislative Councils, but opinions fell into much the same divisions. A substantial non-official majority was widely advocated. A Second Chamber was strongly urged by several landholders' associations. While there was a general feeling that direct electorates should be widened, the retention of indirect election in the shape of election to the Imperial Legislative Council by members of the Provincial Legislative Councils was approved by many bodies (including the National Congress and All-India Moslem League) that desired direct election to the Provincial Councils. Many pleas were offered for the better representation of special interests or minorities. Opinions differed again as to the powers of the Imperial Legislative Council over the Executive.

A considerable body of opinion was in favour of great relaxation of the control exercised on behalf of His Majesty's Government by the Secretary of State over the Government of India in all matters except foreign and military affairs.

The Congress-League proposal for the abolition of the Secretary of State's Council met with marked support, though as alternatives the election of a portion of the Council or the appointment of a definite number of Indian members is discussed in some quarters. There is a decided preponderance of opinion in favour of placing the Secretary of State's salary on the British estimates. Several proposals were made for the allocation to Indians of at least one of the India Office Under Secretaryships of State.

Proposals for territorial re-arrangements in India appear in several of the addresses.

The addresses presented on behalf of depressed classes enter very little into constitutional detail, but express strong apprehension of the effect on their communities of any grant of "Home Rule" in the shape of a transfer of power to the higher classes of Indians.

The reason for the presentation to Parliament of a mere summary of the addresses is the great bulk of the full texts. Many of the addresses were accompanied by lengthy memoranda, and a reprint of the full texts would occupy not much less than 1,000 printed pages. The amount of space allotted to each summary has been decided not by any theory as to the importance or representative character of the particular body presenting the address, but by the necessity of presenting the various points of view intelligibly so as to attempt to make clear the line of argument adopted in each case. A complete set of the addresses presented by the deputations, in four volumes, has been placed in the Library of each House.

INDIA OFFICE,
October 1918.

ADDRESSES PRESENTED IN INDIA.

A.—At Delhi.

1.—THE INDIAN ASSOCIATION, DELHI.

The Indian Association, Delhi Province, which had a membership of under 100, supported the Congress-League scheme of political reform. After a protest against the Press Act, the Arms Act, and the Defence of India Act, the Address continued :—

"We have enjoyed a long spell of peace and prosperity under the guardianship of Great Britain, and our guardians have so far fulfilled the trust Providence reposed in them to the best of their ability. From the anxious care they have lavishly bestowed on us have flowed mutual benefits. If we failed to acknowledge this debt of gratitude we would be found wanting in our distinguishing Oriental trait. But, Sir, no tutelage, which does not terminate with the nonage of the ward can long remain immune from uncharitable suspicions, and, therefore, we duly appreciate the unequivocal declaration by you of the goal for which it is the British administration's aim to prepare this country. We may, however, never be any nearer our appointed destination than we are to-day unless the Government of the country is made adequately representative and directly responsible to the people themselves. And in this respect the scheme of reforms adopted by the Indian National Congress at its 31st session last year, and subsequently approved and adopted by the All-India Moslem League (these two being the responsible representative deliberative assemblies of the Indian people), embodies the irreducible minimum of the share of responsibility which may be conceded to this country as the earnest of the assurances and promises vouchsafed to us in Royal proclamations and responsible announcements.

"But apart from the reforms advocated in the scheme just alluded to there are some laws of the country which render all our attempts at self-realisation nugatory. For instance, the humiliating disabilities imposed upon us by the Arms Act are as much the violation of the sacred Rights of Man as they are calculated to wound our self-respect. Again, the executive authorities of this country are accountable to none, representing the interests and the will of the people, and to this can be traced all the official arbitrariness which is tolerated in the all-comprehending name of *prestige*."

The Association asked for a territorial enlargement of the Delhi Province under a Governor in Council, the establishment of a local University and Final Court of Appeal, and the reconstitution on a more popular basis of the Delhi Municipal Committee. Pending the reconstruction of the Province, it was urged that it should be represented both in the Punjab and the Imperial Legislative Councils.

2.—THE PUNJAB PROVINCIAL MUSLIM LEAGUE.

This body was formed when the Punjab Muslim League refused to follow the All-India Muslim League in adopting a joint political programme with the Indian National Congress. The Provincial Muslim League presented a Reform Scheme which generally followed the Congress-League scheme, but contained the following variations :—

- (1) In all Executive Councils half the members should be Indians, to be elected by the elected members of the Legislative Councils, and half the Indian members Muhammadans.
- (2) In the Imperial Legislative Councils one-third of the elected Indian members should be Muhammadans, elected by separate Muhammadan electorates in proportions corresponding to the number of Muhammadan representatives on Provincial Legislative Councils.
- (3) India should be represented in the Imperial Parliament (or any Imperial Council) "in like manner with the Dominions and with equal rights."

numerical strength but also with their political importance." "Provincial Governments should be granted full autonomy in so far as internal administration of 'provincial affairs is concerned.' The provincial Governors should be 'ordinarily appointed from among public men in England.' The Imperial Legislative Council should be expanded to 150, but no proportion of elected members is specified. The Governor-General's Executive Council should consist of nine members appointed by the Crown, of whom four should be Indians (two being Muhammadans), and two at least public men in England, no seats being reserved by law for officials. The Secretary of State's Council should be abolished, its place being taken by three Under Secretaries of State, of whom two should be Indians and one always a Muhammadan.

Separate communal representation for Muhammadans through their own electorates should be established in all municipal, district, and other local boards.

"In the preparation of this scheme we have borne three cardinal principles in mind:—

- (1) Firstly, to avoid any change which may be calculated even in the slightest degree to impair the permanence and stability of the British rule in India.
- (2) Secondly, to put forward a scheme of reforms which constitutes the next natural development to the Morley-Minto reforms and is consistent with the stage of progress calculated to satisfy legitimate aspirations of the Indian peoples; and (3) thirdly, to safeguard the separate communal interests of 70 millions of His Majesty's loyal Mussulman subjects in this country."

4.—PUNJAB MUSLIM ASSOCIATION.

This body, founded in 1916, represents Muhammadan zemindars in the Punjab; it emphasised the claims of the agricultural classes as regards taxation and of Punjab Muhammadans as regards political privileges.

"In taxation, too, the members of the articulate classes with incomes equal to the humbler agriculturists have contributed much less to the State Exchequer than the agricultural classes, and this inequality taxation has been felt by the agriculturists. In any scheme or readjustment a revision of taxation so as to reduce it to the paying capacity of the poor agriculturists, and to make up the deficit by a proportionate taxation of a certain portion of other communities hitherto left out of account, would be desirable. The agriculturists keenly feel the rise in rates and taxes, and any remissions in their favour will be a source of great satisfaction to them, and will make them all the more grateful to the Government. They realise that their interests are absolutely bound up with the British Raj, and they fervently pray for its permanence and for the victory of the British arms in the present world-wide war."

Attention should be paid "to the interests of the Muslim zamindars, who form the great bulk of the population in this province, and who have a real stake in the country. They served Government with devotion in the year 1848-49, about the time of the annexation of the Punjab, and then again during the Mutiny of 1857. Ever since they have been providing soldiers to the Army and fighting the battles of the Empire all over the world. In the present war they have not only contributed large numbers of men, but in contributions of money they have not lagged behind their wealthier neighbours of the money-lending classes. They have fought from time to time on the frontier and elsewhere against their own co-religionists, a task which no other community has had to perform. They are, however, not so articulate as some other communities, and their interests deserve to be jealously watched and protected by their benevolent Government. In offices of trust and responsibility, and in the magistracy and the judiciary of the province their share hitherto has been very small, and this has caused them some irreparable losses in the past. With the advance of education among them they are now able to satisfy at least the minimum educational qualifications for such positions."

"The question of constitutional changes to be introduced into the administration of this country can no more be treated as one belonging to the region of controversy. The Right Honourable Mr. Edwin Samuel Montagu, His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, and His Excellency Lord Chelmsford, our most popular Viceroy, have both announced in unmistakable terms that self-government is the goal of British policy in India. We accept this decision, but as the changes to be introduced must vitally affect the well-being and contentment of the agricultural classes which form 90 per cent. of the population of the Punjab, it closely concerns us that they should not be of such a startling character as to lead to an utter break with the past. The changes must be gradual, but of course substantial, giving to the representatives of the rural classes real power of making their influence and voice felt in the councils of the country.

"It will be recognised that the Muhammadans of the Punjab have, on all occasions, been foremost in the service of the King-Emperor. In the present colossal struggle they have unreservedly placed all their resources at the disposal of the Government, and have with their life-blood on the battlefields of three continents proved their unshakable devotion to the Crown. Their contribution to the fighting strength of the Empire has been unprecedented and out of all proportion to their numbers. They are easily the first, whether in recruitment or the amount of money which they have spontaneously subscribed to the various funds started in connection with the war. It is therefore our first request that, in any readjustment which Parliament may sanction, their claims to special recognition may never be lost sight of or forgotten."

"We do not consider it desirable that all the reforms specified below be granted immediately, but a beginning should be made."

The Association followed the Congress-League scheme in asking for a Provincial Legislative Council of 125 in the larger provinces, but recommended three-fourths (not four-fifths) as the elected proportion. A definite franchise was proposed, the payment of Rs. 50 a year as land revenue or income-tax. The Punjab should be given a Governor (either from England or from the Indian Civil Service) and an Executive Council of four, two of whom should be Indians and one always a Muhammadan. The Indian members should be elected by the elected members of the Legislative Council. In the Imperial Legislative Council, the scheme for which is based generally on that of the Congress-League, the representation of the Punjab should be equal to, if not greater than, that of other provinces; a percentage of the Punjab seats should be reserved for Muhammadans in proportion to their numbers in the province, and it would be desirable that two-thirds or three-fourths of these Punjab Muhammadan seats should be set apart for Muhammadan agriculturists. In the Secretary of State's Council half the members should be Indians, some of these being elected by the non-official members of Legislative Councils in India. The Indian members should be *ex-officio* members of the House of Commons. "In any scheme of 'Imperial reconstruction, India should be assigned a position equal to that of the 'self-governing Dominions.'"

5.—THE AHMADIYA COMMUNITY.

The Ahmadiyas are a not very numerous sect of Muhammadans, whose centre is Qadian in the Punjab. (The Lahore branch of this sect submitted a separate Address, No. 16.) The Address claims that the leader of the community, Hazrat Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad, has exceptional opportunities for obtaining direct information concerning the lives of all classes throughout India, as he "is responsible for the moral, social, political and spiritual welfare and guidance of the whole community."

"The people of India generally are not satisfied with their present lot, and the feeling of content is apparent merely on the surface. We, however, refuse to believe, as a section of the educated people do, that the cause of this discontent and unrest is the demand for self-government; for the majority of the people do not know what self-government means."

The Address, which covers nine pages of print, ascribes popular discontent to four causes: (1) want of sympathy on the part of English officials (though "almost all the high officials of Government are free from this vice"); (2) the distinctive treatment accorded to Europeans, especially under the Arms Act; (3) the change in economic and social conditions, decreased productivity of the soil and high prices; (4) the absence of education adapted to the needs of the agricultural classes.

The Address lays stress on the religious differences existing in India:—

"The people of India are not yet able to shoulder the responsibilities and burdens of such far-reaching reforms, nor can it be laid down in how many years they will have acquired the requisites of a self-governing nation. There are certain defects and shortcomings the existence of which is a hindrance to the attainment of self-government, and the moment they are removed India will be fit to govern itself. It might take only 10 years, or it might take a century; no time limit can be fixed within which India is bound to attain the standard of a self-governing nation. These shortcomings are religious prejudices and the lack of justice and toleration in inter-communal dealings. A nation labouring under disadvantages in the face of acute religious and racial differences would be cursed and not blessed by self-government. A vast majority of Indian people are so devoid of the sense of toleration and impartiality that it would be hard to find a parallel to it among other nations of the globe. India is at the present moment the arena of religions. . . . Even at the present time, when there is no self-government in India, and in spite of the check exercised by British officials, religious persecution sometimes becomes quite unbearable. Our community has been in existence for 27 years. Our principles are very peaceful, since we believe in the truth of all the prophets who have appeared in different parts of the world. Our numbers are comparatively so small that we cannot conceivably be a source of trouble to other communities. Yet, throughout the whole of these 27 years, we have been persecuted by the followers of the different religions which flourish in this country. The different sects of Islam itself display an amount of hostility and bitterness towards us which cannot be expected even from the most implacable enemy of our sect."

Complaint is made of the effects of religious prejudice in departmental appointments, competitive examinations, elections, and commercial life. "The recent 'disturbances in Bihar bear testimony to the fact that religious prejudices are just as 'strong, perhaps stronger, to-day as they ever were.' Therefore in the introduction of political reforms two principles should be observed:—

"(1) No changes detrimental to the interests of minorities should be introduced, and any change which proposes to take the final decision from the British element and to transfer it to Indian hands would be detrimental to the interests of minorities. (2) No change should be introduced by which the majority of the posts in the higher departments of the administration will be entrusted to Indians, for this change would have a result similar to that of the first."

The powers of veto proposed in the Congress-League scheme for the Governor-General and Governors are inadequate for good government, and the provision that no legislation should be passed affecting a community to which three-fourths of its representatives are opposed would fail to achieve its purpose. Small minorities should be represented by more members greater than their numbers would entitle them to on a proportionate basis. Election rules "should be so modified as to 'gradually introduce the people to a true knowledge of politics and the political situation, to enable them to express their grievances clearly, and to ensure the election of men who should represent the people in a true sense."

A scheme of reforms is appended (to be reconsidered decennially), the chief features of which are:—In Provincial Legislative Councils half the number of members to be elected, special arrangements being made for the representation of small minorities. In each major Province a Governor with an Executive Council of five (two Indians, one always a Muslim). The Governor-General's Executive Council to consist of four British and three Indian members, one Muslim, one Hindu, and one from each of the minor communities (e.g., Sikh, Jain, Parsi, Christian) in turn. The Imperial Legislative Council to consist of 55 nominated and 45 elected members, besides members of the Executive Council. The Secretary of State's Council to consist of four British (two being retired Indian civilians), one Muslim, one Hindu,

and one from each of the minor Indian communities in turn. On an Imperial Federative Council India should be represented by the Secretary of State and an Indian member from the Indian public services.

6.—AGRA ZAMINDARS' ASSOCIATION, AND ZAMINDARS OF AGRA NOT BELONGING TO THE ASSOCIATION.

The Agra Zamindars' Association is composed of large landholders, payment of land revenue of Rs. 5,000 a year being a qualification for membership. The zamindars not belonging to the Association claim to speak for the lesser landholders, and are not opposed to the Association. (For the Address from the landholders of Oudh, the other portion of the United Provinces, see No. 7.)

The Association welcomes the announcement of the 20th August:—

"All classes and communities have bestirred themselves to submit and pray for their claims with a view to helping the Government in a spirit of reasonable and mutual co-operation in reaching the goal with a measured but sustained pace in the onward march of progress towards it. We therefore beg to lay before you, Sir, some proposals which we venture to submit we have a right to claim at the benevolent hands of the Imperial Government, loyal as we have been in all circumstances, and ever ready with our lives and wealth to support the Government in anxious times. These submissions are the minimum irreducible in the interests of our community. Some of the matters prayed for are of the form of privileges which are pressingly necessary for a community like ours, while others are essential as their absence is proving a serious drawback for our development and prosperity as landowners."

The Association asked for adequate representation of the landed aristocracy of India on all elective bodies, from local boards to "the Imperial or Federal Parliament of the future," and, by nomination, in the Indian Civil and other higher services; for an extension of the permanent land settlement throughout India, and for various privileges for its order, such as the possession of arms, enrolment in the Volunteers, and the exemption of persons with the rank of Raja or Nawab from appearance in Courts. No constitutional scheme was proposed by either section of Agra zamindars.

The zamindars not belonging to the Association submitted a similar Address, and asked for various concessions as regards the land and local government systems for their own class:—

"We the zamindars of Agra beg to make a declaration of our political creed that while welcoming all administrative reforms on liberal and broader lines, we deem it absolutely essential both in the interests of efficiency and protection of the minor factors of the population that the British element should never be so reduced in strength or impaired in power as to become an ineffective element in the political affairs of India."

7.—THE BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION, OUDH.

This is the organisation of the talukdars or landed aristocracy of Oudh, who hold their estates by *sanad* from the Crown. The Address was on lines similar to those of the Agra zamindars (No. 6). They presented no scheme of political reform, but laid stress on second chambers. They asked for the establishment in Oudh of a college for military cadets, and the institution of an Indian citizen army, and adverted to certain matters of provincial administration.

"As desired by our community, we beg to urge our claims in the impending scheme of reform and their consideration at the hands of our beloved Sovereign's representatives. We have always stood for law and order, and we feel with satisfaction that under the unity and influence of talukdars the province of Oudh has been immune from waves of excitement and discontent. Proud as we are of our great and glorious traditions, and jealous to safeguard our special position, we have always championed the cause of popular advancement and reform. In the event of liberal

reconstruction of administrative and legislative machineries of Government, the question of second chambers will come up inevitably. We, the talukdars, beg to submit that such a chamber, if composed of the mature and steady opinion of all influential classes and interests in British India exclusively, will meet our approval."

8.—THE UNITED PROVINCES MUSLIM LEAGUE.

This League, representing the more advanced Muhammadan politicians in the Provinces, is affiliated to the All-India Muslim League, and supported the Congress-League scheme. But they proposed that in all local bodies as well as the Legislative Councils no resolution or Bill affecting a community should pass without the concurrence of two-thirds of the representatives of that community. They further claimed for Muhammadans 40 per cent. of seats on all district boards and local bodies, asked for adequate representation of Muhammadans in the University and the public services, and for at least one Muhammadan member on the Executive Council to be established in the United Provinces.

"We feel bound to give expression to our sense of satisfaction and gratitude for the declaration of policy made in August last in the House of Commons that responsible government is the goal of the British policy in India, and we have no doubt that if this policy is steadily pursued it will lead to the happiness and prosperity of the people and link India to England with love and affection. We sincerely trust that your joint efforts for the development and progress of this country will bear fruit and result in the realisation of the aspirations of the people of this country. It is not necessary for us to outline the scheme of reform here, as such a scheme has already been formulated by the two most important and representative institutions in the country, namely, the Indian National Congress, and the All-India Muslim League, which we have no doubt will be fully considered by you and by His Majesty's Government and meet with your approval."

9.—THE MAJLIS MUID-UL-ISLAM, LUCKNOW.

This deputation of the "Supporters of Islam" claimed to represent the Ulema (Muhammadan Theologians) of all India. (See No. 11 for another representation from Ulema in the same province.) These Ulema explained that they thought it desirable, on the occasion of the Secretary of State's visit, "to confer together and discuss proposals affecting the welfare of the Muslims of India, and the protection, progress and perpetuation of the Muslim faith." They made no suggestions for constitutional changes, but submitted six resolutions adopted at a conference at Lucknow. ("Most of the points submitted herein for your consideration have, at one time or other, been materialised into rights and formed the basis of our allegiance to the Government.") (1) Complete religious freedom for Muslims; (2) that laws framed should not be repugnant to the precepts and traditions of Islam; (3) all disputes relating to the religious rites of Indian Mussalmans to be decided in accordance with the laws of Islam by Muslim judicial officers; (4) other communities not to be allowed to depart from the customary performance of religious rites as affecting Mussalmans; (5) wine-drinking and fornication to be declared crimes for Mussalmans; (6) the sanctity of the Holy Places to be respected in war.

10.—THE ANJUMAN-I-ISLAMIA, SAHARANPUR, UNITED PROVINCES.

This deputation represented the Mahommedans of the Saharanpur District. They recognised the need for changes, and for extending the political rights of the Indian people, and, while not proposing any complete scheme of reform, suggested certain principles as a basis. While adopting certain points from the Congress-League scheme, "we honestly believe, and we are confident that this belief is shared by millions of Mahommedan subjects of His Majesty, that the Joint Scheme of Reforms proposed by the National Congress and the Muslim League is positively ruinous to the cause of Mussalmans, because of its hopelessly inadequate provision for safeguarding Muslim interests."

"We most humbly suggest the following principles upon which the reforms may be carried out as soon as convenient after the close of the war:—

- "(a) Expansion of the Legislative Councils, provincial and Imperial, on the lines of separate electorates, maintaining a perfect equilibrium of affairs between Hindus and Mahommedans with a steady hand, and increasing the proportion of non-official representation.
- "(b) Giving more seats to Indians (Hindus and Mahommedans in equal shares) in the Executive Councils, both provincial and Imperial. The proportion of Indian and non-Indian members being equal.
- "(c) Throwing open to qualified Indians all high posts in the Government inferior to that of Lieutenant-Governor, and admitting Hindus and Mahommedans to them in equal numbers.
- "(d) Safeguarding the interests of this important minority of ours by disregarding the criterion of numerical strength at the time of granting political concessions; and thus keeping the Hindu and Mahommedan in equal proportion in all Councils and higher grades of service in order to save them from total annihilation. With regard to all the reforms, which India urgently needs to-day, we beg to lay particular stress on the last of the above-mentioned principles, the least departure from which would mean taking us out of the protection of our benign Government, and placing us at the mercy of our political rivals. Without in any way meaning to discredit our Hindu brethren by expressing our distrust of them to such an extent, our instinct of self-preservation impels us to always keep at a safe distance from them in politics, while exchanging courtesies and social amenities in daily life. We are fully convinced that without equal strength we are not for one minute safe with them in the political arena, because their interests would be so diametrically opposed to ours, and their angle of vision so irreconcilably different. For this they are not to be blamed. A powerful nation has never in history spared its weak rival. It is more or less the law of nature. Therefore our safety lies in possessing equal strength with the Hindus, and having the British Government as our parent referee in case the two children ever show a militant spirit."

11.—THE MAULVIS OF DEOBAND, UNITED PROVINCES.

These Maulvis are *alumni* of the Dar-ul-ulum ("House of Knowledge"), a Muslim seminary at Deoband, and claimed to be representatives of the spiritual heads of the Muslim community in India. Like the Ulema of the Muid-ul-Islam (see No. 9) they claim that Mahommedan rights and privileges should be maintained amid any changes. They presented a scheme which contained no suggestions as to constitutional machinery except that "at least one Mahommedan doctor, well versed in Mussalman Theology," should be nominated by Government to each Legislative Council. The remainder of the scheme dealt mainly with State encouragement for religious education.

"The Mahommedan scholars have thought it best to remain peacefully engaged in teaching precepts of Islam, and so they have hitherto kept aloof from politics. But now it is possible that some changes may be made in the administration of the

country as is generally believed to be the result of your Lordship's visit to India, and it is possible that some administrative changes might dangerously affect the rights and interests of Mahomedans."

12.—UNITED PROVINCES MUSLIM DEFENCE ASSOCIATION.

This is a recently formed organisation of the more conservative Muhammadans of the United Provinces.

"Your epoch-making announcement has created a feeling of confidence and assurance in the hearts of all thinking and enlightened people in this country. The Muslim community, like the rest of the educated and enlightened Indians, realising the full significance of this declaration of policy, immediately took its bearings with reference to the many cross-currents of political thought and conflicting interests which unfortunately exist in this country, and has arrived at the conclusion that any large measure of self-government which might curtail the moderating and adjusting influence of the British Government would be nothing short of a cataclysm."

"That the constitutional machinery requires overhauling no one can gainsay, and that Indians should be given a much greater share in the administration of their country, no true friend of India can deny. But in a country like India with its heterogeneous population, full self-government should, we submit, be the result of a process of evolution in which all the communities should participate. A system of purely territorial electorates which may have been found workable in homogeneous populations in some parts of the Empire is not, in our humble judgment, suited to this country for the present."

The Association urged that three cardinal principles should form the basis of reforms: (1) the maintenance of British influence; (2) a natural and logical development of the Morley-Minto scheme; (3) the safeguarding of the separate communal interests of Indian Muhammadans.

A scheme of 48 clauses was submitted, nearly identical with that of the Punjab Muslim League (No. 3), but differing from it in suggesting in all Legislative Councils an equal number of Hindu, Muhammadan and European (with Anglo-Indian and Indian Christian) members, in leaving the maintenance of law and order to the Executive, and in making special provision for Muhammadans in the Universities, public services, and Army and Navy.

13.—UNITED PROVINCES CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, CAWNPORE.

This is a purely Indian body (the Upper India Chamber of Commerce, Cawnpore, including both European and Indian firms). While presenting no formal scheme, the Association laid stress on the intimate connection of political reforms with economic problems.

"In order that the policy of the State may be in harmony with the requirements of the people, Government should as far as possible be representative of and responsible to the people themselves. The existing constitution of the Government satisfies neither of these conditions. And it is essential for the economic well-being of the nation that it should be reformed both on its executive and legislative side, so as to give the accredited representatives of the people an effective voice in its counsels."

The Association asked for a Governorship in Council (half to be Indians) in the United Provinces; a substantial elected majority ("elected by the people on as broad a franchise as may be found possible") in the Legislature, which should have "a reasonable measure of control over the act of the executive." The Provincial Government should have "financial autonomy" and "a free hand in pursuing an active

policy of State-aided industrial development and commercial expansion." The Government of India should be responsible not to the Secretary of State but to its own Legislative Council, in which a majority should be elected, "care being taken that the Indian industrial and commercial interests receive adequate representation. Half the Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council should be Indians.

"Above all, it is important that the Government of India should have the right of determining the fiscal policy of the country as the Dominions possess. Without this, the enormous possibilities of the development of India's economic resources cannot be realised."

14.—JOINT DEPUTATION OF THE ALL-INDIAN KSHATTRIYA MAHASABHA AND THE AHIR KSHATTRIYA MAHASABHA, UNITED PROVINCES.

The Ahirs are a Hindu agricultural caste, numbering nearly 10,000,000 in India, who lay claim to Kshattriya (Rajput) descent, "but," the United Provinces Mahasabha observed, "it is a matter of the deepest regret and ridicule that they have no voice at all in the governing of India, and go entirely unrepresented on the higher and lower Government posts of all sorts. Their abnormally backward education is to some extent responsible for their degradation, but when deserving youths can be had from this community they ought to be given preference over their more vocal substitutes from other communities who are assiduously at work in keeping them deprived of their well-deserved meed. All fairness demands that the dose of invalidity be at once administered to it to give it a normal pulse." Separate addresses were submitted by each Mahasabha, but these were of practically identical terms, laying stress on the military services of Ahirs, and on the importance of agriculturists in the nation, as contrasted with their present backwardness. "The whole congested Ahir population," said the All-Indian Mahasabha, "cannot boast of more than two dozen graduates in all. The cost of education prevents parents of ordinary means from dedicating their progeny to the worship of Minerva. The recurring settlement gives him no breath, and the repeated enhancements every time make his condition worse. The cost at which justice is sold in India is beyond his means."

The All-Indian Mahasabha put forward seventeen points, the majority of which hardly come under the head of constitutional reform. Thus they asked for free and compulsory education, better pay for soldiers, a prohibition of cow-killing, and exclusion from district board franchise of urban residents who own village land. In the purely constitutional sphere they sought Governorships in Council in all provinces, the Indian representation in Legislative Councils to have a real and effective voice, complete provincial autonomy "if possible," separate representation of agriculturists (as distinct from zamindars), and five Ahir seats in the United Provinces Legislative Council, four in Bihar-Orissa, two each in the Punjab Central Provinces, and two in the Imperial Legislative Council.

15.—THE PUNJAB PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE.

This deputation, consisting mainly of lawyers, represented the more advanced politicians of the Punjab. The Conference strongly supported the Congress-League scheme.

"The demand for self-government is not only universal but is now the demand of a united India. The charge of wide and irreconcilable communal and class differences, at all times largely exaggerated and misconceived, has lost all force. The two great peoples of this country, Hindus and Mahomedans, stand together, and they have vowed to respect all other important interests that should find representation in the Government and the Council chamber."

The Address emphasised the services of India in the war, and stated the claim of the Punjab to rank as a "major province" in any scheme of reform. There was

"no such lack of ability, integrity, initiative and practical common-sense" in the people of India as to stand in the way of self-government.

"We urge that the demand for self-government of a united India pulsating with rapidly growing national sense and sharing the general Eastern awakening, with the proved fitness of her sons in every office in which they have been tried, can no longer be deferred by the just and generous and liberty-loving British people who have taught India the meaning and virtue of freedom and the power and joy of self-rule."

The constitutional reforms of 1909 had failed "to secure to the people even responsible co-ordination in the work of Government, not to speak of a control over it."

"The scheme of reform proposed by the Congress and the Muslim League is a most modest one, and according to prevailing opinion in India states only an irreducible minimum and an overdue instalment of reform."

"The franchise should be arranged within the limits of the adequate representation of minorities on the broadest basis possible." The deputation also urged relaxation of official control over local self-government bodies.

16.—AHMADIYA ANJUMAN ISHAAT-I-ISLAM.

This body of about 50 persons, established at Lahore about 1914, represents an educated section of the Ahmadiya sect (*see* No. 5) which has engaged in political activity. The deputation urged the immediate adoption of the Congress-League scheme, which would establish British rule on a firmer basis "dealing at the same time a death-blow to all kinds of anarchical ideas." But the safeguards in the Scheme for important minorities require some extension. "No scheme of reforms would be successful which ignores this basic principle that the two streams of Hindu and Muslim advancement must run parallel." Muhammadans should be "fully represented" in all Executive Councils and the Secretary of State's Council, and on Legislative Councils should have a majority of elected members in provinces in which they form the majority, and rather more than their proportional ratio in others.

Education must be extended and the Arms Act repealed.

17.—PUNJAB ZAMINDAR CENTRAL ASSOCIATION.

This Association was originally known as the Jat-Sikh Association, and claims to speak on behalf of the Hindu and Sikh agriculturists of the Punjab. About one-third of the 25 gentlemen forming the deputation were lawyers, and one-third retired soldiers.

"We beg leave to submit that Jats constitute by far the most important community in the Punjab, and the reforms they would most respectfully suggest are not based on religion, but on the community of interest in being of the same occupation, viz., agriculture. Amongst the Sikhs 75 per cent. and among the Hindus 50 per cent. are agriculturists."

"They believe that if the present system of administration of justice and finance could be decentralised and the Civil Service made more economic, it would do them an immense good. They feel extremely gratified at the recent announcement made by His Majesty's Secretary of State for India giving out hopes of increased association of the Indians in the government of the country in all its branches."

The deputation submitted a Memorandum on Reforms including 61 points, largely based on the Congress-League scheme. But while going beyond that scheme in elaborating the details of an extensive system of local self-government with no official control, they asked that at least two-fifths of the Viceroy's Executive Council should have over 10 years' administrative experience, the rest being nominated from among eminent British and Indian public men. Half the members of a Governor's Executive Council should be Indians, not less than half of these being elected and the rest being nominated "so as to secure the presence of at least one zamindar." In the

Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils four-fifths should be non-officials, one-fourth of these being nominated and three-fourths elected. In the Provincial Legislative Councils the rural population should have a preponderating share of elected seats, ordinarily one member for each district.

"The interests of important minorities and backward classes should be safeguarded without, so far as possible, having recourse to communal representation."

18.—CHIEF KHALSA DIWAN (PUNJAB).

This body was founded in 1909 to reform and improve the condition of the Sikh community and to represent their needs to Government. On behalf of that community it submitted a memorandum containing 44 clauses.

"Whatever reforms are granted to the country they will not satisfy the Sikhs unless and until separate and adequate representation of their community is therein distinctly provided for. The Sikhs can no longer afford to remain in a subordinate and helpless position in comparison with their sister communities, especially if the councils, both executive and legislative, are to be expanded and are to wield extended powers."

The address dwelt on the services and the importance of the Sikhs, who claim to supply 20 per cent. of the Indian Army and one-third of the Punjab contingent (though forming only 12 per cent. of the Punjab population). Their "bitter experience" under the Reform Scheme of 1909, "when we had not pressed for our just rights and dues, leaving them to be decided by the Government," impelled them now to formulate a statement of their views. The Reform Scheme appended recommended Executive Councils of six in the Provinces, of whom three should be Indians (in the Punjab one always a Sikh); Provincial Legislative Councils in major provinces of from 75 to 100, two-thirds elected: one-third of the non-official members in the Punjab to be Sikhs, and "adequate provision" made for Sikh representation in other Provincial Councils. The Viceroy's Executive Council of eight should have four Indian members, one always a Sikh, one a Muhammadan, one a Hindu. The Imperial Legislative Council of 150 members should be two-thirds non-official, one-fifth of the non-official seats being held by Sikhs. On the Secretary of State's Council half the seats should be held by Indians, and one-third of these by Sikhs. Colleges for the military and naval training of Indian youths should be established in India, and in the granting of King's Commissions due regard should be paid to communal representation according to the numerical strength of the rank and file.

19.—PUNJAB CHIEFS' ASSOCIATION.

This Association represents the landed aristocracy of the Province, Sikh, Muhammadan and Hindu.

"Our attitude has been determined by our unshakeable conviction that the future development and progress of the Indian people is made dependent by a wise and benevolent province on a continued connection of this country with the British Empire. We have entire confidence that our claim to share in the expanding life of the different communities of this country will not be ignored. We respectfully but emphatically affirm that our stake in the country is enormous, and we hope and trust that nothing will be done to jeopardise these vital interests."

The Memorandum appended covers a number of points connected with administration as well as constitutional change. They asked for a Governor in Council for the Punjab (civilians eligible for the Governorship), with half the members of the Executive Council Indians chosen "with regard to Indian public opinion." A similar suggestion was made for the Imperial Executive Council. The Imperial Legislative Council should be given wider power over the whole budget and a definite and complete control over part of it. The Secretary of State's Council should be remodelled on the lines of the Viceroy's Executive Council, half of the six seats—with portfolios—being given to Indians. India should be given "its proper

place" in any scheme of Imperial Federation, and "the rights and privileges of Indian emigrants to British possessions overseas be assimilated to other British subjects." Indian industries should be "saved as far as possible from the harmful effects of extraneous competition." Special provision should be made for the Punjab aristocracy in local bodies, Legislative Councils, the services, and any future Federal Parliament.

20.—THE PUNJAB HINDU SABHA.

This Association was established at Lahore in 1907 to promote the welfare of the Hindu community, and claims the support of the leading Hindus in the Punjab. Its address dwelt on the part taken by India in the war, and urged that India should no longer occupy a position of subordination.

"The reforms that may be undertaken should give the people a truly effective control in the government of the country, and also remove those disabilities which place them in a position of inferiority and helplessness." The Morley-Minto scheme, "by providing for the separate and free representation of but one particular community, based purely on denominational considerations and introducing a factor of political importance, gave rise to invidious distinctions and thereby largely militated against the good results that the people of India expected from that noble scheme. The principle of special and communal representation puts educational qualifications and individual merit at a discount, and in addition to accentuating communal feeling, often stands in the way of the best representatives of the people being returned to the Councils." Care ought to be taken to abolish the "unwholesome principle" of communal representation, but, if it were retained, the Punjab Hindus, being "the most important minority," ought to have half the seats in the Punjab Executive and Legislative Councils, and one-half the Punjab representation in the Imperial Legislative Council. "With the above important reservation, we accept the scheme of reforms prepared by the Indian National Congress in concert with the All-India Moslem League, and we hereby give it our most cordial and whole-hearted support, as nothing short of it will satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the educated Indians."

A Reform Scheme of 47 clauses was appended, closely following the Congress-League scheme with the omission of all safeguards for minorities.

21.—ALL-INDIA COMMITTEE OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND OF THE COUNCIL OF THE ALL-INDIA MOSLEM LEAGUE.

The deputation included members from almost every Province of India, and presented the Joint Scheme printed in Appendix B., with a Memorandum of 32 pages in support of the proposals. The introductory address (four pages) opened with an acknowledgment of "the great and good work that Great Britain has accomplished in India."

"The protection of the land from invasion from without and the establishment of peace and order are in themselves no mean achievements, but it is a prouder title to glory that she has produced a new intellectual awakening, a national consciousness and an eager longing for freedom among the heirs of ancient civilisations who had unfortunately fallen from their high estate. It was a great truth which Lord Ripon of blessed memory felicitously uttered when he described 'educated Indians as the children of British Rule, and we can assure you, Sirs, that Sir Bartle Frere's observation is as correct to-day as when he made it, that no section of the people of India appreciate the advantages of that rule more highly than those whose minds have been broadened by the liberal English education which will for all time stand as Britain's most imperishable monument in India. Their very political aspirations are a tribute to the success of her mission in the East. 'The proudest day in the annals of England' which Lord Macaulay foresaw has come, and Indians to-day demand that Self-Government which Englishmen have always fervently believed to be the indispensable condition of self-respecting national life. The Indian National

Congress, which a renowned Indian statesman described as 'the greatest triumph of British administration and a crown of glory to the great British nation,' is the highest expression of this sacred national aspiration, and the ideal of the Congress is also the ideal of the most important organisation of Indian Musalmans, the All-India Moslem League. The authoritative announcement which was made simultaneously in England and India on the 20th of August last, that His Majesty's Government, with the complete accord of the Government of India, accept responsible government for India as an integral part of the Empire as the goal of British policy, was therefore received by the country with no ordinary feeling of satisfaction. For that epoch-marking declaration, Sirs, we, Indians of all creeds, classes and communities, are deeply beholden to His Majesty's Government as well as to the Government of India.

"We submit that, to ensure the early realisation of this ideal, the reforms that are to be introduced as a first instalment should confer a substantial measure of power on the people acting through their chosen representatives in Councils, and, further, that the determination of the future steps of progress towards the goal should not, as has been proposed, be left entirely to the Governments in India and England. It ought to be recognised that the people of India themselves, as the party principally affected, have a right to a voice in the decision of a question which is of such supreme moment to them. We beg to suggest that a joint committee of the two Houses of Parliament will, perhaps, be about as suitable a tribunal as can be thought of to adjudicate on the issue, after hearing the representatives of both the Government of India and the people. We hope that this point will be taken into consideration by His Majesty's Government.

"We are not less grateful for the decision to introduce a substantial first instalment of reforms at as early a date as may be practicable. We beg leave to observe, Sirs, that the proceedings of the annual sessions of both the Indian National Congress and the All-India Moslem League are a living proof of the imperative need of liberal reforms in all directions—constitutional, financial and administrative. Amelioration of the material condition of the masses, as well as the satisfaction of the political aspirations of the classes, has throughout been the anxious concern of these organisations. They have persistently advocated reforms in land revenue policy and administration, measures for the relief of agricultural indebtedness, agricultural education and agricultural improvement, rapid progress in the construction of irrigation works; an active policy of industrial development and technical education; the wider diffusion of education in all its branches; retrenchment of public expenditure, and reduction of taxation pressing heavily on those least able to bear it; reform of the police, and of the system of administration of justice; temperance reform, and lenient forest rules; the improvement of public health, and adequate provision of medical relief; the re-institution of village panchayats;—all which are designed and calculated to make life more worth living for the tens of millions of our poorer countrymen, with whose condition, as it is, no one can affect to be satisfied."

The position of India in the Empire is then discussed.

"Before taking leave of you, Sirs, we would invite attention to the very important subject of India's status in the Empire. Our claim in one word is that she should be lifted from the position of a dependency to that of equality with the dominions. The relation of the two should be mutual in the complete sense of the term. We submit that if the dominions are to exercise any rights in relation to India, the latter should have the power to exercise the same rights in relation to them. In any Council or Parliament of the Empire which may be constituted at a future date, India should be represented in like manner and in an equal measure with the dominions. Unless this is done, the participation of the dominions in the governance of our country without a corresponding right in us to participate in the governance of them will mean a lowering of even our present unsatisfactory status which will arouse the strongest opposition in this country. We hope and trust that His Majesty's Government will never entertain any such proposal. In the meantime, we request that India may be allowed to be represented in the Imperial Conference (and in the Imperial Cabinet if any such should be constituted) through persons elected by the elected members of our Legislative Councils. We are beholden to His Majesty's Government and the Government of India for the privilege accorded to India in the beginning of this year, of sending three gentlemen to represent her in the Imperial War Conference and the Imperial War Cabinet. Nor are we less sensible of the value of the unanimous resolution recorded by the former body in favour of the regular representation of India at future ordinary sittings of the

Imperial Conference. The constitutional position of the Government of India being what it is in relation to His Majesty's Government on the one side and to the people of India on the other, its nominees cannot have the character of representatives or spokesmen of the people, as have the Ministers of the dominions which are endowed with responsible government. In this view of the matter we are constrained to submit that during the period of transition from the existing system to responsible government, the representatives of this country in the Imperial Conference and the Imperial Cabinet should be allowed to be elected by the elected members of the Legislative Councils in India."

The 32-page Memorandum that follows gives an account of the development of the National Congress, criticises the Morley-Minto reforms, and explains that the Joint Scheme arose out of a resolution of the National Congress of 1915, authorising discussion with a committee of the All-India Moslem League, which resulted in the agreement of both organisations in 1916. Fifty-six "unsatisfied demands" of the Congress are enumerated, ranging from the abolition of the Secretary of State's Council (demanded as long ago as 1885) to amnesty of political prisoners (1910). The existing system of government is described as detrimental to economy and defective in efficiency. The attitude of Europeans in India is criticised, and it is argued that the safety of British capital invested abroad is not dependent upon British political control, and would not in fact be endangered by Indian self-government. The view is maintained that until full responsible government is granted, the Indian members of the Executive should be elected by the elected members of the Legislature, in order to ensure that they shall feel their responsibility to the people. The present franchise anomalies are set out. Representation should, "with such reservations as may be necessary," be as far as possible territorial and not based on class distinctions. The omission from the Joint Scheme of all mention of local self-government does not imply that the Congress or the League undervalue its importance, and the Memorandum offers suggestions for its extension.

Educated Indians, in ardently claiming "the practical recognition of the rights which are legitimately theirs in their own country," had been actuated as much by the desire to exercise them "in the interest of their less-favoured brethren" as "by the promptings of their own national self-respect."

"The experience of years has convinced us that under the existing system social and economic reform has much less chance than the well-being and advancement of the people demands, and that Indian public opinion is more powerless than effectual. Service and sectional interests are not always subordinated to the common weal, and that the system should be altered so as to make the will of the people prevail as far as may be in all matters of internal administration."

The Scheme of the Nineteen Members (printed in Appendix B) was described as in accord with the Joint Congress-League Scheme. As regards the latter, it was urged that "the basal principles on which it is founded are, firstly, that the British connection with India should be safeguarded; and secondly, that subject to this fundamental reservation the character and constitution of the Government of India and the provincial Governments should be transformed so as to make them representative of and responsible to the people acting through their elected representatives in Councils."

It was claimed that the powers proposed for Legislative Councils were not extravagant:

"Adequate safeguards have been provided to prevent the adoption of hasty or unsuitable measures, legislative, financial, or administrative, as well as to protect the interests of minorities."

22.—THE UNITED PROVINCES PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

This branch of the National Congress submitted a 13-page Memorandum in support of the Joint Scheme. The opening address expressed gratitude for the announcement of the 20th August.

"We rejoice that the British Government has definitely pledged itself to responsible self-government for India as the goal towards which progress shall be made in future, and that Indians will be associated in increasing measure with the

administration of their country. It would be idle for us to claim perfection for our scheme (the Congress-League Scheme), but then we shall venture to submit that it does represent the considered opinions of those who are deeply interested in the future of their country, and who, in spite of what their detractors may say to the contrary, maintain that the fruition of their aims depends on the continuance of the British connection with India, and that no other scheme has yet been placed before the country by any other organisation which thinks that the basis of reforms should be different to ours."

As regards the United Provinces, the appointment of a Governor "is long overdue," and the Legislative Council is far too small.

The Memorandum described it as "unprofitable to trace the origin of the present unrest or to examine the causes which have changed the face of Indian politics during the last three eventful years"; but protested against "the short-sighted and unnecessary opposition to the conciliatory policy of the British and Indian Governments engineered by vested interests in England and in India." Of the 100 seats proposed for the United Provinces Legislative Council four should be given to Europeans, four to landlords, three to Universities, 27 to Muhammadans, and the remaining 62 to general electorates (16 to towns, 46 to territorial constituencies outside the large towns). The franchise should be considerably extended, but "it is not unlikely that the total number of voters may fall short of 1 per cent. of the population," as was the case in the Japanese Lower House under the Constitution of 1889.

23.—THE HOME RULE LEAGUE FOR INDIA.

The Home Rule League at the end of 1917 claimed to have over 27,000 members. Its Honorary President was Sir Subramania Iyer and its President Mrs. Annie Besant. In the address presented at Delhi the Home Rule League accepted the Congress-League scheme as a transitional stage to the goal of self-government.

"We look to His Imperial Majesty's Government to carry out the pledge of the Premier, that—

"The leading principle is that the wishes of the inhabitants must be the supreme consideration in the re-settlement. In other words, the formula adopted by the Allies with regard to the disputed territories in Europe is to be applied equally in the tropical countries."

"While these words were not spoken of internal government, the principle is of universal application, and we feel sure that Great Britain will not deny to the Indian people the right which, with her Allies, she enforces everywhere else, and that she will not maintain in India a bureaucratic and irresponsible Government, which, with the help of Indian soldiers and Indian money, she and her Allies are fighting to destroy everywhere else in the world. We believe that the British Government will meet our claims with sympathy, and that the Government of India, as they have already shown, are in full accord with British feeling. We therefore ask for self-government, for a Government responsible to the elected representatives of the Indian nation, both in the Provincial Councils and in the Supreme Council—the National Parliament. But as a first step, we are willing to accept a transitional stage to this goal, and this is embodied in the Congress-League scheme, described in the memorandum we present with this address. This scheme provides for an irremovable Executive Council, consisting of equal numbers of nominated and elected members, the latter being Indians; for a Legislative Council of four-fifths elected members and one-fifth nominated; control over the purse is given to the Legislative Council, so that where opposition arises between the Legislature and the Executive, both sides may learn in the struggle to give and take, while the final argument, refusal of supplies, lies with the elected majority, except with regard to military charges for the defence of the country. The clauses in the scheme conferring the power of veto on the executive provide an adequate check on hasty action by the legislature. When the reconstruction of the Empire is considered the Congress-League demands that India shall be raised to equality with the self-governing dominions, and have Governments responsible to the Legislative Councils.

"We do not propose to substitute an Indian oligarchy for the English bureaucracy now existing. We aim at responsible Government and an ever-widening electorate;

we separate the administrative from the legislative side of Government, and exclude the Civil Service from the Executive Councils, save in exceptional cases. We object to the system more than to its agents."

"We submit, with this address, a memorandum, containing our endorsement of the Congress-League scheme, together with facts and figures which show the necessity for its acceptance. To this we add proposals for local government bodies—Village Boards (Panchayats), Taluq and District Boards—with figures from the Madras Presidency as a sample, working on a system similar to that obtaining in England under the Local Government Board Act of 1871, and the subsequent cognate enactments. We consider this scheme as vital to Home Rule, as it brings the immediate concerns of the people under popular control; it adds Village Boards to the present existing bodies, and makes them the unit of local government instead of the Firka, or Revenue Circle; it also substitutes election for nomination in all cases, and renders the members responsible to their electors. We believe that these changes will render the system really useful and educative.

"To these proposals we append certain illustrative and well-considered documents; a proposed 'Commonwealth of India Act,' working out the Congress-League scheme in detail with a 'Supplementary Judicature Act'; a 'Panchayats Act,' establishing village panchayats; a 'Compulsory Elementary Education Act'; 'Self-Government for India,' and 'District Work'; these last two are by the President of the Home Rule League, and comprise a description of the whole series of elected bodies, intended as suggestive only, and not endorsed in every detail, the education test being probably impracticable though desirable. We add also the scheme of the Madras Congress Committee, the final scheme adopted by the Congress and Muslim League, and the Memorandum of the Nineteen."

In an appended memorandum of 40 pages the League discussed "what is implied by self-government such as we demand." While "we assert that our interests and those of the Empire alike demand the continuance of a close and organic union between India and the rest of the Imperial fabric," it is represented that the British administration "has not set its hands to some of the duties of a national government." Illustrative documents on finance, local self-government, and compulsory elementary education were handed in with the address. The memorandum dissents strongly from any proposals for handing over to the Legislative Councils certain subjects only, or for remodelling those Councils "so that in certain fields of provincial administration they should sit in their present capacity as merely advisory Councils and that in certain other fields they should sit as responsible legislators as in the self-governing colonies." It expresses the desire that, "as in all other civilised countries, the permanent officials of the land must not have the dominant voice in the policy of the Government," and, "though we desire the progressive Indianisation of the Government in all its departments, it is not the object of the Congress-League scheme merely to exchange European for Indian Agency, as it is universally felt that vested interests and the spirits of departmentalism and centralisation will work as great a mischief in Indian as in European hands."

The League challenged the contentions that democracy was foreign to India, that religious differences should be allowed to stand in the way of political change, and that English interests would be endangered by Home Rule.

"The variety of religions in India does not constitute a political difficulty which should be allowed to stand in the way of the reforms we demand. If this objection were to be allowed to prevail, the path of reform may remain blocked for ever. The quarrels between Hindus and Musalmans are less frequent than they were, and do not touch the political amity now existing between the two great communities. There has been of late years increasing evidence of joint action by Hindus and Musalmans in the promotion of common causes, and it is a very pertinent fact that the reforms we urge are put forward equally by the National Congress and the All-India Muslim League after joint deliberation.

"The fear that English vested interests will be endangered by Home Rule is chimerical! Britain has larger investments in countries other than India, but does not therefore claim political dominance. The unfair advantages over Indians now possessed by English traders, doctors, and educationists will, of course, disappear, but the deprivation of unfair privileges should not be an obstacle to the establishment of justice.

"We consider that these various pleas are not reasons for withholding Home Rule, but are merely colourable excuses for withholding justice.

"We place our demand for Home Rule, however, more on the ground of principle than on that of expediency. We resent what Mr. Gokhale called 'the atmosphere of inferiority' in which the Indian lives; what Mr. Bhupendranath Basu described as 'a bureaucratic administration . . . atrophying the nerves of action and, what is most serious, necessarily dwarfing in us all feeling of self-respect.' We feel what Mr. Asquith lately called 'the intolerable degradation of a foreign yoke,' and we believe that Great Britain will co-operate with us in the building up of our freedom. Her past struggles for liberty are the guarantee of her present sympathy."

24.—MUZAFFARNAGAR ZEMINDARS' ASSOCIATION (UNITED PROVINCES).

This Association was founded in 1896 with the object of promoting agricultural interests, and has 300 members.

"During the present war the landed aristocracy all over the country have cheerfully and loyally laid at the disposal of their Sovereign all the resources at their command, and are still continuing to contribute to the best of their might towards the sinews of war, and the supply of men and material. Their status as natural leaders of the masses constituting the vast agricultural backbone of the country, has been to them extensively valuable in their efforts on behalf of recruiting and overcoming the hesitation of fighting men to cross the seas into a foreign land."

The Address dwelt chiefly on agricultural and land revenue matters, and ended with a series of political suggestions generally following the Congress-League scheme, but asking for more adequate representation of the landholders on Legislative Councils. Official members of these should not be allowed to vote, but should have "a right to explain their views, if any, regarding the subject" of debate.

25.—ALI-INDIA HINDU SABHA.

This Association, organised in the United Provinces, but having members from other parts of India, claims to defend orthodox Hinduism against the Arya Samaj and other modern sects. The Address vindicated the patriotism and enlightenment of the Hindu community, and based its suggestion for reforms mainly on the Memorandum of the Nineteen Members. It proposed, however, that if the Secretary of State's Council be not abolished it should be a body of eight, consisting as to one-half of Indians elected by the elected members of Legislative Councils, one-fourth British public or business men, and one-fourth retired officials from India. The statutory obligation as to official service should be abolished in the Viceroy's Executive Council, but it was not proposed that officials should be excluded. The Provinces "should have financial independence to the greatest extent compatible with the requirements of the Government of India."

"The All-India Hindu Sabha strongly supports the demand of the country for the early grant of substantial measures of self-government within the Empire, an unflinching endeavour being made in the years to come to make a rapid advance towards the realisation of full responsible government. The Hindu community has never asked, and does not ask now, for special favours, and has never grudged, and does not grudge now, a just recognition of the position of the non-Hindu communities in the land. All that the Sabha is concerned about is that no injustice should be done to the Hindus themselves in any arrangements that may be made, as it is essential that the most important and the most numerous community should not, under the pressure of the demands of any other community or communities, be allowed to be converted into a minority, and that it should certainly have its full and adequate share, commensurate with its numerical strength, capacity and attainments, in all the representative bodies of the country, namely, the

Indian and Provincial Legislative and Executive Councils and District and Municipal Boards as well as in public services. It is respectfully urged that true statesmanship requires that racial and religious considerations should, as far as possible, be set aside in the future reforms in the government of the country, in the best interests of its harmonious progress, and no cause should be given to the Hindu, nor to any other community whatsoever, to feel that its legitimate rights and just privileges have been encroached upon or sacrificed for the satisfaction of any other in the country."

26.—THE DOMICILED EUROPEAN AND ANGLO-INDIAN FEDERATION.

This body is the Federal Council of the various Anglo-Indian Conventions throughout India and Burma and the Anglo-Indian Empire League. The memorial claimed that the members of the Federation, "occupying a position intermediate between the Indian on the one side and the European temporarily resident in the country on the other, and understanding, as we do, the language of the people, their thoughts and their ways," can gauge the real feelings of Indians.

"We admit that there is a desire on the part of an advanced section of educated Indians to place the actual Government of the country largely in Indian hands, but we say that this desire is not shared by all the educated sections, nor does it extend to the vast majority of the Indian peoples, who would prefer things to remain as they are. Further, we are of opinion that the radical administrative changes which are being so strenuously advocated will not conduce either to the happiness of the people or to the future peace and tranquillity of the country.

"A full measure of popular Government has been claimed partly because the attractive ideal of equal partnership in the British Commonwealth has captured the imagination of educated Indians and partly for the reason that Government by the people is considered by them as a condition precedent to such equal partnership. We desire to point out that we are one of the communities of India, and as much interested in the welfare of the country as any of the other communities, and just as anxious that India should worthily fill the proud position of a co-partner in any scheme of Imperial reconstruction, but we consider that the true interests of India will be best advanced and safeguarded by extending gradually the system of Provincial Self-Government, care being taken that the essentially British character of the administration is retained. We are among those who believe that the political problems of India will be best solved in the course of the natural development of the country and not by any drastic changes."

"A second proposal is that the strength of the Legislative Councils should be substantially increased. We agree that there should be an increase, but consider it should be limited in extent. Provision for the regular representation of the Domiciled European and Anglo-Indian Community and of the other educated minorities and important interests that are at present unrepresented should be made in any revision of the constitution of the Legislative Councils. We strongly urge that such representation should be based on the elective principle.

"Another proposal is that half the number of appointments on the Executive Councils should be reserved for Indians and that such appointments should be made by election. Apart from the serious objection that election not infrequently results in the exclusion of the best men, we desire to point out that it is an accepted principle of good government that no executive functionary should be appointed by popular election. We deprecate any departure from this principle."

"We were anxious to avoid bringing forward any matter relating exclusively to our own community, but, as we have reason to believe that the question of reserving a larger share for Indians of the administrative positions in Government service is likely to bulk largely in the appeals to be submitted by the various Indian communities, we feel it right to invite attention to the very limited extent to which qualified Anglo-Indians are now admitted to the more responsible administrative posts under the Indian Government, and in the Indian Railways which are so largely the property of Government.

"We have no hesitation in affirming that neither the British character of the administration nor the standard of efficiency in the departments concerned will suffer

by a larger proportion of promotions being made from the subordinate to the superior grades, and from the superior to the higher administrative posts."

B.—At Calcutta.

27.—THE BENGAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

This Chamber was established in 1834. The deputation was headed by Sir Hugh Bray (President) and Sir Archy Birkmire (Vice-President).

"The Bengal Chamber of Commerce is a body of merchants, manufacturers, bankers and shipowners, engaged in commerce and industry in this Presidency, and in the Provinces of Assam, and Bihar and Orissa; many of us have branches also in the chief cities of India. For upwards of 80 years our constant endeavour has been to safeguard the interests of this community, and to promote and to extend their trade. There is no need to dwell here upon the magnitude of these interests. It will suffice to say that the great bulk of the manufacturing industries, and of the import and export trade of the three provinces named, is subject to the control of the members of the Chamber to an extent which is possibly hardly appreciated outside the three provinces. It is upon this ground that the Chamber base their claim to be heard in any discussion affecting the fabric of the administration.

"Such a body as we represent does not take only a narrow and prejudiced view of public questions; nor is it only concerned with the safeguarding of its own particular interests; on the contrary, it is deeply concerned with the welfare of the country as a whole. The interests of the European merchant in India are, and must be, identical with the interests of the people. It is to his advantage that they should be prosperous, and it is to their advantage that his trading operations should flourish. If this be admitted, it follows that the relationship between the administration and the industrial and commercial interests of the country is of primary importance in considering the question of constitutional reform.

"It is not the intention of the Chamber to attempt to suggest measures in the way of constitutional or other reform which would sweep away all difficulties, and replace the existing by a more satisfactory system. They are conscious of the great complexity of the task of administering a vast country such as India; and they fully realise that under any system of administration there must be, and inevitably will be, dangers and difficulties. But what they fear is that amid the clamour of political parties for a large share in the administration, the claims of the commercial community may be overlooked."

In an appended Memorandum it is observed that Government had not given any indication of its own views, and therefore must be assumed to be ready to consider with an open mind the claims of every class of the community. But the only proposals at present put forward were those advanced by certain Indian politicians. Under these proposals the European commercial community would apparently exercise even less influence than at present.

"But the members of the Chamber would not have it thought that they are opposed to the aspirations of their Indian fellow-subjects, nor that they are entirely opposed to changes on the ground that the results might be unfavourable to commercial interests. They are, however, opposed to immediate experiments on a large scale that might mean large disaster, and to making too rapidly further experiments before the effect of those already made can be judged. If there must be immediate further changes now, then, they say, confine them to the field of local self-government; any increase in the powers of the Legislative Councils would be premature until their representative character has been extended and made real, and this advance is only possible when in villages, towns, and districts the people have been associated in an efficient and effective manner with the management of the local affairs.

"The great flaw in those institutions of local self-government which now exist is that they are not financially independent. The local boards derive their scanty resources from the district boards and the district boards from the local Government, which is in its turn dependent on an arbitrary arrangement with the Government of

India. A real training in self-government cannot begin until each local body from the village union upwards raises the money which it spends.

"The Chamber are not prepared to say that these institutions are fit for financial independence, but if the experiment must be made they say, make it first on the existing local bodies or even create new units for the purpose. They are of opinion that until a complete readjustment of Indian finance has been effected, no genuine progress can be made towards self-government."

But they felt bound to express their strong feeling as to the unfitness of the present time for introducing changes. They deprecated the grant of further instalments of change "as a guarantee of good faith" before it could be judged how each innovation turned out, and regarded the Morley-Minto reforms, the changes recommended by the Decentralisation Commission, and the recommendations of the Public Services Commission as furnishing "ample subjects for the attention of Government and adequate scope for political energy." At any rate, the war should be finished before far-reaching internal changes were considered. But if it were still insisted that, in spite of lack of evidence that any but a small body of men desired innovations or that there was any need for them, a further instalment should be made, that ought to be "a real one, one that will bring home to those concerned the nature of the responsibilities they are supposed to be anxious to assume—a realisation that self-government means a suppression of selfish interest for the good of the Commonwealth wherever the two are not identical."

28.—BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION, CALCUTTA.

This is an Association of Bengal Zemindars, established in 1851 to promote the interests of the landholding community and establish satisfactory relationship between landlords and tenants. The deputation was headed by the President, the Maharajahdhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan. They were in favour of some advances towards self-government, but advocated extreme caution, as they doubted whether the existing form of Government in any self-governing colony was suitable to Indian needs. They suggested certain lines along which advance might be made. Thus there might be a second Indian Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, but, in their opinion, no necessity had yet arisen for increasing the size of Provincial Executive Councils, and they would not at present alter the method of appointing Members of these Councils, Imperial or Provincial. The Imperial Legislative Council should be slightly extended to make it more representative and should include two landholders from Bengal, and a similar increase in the Provincial Council was suggested as suitable, with a special representation of landholders by two members per division. They favoured a slightly restricted power of veto in regard to resolutions and Bills passed by Provincial Councils with a final veto by the Governor-General. They asked for provincial financial autonomy, and considered that control over administrative departments should gradually be given to Legislative Councils. They were opposed to the abolition of the Secretary of State's Council, but would reduce both the number and the term of office of its Members. They were opposed to placing the Secretary of State's salary on the British estimates. In the sphere of Local Government, they suggested a wider extension of the elective principle, and a separate Zemindar's electorate for district and local boards. Other recommendations dealt with the proportion of Indians in the administrative services and other matters not strictly constitutional.

The Association welcomed the announcement of the 20th August:—

"The ideal, which is now held up to the people of India, is one that strongly appeals to the patriotism of every Indian and does credit to the generosity of the great, freedom-loving British nation. The goal is, however, a distant one, and though at first sight it may appear to be difficult of attainment, the devastating world-war and the part which India, as an integral portion of the great British Empire, has played, have helped to clear a mass of misunderstanding and incontestably established India's unswerving attachment and allegiance to the British sceptre and smoothed

the way for the introduction of a larger leaven of popular influence in the administration of this country. The latter-day achievements of Indian administrators, aided by the popular assemblies of some of the advanced Protected States of India, by the introduction of universal primary education, free and compulsory, by the separation of judicial and executive functions in the public services of those States, and by effecting social reforms by legislation, furnish object-lessons testifying to the efficacy of introducing in a substantially larger measure the popular element in the administration of the country. It may be safely hoped that autonomous provincial Governments, in which the popular element will figure largely, can achieve the same advancement in the different provinces where the aforesaid reforms have not as yet advanced beyond the stage of academic discussions. A foreign Government can with ease bring about social reforms by legislation, if it is backed by the support of a preponderating Indian element in the administrative machinery of the country. The Council reforms introduced in 1909 have yielded satisfactory results, as has been admitted by the governing authorities both in England and in India. And the time and circumstances at present are peculiarly favourable for devising schemes for another stride in advance towards the ultimate goal of self-government within the Empire. It cannot, however, be denied that the condition of India is so peculiar that it is gravely to be doubted whether any of the various forms of government prevailing in self-governing countries could be introduced here without material modifications. Here, as has been the case in all other countries, freedom must 'slowly broaden down from precedent to precedent,' and it would be neither possible nor perhaps profitable to attempt anything like a forecast of the form of government that may have to be ultimately set up in order to ensure the realisation of the ideal of a responsible Government."

29.—THE CALCUTTA TRADES' ASSOCIATION.

This Association was established in 1830 to secure the mutual benefit and protection of the interests of European shopkeepers and tradesmen in Calcutta. All respectable European tradesmen or shopkeepers or senior assistants are qualified for membership. In a Memorandum of seven pages the Association expressed much the same views as the Chamber of Commerce (No. 27), but criticised in stronger terms the Memorandum of the Nineteen Members (as "unsuitable for India for very many decades to come") and the Congress-League Scheme. These suggestions (like those made in Mr. Gokhale's Memorandum) "would, if adopted, have the effect of subtly sapping the supremacy of British rule in India."

"It is submitted that the proposals put forward by certain Indian politicians are illusory, fallacious, and utterly impracticable. They assert that they do not contemplate the removal of British protection from India, but only the power to control, in an age of keen and armed international competition, the entire Government and Administration of this vast Dependency, and they ask that this should be effected on the lines which obtain in Canada, Australia and South Africa. The Association confidently submits that there is absolutely no resemblance nor analogy between the peoples of India and the peoples of the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of Canada and the Union of South Africa. In India the moral, social and domestic customs of the people, their religions, caste systems, languages, types of worship, religious symbolisms and marriage customs, all represent conditions and planes of civilisation totally different from those of the three constitutions whose pattern of Government it is claimed should be taken as furnishing that on which the Government of India should be reconstituted."

The Association maintained that "to introduce self-government into India would be to subject the masses to the rule of an oligarchy, and under existing circumstances such an oligarchy as would sacrifice the interest of the people to its own. Self-government to be successful must develop from within." But it expressed general agreement with the declarations of Government as to the goal of British policy in India. Provincial Legislative Councils should be (not enlarged, but) reconstituted so as to make them representative of wider interests: thus some official

members should be replaced by non-official Europeans and Anglo-Indians. It was possible that further power might under a carefully considered scheme be entrusted to Legislative Councils; but this should depend on the development of local self-government, which must be made the first sphere of advance.

30.—THE ANGLO-INDIAN ASSOCIATION.

This Association was established in 1876 to advance the interests of the Anglo-Indian community, domiciled persons of pure European descent, and persons of mixed European and Indian descent. The community is understood to number about 300,000.

The address expressed much the same views as that of the affiliated "Domiciled Community and Anglo-Indian Federation" (No. 26), but made the suggestion, not previously offered, of "some direct representation" (in Legislative Councils) "of the vast agricultural classes by the nomination of district officers whose work has been among the people, and who are in sympathetic touch with them as no others are." A plea was advanced for the special consideration of Anglo-Indians in connection with the policy of the extended association of Indians with the administration.

"We feel strongly that the advance towards self-government, based upon representative institutions, must not outrun the political capacity of the peoples of India, and that it will not do to let the pace be set by a small minority whose education has given them political ideals which to the people at large are and must long remain simply inconceivable. There is a widespread feeling that the immediate grant of a large measure of 'Home Rule' would mean handing over the Government of India to a class representing only a small minority of the peoples of India, and that the effect would be to exchange government by a bureaucracy, which is at any rate disinterested and efficient, for government by a bureaucracy that would be neither disinterested nor efficient. It would be a disaster of the first magnitude to make in politics a mistake analogous to that which has been made in the matter of University education, the mistake of beginning at the top, with the result that University education is now paralysed owing to the inability of the secondary schools to provide it with proper material. What is wanted is the energetic continuance and improvement of the political education of the people of all classes by means of existing institutions: panchayats, district boards, co-operative societies, municipalities, and legislative councils; and it is only through the active participation of the different classes of society in the working of these institutions that the ideals of representation and self-government can be safely made the goal of political endeavour. The attempt to advance towards these political ideals means a great change from the existing order of things, and we agree with Mr. Ramsay Macdonald that it cannot be made in its fulness in a day or a year."

31.—THE CENTRAL NATIONAL MUHAMMADAN ASSOCIATION.

This Association was established in Calcutta in 1877 for the political and general advancement of Muhammadans, particularly in matters of education.

"We, and a large body of the Muhammadans of India, would have preferred to wait for constitutional reforms until the end of the war, as we have implicit confidence that Great Britain would, in due course, grant to the Indians such measure of political and administrative advancement as the circumstances of the country and the varied conditions of her divers nationalities and creeds and interests might admit of. And aware as we are of the uniformly progressive policy of Great Britain, no assurance was needed for us from His Majesty's Government that the goal of British policy in India is the gradual attainment, by safe and steady steps, of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. All the same, as loyal subjects, we welcome the announcement of this policy by the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India on the 20th August last, and its detailed enunciation by His Excellency

the Viceroy on the 5th September last. But we earnestly and confidently hope and trust that whatever substantial steps are taken, now or hereafter, towards the gradual attainment of the above goal, Moslem rights and interests will be effectively and amply safeguarded, and never lost sight of. We would respectfully insist that the following cardinal principles may be kept in view in any scheme of political reconstruction, namely:—(1) the maintenance intact of the stability of the British control over India, and (2) the allotment to Indian Mussalmans of due share in the aforesaid substantial steps, whatever they might be, not only according to their numerical strength, but also according to their political importance and to their contribution to the defence of the Empire."

In an eight-page Memorandum appended, suggestions were offered for constitutional changes, and for fuller recognition of Muhammadan claims in the administrative and the public services.

They approved of an increase in the strength of provincial legislatures and of a proportion of three-fourths elected to one-fourth nominated members. Their claims in the matter of Moslem representation compare with the Congress-Moslem League Scheme as follows:—

	Association.	Congress.
Bihar	25	25
Punjab	55	50
Bengal	52	40
United Provinces	35	30
Madras	15	15
Bombay	33	33

while they also fixed proportions for areas not included in the Congress Scheme, viz., Assam, Burma, Sind and Central Provinces. They would reserve the same Budget heads as the Congress for the Imperial Government and hand over all other heads to Provincial Governments. They would, however, retain the head of the Province as the President of the Provincial Council.

In regard to Executive Councils they were opposed to the election of members of Executive Councils, and demanded that half the Indian members should be Moslems.

The Imperial Legislative Council should be increased, and the proportion of elected members should be as in Provincial Councils, but the nominated members should all be Europeans, official and non-official. Among elected members there should be five Hindus to four Moslems.

Like the United Provinces Moslem Defence Association (No. 12), this organisation claimed a fixed proportion of Moslem representation on all local bodies and universities, but further demanded the same proportion of posts in the administrative services as of seats in the Legislative Councils.

"Fully recognising that the development of India must proceed upon the mutual goodwill and tolerant co-operation of the two great component elements in the Indian population, your memorialists feel it absolutely necessary that these two component elements should be equally strengthened, educationally, politically, and materially, and freed from religious prejudices and social and racial animosities, in order to constitute a healthy and progressive composite whole. Your memorialists are not prepared to say that such a millennial point in the destiny of India has yet arrived; and, therefore, your memorialists hope and trust that you will not treat the suggestions that they have offered in the foregoing paragraphs as the outcome of a spirit of ungenerous racial or religious rivalry, but as prompted by an honest and sincere desire to ensure the protection of the interests of the loyal Indian Musalmans as well as to assure the uninterrupted future advancement of India as a whole, by sure and steady steps, towards the goal of self-government within the British Empire. Ever since the disappearance of the Timuride dynasty, the Indian Moslems have transferred their whole-hearted allegiance to the British Crown, and England to-day, in their eyes, stands in the place of the "Great Moghuls," as the protector of their rights and the upholder of their privileges. For England now to place the Indian Moslems, without proper, definite, and ample safeguards, under the heels of a hostile non-Moslem majority, would, your humble memorialists venture respectfully to submit, be a cruel act of breach of faith and violation of trust."

32.—BENGAL NATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

This Chamber was established in 1887 to protect the industrial, commercial and political interests of Indian traders. The Address gave general support to the Congress-League Scheme; but laid special stress on the development of local self-government, and urged the advisability of granting increased representation in Legislative Councils to important interests such as those of land and commerce and the necessity of giving due representation to the Indian commercial community in all Councils, Imperial and Provincial, Executive and Legislative, which should be partially effected by the creation of new Ministries of Commerce and Industry, and of Agriculture and Fishery assisted by Boards.

"While fully realising all the benefits accruing from the progress made in the import and export trade, we regard with deep concern our dependence on foreign countries for various necessities of life, and strongly feel that the economic condition of the country cannot be materially improved, and its natural resources, mineral and agricultural, properly developed, unless the people are helped to take a more active part in the development of the commerce and industries of the country."

"We respectfully suggest that the noble edifice of self-government should be broad-based on a solid foundation, and in that view the time-honoured village unions should be revived and remodelled according to the requirements of the modern conditions of life and established all over the country and made self-governing institutions, vested with powers to administer local affairs and to impose taxes under the guidance and supervision of District Boards, which should be constituted mainly with elected representatives of the unions of the district. The District Board should have administrative powers in all matters relating to sanitation, provision of medical relief, supply of pure drinking water, irrigation, proper supply and improvement of cattle, primary, and secondary education, general as well as technical, including agricultural, commercial and industrial education, and construction and maintenance of communications in the district. The whole amount of Road and Public Works cesses and a portion of the provincial revenue derived from other sources should be placed at their disposal, and they should have power to impose taxes with the sanction of the local Government."

33.—THE INDIAN ASSOCIATION, CALCUTTA.

This Association, established in 1876 for the attainment of political advancement, consists mainly of Bengal professional men.

"You, Sir, have communicated a message of hope and sympathy to the people of India whose healing effects are visible on all sides and which when realised will render indissoluble the ties that bind India to the Empire. For self-government is and will always be the cement of Imperial rule. You, Sir, have proclaimed to the people of India from your place in Parliament that responsible government is the end and aim of British rule in India, that it is to be attained by progressive stages, and that a substantial advance in that direction is to be made as soon as possible. The message has been received with gratitude and enthusiasm by our countrymen throughout India, and we are here to-day to offer our humble suggestions as to how this beneficent message may be carried out with advantage to the interests in India and of the Empire. We desire to suggest that whatever parliamentary legislation may be deemed necessary to give effect to the constitutional changes that will be introduced, it should be specifically stated therein that responsible government is the end and aim of British rule in India, so that those entrusted with official responsibility in India may be fully aware of the goal to which their activities must lead and the policy which they should follow to quicken the pace towards that goal. Uniformity in administrative methods and procedure would thus be secured, and through the joint co-operation of all the goal would be sooner reached than if official effort were left without the guidance and stimulus of a dominating policy or principle. In the next place, we venture to suggest that provincial autonomy should be the basis of the coming constitutional reforms. This measure of reform was announced in the third paragraph of the Despatch of the Government of India of the 25th August 1911. The mist that surrounded the object and intention of that paragraph has now

cleared away; and history will record that the interpretation which you, Sir, were the first to put upon it in your Cambridge speech soon after the publication of the Despatch is the right one. Provincial autonomy means and was intended to mean in the Despatch referred to, the government of the province by the people of the province. But there can be no provincial autonomy without the fiscal independence of the provinces. The present financial arrangements subsisting between the Government of India and the Provincial Governments must therefore undergo a thorough revision."

The Address followed the lines of the Congress-League scheme, but made no mention of separate representation for minorities. The Association dwelt at some length on the necessity of making any extension of the principle of responsible government complete in itself and free from official restrictions, arguing that complete responsibility would call forth a determination to make the system a success, while incomplete responsibility would fail to evoke any such response. The Association proposed a system of Cabinet Government under a minister occupying much the same position as the Prime Minister in England, and to facilitate the introduction of this system it proposed the readjustment of Provincial areas with a view to constituting homogeneous provinces, the Bengali-speaking portions of Bihar, Orissa, and Assam to be united to Bengal. A scheme of local self-government applicable to Bengal formed an appendix to the Address.

34.—THE MARWARI ASSOCIATION, CALCUTTA.

This Association was formed in 1898 to protect the commercial interests of the Marwari trading community. Any Marwari who has never filed an insolvency schedule is eligible for membership.

This Association did not attempt to put forward any scheme of reforms, but called special attention to the needs of the community which it represented, and made a claim for its special representation in all representative institutions, asserting that this claim was based on no spirit of communal aggrandisement, but on the interests of the country as a whole. The Association supported its own claim by advocating separate representation for all important interests. In the matter of constitutional reform the Association considered that Legislative Councils should be enlarged and their powers increased, and supported a policy of decentralisation. They would enlarge Executive Councils and give half the membership to Indians. The Executive and Judicial functions should be separated, education widely diffused, the restrictions on the bearing of arms modified, and local self-government greatly extended. State aid in every form and to the most liberal extent should be given to industries agriculture, &c.

"The Association fully realises that the ultimate goal can be reached only by successive stages of development, and in submitting its humble suggestions as to the first step in that direction it naturally desires to draw attention to the needs and problems of the Marwari community. The members of this community have settled down in all parts of India, almost in every city, town and village, having a most important share in trade and commerce and having extensive movable and immovable property. Although, accordingly, the Marwaris have great and permanent interests in British India, those interests have been allowed hardly any public representation, because the Marwaris have been scattered and are in the minority everywhere in India.

"The Association respectfully prays for adequate representation of the Marwari community in all the representative institutions of Government, and urges that in making such a prayer the Association is not moved by a spirit of communal aggrandisement, but by the feeling that the interests of the community constantly suffer and that the country's interests also suffer by the Marwaris being hampered in rendering their services to the fullest extent. The Association is constrained to say that the interests of the Marwari community are in many respects of such a special character that they cannot properly be represented by members of other communities. The Association further begs to point out that it is eminently desirable that all the different important interests of the community should be properly represented."

35.—THE BENGAL MAHAJANA SABHA.

This Association, consisting of Bengal business men, merchants, and traders, was founded in 1905 for the promotion and advancement of the trade, commerce, and industries of Bengal.

The Sabha considered that any advance towards self-government must be made with caution, but that the time had come to begin such an advance. Their suggestions involved extensive changes, but they showed themselves more conservative than the advanced politicians. They advocated a system of provincial autonomy under Governors (in the major provinces), with Executive Councils consisting of six members, three European officials and three Indians, who should be appointed by the Governor-General, after suggestions had been invited from representative bodies. Legislative Councils should be enlarged and should have a two-thirds elected element and one-third nominated. They should be made representative of wider interests than at present, and important minorities should have special representation. The Governor should have an absolute right of veto subject to the right of the Council to claim a reference to the Governor-General. If a system of provincial autonomy were given effect to, then the Governor-General's Executive Council shall be reduced to a membership of six, including two Indian Members. The Imperial Legislative Council should be enlarged to a membership of 125 and should consist of three-fifths elected and two-fifths nominated members. The Sabha advocated a wide extension of local self-government, including the organisation of village communities and a large increase in the popular element in local and district boards.

"The visit of the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India in response to the invitation of the large-hearted statesman to whom has been committed the sacred charge of the destinies of the teeming millions of India, marks an important epoch in the national history of India. The Sabha had throughout been disposed to suspend our demands for reforms until the termination of the frightful war which is devastating Europe lest it might be a source of embarrassment to the Home Government, but the march of events leading to this memorable visit has been unexpectedly quick.

"The loyalty and devotion of India to England have, in the language of no less an authority than the Viceroy himself, been 'splendid' and have fortunately survived the onslaught made upon them by some prophets of evil. It is gratifying that, animated by a genuine desire for uplifting the Indians, British statesmen should be seriously contemplating to elevate India to a position of trust, equality and comradeship.

"The Council reforms of 1909 have had a fair trial and their success has naturally quickened the pulsation of national life. The success of Indian administrators in some advanced Native States in India, with the assistance of popular assemblies, has also tended to stimulate a desire for nationalising the administration of India. The Sabha ventures to submit that the time has come for making an early attempt to reach the goal of self-government under the ægis of the British Crown."

"The necessity and importance of the 'admission of Indians in steadily increasing proportion to the higher grades of public services and departments and to more responsible posts in the administration generally' has been fully recognised by the Viceroy. It is obvious that this beneficent policy will go far to conciliate public opinion and to disarm much of the ungenerous opposition which has been provoked by the present system of centralisation of power. Testimony to the ability, integrity and independence of Indians as high judicial officers has always been glowing. Half of the number of Judges of the High and Small Cause Courts should be recruited from the ranks of Indian barristers, vakils, solicitors and Indian District and Sessions and senior Subordinate Judges.

"In the Executive Service deserving and able members of the Provincial Civil Service should be more frequently and widely called upon to take charge of the districts. There is no doubt that India is a great producer of raw materials. It is time that proper facilities should be given for reviving her decadent industries. This cannot be done without some measure of wholesome State protection."

36.—THE BENGAL PRESIDENCY MOSLEM LEAGUE.

This League was established in 1912 to protect the political and other rights and interests of Bengal Muhammadans and to promote concord and harmony with other communities. The League accepted the Congress-Moslem League Scheme of Reforms, but put forward certain additional proposals with the object of protecting Moslem interests. They claimed representation based not on their numerical strength but on their political importance. They demanded that half the Indian members of the Bengal Executive Council should be Muhammadans, that if any departments were handed over to responsible Ministers half of these Ministers should be Muhammadans, and further that in all branches of the public services Muhammadans should hold not less than 50 per cent. of the posts. Their community should also receive special representation on local bodies, special educational facilities, and half the number of seats on District Advisory Councils, the establishment of which they recommended.

"The task of formulating a scheme of constitutional reforms for the government of a country like India is so complicated and beset with so many conflicting problems that the suggestions we put forward may not be free from defects; but we know that the great people in whose hands Providence has entrusted the destinies of the various races inhabiting this great country will not allow the interests of any community to suffer merely by reason of the inability of its representatives to put forward its claims in an adequate and effective manner. This is particularly the case with our community, whose appearance in the field of politics has been recent, and the majority of whose members cannot claim that experience, foresight and judgment which are essential to a successful solution of political problems. We fully appreciate the privilege accorded to us of presenting a scheme on behalf of the Muhammadan community, but we venture to leave the interests of the community entirely in your hands in any scheme of construction which may be decided upon for the future government of this country.

"Realising as we do that your visit, Sir, to this country has solely been in connection with the question of constitutional reforms, we have necessarily confined ourselves to submitting a scheme for your consideration; but we nevertheless beg to take this opportunity of assuring you, and through you our august Sovereign, of the unswerving loyalty of the Mussulman community. We have no doubt that the great British people will continue to have confidence in the proved loyalty of the Mussalmans of India, and their firm resolve to stand by the Empire in the present crisis."

37.—THE INDIAN MOSLEM ASSOCIATION.

This Association was formed in 1917, with the same objects as the Bengal Presidency Moslem League (No. 36), by members of that body who did not agree with the policy of supporting the Congress Reform Scheme. Thus, while the address was accompanied by a scheme of reforms based on the Congress-League Scheme, this contained variations unacceptable to the Congress.

The Association proposed that the proportion of elected to nominated members in the Legislative Councils should be two to one, that *one half* of the elected members should be Moslems, and that in the Provincial Councils a certain number of Moslems should also hold seats by nomination. They approved of special representation for other minorities and would retain the Governor-General and Provincial Governors as Presidents of the Councils.

For Provincial Executive Councils they recommended six members in major provinces, including three Indians, of whom *two* should be Moslems, and four members in minor provinces, of whom two should be Indians, one being a Moslem. The members of these Councils should be appointed by the head of the Province. On the Viceroy's Executive Council they claim two seats for Moslems out of a total of four seats reserved for Indians. They would not debar members of the permanent services from holding office as Members of Council, but would insist on one Member of Council in major provinces and two members of the Viceroy's Council being appointed from the ranks of public men in the United Kingdom. They added certain demands regarding Indian Secretaries and Under Secretaries in the Government of India and

Provincial Governments, and the proportion of them which should be Moslems. Another new proposal was that the Secretary of State should be assisted by four Under Secretaries, one of whom should always be a Moslem.

The Address and Memorandum were generally similar to those of the United Provinces Moslem Defence Association (No. 12).

"While opposing complete Home Rule for India, for which, as you observed in the House of Commons in the course of your speech on the 12th July last, there is no genuine or widespread demand in India, the Indian Muslim Association does not deprecate the eventual establishment of responsible government in the country by a process of cautious and gradual evolution. It does not desire to lend its support to any reforms which are revolutionary or in advance of the times, nor does it want to move at a pace which will defer the realisation of the ultimate goal by defeating the assimilation and adaptation of each successive stage of development to the existing conditions of this country which vary from place to place and community to community.

"The Indian Muslim Association has in its scheme been guided by one predominant principle, namely, how to safeguard the interests of Mussalmans, as it does not believe in the much-proclaimed unity between Muslims and Hindus. Indeed, while deploring the existence of the present state of things, it goes so far as to assert that in the existing backward condition of the majority of Hindus and Muslims, with their divergent creeds, castes, institutions and clashing interests, the differences which separate the Hindu from the Muslim cannot but be reflected in their dealings and relations with each other and entail a fresh cause of alienation and bitterness. Contemporary history is full of such incidents, and no careful observer will be deluded by the deceptive unanimity of the National Congress and the Muslim League, which is merely one of the symptoms of Muslim dissatisfaction and discontent dating from the 12th of December 1911, and not a sign of the dawn of national unity or intercommunal amity. Indeed the ink of the compact of fraternity itself has been washed away by the blood of the victim of the Bakri-Id riots at Arrah and the Ram Lila-Moharrum disturbances at Allahabad.

"The Indian Muslim Association deems it its duty to point out that it does not agree to the wisdom of any catastrophic changes likely to weaken the permanence and stability of British rule in India, upon the broad foundations of which rest all our hopes and aspirations of constitutional and administrative progress."

38.—THE SYLHET PEOPLE'S ASSOCIATION.

This Association supported the Congress-League Scheme, but put in the forefront of their Address the contention that Sylhet should be transferred from Assam to Bengal.

"That a 'final' readjustment of provincial boundaries 'satisfactory to all' being the ultimate goal of the policy enunciated in the memorable Despatch of the Government of India of August 1911, your memorialists pray that you will be graciously pleased to inaugurate such reforms in Bengal as would place the entire Bengali-speaking population, including Sylhet, under one and the same administrative unit and thereby confer on the people of Sylhet the opportunity of sharing with their brethren in Bengal the progressive realisation of responsible government in India. That in the alternative, i.e., in case your memorialists' legitimate aspiration for re-union with the people of Bengal be found impossible of fulfilment at present, your memorialists beg to submit the accompanying scheme of reforms in the administration of Assam which, they hope and trust, will be given effect to by legislative enactments or by such other means as may be deemed necessary."

The scheme for Assam asked for a Governor-in-Council, the Executive to be controlled by the Legislature (75, four-fifths of whom should be elected).

39.—ASSAM ASSOCIATION.

The Assam Association endorsed the Congress-League Scheme as the "first minimum instalment of reforms," and described its application to Assam, the Legislative Council of which should have at least 50 members, four-fifths elected. Indian civilians should not ordinarily be appointed to the Governorship or Executive Council.

"We greatly appreciate the suggestion that the goal of British administration in India is to make the Indian provinces self-governing units and with them and the great self-governing dominions and principalities to make the British Empire a series of self-governing provinces and principalities federated by one central Government; and that the Government of India should be remodelled on modern lines by gradually giving the people greater control of their executive and by substituting responsibility in India for responsibility at home."

40.—ANJUMAN-TAYIDI ISLAM, JORHAT, ASSAM.

This Muhammadan Association adopted the memorandum of the Nineteen Members, and submitted a scheme for Assam. The Legislative Council of 50 should be four-fifths elected, half of the elected Indian members being Muhammadans elected by special Muhammadan electorates. Muhammadans should obtain at least one-third of service appointments in the province reserved to Indians.

41.—ANJUMAN-I-SABELE ISLAMIA, GAUHATI, ASSAM.

This body did not submit an actual scheme, but its representation was practically identical with that of No. 40. It asked that in all local self-government institutions in the Assam Valley 30 per cent. of the seats should be reserved for Muhammadans.

42.—THE BURMESE COMMUNITY OF BURMA IN GENERAL, THE BURMESE MERCHANTS' ASSOCIATION AND THE CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES OF BURMA IN PARTICULAR.

Representatives of the Co-operative Credit Societies of Burma submitted a separate address, but their deputation asked to be received jointly with that of the Burmese Merchants' Association (which claimed to speak on behalf of the whole Burmese community), and the proposals of both deputations were practically similar. They both asked that Burma should be separated from India. They claimed government by a Governor, assisted by an Executive Council, half the members of which should be Burmans. They also advocated the establishment of a Legislative Council, with a 50 per cent. proportion of Burmese members. They did not suggest that the Executive should be under the control of the Legislature. Both Associations advocated the establishment of local boards, but in somewhat different forms. The general community suggested advisory, divisional and district boards with an elected membership. They would leave the administration of village affairs to an elected circle Thugyi. The co-operative societies went further than this, suggesting district and village boards, which should, in the first instance, be consultative only, but later should be given executive functions in the sphere of revenue collection, general administration, education, &c. Both addresses touched on various other matters not strictly relevant to the present enquiry.

(a) BURMESE MERCHANTS' ASSOCIATION, &c.

"Burma at the present time is, happily, singularly free from the unrest and disquietude which are causing so much anxiety to the Indian Government. In religion,

in habits, in language and in custom your petitioners differ materially from the people of India. Your petitioners apprehend that after the present world-wide war there is bound to be an influx of Indians into this country and deem it desirable to solicit measures to prevent the introduction of Indian element, leaving Burma for the Burmans in the administration of their province. Half at least of the high officials in all the departments of the service should be recruited from the Burmese members of the Imperial and Provincial Services and from the Burmese Members of the Bar."

The scheme appended (briefly summarised above) included suggestions that half the judges of the Burma High Court should be Burmans recruited from the Bar and the Judicial Service, and that on any Council of the British Empire Burma should be "represented in a manner identical with the other self-governing units of the Empire."

(b) CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT SOCIETIES.

This Address also asked for the separation of Burma from India.

"Your petitioners further pray that all responsible posts under the British Government in all Departments may be filled solely by the appointment of men of British birth or of indigenous inhabitants of Burma. Your petitioners further pray that in the case of all officials in the country of British birth and not indigenous inhabitants thereof arrangements may be made for them to possess a more complete knowledge of the Burmese language than they have at present, so that they may conduct their duties on terms of close intercourse and friendship with the people of the country. Your petitioners are confident that when the separation of Burma from India has been effected and a separate Governor has been appointed by the King-Emperor and the indigenous inhabitants of Burma have been associated with him in the administration, it will be possible to secure a great development of the country in connection with the Buddhist religion, the spread of education, the expansion of industries, agriculture and trade, the promotion of co-operation and the annual collections of land revenue."

43.—THE YOUNG MEN'S BUDDHIST ASSOCIATIONS OF BURMA.

The Young Men's Buddhist Association has numerous branches in the larger towns of the province and includes many of the better educated and more progressive members of the Burmese community. Its activities have till recently been mainly concerned with religion, morals and education. It submitted no formal address, but merely a summary of the points which it desired to discuss. These followed very much the same lines as the proposals of the other Burmese delegates (No. 42).

"The situation created by the Indian demand for responsible self-government has necessitated action on our part to safeguard the interests of the Buddhist population of Burma, in so far as those interests are menaced or likely to be menaced by the march of events on this side of the Bay of Bengal. Ours is not a political organisation; our associations, in approximately 50 of the leading towns, were established in order to look after the religious, educational and social needs of our co-religionists, and, during the past eleven years, our members, *qua* members, have not concerned themselves with constitutional and similar affairs. In the present crisis, however, we feel that our very existence as a distinct nation within the British Empire is jeopardised, and we have therefore sought, by way of self-defence, an opportunity to submit our conclusions and supplications, in the sole hope that every possible way of thinking will be taken into account ere the possibilities of to-day mature into the settled facts of to-morrow. For this purpose, we have received the assent and encouragement of a wide public, both religious and secular.

"In the forefront of our programme is a fervent prayer for the separation of Burma from India, and we submit that the reasons for such a step far outweigh any considerations as to advantage or expediency arising from the present wholly artificial union.

"In the first place we beg to point out, what is well known to everyone who has lived for any appreciable length of time in Burma, that the Burman nation is as dissimilar from the Indian peoples as any two nations, dwelling near each other, can possibly be. The diversity is not merely one of religion, but also of race, language,

traditions, art, ideals, laws and the whole fabric of the social system. We have no Hindu and Mahomedan problem such as looms large on the Indian horizon. Caste distinctions are unknown. Sex disabilities have never existed. Our women are fully emancipated and have always taken a prominent share in public, religious and social affairs; they enjoy the municipal franchise and are to be met with in trade, industries and agriculture. Moreover, the province is as nearly homogeneous as can be expected."

"It is not necessary for our argument to point to any grievances, either present or prospective, against India and Indians. We take pleasure in regarding Indians and all other races in the Empire as brothers who are one with us in spirit in our loyalty to the great Commonwealth of which all are members, but, at the same time, we foresee that our further participation in the Indian Empire will, more and more, as time goes on, inevitably result in the decision from a largely Indian standpoint of such problems as affect both India and Burma. We are not aware that any scheme which has yet been propounded for the future Government of India has definitely settled the type which the proposed federation of provinces should follow—whether the powers of the central Government are to be defined and limited and residual powers granted to the provinces or whether the provinces are merely to possess defined and limited powers while the rest is vested in the central Government. If the former, it seems hardly necessary to say that the scheme is fraught with danger and will give rise to numerous complications and differences. If the latter, Burma will have no security against the overriding of her peculiar interests by the Indian majority which it is sought to bring into being in the central Legislature. Both in England and in India most controversial topics relating to this country ultimately resolve themselves into questions of discord or accord between Hindus and Mahomedans, and no account is apparently taken of the ten million Buddhists dwelling in a compact body and forming all but the entire population of a single province."

"Then there is the important fact that, of all the provinces, Burma presents, the most promising conditions for the foundation of a future democratic Government under the guidance of statesmen from the British Isles. Buddhism is from first to last a democratic religion; our Great Teacher recognised no distinction between man and man or between man and woman. Under indigenous rule, there were only two estates of the realm—the Royal Family and the rest of the nation; the pauper of one day might displace a chief or a minister on the next. And to-day, we have no large landholders or zemindars; a peasant proprietary firmly established on the land is the most distinguishing feature of our body politic. To perpetuate the anomaly of tacking on such a country to the conglomeration of jarring interests such as are to be met with in India would not—we submit with all deference—add to the reputation for unrivalled statesmanship which is deservedly enjoyed by the British nation."

44.—NATIONAL KAREN ASSOCIATION, BURMA.

The Karens are racially distinct from the Burmese. At the last census they numbered somewhat over one million out of a total population of 12 millions. Many of them are Christians, and their views are naturally somewhat different from those of Burmans. Their Association considered that the province is not yet fit for self-government, and will still have to undergo a course of strenuous training under the present régime. They expressed a complete trust in the good faith of the British Government, and their one positive proposal was the grant of compulsory elementary education.

"Looking at the progress made by the peoples of Burma in all points, we the Karens of Burma are sensible that the country is not yet in a fit state for self-government. Burma is inhabited by many different races, differing in states of civilisation, differing in religion and social development; hence Burma will have still to undergo many years of strenuous training under British governance before this boon can be conferred upon it with security and success. Towards the attainment of this ideal compulsory elementary education is essential. From what has transpired in the past when injustice and despotism reigned supreme, the Karens of Burma do not clamour and agitate for the fruition of questionable political privileges and the ushering in of dubious historical eras. The history of our province indicates that it is in a state of transition still and as yet the benefits of free government are not quite fully appreciated."

45.—THE BURMA PROVINCIAL CONGRESS.

This deputation was understood to represent Indians in Burma (but *see also* No. 80), and was headed by a leading Hindu gentleman from Rangoon. It endorsed the Congress-League Scheme, made no reference to the peculiar conditions of Burma, and advanced no claim to speak for any section of Burmese.

"We rejoice that the time is not distant when the said declarations and pledges are going to be carried out in the spirit in which the said proclamation was conceived by our beloved Queen Empress the late Queen Victoria and the terms in which it was given out to the people of this country. In order that Indians may breathe a healthy atmosphere morally, mentally, and physically, and rise to the full height of their stature, it is highly essential that India should be raised from her present position of dependency of the Empire to the position of an equal partner thereof, with the same privileges and status that the British Colonies and Dominions are permitted to enjoy."

46.—THE EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION.

The European Association was founded in 1883 to represent the interests and promote the welfare of the non-official European community throughout India, and has a membership of about 8,000. The deputation, which was headed by Sir Archy Birkmyre (President), delivered a short address of welcome, and handed in a Memorandum on constitutional changes.

In this the Association, while stating its deliberate opinion that the grant of anything approaching self-government to India at present would be disastrous, favoured the introduction of certain reforms particularly in the direction of decentralisation and the spread of education. They claimed the right on behalf of the community which they represented to be fully consulted as to all contemplated changes and laid stress on their view that the real interests of Indians and Europeans are intrinsically the same. The Association did not put forward any scheme of reforms, but enunciated certain principles which should be observed in the preparation of any such scheme. It very strongly deprecated the publication of any reform proposals while the war continued, and it entered a protest against the method adopted for obtaining the views of the people whom any changes would chiefly affect. They demanded that a prolonged and exhaustive preliminary enquiry should be held and that any scheme which is formulated should be referred to India for enquiry and criticism. The Association claimed special representation in Legislative Councils for the European community as such, apart and distinct from any representation granted to mercantile or other interests, but left the extent of such representation to be decided when a general scheme is put forward. The Association would confine the scope of changes to—

- (1) development of local self-government;
- (2) development of Provincial Legislative Councils as advisory bodies with a view to training the members in affairs of State;
- (3) Provincial and local decentralisation.

They were not at present prepared to admit the necessity of enlarging Legislative Councils, but, if an increase were determined on, they considered that some method should be devised of granting real representation to the masses of the people. They were not in a position to suggest how the electorate could be broadened and the franchise extended, but they held that educational standards should not necessarily be regarded as the sole test. They advocated the preparation of comprehensive statistics to show how far elected members really represent the people, and laid stress on the necessity of requiring that elected members should have substantial interest in or actually reside in their constituencies. The Association considered that the Imperial Executive and Legislative Councils should remain as at present. Measures intended to secure larger representation of Indians in the services should be taken first in the provinces and should have regard to efficiency and departmental requirements. In conclusion they urged the necessity of retaining the British character of the Government and the supreme authority of the Governor-General in Council, and strongly opposed the grant to the Legislatures of control over the Executive Governments,

Provincial or Imperial, and the proposal that members of Executive Councils should be elected.

"The interests of the Indian peoples are so diverse, so readily in conflict, and presently so dependent upon ancient customs, that until the spread of education has given them some common ground to work upon, and some general principles to guide them, the idea of saddling them with the responsibility for a large share in the government of India necessarily appears wholly impracticable to those who know India and her peoples and their proportionate relations to the British and Colonial systems of government.

"The European Association desires to state, definitely and deliberately, its opinion that a grant of anything approaching self-government to India at the present time would be utterly disastrous to the real interests of the country and a grave injustice to her peoples. It would place the many of the lower castes under the heel of the few of the higher castes, and could only impair the British tradition in India, that tie between the British and Indian peoples to which the lower castes look for their ultimate emancipation, and by which alone the future advancement of India can best be secured.

"While it would be unreasonable to expect from the Indian peoples a ready readjustment to a sudden and sweeping change effected by a stroke of the pen as required by extreme politicians, they are ready for certain reforms, particularly decentralisation and the spread of education. These reforms the European Association wholeheartedly supports.

"Post-war conditions will require the greatest care and skill and foresight in the financing of the National and Imperial affairs of the British Empire including India. Any change which might entail the control of such finances in India passing into the hands of persons other than those most experienced in such matters could only have the most deplorable results, particularly in view of the fierce international industrial competition likely to ensue upon the resumption of trade under peace conditions."

"The interests of Europeans and of Indians, as a whole, are intrinsically the same. We all desire a sound and stable Government and the prosperity and contentment of the people. If the progressive realisation of responsible government in India is designed, as it should be, to secure these ends, it should proceed, not upon racial lines or with a view to placate any section of the community, but in such a way as to appeal to all classes of the body politic. While the European Association recognises that reforms at various points are desirable, it denies that any comprehensive reconstruction of the British administrative system in India is at present practicable. In this connection the European Association desires to refer briefly to the recent 'Home Rule' agitation. Generally, it wishes to emphasise that careful scrutiny will show that the desires of its promoters, though professing to be democratic, in substance are oligarchical in character, not only in respect of the numerical strength of the governing body, but also in regard to its extreme caste exclusiveness. The analogy which is drawn between India and other portions of the British Empire is false. All colonies upon which self-government has been conferred are peopled by inhabitants of European extraction, imbued with European customs and habits of thought, and it is to such peoples that self-government has been granted.

"There is absolutely no evidence that a numerical majority of Indians desire a change in the constitution, but on the contrary numbers are actually opposed to the grant of 'Home Rule.' It may very fairly be said that nine-tenths of the peoples of India are completely ignorant of all politics. Even the remaining one-tenth are not unanimous in their wishes."

47.—JOINT ADDRESS OF EUROPEANS AND INDIANS.

This Address was submitted by about 20 European and 30 Indian gentlemen who had conferred together "to consider means whereby effect can be given to the pronouncement of the 20th August." The deputation was headed by Mr. Pugh, a leading solicitor, and included the Maharajhiraja of Burdwan, Sir Krishna Gupta, Mr. P. C. Mitter and other leading barristers, and Mr. Arden Wood, Principal of La Martinière College. After a formal address, the deputation handed in a 15-page memorandum. In this a scheme was worked out depending on the initiation of

responsible government in areas smaller than the existing provinces of India. "During the period of transition Governments of two types will have to exist side by side," the powers not yet transferred to popular bodies being exercised by the existing provincial Governments. In each "provincial State," as the new areas were termed (Oudh being instanced as a suitable area), the largest electorates possible under existing conditions would be formed, and these should elect assemblies of from 45 to 75 members. The new Governments would be vested with certain functions (such as local self-government, primary education, roads, and bridges), which would be exercised by ministries appointed by the Chief Commissioner of the Provincial State from members of the Assembly. The other functions of government within these areas would remain with the existing provincial Governments, which would also exercise full control over the more backward parts of the provinces. After seven years (during which no change would be allowed) the whole system would be reviewed by a Commission reporting to the Secretary of State. Ultimately the provincial States would take over all the functions of the present provinces, and when the provincial States had obtained full responsible government a National Convention would be summoned "to devise a constitution under which the Government of India can be made responsible to an Indian Parliament and electorate."

The signatories were not committed to the details of this closely elaborated scheme (which is here very briefly summarised), but had all agreed to the following propositions:—

"We agree—

- "(1) to accept the pronouncement of the 20th of August as common ground, within the limits of which the discussion can take place;
- "(2) that, having accepted the pronouncement, we are not only free, but also bound to consider the new situation created thereby with open minds;
- "(3) that the existing provinces need not be assumed to be areas suitable as a basis for responsible government, but such areas must be settled at the moment when the first instalment of responsible government is granted;
- "(4) that the first steps towards responsible government cannot be taken in the sphere of the central Government;
- "(5) that, during the period of transition, Governments of two types must co-exist, the one responsible to electorates for specific powers, the other to the Secretary of State for all other powers; that the responsibility of each must in fact be a real one, and their powers must be sufficient to enable them to discharge that responsibility efficiently;
- "(6) that a share of the consolidated revenue of the province should be handed over to the Provincial State Governments, proportionate to the cost of the functions transferred to them; in addition to which should be handed over certain specific powers of taxation, such as would fall on the Provincial State electorate itself;
- "(7) that further additions to the powers of Provincial States, and to their share of existing provincial revenues, should be considered by Commissioners reporting direct to Parliament at intervals of, say, seven years, such interval to be specified at the outset; and that in the intervening periods no demand for further executive powers, or for a further share of existing revenues, should be entertained;
- "(8) that legislation passed by Provincial State Governments affecting commercial and industrial undertakings should be reserved for the sanction of the Secretary of State; and a limit of time should be laid down within which representations from the interests affected can be received by him; and further, that instructions to this effect should be included in a schedule attached to the Act of Parliament in which the scheme of reforms is embodied;
- "(9) that the Provincial Governments responsible to the Government of India and the Secretary of State shall have power to do or repair public works, upon which the value of invested capital depends, neglect of which is due to the default of Provincial State Governments, and to charge the cost thereof to the revenues assigned to the Government in default;
- "(10) that the Government of India must have the right to recall powers which have been abused or neglected; and in extreme cases to suspend the Governments of Provincial States. Such powers shall always be subject to the sanction of the Secretary of State and of Parliament; but in cases

of emergency the Government of India may exercise the power subject to the subsequent sanction of the Secretary of State and of Parliament;

- "(11) that (a) wherever industrial and commercial interests are located, adequate representation should be accorded; (b) adequate representation should be accorded to Muhammadans, landholders, and minorities generally;
- "(12) that the specific points to which our agreement relates and the outlines of the scheme sketched in these proposals be laid down in an Act of Parliament; but that all questions within those outlines relating to franchises, constitutions, powers, finances, and such-like details be remitted to not more than five Commissioners named under the Act, to be dealt with in India by the Commissioners, in consultation with Governments and people, the arrangements of the Commissioners to be given the force of law by Orders in Council."

48.—THE BENGAL PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

The Committee endorsed the Congress-Moslem League Scheme and indicated how it should be applied in the Province of Bengal. They also invited special attention to the question of local self-government and had drawn up a scheme which formed a second annexure to the Address. The Address also touched on some other questions, e.g., education and sanitation, which, as was admitted, were outside the subject of constitutional reform.

"In 1908, the attainment by India of a system of government similar to what prevails in the self-governing Dominions of the British Empire was adopted as the aim and object of the National Congress, and this object has become the political creed of all India.

"In spite of this popular demand and of pledges contained in Royal Proclamations and utterances of responsible Ministers, there has been very little progress in constitutional reform. It is a matter of great regret the Indian bureaucracy has always been hostile to all movements for political reform, and the British Parliament and the British public have been far too engrossed with their own internal affairs to find time to think of India's needs. In these circumstances, public feeling in India has naturally become very sore, and dissatisfaction has prevailed throughout the country. The Reform Scheme with which are associated the names of Lord Morley and the late Lord Minto was expected to mark a decided advance towards the political uplift in India, but in practice it was found to be a halting, and in some respects even a retrograde measure, and it failed to give satisfaction to the minds of the people. Even to-day the bureaucracy is all-powerful, and the people have very little voice in the administration of the country. The result is that the real needs of the people, such as education, sanitation, and industrial, commercial and agricultural development, remain neglected, and the country is in a state of weakness and helplessness, internally as well as externally.

"We rejoice, however, to find that there has recently been a marked change in the angle of vision of the British democracy in regard to India and her wants. The better mind of England is now genuinely solicitous of according a fair and equitable treatment to India."

49.—THE HILLMEN OF DARJEELING.

This Address was presented by a deputation of Lepchas, Bhutias, and Nepalese, "representing the opinion of the people of the Darjeeling district." They asked that "in laying down plans for the future," now that the Government has stated "that Home Rule is the ultimate goal towards which it desires that India should gradually proceed," a separate administrative unit should be formed of the Darjeeling district and the Bhutia portion of Jalpaiguri.

"Our plea is that it may now be established as a settled principle in any arrangements for the realisation of Home Rule for the people of the plains of Bengal

that this district should be excluded from them and that the evolution of our political life should be towards a distinct local Government of our own on such lines as may be approved by the British Government.

"We live in an absolutely different world from the rest of the people of Bengal. *Geographically* no greater contrast is possible than that between the mountainous Darjeeling district and the plains of Bengal. *Racially* there is an equal dissimilarity, for the great mass of our population is Mongolian and akin to the peoples beyond the Himalayas rather than to those of India. *Historically* we have until recent years lived a life entirely apart. The Darjeeling district, except the Kalimpong subdivision, was gifted by or annexed from the kingdom of Sikkim last century; the Kalimpong subdivision and the Duars were Bhutanese till about 50 years ago, and the Nepalese have immigrated from Nepal in recent years. *Religiously* we are, as regards the Lepchas and the races of Tibetan origin as well as a number of the Nepali castes, quite distinct from the people of the plains, and even the religious customs of the Nepalese, who are classed as Hindus, vary largely from those of the Hindus of Bengal. *Linguistically* we have no alliance with the rest of Bengal. Even the *lingua franca* of our courts and schools is Hindi and not Bengali, while the great mass of the workers on the tea gardens of the Duars and the Terai are immigrants from Bihar and Orissa and Nepal, which fact—in addition to the geographical and historical arguments—makes it natural and fitting that the tea district of the Duars should be linked up with the Darjeeling district rather than with Bengal.

"A further argument in favour of a separate Eastern Himalayan unit of Government is based on health considerations. The plains are entirely unsuited to hill peoples, who are most unwilling to go to the plains to live. This makes it essential for the future welfare of the district that it should be as far as possible self-contained. In the matter of education, to give one important illustration, we look forward to having our own colleges and other institutions for professional training. At present these are in the plains, and this has acted as a great barrier to the higher education of our peoples."

50.—THE BENGAL LANDHOLDERS' ASSOCIATION.

This Association was formed in 1901 to promote and protect the interests of the landholders and their tenants, and to work for the agricultural, trading, commercial, sanitary, and educational improvement of Bengal. The qualification for membership is the possession of estates paying revenue or road-cess of Rs. 250 a year. Some of the members are professional men.

The 9-page memorandum attached to the short formal address contained proposals for the establishment of a more or less complete form of federal government.

Like the Indian Association (No. 33), this Association asked that the goal of British policy in India should be embodied in a legislative enactment. With regard to the government of India, they approved of the reforms advocated in Parts III. and IV. of the Congress-Moslem League Scheme, but made certain additional proposals. They attempted to give a comprehensive statement of the functions of the Government of India and implied that all other functions should be transferred to provincial Governments, except in the case of some small administrations which it might be expedient to keep under the direct control of the Supreme Government. This Association considered an Upper Chamber necessary to any complete form of federal government, and proposed that two-thirds of its members should be elected by non-official members of the Lower Chamber and one-third should be nominated by the Governor-General. The proposals as to veto seemed to be that when the Governor-General withheld his assent to any measure passed by both Chambers, there would be an automatic reference to the Secretary of State, but if the same measure were passed by both Chambers of successive Councils, then the right of veto should lie with Parliament (or, in future, with the Council of Empire, if any). For the discharge of those functions of Government not specifically reserved to the Government of India they proposed to set up a complete system of provincial responsible government. As a preliminary to this they advocated territorial redistribution with a view to making provinces more homogeneous, *e.g.*, they claimed the inclusion of all Bengali-speaking tracts in Bengal proper. The next step would be to set up Legislative Councils

without either official members or nominated non-official members. The entire Council should be composed of elected members. Minorities should be safeguarded by the grant of special representation by members elected by special electorates. To make these Councils really representative they should be very largely increased in size, thus the Bengal Council should consist of 400 or 450 members instead of 48. These members should by preference be elected by electoral colleges rather than by a direct electorate. To this Council would be entrusted the administration of the province by means of a system of Cabinet Government. An attempt was made to group the various branches of administration into portfolios. In the realm of finance the provincial Government should be virtually independent and make quinquennial allotments to the Government of India for the needs of the Imperial Government. The pay and pension of the Indian Civil Service would not be subject to alteration by a vote of a provincial Government. The Governor would be given a right of veto, but any measure passed by successive Councils would automatically become binding.

The natural corollary of these proposals is a change in the status of the Secretary of State, and with regard to him and his Council the Association adopted the Congress-Moslem League proposals.

"The present Government in India is not *responsible* Government; because it owes no manner of responsibility to the people of India or to any part or section of it, and is in no way accountable to them for its acts and policy. Any scheme of reforms framed in view of the policy announced by His Majesty's Secretary of State, as the spokesman of His Majesty's Government, and with the approval of His Majesty, must aim, therefore, at finding means and instruments through which the Government in India may be made responsible to the people of India, whatever may be the measure and scope of this responsibility in the steps that may be immediately taken in this direction. And this scheme must be so framed as to help the future expansion of this popular responsibility as rapidly as may be consistent with the efficiency of the administration and the peaceful advance of the country towards popular government."

The Memorandum concludes:—

"Finally, we think that the moment this responsible Government is granted to us, it will be our loyal ambition to serve our King, our country and our Empire with all the resources, both in men and money, at our command; and the leaders of the country will not be slow even to adopt compulsory universal military service for this purpose, nor spare any sacrifices that may, in the opinion of the people's representatives, be necessary for the furtherance of national and imperial interests."

51.—THE CALCUTTA MISSIONARY CONFERENCE.

This deputation, headed by the Lord Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan in India, included two Presbyterian representatives and one Baptist.

"The Conference, as representing a body of missionaries, is not prepared to offer an opinion on details of political action. We take the pronouncement of the Imperial Government made on 20th August last as the starting-point for the considerations we wish to advance. As Christian Missionaries we welcome all progress towards the full development of the personality of every member of the State. We recognise that such development is, as a rule, dependent upon the exercise of responsibility, and that it is fitting that the educated classes should be given that opportunity for acquiring experience of responsibility in public affairs for which their training has prepared them. At the same time, as those who wish to serve equally all sections of Indian Society, we would urge the importance of securing adequate representation for the very large proportion of the peoples of India which is not yet sufficiently developed, whether in education or political understanding, to take a direct part in the larger duties of responsible government."

52.—THE ASSOCIATION TO SAFEGUARD THE MUSLIM INTERESTS IN THE PROVINCE OF BIHAR AND ORISSA.

This Association was entirely opposed to the Congress-League Scheme, and put forward a scheme varying only in detail from that of the Indian Muslim Association (No. 37).

The main points in which it differed from the Indian Muslim Association were, the number of members of the Provincial (not less than four) and Imperial (not less than six) Executive Councils and the appointment of the former by the Governor-General in Council with the sanction of His Majesty's Government; the number (two) of permanent Under Secretaries at the India Office; a special proposal for the administration of Muslim education by a Board of Muslims and Europeans; the omission of a claim to representation by nomination in Provincial Legislative Councils in addition to 50 per cent. of the elected seats, and the omission of the demand for two-thirds of the Indian membership of Provincial Executive Councils, and the demands regarding Secretaries and Under Secretaries.

"We cannot consent to the introduction of any system which would result in the Muslim community being swamped in every department of the State. The unequal numerical strength of the Hindus and Musalmans renders it absolutely necessary for us to be on our guard against any movement likely to jeopardise the interests of the Musalman subjects of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor. We cannot deprecate too strongly the want of foresight displayed by some of our co-religionists in endorsing, in their entirety, the views and claims of the Congress. We believe the consummation wished for by the scheme will end in the absolute effacement of the Musalmans as a community, for all practical purposes, in this country. Already there is strong tendency visible in certain quarters to oppress and terrorise the Musalmans and ignore and throw in the background their interests. The guiding principle of the English rule up to now has always been to administer the affairs of Indian Empire with impartiality in the presence of diverse religions and nationalities of which it is composed. Each denomination under the present system obtains a fair start, and that the conditions upon which they enter on the contest of life are equalised and fairly adjusted. We are firmly convinced that, with the preponderance of the non-Muhammadan element in the administration of the country to which the introduction of the Home Rule is sure to lead, we Musalmans cannot save even our individuality and position in this country. It is painfully evident that full harmony between the Hindus and Musalmans, despite the long talks of union of hearts achieved by co-operation between Congress and the All-India Muslim League, has not yet been attained. The Bakr-id riots are merely crude expression of an animosity and rivalry between the two communities which exists in every sphere of activity, whether religious, social or economic. To give glib assurances that the days of religious jealousy and conflict are over is proclaiming peace where there is no peace. For the present, and for a long time to come, it makes it imperatively necessary that there should exist in India a supreme force to arbitrate between the conflicting interests of the two major communities."

53.—THE BIHAR AND ORISSA PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE AND THE BIHAR PROVINCIAL ASSOCIATION.

The Committee, which is a branch of the National Congress and the Association, which has a membership of over 200, adhered to the Congress-Muslim League proposals and indicated how they would apply these proposals to the Province of Bihar and Orissa. They added certain recommendations regarding local administration, local self-government and judicial administration which found no place in the original Congress-Muslim League scheme. They advocated the establishment of District Advisory Councils on an elective basis, a wide extension of the elective principle and the grant of greater independence to municipal, district, and local boards; and they claimed that the Patna High Court should be placed directly under the Government of India, that no seats on High Courts should be reserved for members of the Indian Civil Service and that the Judiciary should be entirely separated from the Executive.

"The Committee are of opinion that the central idea in the organisation of the Provincial Government ought to be that of Provincial autonomy. The control which

is at present exercised over the Provincial Government by the Government of India and the Secretary of State in the internal administration of the province should be substituted by the control of the representatives of the tax-payer through the Provincial Legislative Council. The Committee are accordingly strongly of opinion that the administration of Bihar and Orissa should be that known in Indian political parlance as a Presidency Government, namely, under a Governor in Council. A Governor from England comes with practical experience of free institutions and will be better able to guide an autonomous administration. An officer belonging to the Indian Civil Service, however clever and liberal he may be, has the disadvantage of being trained in the bureaucratic form of Government with all its prejudices and preconceptions, and will find himself out of place in the guidance of a popular Government. But apart from the reasons strongly telling in favour of a Governorship against a Lieutenant-Governorship there is the important additional fact that Bihar and Orissa were promised a Presidency Government (along with Bengal) so far back as 1833, when the Presidency of Agra (afterwards changed into the North-Western Provinces) was constituted by an Act of Parliament. The people of Bihar and Orissa ever since the creation of the new province have been demanding a Presidency Government, and resolutions have been unanimously passed on the subject at the sessions of the Bihar Provincial Conference held subsequent to 1911. The Biharis believe that this important reform is much overdue and they are, therefore, insistent that advantage should be taken of the present reform proposals to elevate the province to the status of a Presidency Government."

"The Committee desire to make it clear that they are totally against the principle of representation of particular religious communities by means of special and separate electorates—except to the extent adopted in the Congress Muslim League Scheme in favour of the Mussalmans. The Committee and the Association would therefore recommend the election of non-Mussalmans by means of territorial electorates, as they strongly believe that any further extension of the principle of special religious or communal electorates will not be conducive to public good and will neutralise to a large extent the great advantages likely to accrue from the proposed reforms. At the same time the Committee are not against the privilege of election being conferred upon classes the members of which are bound together by common interests. Such special interests are in the Committee's opinion but three in this province, namely zamindari, planting and mining. Apart from these the Patna University and its registered graduates should also be represented in the Provincial Council."

A Note of Dissent was sent in by three Muhammadan members of the Committee, who considered that the Congress-League Scheme did not sufficiently safeguard Muhammadan interests in Bihar. These gentlemen represented that one Member of the Bihar and Orissa Executive Council should be a Muhammadan, and that in the Provincial Legislative Councils throughout India one-third of the seats (i.e., 25 more than allowed by the Scheme) should be reserved for Muhammadans.

54.—THE PRADHAN BHUMIHAR BRAHMAN SABHA.

This Association speaks on behalf of the "Bhumihar Brahman community of 'Hindustan,' a class which holds a predominant position as landholders in two Divisions of Bihar. "Being very conservative, orthodox and wealthy, the community "did not take to English education earlier as it should have done, but now the Sabha "has made amends and is turning out scores of graduates every year." The Address did not deal with constitutional reforms in general, but asked for adequate representation of the community in Imperial and Provincial Councils, local bodies, and public institutions such as Universities.

"Your memorialists beg to submit that in the past their claims have not been sufficiently recognised in a degree commensurate with their social position, status and influence in the country and with their loyalty and devotion to the Government. They have been for a long while neglected and they have not received recognition in the matter of rights, honours and privileges. It is high time that they should receive that status in the British administration to which they are entitled on account of their unique and leading position, through which alone they will be able to keep up their power and influence and render proper service to their King and country."

55.—THE MONGHYR LOYALISTS' LEAGUE (BIHAR).

This League, which includes influential residents of the district, was formed in October 1917 for such objects as "to denounce crime, anarchy, sedition, and lawlessness," "to gather the views of the people and to represent any real grievance to the Government," and "to prevent people from being misled by misrepresentation of the views of the Government and by seditious propaganda." It put forward no scheme, but made certain administrative suggestions, claiming for Indians a larger share in the Government, but strongly opposing anything in the shape of responsible government which could place all power in the hands of a small section, the professional, and especially the lawyer classes. It advocated compulsory religious education in the schools, and in local government recommended a system of Panchayats for settling petty disputes, and greater freedom of election of chairmen and vice-chairmen of local bodies.

"The present system of administration by English and Indian officers, who have been properly trained and are held strictly accountable for their doings by Government, is highly approved by all classes of Indians in this province, and that all we pray is that the Indians be given a larger share in the responsibility of the administration. The only persons who desire a *violent* change are certain noisy talkers, who are trying to mislead the Government by representing themselves to be the leaders of various communities, whereas, on the contrary, they are not so at all. If, however, the Government has decided to change the existing system, and introduce Home Rule, we would earnestly pray that the changes should be made very cautiously, quietly, and smoothly, so that the ignorant classes of the population may not be misled about the character of the changes or of the reasons which have led Government to order them. In this connection we beg to inform Your Excellency and you, Sir, that in common with the rest of the Bihar districts the respectable classes in this district have been deeply alarmed by the riots which have recently occurred in the neighbouring district of Shahabad, in which over a hundred villages have been looted, resulting in deplorable destruction of property and loss of human lives, because ignorant classes of Hindus have thought that Home Rule means that where Hindus are in a majority they are entitled to prevent Muhammadans from doing things repugnant to their feelings, and because the lower orders of all communities have thought that Government has become too weak to preserve the security of person and property, and have taken the opportunity to destroy and loot. We do not think it out of place to mention that though these riots took place in a part only of one district they were not put down for several weeks, and that it was necessary for the local authorities to take police from all the surrounding districts and to bring troops from Allahabad and Shillong. It is needless to say that if instead of in a portion only of one district similar riots had been started in three or four districts, the authorities would not have been able to send the necessary number of troops in time, and robbing and murder would have gone on on a very extensive scale and the position of Government would have become critical. Again, if Home Rule is suddenly introduced, self-government will be in the hands of the professional classes, particularly the lawyer classes, inasmuch as they alone generally have the knowledge of law and the English language which is necessary to carry on the administration. We strongly maintain that the passing of administration into the hands of one section of the community is not desirable."

56.—THE ALL-INDIA LANDHOLDERS.

This influential deputation was organised by the Maharaja of Darbhanga to represent the interests of the landholders of India as a whole, irrespective of creed and race. No reform scheme was suggested, but the Address set forth the claims of the order to adequate representation in the new conditions which may result from constitutional changes, and asked for one seat on the Secretary of State's Council and each Executive Council, and one-third of the seats in the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils, all of which should be enlarged. They further proposed the establishment of Second Chambers for every Legislative Council, to be composed of the landed aristocracy, men of outstanding position in commerce and industry, and men "tried and

experienced in the service of the country." They urged liberal provision for the maintenance of the ancient and important families, and facilities for the military training of their young men.

"The history of the landed aristocracy of India is a peculiar one—it possessed in the history of ancient India an independent status and footing with powers of general administration and responsibilities for the tenants' welfare. The landholders have been the bulwark of the nation—they have equally been the mainstay of the Government. They have the largest stake in the country and the greatest interest in the land. Their loyalty and devotion to the Government which protects their interests and those of their tenantry are, therefore, assured. They form a most valuable link between the people and the Government, and have always endeavoured to remove misapprehensions and bring about harmony. Their position has thus been one of peculiar significance. They also contribute a considerable portion towards the total revenue of the State. But your memorialists venture to submit that in the past their claims have not been recognised in any degree at all commensurate with their position, status, and influence in the country, and with their loyalty and devotion to the Government. Many of the rights and privileges which they enjoyed have been curtailed under British rule. They have been for a long while neglected: and they have received but poor recognition in the matter of rights, honours and privileges. They have not received that status in the British administration to which they are entitled on account of their unique and leading position, and through which alone they could keep up the power and influence requisite for the adequate discharge of the service they are expected to render to the Government and the people. The position of the landholders has, therefore, been greatly impaired, their influence for good being in a corresponding degree lessened. The tendency of the age has been to give undue importance to commercial interests at the sacrifice of the landed interests. And the fact has been generally overlooked that commerce depends primarily upon land and its products, and that the landed interests should, specially in India, be deemed of paramount importance in the administration of the country. Even in the ancient Republics of Greece and Rome the nobility had a definite and acknowledged place, and equally so in the admirable constitution of Government in Great Britain, where the House of Lords holds a definite and important position. Your memorialists beg to point out that it is, therefore, essential, and not less urgent, that this remissness in the past should be made up for, and that the landholders should be given their proper place in the Councils of the Indian Empire and in all public functions."

57.—THE ORTHODOX HINDUS OF INDIA.

This deputation from orthodox Hindus in every province was organised by the Maharaja of Darbhanga. The members of the deputation expressed their confidence that all reforms and privileges for which the country is ripe would be granted, and confined their representation only to certain points affecting specially the interests of Hindus. They claimed for their class suitable representation in all Councils and complete freedom in religious observances, &c. They advocated compulsory religious education for Hindu boys and girls, and separate examinations in India for certain services in order to enable orthodox Hindus to compete. They suggested that Ruling Princes should be consulted in important matters relating to religion, and in this connection cited the Conference held at Hardwar in December 1916, which was attended by six Ruling Chiefs. For the settlement of religious disputes they suggested the establishment of conciliation boards, a suggestion which has recently received consideration from the Government of India and all local Governments.

"The Hindus are amongst the oldest of nations with their ancient and world-famous civilisation and culture. They were the first to light the torch of learning and science which they had kept burning from century to century diffusing the light of their knowledge far and wide. In spite of the ages that have rolled on, of the foreign invasions that have followed in quick succession and the innumerable vicissitudes that the country has passed through, the Hindus have preserved their own individuality and culture and the integrity of their Sanatana Dharma, the secret

of which lies in the fact that they try to harmonise the spiritual with the material which alone can ensure lasting good. Highly spiritual by nature as they undoubtedly were, they were not, however, slow in making their mark in the posts of responsibility and rank they had to occupy, and, indeed, their enterprise, quickness and efficiency of work were not less remarkable than their essentially religious habits. This religion of thousands of years ago still keeps its purity; and orthodox Hinduism still commands a wide range of adherents. The Hindus form three-fourths of the total population of India; and amongst the Hindus more than 80 per cent. of them retain their orthodox habits and beliefs. At the present day they have served the Government with their characteristic loyalty and ability. They have also given proof of their devotion to the Imperial Crown in more practical ways; and from many a Hindu shrine throughout the length and breadth of the country, fervent prayers have risen for the triumph of the Allied Arms. Their fidelity has been unquestioned and spontaneous; and *Raj Bhakti* (loyalty to the Sovereign) has been their creed as instinctive as it is universal. Conservative by nature, restrained from sojourn in other countries by their religion and with all their ties and relations circumscribed within the borders of this land, the Hindu has no aspirations or hopes beyond his country—and his attachment to the British Government which secures peace and tranquillity in his country comes naturally and spontaneously to him.

"Your memorialists, however, beg to urge that at the present time the position of the Hindus has been greatly undermined and their very existence in the pure ancient orthodox form is assailed on all sides. For a long time the system of purely secular education, unrelieved by any religious instruction and training, has naturally tended to starve the spiritual instincts of most of our youths which formed the greatest inheritance of our race; and they are thus unable to appreciate the underlying truths of their own faith. This spiritual decline of the Hindus has been accompanied by a decline in the worldly respect. While most of the communities that have far less numerical strength have had adequate representation, the Hindus have not been accorded representation commensurate with their importance, the revenue they pay to the State and the large percentage of the total population which they form. Owing to the carrying out of the principle of special electorates which makes it possible for members of other communities, who have already special electorates of their own, to have also a voice in, and stand for election from, the general electorate, their own strength has been greatly impaired. Moreover, such of the Hindus as happen to be on the Legislative Councils are not generally able to represent in a real manner the views of the orthodox Hindus in religious matters."

58.—THE BIHAR LANDHOLDERS' ASSOCIATION.

This is the premier Indian Association in the Province of Bihar and Orissa, including in its membership all the large landholders of the province. It was more concerned with the safeguarding of the interests of the class it represented than with the general question of constitutional reform. It claimed one landlord representative for each district on the Provincial Legislative Councils and one-third of the total membership of the Imperial Council, also representation on Executive Councils and on all district, municipal and local boards, and advocates the establishment of district advisory Councils and village panchayats with adequate landlord representation. It associated itself fully with the memorial of the All-India Landholders (No. 56).

"The landlords form a most important section of the community, and their power of doing good to the country has been considerable by virtue of their forming a valuable link between the people and the Government. The stake which they have in the land is paramount; and this has always ensured the most loyal devotion to the Government at all times. In various other ways, also, they have endeavoured to render to the Government all help and assistance in their power; and a measure of their loyalty and usefulness could be gauged from their services during the present war. It was given to Lord Cornwallis, that astute and far-seeing statesman, to discover what power and influence could be enlisted on behalf of the Government by the creation of permanently settled landlords. We venture to submit, his Lordship's

anticipation is now more than fulfilled in the comparative peace and prosperity that prevails amongst the agriculturists in the permanently settled tracts. The contentment of the landlords in Bihar (and also in Bengal), which has been such a powerful asset in all troublous times and which is mainly due to the permanent nature of their interests in the land, has enabled them to render more valuable service to the Imperial Government at the present crisis than their brother zamindars of other parts. It is earnestly and respectfully urged that a system which has been so beneficial to the people, the zamindars and the Government, should be fully safeguarded here and extended elsewhere where it does not obtain."

59.—THE ALL-INDIA CONFERENCE OF INDIAN CHRISTIANS.

This deputation, representative of the Indian Christian community as a whole, was headed by Mr. M. S. Das, C.I.E., a member of the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council. They advocated the creation in all districts of representative institutions through which the people would control all matters connected with education, sanitation, and communications, and they claimed for their own community, numbering over 3½ millions, where it formed an appreciable part of the electorate, representation in such institutions, and always in Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils, and asked that their interest be given consideration in all measures of reform intended to give Indians a larger share in the administration. They drew attention to the military services of Indian Christians, and discussed the lack of educational facilities for their children. They "join in the prayer for an essential reform so that India may have the endowment of self-government as an integral part of the British Empire."

"There has been no public ventilation of the special grievances of the Indian Christian community since the war. Absence of grievances is not the reason for this silence. The reason is to be found in the following extract from the Presidential Address delivered at the last sitting of the All-India Indian Christian conference at Madras in December 1916:—

"From the view I take of the war I should not on behalf of my community formulate any change in the shape of a demand. The time for such demand will come hereafter. Any demand now made has the appearance of demanding a price for our loyalty. Our sympathy with the British nation in the prosecution of the present war is due to the fact that our Gracious King stands to support the cause of righteousness and justice, that His Majesty wishes to crush the impudent claims of brute power to gain ascendancy over the moral forces of man."

"The population of India is not yet a homogeneous political entity. The vitality and enthusiasm which feed the waves of indignation, which the war has roused, flow through different channels, though they join like waters of streams when they meet the ocean. The Hindu, the Muhammadan and the Christian all pray for victory of the British arms, but each does it in a separate house of prayer—the temple, the mosque and the church. They all rally round the Union Jack on the battlefield, but each reads his own form of funeral service over the grave of his gallant comrade killed in battle."

"The fusion of the several communities into one Indian nation is desired by all interested in the political progress of India, as an integral part of the British Empire. The Indian Christian community is the nucleus of a future Indian nation. It counts among its number those who were at one time the untouchable depressed classes, as well as those who were once high caste Brahmins. The Indian Christian community is an outstanding landmark in the evolution of a homogeneous social unity out of a heterogeneous social complexity. This gives the community an advantage in the military and industrial requirements of the Empire."

60.—THE INDIAN CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, UNITED PROVINCES, LUCKNOW BRANCH.

This branch submitted a reform scheme to some extent based on the Congress-League Scheme, but asking for a minimum of 10 per cent. of the seats filled by election in Legislative Councils throughout India for Indian Christians, for an Indian Christian representative from each province on the Imperial Legislative Council, and an Indian Christian on the Viceroy's Executive Council and on the Secretary of State's Council (if continued).

61.—THE UTKAL UNION CONFERENCE.

This body represents the Oriya-speaking country, centring in Orissa, now administratively divided between Bihar and Orissa, Madras, and the Central Provinces.

The address was simply a prayer for the union of all Oriya-speaking tracts under a separate administration, or if this cannot be granted, then at least their inclusion under the Government of Bihar and Orissa or in a united Orissa, which would have equal status with Bihar and be suitably represented in the Imperial and Provincial Councils.

"The Oriyas, numbering about 11 millions of His Majesty's loyal subjects inhabiting mainly the Division of Orissa, the Districts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam Agency under Madras, and Singhbhum in Chota Nagpur, approach Your Excellency and accord you, Sir, a cordial welcome to this country in which Orissa has been conspicuously known as the 'holy land' of India, on this most auspicious occasion of your visit to His Majesty's great Eastern Dominions when the British Empire is engaged in the righteous struggle to punish a brutal enemy, whose one object is the destruction of small nationalities like the Belgians.

"The past history of the Oriya nation, their architectural fame and their achievements in religion, politics and the language and literature of their country, still mark them out as an ancient race with a genius all their own, the remains of which can still be seen in the temples of Puri and in the Oriya classics of Ganjam.

"The Oriyas were under one administrative system under Oriya monarchs who ruled for centuries over a vast tract of country between the sacred rivers, the Godavary and the Ganges, and founded Puri (Jagannath) as the religious capital of India. Yet nothing in modern times has stirred the heart of the Oriya nation so deeply as their present administrative dismemberment under different local Governments.

"The advance of English education among neighbouring races, due to facilities given to them at an early stage in British administration in capital towns, and their rise in consequence to positions of influence similar to those of an intermediary ruling race, which led to the practice of substituting Oriya by Telugu, Hindi or Bengali, and thereby to deprive the Oriya child of his mother-tongue in certain parts where the school reminds him of the condition of a bird in a cage taught to talk the language of his master, the interposition of an Indian interpreter of a different race when the Oriya suitor seeks justice in a law court to the neglect of the popular vernacular, the advantageous position of education and influence held by the predominant portion of the provincial population which affords them unique opportunities for posts and preferments, and representation in the Councils and development of vested interests, the situation of Oriya tracts at the tail end of each province necessarily kept backward, the indifference of the authorities to the continuous prayers of the Oriyas for their administrative reunion, all these present a striking contrast to the policy pursued by British Government in the administration of the other parts of India."

C.—At Madras.

62.—THE UNITED PLANTERS' ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

The United Planters' Association of Southern India was established in 1894 to represent and protect the interests of planters in Southern India. It is the central organisation of 13 affiliated local associations distributed over the Presidency of Madras and the Native States of Mysore, Travancore and Cochin and the Province

of Coorg. The Association maintains a labour department under a special director, employs two scientific officers, has a representative on the London Chamber of Commerce, and possesses the privilege of electing an additional member of the Madras Legislative Council. It may be regarded as representative of European planters throughout Southern India.

The Association made no attempt to deal with the general question of reforms, which it left to the European Association, and confined its representation to certain aspects of the question which specially affect the interests of planters. It expressed the fear that, if the existing conditions of the Government be altered, the planting industry will suffer injury owing to the difficulty of attracting new capital, which is necessary for the development from which alone the planters can expect the full benefits of their original investment. In conclusion it enumerated certain conditions of the planters' existence undue interference with which would affect their welfare.

"*Firstly.*—We are dependent on land. Any rules and regulations adverse to tenure, or any taxation of land beyond the proportionate incidence, would injure us.

"*Secondly.*—We are dependent on labour. Any labour legislation of an extreme nature or any restriction in regard to recruiting might bring the industry to a standstill.

"*Thirdly.*—We compete with others in the world's markets. We are already at a disadvantage in the matter of railways and harbours, but our position would indeed be hopeless were tariffs raised against us and prohibitive export duties placed upon our produce."

63.—THE MADRAS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

The Madras Chamber of Commerce is an institution which was established in the year 1836, with a view "to watch over and protect the interests of trade; to receive and collect information on all matters of mercantile interest bearing upon the removal of grievances and the promotion of the common good; to communicate with the authorities and with individual parties thereupon; to receive references on matters of custom or usage in doubt or dispute, deciding on the same and recording the decision made for future reference; and to form by that and other means a code of practice whereby the transactions of business by all engaged in it may be simplified and facilitated." All merchants and other persons engaged or interested in the general trade, commerce or manufactures of Madras are eligible as members, and the Chamber may be regarded as representative of the European commercial and mercantile interests in Madras. It has one Indian member. It returns representatives to the Madras Legislative Council and to the Corporation of the City of Madras.

The Chamber of Commerce considered that, so far as the Presidency of Madras was concerned, the demand for Home Rule was confined to a small section of the community consisting mainly of Brahmans. They would have preferred to keep entirely aloof from the enquiry as they are not a political body, but they felt it incumbent on them, in view of the interests at stake, to put forward, not a detailed scheme of changes, but a few general principles, which should govern such changes as are to be made. They opposed any scheme whereby the Executive would become subordinate to the Legislature, and they deprecated reform from above, as, like the Bengal Chamber of Commerce (No. 27) and European Association (No. 46), they considered that the principle of responsibility should first of all be applied in the sphere of local government. While local self-government was being reorganised the Provincial Governments should not be touched, and similarly the Government of India should not be altered while Provincial Governments were in a state of transition. The Chamber favoured the grant of wider powers to Provincial Governments and would also increase the powers of Legislative Councils provided their electorates were also widened. They considered that the interests of all communities should be represented in Legislative Council on a communal basis. They would also make representation on the Finance Committees communal. They were entirely opposed to the proposal that members of Executive Councils should be elected. They saw no objection to an increase in the Indian element in the public services, provided that this was not artificially stimulated and the British preponderance was maintained.

In conclusion they called attention to the need for ample time being given for consideration and criticism of any official proposals put forward.

"The Chamber does not propose to submit any detailed scheme of constitutional reform, nor is it of the opinion that any comprehensive scheme of this nature is due, but will confine itself to the statement of a few general principles which it thinks should govern political changes in India :—

"The Chamber regards any scheme whereby the Executive would be made dependent on the Legislature as wholly unworkable under the conditions now obtaining in India, or likely to come into existence within any reasonable space of time.

"The Chamber would deprecate reform from above, as it is of opinion that the political structure is already top-heavy. The Chamber is of opinion that any changes in the nature of granting more responsibility to Indians should begin at the bottom rung of the ladder. Wider powers might be given to bodies such as local boards and municipalities. The controlling influence by the local Governments should be retained, but by granting more latitude and responsibility and greater financial resources an opportunity would be given to these bodies to profit by their own experiences and mistakes. So long as local bodies are protected and nursed by the local Governments they will not realise their responsibilities, and the present attitude of the educated Indians will always remain one of purely destructive criticism.

"The grant of constructional powers, with full responsibility for mistakes made, is the only practical method of teaching self-government. The financial and administrative failure of a local body would not be very serious, whereas a similar failure in higher councils would have widespread and disastrous results."

"Simultaneously the Chamber would suggest some increase of powers of the Provincial Legislative Councils, provided it is accompanied by the widening of the electorate to which elected members are responsible. Due consideration should be given to the narrowness of the present system, figures relating to which should be called for and scrutinised. In this connection the Chamber would draw attention to the inadequate representation of the European community. Such representation as that community has is entirely through specialised bodies such as Chambers of Commerce, Planters' Associations, and Trades Associations, bodies which it is essential should be represented in view of the large financial stake they have in the country. But there remains a considerable number of Europeans who do not belong to such bodies, and thus do not obtain representation at all.

"As regards the admission of Indians into public services, the Chamber recognises that an increase in the Indian element is inevitable and open to no seasonable objection, provided that it is not artificially stimulated by altering conditions of recruitment for merely political reasons, and provided that measures are taken to ensure a distinct British preponderance in the public services."

64.—THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY ASSOCIATION.

This Association was founded in September 1917 at a meeting of about 1,000 non-Brahman Hindus, who repudiated the claims of the South Indian People's Association and its affiliated bodies (*see* Nos. 76 and 77) to express the sentiments of the 40 million non-Brahman Hindus of the Madras Presidency.

"We fully endorse and adhere to the basic principles of the scheme of reforms submitted by the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League, the two great political organisations which represent all that is best, noblest, and wisest in this great country. We are anxious, however, that due and adequate representation of the varied interests and communities we represent should be secured in the contemplated reforms, so that no talent might rust for lack of opportunity to serve in the great nation-building that is proceeding apace under the British rule, and

no interest might suffer for want of proper representation in the councils of the Empire."

In a Memorandum appended to the Address the Association explained that in view of the special circumstances of the Madras Presidency it considered provision necessary for the adequate representation of the various non-Brahman Hindu communities, "the election being based upon as broad a franchise as possible." Thus, if the Madras Legislative Council consisted of 125 members, of whom 100 were elected, 45 members should be returned by general electorates, 15 by Muhammadans, five by Indian Christians, four by "Anglo-Indians" (including European planters and Chambers of Commerce), four by Panchamas, one by Tiyyas, two by Uriyas, 24 by special constituencies (*e.g.*, Madras City, University, landholders, Indian trading classes, artisans). In the general electorates the Presidency should be divided into 15 groups, each electing three members, of whom not more than one shall be a Brahmin. The voters in the general electorates should be (1) agriculturists paying assessment of at least Rs. 50, (2) all income-tax payers, (3) retired officials drawing pensions of not less than Rs. 500 a year, (4) past and present members of local bodies. Muhammadans should have no vote in the general electorate. No suggestion was made as to the franchise for communal constituencies; apparently the classes with communal representation should also vote in the general electorates, unless Muhammadans. Although it was not explicitly stated, it is clear that Brahmins could obtain election only through the general electorate (subject to a maximum of 15), or in the special constituencies (*e.g.*, University or landholders).

The Association noticed certain criticisms that had been made on the Congress-League Scheme.

"The scheme provides for the election of one-half of the members of the Executive Council by the elected members of the legislative body concerned. It has been objected that this will not be practicable, as the head of the Executive Government must be given the liberty of choosing his own colleagues. The obvious answer to this criticism is that the formation of the Legislative Councils with substantial elected majorities carries with it the proposal that at least half of the number of the Executive Government can rely upon the support of the elected members. Otherwise the Executive will be in constant opposition to the Legislative Councils and the latter will be inclined to take every opportunity to challenge the decision of the Executive in the formation of which they had no voice; but if, as the scheme suggests, one-half of the Executive is elected by the elected members of the Legislative Councils, there will be considerably less temptation to assume an attitude of hostile criticism since they will be held responsible for the choice of a portion of the Executive Council. And another answer is that even in the Executive Councils as at present constituted the Governor or Viceroy who arrives from England does not choose the members of his Council, but finds the Council already made for him.

"With regard to the control to be exercised by the Legislative Councils over the financial proposals of Government, we feel that unless the power of granting supplies is vested in the people's representatives, all other powers they may be invested with will be of no avail. We realise that this is a very important step that we are asking the authorities to take, and it has been suggested in certain quarters that this course will necessarily bring about a deadlock, and therefore the Legislative Councils should not be granted this power. But we can assure you that these fears are more imaginary than real. And although a great deal of mutual persuasion and the adoption of conciliatory methods will be required from both the Executive and Legislature in working out the scheme, we cannot help thinking that this is the only means of making the two work as inter-dependent parts of one machinery."

65.—THE ANGLO-INDIAN ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

The Anglo-Indian Association of Southern India, which was inaugurated in 1879, is the central organisation of the domiciled community of Southern India, and has for its object the political, social, moral and intellectual advancement of the members of the Association and of the classes eligible for membership. According to the latest return available, 1,769 members were on the rolls.

The Association in its Address took the Congress-Muslim-League Scheme clause by clause and expressed an opinion on most of the proposals contained therein, but it is not always clear what positive proposals the Association itself would put forward. They apparently approved some increase in the membership of Provincial Legislative Councils, with representation of minorities on a communal basis, but only a small non-official majority. They would extend the scope of the Finance Committee's influence, but were apparently not prepared to support any extensive changes in the powers of the Councils. They would retain the official majority in the Imperial Legislative Council and would apparently only alter its constitution so as to make it more representative. They accepted a few of the minor proposals of the Congress Scheme, such as the extension of the right to ask supplementary questions, &c. In regard to Executive Government they were opposed (1) to any increase of the Indian element on the Executive Councils, (2) to the appointment of Indian members of Council by election, and (3) to the exclusion of members of the Civil Service from Councils. They also resisted the proposals that the Secretary of State's Council should be abolished and that the cost of the India Office be placed on the British estimates.

"The Anglo-Indian Association, Southern India, representing the domiciled community, desires to place on record its firm conviction that the present clamour for 'Home Rule,' on the part of a very small section of the people of India, is in direct breach of the solemn understanding reached at the beginning of the war, that no matters of a controversial nature in politics were to be the theme of any discussion while the war lasted. This breach of faith on the part of the Indian politicians concerned can only be construed as an effort on their part to take advantage of the fact that Great Britain is now engaged in a gigantic struggle in Europe. The present cry for 'Home Rule' began when it became evident that the war was not going to be one of short duration. The question of reforms has, however, been raised, and it has now to be considered on its merits apart from any grounds of expediency which some of the Indian political leaders think will operate in their favour.

"The Anglo-Indian Association is not averse to political progress and gradual evolution of self-government, provided always such progress and such evolution are consistent with the British character of the administration and the British responsibility for equal and even-handed justice to all sections of the people of this great land."

66.—THE SOUTHERN INDIA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

The Southern India Chamber of Commerce was established in 1909. It describes itself as comprised of the leading Indian merchants of Madras, but several mufassal merchants are also members of the Chamber; firms, joint-stock companies and other corporations and associations for any purpose or object connected with commerce, trade, agriculture, &c., are eligible for membership. The views put forward are at variance with those of the titular President, Rao Bahadur P. Tyagaru Chetti, a former representative of the Madras Corporation on the Legislative Council, who joined Dr. T. M. Nayar in what is known as the "non-Brahman movement" in Madras, including such developments as the establishment of the South Indian Peoples' Association with its offshoot the South Indian Liberal Federation (No. 76) and its journalistic organs *Justice* and the vernacular *Dravida* (Tamil) and *Andhraprakasika* (Telugu).

The proposals of this body were explained in detail in the 15-page memorandum attached to the address, a large portion of which was taken up with such matters as industrial expansion, trade after the war, fiscal autonomy, currency, banking and the co-operative movement. The argument throughout was that India must have greater independence and more freedom to shape her own commercial policy.

The Chamber approved a policy of decentralisation and the grant of greater powers to Provincial Governments, provided any such change was governed by the principle of making these Governments responsible to the representatives of the people in the Legislative Councils in matters of administration, taxation and expenditure bearing on the internal affairs of the province. In the sphere of local self-government they advocated the grant of real powers and financial control to village

panchayats and taluk boards, both of which should be elected by and responsible to the people.

In regard to the general constitutional changes the Chamber followed the main principles of the Congress Muslim League Scheme without entering into so much detail, but in some matters took a line of their own. Thus they would not absolutely exclude members of the Indian Civil Service from Executive Councils, and they would support the special representation of other special interests than those of the Muhammadaus in the Legislative Councils, specially commercial and landed interests. Such representation should be by election and not nomination.

"We feel that the administration of the country is far too centralised and that the reins of control are held far too tightly by the Secretary of State and the Government of India. We, therefore, urge that a full measure of provincial autonomy should no longer be delayed. From this decentralisation of control, it naturally follows that the provincial administration should be made to rest on a wide popular basis, as otherwise the transfer of power from one authority to another would by itself signify nothing or may even prove a worse evil. Local self-government has hitherto been administered as a department of Government, notwithstanding the fact that the people have amply proved their capacity for the same. We ask that it should be made real and popular, and freed from the present rigid official direction and lead. With the villages as 'the starting point of public life,' and our taluk and districts boards, on the one hand, and our district municipalities and the Presidency Corporation, on the other, as thoroughly representative institutions, levying their taxes and regulating their expenditure, emancipated from official trammels, subject only to the most general supervision and intervention in cases of gross mismanagement, by the Provincial Governments, these institutions are bound to fulfil the best expectations of all and supply the real groundwork of all administrative reform. In the general administration of the country, a sense of responsibility to the people and their representatives on the part of the governing authorities can only be created by widening the franchise, enlarging the provincial and Imperial Legislative Councils so as to make them thoroughly and really representative of all classes, communities and interests and by investing them with substantial powers of control over the administration."

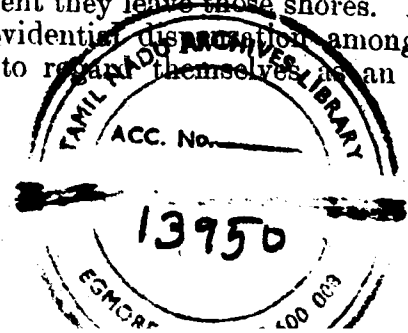
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67.—THE MADRAS PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

This body is affiliated to the Indian National Congress and supports the Congress-League Scheme. "Even if we had an independent voice in the matter we would not have come to any other conclusion than that the reforms contemplated by the Congress Scheme are the least which we are bound to press on the attention of the Government at the present moment." The Address was accompanied by a 23-page Memorandum on the scheme in general and its application to the Madras Presidency in particular.

"A situation has now arisen which requires radical changes in the constitution and function of the Council in this respect. It is in these circumstances that the Congress-Muslim League Scheme was formulated, and it embodies very moderate demands on the part of the people for enabling their representatives to have an effective voice in the government of their own country. That such a moderate scheme should evoke so much opposition from members of the Anglo-Indian community, only shows how doggedly these reactionaries have stood in the way of any reforms in India. There is a growing feeling amongst the people that the official hierarchy of the Civil Service is in secret sympathy with this opposition and giving it its support from behind the scenes. It is not easy at all times for persons clothed with power to be compelled to surrender any portion of that power to others with whom they have very little in common. There seems to be, moreover, something in the atmosphere outside Europe and America which makes even some of the most liberal-minded people of those countries turn rank reactionaries the moment they leave those shores. Accustomed to regard themselves as the agents of a Providential dispensation amongst a coloured population, the bureaucracy have come to regard themselves as an exclusive and superior political caste."



The Committee admitted "that in view of the peculiar conditions and feelings prevailing among the various communities of this Presidency, territorial electorates providing for the adequate representation of the various communities ought to be constituted." But such provision should be made by rules for the first Legislative Council only, and not embodied in any Act; it was hoped that "the leaders of the various communities, after the present conditions have ceased to exist, will not feel the need for any system of communal representation which curbs their power to elect the best men available to represent their interests." At present, nomination by Government, "within recognised limits," might be necessary to bring into the Legislative Council representatives of the backward communities.

68.—THE MADRAS MAHAJANA SABHA.

This Association was founded in 1884, one of its declared purposes being to promote the objects of the Indian National Congress. Its leading members are barristers and journalists. Its deputation supported the Congress-League Scheme in a 10-page memorandum which accompanied the Address. While recommending the system of territorial electorates, the Sabha recognised that at present provision should be made in the Madras Presidency (by means not stated) for the adequate representation of "communities other than the Brahman."

"Before we discuss the question of the distribution of the franchise, we are anxious to point out that the question of franchise is merely one of detail. We want that the Executive Government of the country shall be responsible to an almost wholly elected Legislative Council, which subordination is to be secured by the power of the purse being vested in the latter, subject to certain safeguards. So long as the people generally are represented in the Legislative Council, it does not matter for the success of our scheme how the representatives are elected. And, after all, the question of franchise is yet unsolved satisfactorily even in the most advanced countries.

"With this preliminary observation we would like to say that, in our opinion, the members should be elected directly by the electors. Different qualifications for the franchise have been suggested. Of course, the most satisfactory in the conditions of our Presidency will be that all those who pay either taxes or rates of Rs. 50 a year, all income-tax payers, pensioners drawing Rs. 500 a year, graduates, title-holders, certificated pleaders, registerable medical practitioners and schoolmasters with salaries of Rs. 25 or over a month, shall have the vote. But, in order to avoid a complicated franchise, we would suggest that all persons who are now qualified to vote for the various local bodies in the Presidency, from the union panchayat upwards, should have the franchise in respect of the local Legislative Council."

✓ 69.—THE CATHOLIC INDIAN ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

This Association was established in 1899. The Most Reverend John Aelen, Archbishop of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Madras, is the President.

The Catholic Indian Association was opposed to any weakening of British control in India and considered that the country was unfit for complete self-government, but it looked forward to Indians being given an ever-increasing share in the administration and claimed for the community which it represented its due place in such advance, which can only be secured on a basis of communal representation. It called the attention of Government to a special Catholic grievance, viz., the non-recognition by the courts of Canon law in regard to Catholic Indian marriages. The preamble to the reform proposals contained certain special claims in the matter of Council procedure intended to safeguard the interests of the Christian community. The constitutional changes put forward by the Association were the inclusion of three Indians in the Imperial and Provincial Executive Councils, which should have a total membership of six. The Indians should be nominated from among representatives of the Hindu, Muslim and Christian communities. The Imperial Legislative Council

should be half nominated and half elected, and the elected members should be representative of the communities in India. The Provincial Legislative Councils should have a substantial non-official elected majority with special communal representation. In Madras Christians should be given one-tenth of the total elected membership. The Provincial Councils should have power to legislate in respect of agriculture, local self-government, sanitation and co-operation.

"To us Catholic Indians, the existence and continuance of the British Raj in India is very essential and important, considering the fact that on account of our religion we form a separate community, not always treated sympathetically by the large communities in this vast continent. Therefore, in any reforms that may be granted to Indians in general, we are anxious that the direct controlling hand of the British administration in this country should in no way be diminished or weakened. We would rather be governed by fair-minded Britishers than oligarchies claiming to have sprung from and to be rooted to this soil.

"But our community has not been left unaffected by the wave of nationalism that is passing over the length and breadth of this land. The change in the angle of vision and the recent liberal utterances of English statesmen have created a certain hope of the larger employment of Indians in the administration of this country and of the grant to them of a thoroughly representative form of government.

"Though India is unfit at present for complete self-government, yet we doubt not that the liberal traditions of the English people will lead them to grant a larger and larger measure of reform in the course of time. In every such reform we Catholic Indians naturally expect a share to be given to us.

"Having regard to our number and to the advancement of our community in education, it is but natural that we should expect to be more largely associated with the coming responsible Government than hitherto.

"We ask for communal representation, because it is agreed on all hands that it is not consistent with good government that power should pass into the hands of a small minority. It is a fact that at present electorates largely composed of persons other than Brahmans return Brahman representatives to the Legislative Councils as well as to Local Boards, and no one is more dissatisfied with the result than the electors themselves, who feel helpless in the face of a Brahman combination which, thanks to education and an efficient organisation, almost invariably carries the day against non-Brahman candidates. Communal representation is the only possible remedy for this anomaly, and we accordingly ask for it. Plans of representative government, modelled on the self-governing colonies, are manifestly unsuitable to a country like India, which must for a long time to come depend on the United Kingdom for resources in money and material as well as for its paramount military and naval defences."

✓ 70.—INDIAN CHRISTIANS OF THE PRESIDENCY OF MADRAS.

This deputation represented a combination of certain seceders from the Catholic Indian Association (No. 69) with certain members of the Indian Christian Association, Madras (established in 1887 to further the advancement of the Indian Christian community; all Indian Christians resident in South India are eligible for membership). The deputation was non-sectarian, including "Roman Catholics, Protestants, and Syrians."

It put forward a scheme based on these principles: (1) Expansion of the Legislative Councils; (2) an effective voice in some departments of the administration; and (3) communal representation. It was thus in agreement with the views of the Catholic Indian Association in regard to the main principles of reform, though differing in some matters of detail.

"With regard to the first and the last of these principles, we submit that it is only in an expanded Legislative Council that the varied communities of this Presidency will be able to secure adequate representation. Till now the Indian Christian community, as such, has not been represented in any of the Legislative Councils of the country by an elected member, although we are a distinct section of the people of the land, and require separate treatment on matters affecting our social, religious, and economic conditions. In the past, laws were passed regulating our marriage system,

inheritance, &c., without the presence of a single Indian Christian in the legislatures. With the growth of our community, problems have arisen, and will arise, which require the co-operation and mature advice of our best representatives for their solution, and we therefore pray that separate representation may be granted to Indian Christians. We form an important section of the people of this Presidency by reason of our numerical strength, wealth, and, above all, of our high percentage of literacy. To a total population of over three and a half millions of Indian Christians for the whole of India, according to the census of 1911, we contribute over two millions and three lakhs. Our percentage of literacy stands higher than that of Hindus and Muhammadans, and in female education we easily hold the first place among the leading communities, and have contributed not a little to the spread of the benefits of western education among the women of other classes of our country through the efforts of Indian Christian women teachers. These, among other considerations, have induced us to seek for separate communal representation.

"The second principle will be easily conceded by all those who have watched the success which has attended the efforts of popular representatives in the Legislative Councils and to which testimony was borne by our late Viceroy, Lord Hardinge. To have the Legislative Councils mere theatres for the display of eloquence without the sobering effects of responsibility will be no longer upheld.

"We have made no reference to the constitution of the Imperial Legislative and Executive Councils, as we have reason to believe that the All-India Christian Conference which represents the Indian Christians of all the provinces will submit a well-considered scheme."

71.—THE ZAMINDARS AND LANDED PROPRIETORS OF THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

This Address was put forward by a large number of Zamindars who disapproved of a draft address passed by a majority at a meeting of the Madras Landholders' Association in support of the Congress-League Scheme.

They put forward claims very similar to those of the landed interests in Bengal (No. 50) and the United Provinces (Nos. 6 and 7). They were in favour of some alterations in the present administration in the direction of provincial autonomy, but claimed for their own class very substantial representation in any re-arrangement that might be made. Thus in the enlarged Provincial Legislative Councils they demanded at least one-fifth of the seats for representatives of landed interests, and in the Imperial Council greater representation than at present. In the Executive Councils, Imperial and Provincial, they claimed one seat. They advocated second chambers for both Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils and the transfer of the control of selected departments to the control of the reformed councils. If the British Parliament continued to administer Indian affairs, then they would have the cost of the India Office placed on the British estimates.

"All Provincial Legislative Councils in India should be enlarged on as broad franchise as possible, having a substantial majority of elected representatives, the various communities in the country being adequately represented by separate communal representation and minorities being properly safeguarded.

"In view of the large stake which the hereditary nobility and landowners have in this country they should have the power to return to the Provincial Legislative Councils at least one-fifth of the total number of members constituting them."

"When the Imperial and Provincial sources of revenue are separated the Provincial Legislative Councils should have full authority to deal with provincial matters, provided the provincial councils shall not have the power to enact measures which will interfere with the rights and privileges granted to the zamindars under the permanent settlement and the janmis and stanes of the west coast, unless the majority of their representatives in the Council consent to the introduction of such measures."

"Some of the important zamindars in India should be raised to the status of ruling chiefs or at least admitted to the honours and privileges accorded to the

latter. Further the titles and honours of which several of the deserving and important zamindars have been deprived should be recognised and restored to them hereditarily.

"Commissions in the army should be thrown open to the scions of aristocratic families in the country and provision should be made for the training of military officers in India.

"The system of enlistment recently adopted under the Indian Defence Force Act should be made permanent.

"A full measure of local self-government should be immediately granted under safeguards for its efficient working."

72.—THE NEWINGTON OLD BOYS' ASSOCIATION.

Newington is a college for young zamindars and landholders, maintained by the Madras Court of Wards. Its Old Boys' Association, formed in 1912, includes over 30 zamindars of high position. The Association opposed any violent changes, but "we heartily approve of a step by step progressive policy," and asked that in any instalment of reforms landholders should "be given full scope of representation and effective participation, not on the basis of our numerical strength, but according to our stake, importance and influence."

"We voice the feelings, not merely of the descendants of many of those chiefs and zamindars—who, in the old days, though nominally under some suzerain, were still for all practical purposes actual rulers, wielding large powers in their own principalities—but we also speak for those innumerable families who have been true to us and who are dependent on us and our estates. We submit, this is no empty boast, for we have a right to represent these masses, called upon as we are, almost as the first, to associate with them in their daily life—witness the large part played by the aristocracy in the cause of education, medical help, and substantial contributions to important charities—all for the benefit of the people. We wish also to place before you, though not as claim yet as a fact, our unswerving loyalty and ever readiness to help, co-operate, and use our influence in various connections and on many occasions, for which the Government is sure to acknowledge themselves to be indebted. For this no further proof is necessary than the wide and active support of the aristocracy in this present war.

"Though much shorn of our powers, we have still large vested interests and responsibilities. We have always been assailed by a small but highly audible clique which neither has in itself, nor cares to appreciate in others, these responsibilities. There has been a gradual curtailment of our powers and we have often been hard hit by legislation. Our interests have not been sufficiently guarded in past grants of reforms. The clique we have mentioned has always attempted to treat us almost as a negligible factor and tried to monopolise the attention of the Government. . . . Our class deeply resent such attempts on the part of agitators to throw us into the background and ignore our interests—no doubt a foretaste of what may be expected if Home Rule be granted at present. We submit we are conservative and not given to agitation. Though we have suffered in the past for failing to bring our importance to the notice of the authorities when reforms were granted, still in the future at least our position requires to be fully realised and recognised by the Government."

73.—THE KERALA JANMI SABHA.

This is an Association of the leading janmis or landholders of Malabar, the President being the Zamorin of Calicut.

Their Address contained most of the features which characterised previous addresses from landholding associations. Legislative Councils should be increased and larger representation given to the landholding interests, and their constitution should be altered by the addition of second chambers, of which half the members should be landholders. Three-fourths of the members of the lower chambers should be elected, one half of these by territorial and one half by communal electorates.

Greater freedom should be given to Provincial Governments. The time had not yet come to give to the Legislative control over the Executive, but larger powers of control, especially in matters of finance, should be secured to the Legislative Councils, while it should be considered whether in Madras the Local and Municipal Department might not, as an experiment, be placed under the control of the Legislative Council. The Indian element in the Executive Councils should be substantially increased and ordinarily one member of each Council should be a landholder.

"Much as we should have preferred to concentrate all attention and energy on the successful termination of the terrible conflict in which the Empire is engaged, much as we should have preferred not to launch forth just at present on the less important, and certainly much less urgent, problems of the internal administration of our country, we find ourselves nevertheless forced into a controversy which we have not started, which we have not sought, but instead tried, as far as it lay in our power, to put off. But as matters stand at present, and as the custodians of India's interest have invited opinions publicly from representative men and bodies on the subject of constitutional reforms, we feel it our duty not only to ourselves, but to Your Excellency, and to you, Sir, to state our views on the subject. If we fail to do so, there is the contingency that our silence may be misconstrued and the machinery of the Government may be changed to our detriment and without our having any voice in the matter.

"We think that the time has come, thanks to the broadminded policy of the British Government in diffusing western culture and western civilisation among a very large section of the people, for granting them a larger share in the government of their country than they now possess, so as to educate them for the ultimate goal which British statesmen have ordained for India, namely, self-government within the Empire."

"In all countries where representative government prevails the existence of a second chamber has been found necessary to check and balance conflicting interests and often to tone down hasty legislation that a popular chamber is apt to undertake. The need for a second chamber is all the greater in our country, where the electorate can at best form only a small fraction of the vast masses of the population, who, owing to ignorance and poverty, cannot be immediately enfranchised with advantage or safety to themselves or to the State. We consider that the time has come when the creation of a second chamber should no longer be delayed. In such a chamber we submit that the landholding classes should have a preponderating influence. We would suggest that one-half of the members of the second chamber be elected by the landholders, the rest being returned by the commercial and trading classes and such other interests as may be considered necessary. It should, we think, be provided that all legislation must pass both chambers, and in regard to resolutions on administrative questions, both chambers may be given independent powers to pass resolutions, provided, however, that a resolution becomes binding on the Government only when passed by both the chambers."

74.—THE ALL-INDIA WOMEN'S DEPUTATION.

This deputation consisted of 18 Indian ladies from various parts of India (including Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the poetess) and four European ladies (including Mrs. Annie Besant), wearing Indian dress. They claimed that the women of India understood and supported the demand for self-government, and urged that in the extended franchise the right to vote should be conceded to women. They emphasised the necessity of extending female education and taking measures to lower the death-rate among young wives and infants.

"We have asked for a portion of your valuable time because the women of India have awakened to their responsibilities in the public life, and have their own independent opinions about the reforms that are necessary for the progress of India. Many organisations have been formed by and for women during the past 10 years, of which we have representatives here, such as the Indian Women's Association, the Seva Sadan, the Mahila Seva Samaja, the Indian Women's University, the Women's Home Rule League Branches, &c. We are in touch with the new outlook of Indian women, and we make bold, at this historic time, to lay before you women's views

concerning necessary post-war reforms, as we believe them to be the necessary complement to the views of our men.

"The women of India understand and support the broad claims of their people for self-government within the Empire, and they press for its bestowal as urgently as do their brothers. They have in large numbers signed the petition organised by Mr. Gandhi in favour of the scheme of reform drawn up by the National Congress and the Muslim League. They have also held large ladies' meetings, taken part in processions and public meetings, and in many ways worked towards obtaining the measure of self-government suggested in this scheme, and in the non-official memorandum of the 19 members of the Imperial Legislative Council, with the general terms of both of which they, through us, wish you to know that they are in agreement.

"Our interests, as one-half of the people, are directly affected by the demand in the united scheme (I. 3) that 'the Members of the Council should be elected directly by the people on as broad a franchise as possible,' and in the memorandum (3) that 'the franchise should be broadened and extended directly to the people.' We pray that, when such a franchise is being drawn up, women may be recognised as 'people,' and that it may be worded in such terms as will not disqualify our sex, but allow our women the same opportunities of representation as our men. In agreeing with the demand of the above-mentioned memorandum that a full measure of local self-government should be immediately granted, we request that it shall include the representation of our women, a policy that has been admittedly successful for the past 20 years in local self-government elsewhere in the British Empire. The precedent for including women in modern Indian political life has been a marked feature of the Indian National Congress, in which, since its inception, women have voted and been delegates and speakers, and which this year finds its climax in the election of a woman as its President. Thus the voice of India approves of its women being considered responsible and acknowledged citizens; and we urgently claim that, in the drawing up of all provisions regarding representation, our sex shall not be made a disqualification for the exercise of the franchise or for service in public life."

75.—THE COORG LANDHOLDERS' ASSOCIATION.

This deputation claimed to speak on behalf of all the inhabitants of the small province of Coorg. They asked that such reforms as were introduced elsewhere should be extended to Coorg, and recommended various changes in the internal administration of that province, including a representative assembly of 30 under the Chief Commissioner and an Advisory Council of 15 elected by the Assembly.

"Ours is a small province administered by a Chief Commissioner in subordination to the Governor-General. Unlike other British provinces it is not a conquered country, but was annexed to the British Empire in response to the unanimous wish of the inhabitants. In view of this exceptional circumstance of its connection with the British Raj, we have always felt that we have strong claims for special and sympathetic treatment. Sensible as we are of the undeniable benefits conferred by British rule, we cannot refrain from submitting that our economic and political progress has not kept pace with that of other provinces. We have neither an Executive nor a Legislative Council. The various constitutional and administrative reforms introduced into India during recent years by the benign Government have left us unaffected. The people have, therefore, no share in the administration or a voice in legislative enactments. The omission on the part of the Government to extend to us the rights and privileges bestowed on other British provinces years ago, we presume, cannot be due to our unfitness or inability to exercise them, because it cannot be denied that the general level of education and intelligence in our country compares favourably with that of the most advanced British provinces. We confess that we, ourselves, in a large measure, are responsible for the present state of affairs, because we have not pressed our claims and ideals upon the Government in the conviction, borne of deep-rooted confidence in their good faith and benevolence, that our welfare is an object of their special solicitude and that our administrators would safeguard our interests and satisfy our legitimate aspirations. We have not begun to realise that isolation and an attitude of aloofness from the great currents that are carrying India forward to the goal of self-government are calculated to seriously prejudice the interests of our country."

76.—THE SOUTH INDIAN LIBERAL ASSOCIATION.

This is a political organisation initiated by the South Indian People's Association, which was formed at the end of 1916 to define the attitude towards the Home Rule movement of the non-Brahman communities in the Madras Presidency. The South Indian Liberal Association (like the deputation of the non-Brahman Communities, No. 77, and the Madras Dravidian Association, No. 78) was strongly opposed to the Congress-League Scheme or any other scheme which would grant self-government to India at the present time. Dr. T. M. Nair was a member of this deputation.

The South Indian Liberal Federation pointed out that out of a population of 41½ millions at least 40 millions are non-Brahmans. They were in favour of progressive political development and advocated the following main lines of advance:—

- (1) Extension of self-government by means of municipal and local boards free of official control.
- (2) Due representation of all communities in the administration.
- (3) Enlargement of Legislative Councils, with adequate representation of all interests by means of direct election on a communal basis.
- (4) Departments of local self-government, sanitation, agriculture, co-operation, and industries to be placed under control of Legislative Councils.
- (5) Enlargement of Executive Councils and provision for half the members to be non-official Indians.

They were opposed to members of Executive Councils being chosen by election and to the introduction of the Parliamentary system by which the House of Commons can withhold supplies.

"We understand that a memorandum signed by 19 non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council has been submitted to you through the Viceroy demanding certain political reforms to be brought into force after the war. The proposals contained in the said memorandum have since been accepted by the originators of the Home Rule movement in India as equivalent to their demand. Your memorialists feel constrained to strike a discordant note, as otherwise, from previous experience, they are afraid that it will be made out that the demand has behind it the united voice of the people of India. The proposals embodied in the memorandum of the 19, if given effect to, will, in our opinion, tend to weaken the British authority in India and thereby jeopardise the interests of the large and hitherto inarticulate masses of the country. We are not in favour of any measure which, in operation, is designed, or tends completely, to undermine the influence and authority of the British rulers who alone, in the present conditions and circumstances of India, are able to hold the scales even between creeds and classes and to develop that sense of unity and national solidarity without which India will continue to be a congeries of mutually exclusive and warring creeds without a common purpose and a common patriotism. We do not believe that the time has come for anything like Home Rule to be granted to India. The large majority of the population of this country are not educated enough to use any political power that may be given to them with wisdom and discrimination; nor have they any political traditions to guide them; and they are unwilling that, till they are educated up to a standard that will help them to take an intelligent interest in the government of the country by the discriminate use of the franchise that may be given to them, their destiny should be handed over to the care of a small section of the Indian population, though men are not wanting amongst themselves who can fairly take their legitimate share in the councils and administration of the country in any scheme of reforms which may reasonably meet the actual needs of the hour. The majority of the people in this Presidency who demand Home Rule at the present time belong to the class of Brahmans; but not less than 40 out of 41½ millions who form the population of this Presidency are non-Brahmans who, including, as they do, zamindars, landowners and agriculturists and owning the bulk of the property in the province, pay practically the whole of the taxes collected in the Presidency, which go to maintain the Government. But in what passes for politics in Madras they have not taken the part to which they are entitled. They have made little or no use of their influence among the masses for the general political advancement of the country. In these days of organised effort they have not maintained till recently any proper organisations for protecting and promoting their common interests and for preventing professional and other politicians, with hardly any corresponding stake in the country, from posing as their accredited spokesmen. Under these conditions we are afraid that, if Home Rule or

self-government were granted to India at the present time, the Government would pass into the hands of a close oligarchy unfit either by tradition or training for wielding political power, and thus the interests of the masses would suffer.

"We are, however, in favour of progressive political development, of a well-defined policy of trust in the people qualified by prudence and of timely and liberal concessions in the wake of proved fitness."

"In the present condition of India the franchise should be established on a communal basis, as otherwise it will be impossible to secure proper representation of the different communities, particularly in this province, where the conditions are entirely different from those of all the other provinces on account of the absolute predominance of the ancient ideas of the superiority of the priestly class over all others and where, owing to the recently acquired Brahmanical ascendancy in the bureaucracy, the franchise distributed on any but communal basis cannot but be inequitable and is sure to lead to the oppression of the masses."

77.—THE NON-BRAHMAN COMMUNITIES OF THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

This deputation was the outcome of a series of conferences in different parts of the Presidency towards the end of 1917.

The deputation, consisting of 30 public men, agreed with the main lines of advance advocated by the Liberal Association (No. 76), but entered into somewhat more detail; thus they included a provisional allotment of seats in the Madras Council if it were to be enlarged to a membership of 125. Out of 88 elected seats, 9 would go to "general electorates" composed of members of local boards and municipalities, 2 to Oriya general electorates, 59 to communal electorates, and 18 to special interests (Europeans (6), University, landholders, commerce). Of the 59 communal representatives, 30 would be non-Brahman Hindus, 15 Muhammadans, 7 Brahmans, 5 Indian Christians, and 2 Anglo-Indians. They advocated an extension of provincial independence and indicated certain heads of revenue which should be provincialised, and they would give to Provincial Governments powers of taxation and borrowing. They would replace the official majority in the Imperial Legislative Council by a nominated majority (official and non-official). They were opposed to financial proposals being embodied in Bills, and they would not make resolutions of Council binding on Government, without providing the safeguard of a veto by the Governor.

They put forward a table showing that in the higher grades of Government appointments in the Presidency Brahmans held 1,342 out of 2,807 held by Indians or Anglo-Indians.

"Owing to various causes, most of the power and influence has, in the present system of administration of this Province, become centred in the hands of a small community which numbers only 1,167,695, according to the census of 1911, out of a total population of 41,870,160. In this Presidency, in spite of the influence of western education and of more than a century of benign British rule, the rigour and exclusiveness of the caste system has not appreciably weakened, with the result that there is very little in common between those who chiefly wield the power at present and the others who are now left behind in the race. While the advantages of place and power are mostly enjoyed by this one community, the cost of administration is born mostly by the others. These others, who, in brief, may be described as the non-Brahmans of this Province, including, as they do, zamindars, landholders, agriculturists, merchants and traders, own the bulk of the property in the Province. Practically the whole of the trade in Indian hands is in the possession of the non-Brahmans. Nevertheless, these non-Brahmans are not duly represented either in the services or in the Legislative Councils of the Province. Taking the whole Presidency, in the last election, out of the seats thrown open to local boards and municipalities and the Madras Corporation, nine seats were secured by the Brahmans and only one went to a non-Brahman. The fact that the majority of the voters were non-Brahmans proved no guarantee for the success of non-Brahman candidates, for the reason that, both among the lawyers and the Indian officials, the Brahmans predominate and their influence in this matter was the decisive factor in the result of the elections. All the three seats in the Imperial Legislative Council, open to Indians generally in the Madras Presidency, are at present held by Brahmans."

78.—THE MADRAS DRAVIDIAN ASSOCIATION.

This Association professes as its object the progress of non-Brahmans, including Hindus, Muhammadans, Indian Christians, and other Dravidians of Southern India.

The Dravidian Association put forward no definite reform proposals, but merely referred to various disabilities of the non-Brahman community, and expressed the view that such disadvantages would be increased ten-fold if Home Rule were immediately granted.

"Though forming the majority of the population and also the wealth-producing section thereof, non-Brahmans have not had their due share in shaping the policy and conducting the administration of the State. This is due to their not having availed themselves of educational facilities provided by the Government as much as the Brahmins, who having had no share in the wealth-producing vocations, but possessing hereditary aptitude for study, availed themselves of these facilities. Being an exclusive class, endowed by tradition with a kind of religious authority in this land, they used their opportunity to aggrandise themselves at the expense of other classes. It has now become difficult for non-Brahman classes to get the opportunity to educate themselves to the same extent as Brahmins. It is our desire that Government should look into this question and see if there are other hindrances to the educational progress of non-Brahmans than their own inertia. It is our conviction that there are. If so, we would pray Government to remove them. This applies not only to the education of men but also of women. The Widows' Home in Madras was originally started for widows of all classes. It has now become the refuge of Brahman women to the exclusion of non-Brahmins."

"We refer to all these inequalities and hardships partly in the hope that steps will be taken to rectify them and partly with the object of showing how, if Home Rule is introduced at present, the sufferings of the educationally backward classes will be increased tenfold. Whatever reforms may be introduced in this country, nothing should be done to weaken British authority or to change the British character of the administration or to concentrate power in any particular class to the detriment of other classes."

✓ 79.—THE MADRAS ADI DRAVIDA JANA SABHA.

This Association, founded in 1892, was formed to further the interests of the "Adi" or original Dravidians, these classes claiming to number 6 millions in the Madras Presidency who are outside the pale of caste and are commonly described as Paraiyas or Panchamans. The Association has promoted Panchama meetings in opposition to Home Rule. The members of the deputation were small traders, landholders, teachers, and journalists. They desired social uplift rather than constitutional reform. They were strongly opposed to the Home Rule propaganda and asked for further protection from Brahman intolerance, their great need being education. They asked for special representation in local bodies and also in the Legislative Councils, and communal representation in any scheme of reform that may be given to the country as a whole.

"The caste system of the Hindus stigmatises us as untouchables, and imposes various social and economic disabilities upon us. Caste Hindus could not, however, get on without our assistance. We supplied labour and they enjoyed the fruit, giving us a mere pittance in return. Our improvement in the social and economic scale began with and is due to the British Government. The Britishers in India—Government officers, merchants, and last, but not least, Christian missionaries—love us and we love them in return. Though the general condition of the community is still very low, there are some educated men amongst us. But these are not allowed to rise in society on account of the general stigma attached by the Hindus to the community. The very names by which these people refer to us breathe contempt."

"We need not say that we are strongly opposed to Home Rule. We shall fight to the last drop of our blood any attempt to transfer the seat of authority in this country from British hands to so-called high caste Hindus who have ill-treated us in the past and would do so again but for the protection of British laws. Even as it is,

our claims, nay, our very existence is ignored by the Hindus; and how will they promote our interests if the control of the administration passes into their hands?

"The Congress which has agitated in the name of the people and which now asks for various reforms in their name, what has it done to rebuke the Hindus for their ill-treatment of us? On the other hand, many of the Congress leaders are Brahmins who carry their notions of their own superiority and of the inferiority of others into every detail of private and public life. We have, however, no quarrel with the Hindus. We are willing to forget the past and to co-operate with them provided our rights are secured for us by the British Government, to which we look for help in our endeavours to uplift ourselves."

"We want education first and foremost. Our poverty and our social degradation have prevented us from availing ourselves of the educational facilities provided by the Government. Besides, the educational policy of the Government, shaped and worked under the influence of so-called high caste Hindus, has been more favourable to these articulate classes than to us who could not make ourselves heard. We are shut out from Hindu 'national' schools like Pachaiyappa's College. Refusal of admission to boys belonging to our community should disqualify an educational institution for receiving grants from public funds."

80.—THE DRAVIDA MAHAJANA SANGAN, RANGOON.

This Address was brought from Rangoon on behalf of an organisation of Panchamas settled in Burma who wished to co-operate with the Madras Adi Dravida Sabha (No. 79). The petition asked for representation for this class on the Madras Legislative Council and local bodies, additional schools and wells, facilities for acquiring land, free education, and a commission of enquiry into their grievances. They entered an "emphatic protest against the grant of Home Rule to India at this stage." The petition made no reference to Burma.

"The petitioners beg to place for your benign consideration the following grievances due to the caste prejudices prevailing in India:—

- "(a) They are refused admission into the public schools managed by the other caste people.
- "(b) They are not allowed to draw water from the village wells intended for public use.
- "(c) They are not allowed to walk through the public roads in certain parts of the Madras Presidency.
- "(d) They are prevented from possessing Government 'darkhast' land by the sharp practices adopted by the other caste Hindus."

✓ 81.—THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY MUSLIM LEAGUE.

This League has existed for about 10 years, its declared objects being to promote among Indian Mussalmans loyalty to the British Government, to protect their political and other rights and interests, and to promote as far as possible harmony between them and other communities of India. At the end of 1917 some influential members resigned because they did not agree with the support given by the executive to the Congress-League programme.

Their Address reiterated the Congress-Muslim League Scheme with slight variations, the most important of which were—

- (1) The claim that one seat on Executive Councils should be reserved for a Muhammadan.
- (2) The demand that any resolution or Bill brought forward in a Provincial Legislative Council by a Muhammadan, and affecting Muslim interests only should not, if supported by three-fourths of the Muhammadans, be liable to defeat by a non-Muslim majority.

"We in common with other communities in India hailed with considerable gratification the announcement made both in Parliament and in India on 20th August

1917 that we were destined, in due course, to have a responsible Government. We are sincerely grateful to the British Government for this noble recognition of our rights and aspirations and for the welcome declaration that 'substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible.' We eagerly look forward to the day when India as an integral part of the British Empire will enjoy equal rights and privileges with the rest of the Empire. At this stage, the question might arise, and in fact some of those who are not for any further reforms openly ask, whether Indians are now fit for any degree of self-government. Nobody who is even slightly conversant with the present situation can be oblivious of the fact that Indians have during the recent years made very amazing progress in all directions which entitles them to be more largely associated with the administration of the country. The proportion of progress in education may not be equal in all communities, but the Indian nation as a whole, including Mussalmans, has sufficiently advanced to efficiently discharge the sacred trust of governing themselves which the Crown may be pleased to charge them with. It is a well-known fact that there has been great educational awakening in the Muslim community throughout India and every nerve has been and is being strained in making up for past deficiencies. The various instalments of administrative reforms have served to stimulate the community to further efforts in order to qualify themselves for still higher responsibilities. Even the Mussalmans of this Presidency, who, compared with their brethren in other parts of India, may be said to be backward in education and wealth, have made sufficiently rapid progress to begin themselves for taking their legitimate share in all branches of the administration.

"There is one important point, however, to which we wish to draw your Excellency's attention and that of the Secretary of State. As compared with the Hindus, Muhammadans are in a minority in India, and this at one time led to grave fears being entertained of their being swamped in self-governing bodies by the non-Muslim majority. But this contingency has happily been averted by the recognition on the part of the Government of the principle of granting separate representation to Mussalmans in excess of their numerical strength in population in consideration of their political importance. We are glad that our Hindu brethren with their political sagacity have equally recognised the rightfulness of our claim in this respect and cheerfully conceded the same, as is evident from the scheme of reforms of the Indian National Congress."

82.—THE SOUTH INDIA ISLAMIA LEAGUE.

This League was founded at the end of 1917 by Madras Muhammadans, who considered that the acceptance of the Congress-League Scheme would be to the prejudice of their community.

In their Address they expressed a complete lack of sympathy with Congress-Muslim League Scheme, which in their view would tend to weaken the authority of the British Government in India. They were not opposed to all reforms, but advocated a gradual advance and demanded adequate safeguards for the interests of minorities. They would increase the membership of Executive Councils and reserve one seat on these councils for Muhammadans. They would also enlarge the Legislative Councils and make them more representative, reserving for Muhammadans a proportion of seats commensurate with their political importance. They considered that Legislative Councils should remain advisory bodies and should not be entrusted with financial control or with the right to elect members of Executive Councils, who should invariably be nominated.

"Ever since the All-India Muslim League adopted the political aims of the Indian National Congress and its leaders began to co-operate with the leaders of the latter organisation, the Muhammadans of Southern India have been feeling uneasy as to the capacity of the League to represent their views and interests. Their doubts have been confirmed by the Madras Presidency Muslim League having recently adopted the Congress-Muslim scheme of reforms. This action on the part of the League created much indignation among the Muhammadans in this part of the country, who, being a minority community, realise the value of the British Government in holding the scales even between different classes in this country. They have accordingly resolved to form a separate League which will voice the real

feelings and sentiments of the Muslim community of Southern India. The Association thus formed under the name of the South Indian Islamia League has adopted the following creed to express the real political attitude of the Mussalmans of Southern India, namely, that its members are opposed to any scheme of political reconstruction which tends to undermine the authority of British Government in India, but are strongly in favour of gradual progressive political development."

83.—THE MUTTIALPET MUSLIM ANJUMAN.

This is a Muhammadan society established in 1913 in Madras City with mainly educational purposes. The Address expressed the same views as those put forward by the South India Islamia League (No. 82).

"It is our firm conviction that in India, where there are so many conflicting religious interests and prejudices, the Britisher alone can hold the scales even between the various communities. Whenever our interests collide with those of other communities, it is to him we look up as the embodiment of justice and fair play. Whatever reforms may be introduced, we trust that nothing will be done to undermine the authority of the British Government in India. We are also averse to the power of the purse being vested in Legislative Councils, as we fear it will be used to coerce Government and to favour particular interests. Nor should Executive Councillors be elected by members of these Legislative Councils. Muhammadans being necessarily in the minority will have no chance of their representatives being elected Executive Councillors."

"Our sympathies are entirely with the non-Brahmans of Southern India in their endeavour to secure adequate representation for all communities both in Legislative Councils and in public services. If political power is concentrated in any particular class, there is always the danger of that class keeping it to itself and thus causing discontent in others. If, on the other hand, political power is fairly and widely distributed, we may, speaking from our knowledge of the people of Southern India, say that Muhammadans will have a good chance of obtaining equitable treatment."

84.—THE ULEMA OF MADRAS.

These Muhammadan Doctors of Theology meet on important occasions to consider and decide religious questions. They presented no formal Address, but their deputation tendered a "Fatwa" (pronouncement in Arabic) against Home Rule in India.

"If the British Government were to make over the administration of India to the Hindu community (Polytheists) as that community desires, it is feared that many rights of Muslims would be destroyed, discord would be created, and religious freedom and peace of Muslims would cease to exist. Moreover, the country would become the centre of dissensions for Muslims. It is contrary to the Sacred Law for Muslims to reside in a place where there is no security and which is hostile (*literally* become a House of War). As it is written in the books of jurisprudence."

QAZI FASIH-UD-DIN.

"'Verily, Polytheists are unclean.' In case the British Government were to hand over the administration, as desired by the Hindus, it would be contrary to the Sacred Law of Muslims to live under them (Polytheists)."

SAIYID MUHI-UD-DIN,
Trustee of the endowments of the Amir-un-Nisa
Begum Sahiba Mosque.
One who is forgiven!

"If the British Government were to make over the administration of India to Polytheists as desired by them, the religious freedom of Muslims will cease to exist."

It is not lawful for Muslims to live in a country where there is no religious freedom. Moreover, peace would be interfered with, and the country would become a hostile region for Muslims. It is thus written in jurisprudence. God is most knowing."

MIR GHULAM JILANI MUHAMMAD ABABAKAR

QAZI-UL-QUZAT, Madras and Districts.

GHULAM MUHAMMAD, Deputy Qazi. (May God pardon him!)

85.—THE ANDHRA CONFERENCE COMMITTEE.

The main object of this Association, which was formed in May 1917, though conferences had been held for the last six years, is to secure the reorganisation of Indian provinces on a linguistic basis, and in particular to promote the grouping of the Telugu districts of this Presidency as a separate province. The districts in question are Ganjam, Vizagapatam, Godavari, Kistna, and Guntur (which are commonly known as the Northern Circars), Kurnool, Bellary, Anantapur, and Cuddapah (or the Ceded Districts), and the two districts of Nellore and Chittoor. "Andhra" is a Sanskrit word, which denotes the tract of country known as "Telingana." The Imperial Gazetteer describes it as "a name applied vaguely by the Muhammadans to the country of the Telugus, in the north-eastern portion of the Madras Presidency."

The one request put forward in the Address was that the Telugu districts of the Madras Presidency should be formed into a separate province administered by a Governor in Council. The memorandum set forth at some length the advantages which, it was claimed, would result from such an arrangement.

"While we are in full agreement with the scheme of reforms formulated by the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League in December 1916, we consider that the question of the reorganisation of provinces is intimately connected with any scheme of self-government for India, and that the benefits of provincial autonomy can only be fully realised by a redistribution of the provinces in India on a linguistic basis. A full statement of the case for such a redistribution is set out in the memorandum annexed hereto, to which we respectfully invite your attention. We beg to urge that the Telugu districts of the Presidency, which form a contiguous area of about 83,000 square miles in extent, with a population of about 17 millions, should be constituted into a separate province with a Governor-in-Council. For purposes of internal organisation, these districts have been recognised by the All-India Congress Committee as a distinctive Congress circle. We beg to state that the principle of constituting provinces on a language basis has been acted upon by the Government of India by 'reuniting the five Bengali-speaking divisions into a Presidency and by giving the Hindi-speaking people a separate administration.' The Presidency of Madras is likewise divided between five distinctive peoples, speaking five separate languages, each possessing a cultural integrity and traditions of its own, and therefore each entitled to that measure of attention which only a distinctive administration could give."

A memorandum was annexed, covering (with appendices) nine pages, in which the case for separating the Telugu country from Madras was argued on historic, linguistic and administrative grounds.

"The evil of forcing an alien language on the people has served to dry up at their sources the very fountain-springs of national power. A century of European education has left the Indian mind richer by a new language but seriously impoverished on the side of initiative and originality. The very extent of apparent success which has attended this tremendous educational experiment may really be accounted as the measure of its failure from the point of view of the evolution of a true national culture. And if it be true that the individuality of a people's culture is their greatest treasure in the eye of humanity that nothing may weaken or destroy, then surely the primary duty of Government would lie in the restoration to each vernacular of that dominance which English now holds over all. For, if a culture is to be constantly replenished and kept alive as a growing entity, the language which is its vehicle must be accepted as the one medium of self-expression. Provinces so reorganised become at once distinctive and potent States, federated together to constitute the mighty Indian nationality of the future. As separate self-governing States, acknowledging a suzerain power over themselves, they prepare the vast continent for that ultimate autonomy which has been acknowledged as the ideal.

The demand for self-government, safeguarded and exalted by the high ideal underlying the scheme of reorganisation, would not be exposed to the cavil that it emanates from the self-seeking classes; for, on the plan on which it is designed it develops a policy beaten out into harmony with the needs of the nation, and serves primarily and ever the requirements of the millions that toil. Again, provinces thus organised and strengthened would enjoy legitimate opportunities for independent self-development, and foster distinctive tributary cultures whose commingling enriches the central stream of national life; and, while there is no antagonism between the consciousness of a separate sub-nationality and national pride and patriotism, modern thought and experience agree in the conclusion that that nationalism would surely be counted highest which is compounded of the finest contrasts within the unity of one culture type. From whatever view-point the problem of India's future may be examined, the conclusion is irresistible that, for a solution to be final and satisfactory, the statesmen in India should display great imagination and courage, and carve out natural self-contained provinces, each sustained by a thought of internal unity and organised on a self-governing basis, and all held together and uplifted by a common ambition to realise the individual soul in a life larger and diviner than its own."

D.—At Bombay.

86.—NON-OFFICIAL MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF BOMBAY.

Nineteen out of the thirty-two non-official Members joined in this deputation (15 of the 20 elected and 4 of the 12 nominated Members).

These Members adhered to the Congress-League Scheme, but expressed themselves as under a disadvantage in not knowing "what has been urged by the authorities in connection with" that, and wished for a later opportunity of submitting their views on objections to it. In the Bombay Legislative Council they proposed a scheme of 25 members, 25 nominated (of whom only 5 might be salaried officials), and 100 elected. The latter they would allot as follows: Congress 4, Muhammadans 32 i.e., one-third of the elected Indians), Indian special interests (e.g., University, land, commerce) 10, municipalities and local boards (or, perhaps, large cities and local bodies) 8, general district electorates 46.

"We strongly disapprove of any communal representation other than what has been specified above. We believe that non-representation of some of the important communities hitherto has been due to (1) the limited number of elective seats under the present constitution, (2) the existing unsatisfactory grouping of districts for the purposes of election, and (3) the existing method of election. But under the constitution and new grouping of districts as suggested, we believe that that grievance would be remedied to a considerable extent. We further think that if the system of proportional representation with a single transferable vote be adopted, the grievance would disappear. We beg to state that in the event of our expectations being not realised in this direction, we would have no objection to a certain number of seats being thereafter assigned to any important communities in a particular group in proportion to their numerical voting strength."

Muhammadans should have no vote in the general electorate. "No person 'unable to express himself in the English language shall be eligible to election or nomination to the Council.'" The franchise should generally be based on the existing municipal franchise.

87.—THE ANJUMAN-I-ISLAM, BOMBAY.

This is the chief Muhammadan society of Bombay City, its objects being the educational advancement and political welfare of Muhammadans.

The Anjuman approved of the main principles of reform outlined in the Congress-Muslim Scheme, but were not satisfied with the safeguards to Moslem interests which that scheme contains, and made much larger demands on behalf of their community. In the Bombay and Imperial Legislative Councils they demanded 36 per cent. of the total seats, 28.8 per cent. to be elected by separate electorates, and 7.2 per cent. to be elected by mixed electorates, or, failing such election, to be nominated. (The Congress-Muslim scheme gives to Moslems one-third of the elected

Indian membership of the Bombay and Imperial Councils and withholds from them the right to vote in any but their own separate electorates.) On the Executive Councils they claimed one-half of the Indian membership, and where there is only one member they asked that he should be alternately Hindu and Muhammadan. Equal representation was also claimed on the Secretary of State's Council. In matters of local self-government and in public services the proportion of representation should be the same as in the Legislative Councils.

"We submit it is not necessary here to go into a historical disquisition upon the importance of our community and the part which they played in the advance of civilisation in this country. The Moghal Emperors were the inheritors of the high culture and civilisation of Arabia and Persia, and their long rule in India led to a great advance in the life of the people of this country. To this day all educated men of our community are required to have a knowledge of Urdu and Persian, and some knowledge, at least, of Arabic. As was truly observed by Lord Morley, 'The difference between Muhammadans and Hindus is not a mere difference of articles of religious faith. It is a difference in life, in tradition, in history, in all the social things, as well as articles of belief that constitute a community.' Bearing in mind the existence of these differences, and the difficulties in the way of any member of one community appreciating the point of view of another community, we have the honour now on behalf of the Anjuman to approach Government with a request that Muslim rights should be properly secured and safeguarded under the new constitution. The Anjuman are of opinion that the proper governance of this country can only be secured by adequate representation of the Muslim community on the various bodies, which constitute the Government of India. With the following modifications¹, the Anjuman desire to give their adhesion to the Scheme of Reforms proposed by the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League."

88.—THE DECCAN SABHA, POONA.

This Sabha is a body established for promoting the political interests of the people of the Deccan and placing their grievances before Government. The Address of the Deputation occupied 35 printed pages. It entirely supported the main recommendations and proposals of the Congress-League Scheme.

"We respectfully submit that the mind of the people has been made known to Government with no uncertain voice and with singular unanimity and authority by those who have the greatest title to speak on their behalf. But we regret that the mind of the Government in this country remains to us still a sealed book."

The Sabha urged that the Congress-League Scheme was "in full harmony with British history and policy," and viewed "with great disappointment and almost with a sense of dismay" the general attitude of Europeans in India during the last 30 years. As regards illiteracy, "it is our submission that the appalling ignorance that prevails prescribes the necessity for, instead of being an argument against, the attainment of self-government." Indian politicians "have cried themselves hoarse in their demand for the free and compulsory education of the poor."

"The social evils that prevail are availed of as another ground for opposition to the reforms we support and advocate. The Council of the Sabha desire social reforms not less than political advancement. But they submit that the main reason why social reforms have been retarded is that the only means of effectively prosecuting those reforms is denied to them under the existing system of administration. To emancipate the people from the chains of evil and degrading customs which are intimately connected with their personal law is a task from which the authorities feel bound to refrain as politically unwise. The hesitation to avail of the aid of legislation in that behalf must exist so long as the Legislature is not fully representative of the people's views and wishes. Outside agency must be repugnant and objectionable if it sought to meddle with questions so closely allied to religious feeling. The political obligation of non-interference leaves no scope or room for the exercise of any practical sympathy with measures of social amelioration. Even among the educated Indians there is deep-rooted aversion generally to State or Government interference with social customs. They naturally feel that such interference must be the result of the people's wishes and not of the views of those of a

¹ Summarised above.

different religion. There is undoubtedly a growing public opinion which demands that sectional interests shall be subordinated to the general welfare. Until this opinion is fully availed of—and it could be availed of only by means of the constitutional reforms now demanded—social amelioration must depend only on the noble endeavours of those life-long workers in the cause, whose thoughtful representation in the matter will, the Council trust, receive from Government the serious attention it so largely merits."

The Address looked forward to the decay of the violent enmity of Indian anarchists, under a policy of political self-development: "We regard the anarchists as India's greatest enemies. But it is as impolitic to exaggerate their importance as it is to ignore their existence." It dwelt upon the reorganisation of local self-government from the village upwards, and recommended the creation of District Advisory Councils. The Sabha could not support the demand for communal representation.

"It may satisfy for a time the alarms and apprehensions which are to some extent genuine and natural, but which have in no small measure been the work of outside influences that do not dare to enter the field and proclaim openly their opposition, which is really due to selfish and unworthy motives. But the Council are firmly persuaded that, if the demand is granted, it will encourage class ascendancy and religious and sectarian partisanship; and result in distrust of Government itself by one party or another at first, and by all parties ultimately. The Council are not oblivious or unmindful of the recognition of the special and separate claims of the Mahomedan community which the Congress-League Scheme embodies. But that recognition was the price paid for the union and mutual goodwill of the two great communities, without which the attainment of self-government seemed difficult, if not impossible. The exceptional price paid for the union of the two great communities cannot and ought not to be claimed or utilised as a precedent for provisions which will promote and perpetuate division and disunion among sects and castes and classes that cannot demand and do not deserve similar consideration."

89.—DECCAN INAMDARS' ASSOCIATIONS.

The Inamdars, and Inamdars' Association, Bijapur; Inamdars' and Watandars' Association, Dharwar; Inamdars' Central Association, Satara; and Inamdars' Association, Belgaum, presented a joint Address.

These Associations have been established to protect the interests of Inamdars, an important class of landholders in the Deccan who hold land on a privileged tenure, and include Brahmins, Lingayats, Jains, Marathas, other Hindus and Muhammadans. These Associations professed themselves to be adherents of the Congress-Moslem League Scheme, but they included in their Address two conservative proposals which find no place in that scheme, namely—

- (1) That the Inamdars and Watandars of the Southern and Central Divisions should be entitled to elect one member per district to the Provincial Legislative Council, and (2) that Legislative Councils should have Second Chambers. The constitution and powers which the Second Chamber in Bombay should have were detailed in an annexure to the Address. Out of 48 members, 36 should be elected on a fairly high franchise by various constituencies (14 by "graduates and pleaders"). Inamdars and Watandars would return four members to this, but no Muhammadan or other communal representation was suggested.

"With all feelings of loyalty and gratitude, these Associations are firmly convinced that, with a view to further strengthen the basis of the British Government, it is absolutely necessary to thoroughly broaden the administration of the country, and grant the people their just demands by allowing them to effectively participate in the government. These Associations are further convinced that it is now high time that, with this end in view, substantial changes should be introduced in the administration of the country. And in this connection, these Associations respectfully beg to state that most of them entirely approve of the joint scheme of reforms adopted by the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League at Lucknow in December 1916. These Associations firmly believe that these reforms will conduce to widespread

and permanent contentment in the country, and will strengthen the bonds of loyalty to the British Throne, and will also make firm the foundations of the world-supremacy of the British Empire. In addition to the joint scheme of reforms above referred to, some of our Associations beg to attach a scheme of a Second Chamber, with an earnest hope that you will be pleased to consider it favourably."

90.—THE INDIAN CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, BOMBAY.

This Association, representing "the Protestant section of the Indian Christian community of Bombay," put forward no constructive reform proposals. The Association assumed that certain reforms will be introduced, called attention to the importance of the community which they represent, and prayed that in any administrative changes the position and interest of their community might receive recognition and that Indian Christians might be given their right place on all representative and administrative bodies.

"Communal Life.—No community is so compact as regards organisation. Every congregation of Christians in India is guided and regulated by representative committees of the people, presided over by a pastor and supervised by enlightened Mission Agencies from the West. During the course of a century the masses of village and town Christians have been thus prepared in the methods of responsible government, not only in Church affairs but in all other matters which relate to the welfare of a community. People fostered under such conditions would naturally be important factors in the development of self-governing institutions.

"Special Fitness.—Being free from the fetters of ignorance, superstition, and caste, the Indian Christians are specially fitted for military, industrial, and similar other departments of work. Their close contact with missionaries from the West has developed in them a robust character. From their very condition of life they are better suited to hold an even balance in a country so divided by castes and creeds. It is the common experience of people of this country that, especially in villages, the Indian Christian is often the counsellor of the people and is looked upon as an impartial and upright man.

"Co-operation with Western Agencies for the Regeneration of the Country.—The Missionary Agency in India has done far more than any other agency to dispel ignorance and superstition and to effect constructive work such as education, medical aid, social reform, famine relief, industrial development, &c. In this great work the Indian Christians—men and women—have toiled under the guidance of missionaries, in regenerating the great masses of the Indian population. It could be safely asserted that consciously or unconsciously, and without any flourish of trumpets, they have worked more effectively for the regeneration of India (especially of the depressed classes) than many social reformers and political agitators. This alone establishes a claim in their favour to a definite place in the contemplated readjustment."

91.—THE DECCAN RYOTS' ASSOCIATION, POONA; THE KANGAR HITWARDHAK SABHA; AND THE MARATHI-SPEAKING HINDU BACKWARD CLASSES, BOMBAY.

These Bodies represent the Ryots of the Deccan and other backward classes. Their joint deputation advocated special measures for the safeguarding of the interests of backward classes and their representation in the Legislative Councils.

The main argument of the Address was that so long as the caste system remains unchanged, so long will India be unfit for democratic institutions framed on western models. The caste system affects every branch of life, it has given rise to a multitude of conflicting interests, and any system of representation which ignores this conflict of interests will perpetuate the existing bitterness and enable the high castes to impede the progress of their less fortunate fellow countrymen. The only way, therefore, in which anything resembling responsible government can be introduced into India, is through an elaborate system of communal representation.

The main points in the joint scheme of reforms which is annexed to the Address are these: (1) An increase in the size of Legislative Councils, with a four-fifths elected majority; (2) the Provincial Legislature should be entrusted with full powers of internal administration; (3) election should be mainly by a system of communal electorates with a low franchise; (4) the Imperial Legislative Council should consist of 100 members, 40 nominated members, 25 representatives of Native States, and 35 representatives from British India; (5) Indians should be appointed to half the number of seats on Executive Councils; (6) the Executive Governments, Imperial and Provincial, should have an absolute right of veto; (7) Provincial Legislative Councils should have the right to elect small committees to advise members of Executive Councils.

"The unfitness of Indian society for democratic life after the purely western model has in a way been increased by the fact that the educational status of only a few castes has been raised to a high degree and that of all the others has been allowed to remain almost as low as ever before. The gulf which always separated the higher castes from the masses of the country on religious and social grounds has only been widened by the enormous educational progress of a few and the appalling ignorance of the many. In consequence of this, whilst the advanced castes have been wielding all the influence attached to the Local and Municipal Boards and the Legislative Councils, the masses exercise practically no influence in these bodies. This very state of things will be aggravated if the governing institutions of the country are more and more brought under popular control without adequate provision being made for the effective representation of the castes which constitute the masses of the country."

"The Councils as at present constituted are incapable of undertaking any social legislation, and unless they are responsible to Indian opinion itself no action by them is advisable. This has, however, materially retarded progress by stereotyping orthodox customs through the agency of case-laws. But we have to point out that the only rational purpose of legislation affecting social affairs is to remove all impediments to individual development and to the unification of society into one organic whole. It will be readily admitted that the prevailing opinion of the upper sections of Hindu society is entirely opposed to every change in this direction. If the majorities in the proposed Legislative Councils are to consist of persons who will be typical of the majorities in the more literate castes, the fate of the vast masses of people who fill the lower strata of our society will be sealed for all time."

The scheme of electorates comprised five groups: (1) eight communal groups based on religion, (2) untouchable classes, (3) backward Hindu classes, (4) special interests—commerce, higher education, landholders, local bodies, (5) general territorial electorates. As education progressed seats should be transferred from the first three to the last two groups. If the Hindus were not sub-divided for electoral purposes into communal electorates, 21 seats (in a Legislative Council of 125) should be filled by nomination to represent backward classes and untouchables, the proportion becoming 46 nominated to 79 elected members.

92.—MARATHAS OF BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

With the Deccan Ryot's Address (No. 91) was handed in an Address adopted at a Maratha Conference at Poona in December 1917, which expressed agreement with the views presented by the former Association.

"In devising any scheme of political reforms the claims of the Maratha community to special representation on the Local and Imperial Legislatures should receive due consideration, regard being had to their population (which is more than four millions), historical and political importance and warlike traditions. We, however, humbly suggest that if it be decided to form only one electorate out of all educationally backward classes, an adequate number of seats should be reserved for the Marathas through the same."

93.—THE LINGAYAT COMMUNITY OF THE SOUTHERN DIVISION, BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

This deputation represented the large cultivating caste of the Lingayats. The Lingayats expressed no views on the shape which the contemplated reforms should take. They assumed that there would be reforms, and they put forward a special claim on behalf of their own community to separate representation. They claimed in the alternative 5 per cent. of the total number of seats on the Bombay Provincial Legislative Council, or 33 per cent. of the seats allotted to the Carnatic districts of Belgaumi, Dharwar, Bijapur and Karwar. They also claimed the right to participate in the general elections. They urged that their representatives in the Provincial Council should be entitled to elect one member to the Imperial Legislative Council, and they also asked for a due share in the administrative services.

"We are grateful to His Majesty's Government and the Government of India for the authoritative pronouncement of policy made on the 20th of August last, which has given complete satisfaction to all classes and communities of His Majesty's Indian subjects. We are confident that the first instalment of reforms will be a substantial step towards the goal of responsible government and commensurate with the fitness of the people and their legitimate aspirations. We further expect in common with the rest of India that in the forthcoming reforms we will have truly representative and popular Legislative Councils, councils in which will be truly and properly reflected all the leading elements of the population. We are also firmly of opinion that the administration of the country, that is to say the law-making and law-executing departments of the country, should not be monopolised by a certain section of His Majesty's Indian subjects, but should be so constituted as to make provision in all the branches for the due representation of all the various important communities of the province. Unless you will be pleased to look carefully into this important matter, we are almost sure that an oligarchy of a certain section of the people will take the place of the present best services of a truly and unbiased British mind. Unless adequate provision is made for the due representation of all the various communities in the Legislative Councils and in all the departments of administration, there is real danger of one advanced community swamping up the other less advanced or backward communities, and further, there will surely be deep and widespread discontent throughout the province."

94.—THE POONA SARVAJANIK SABHA.

This Society described itself as a public Association some 50 years old, constituted on an entirely elective principle, "founded with the object of creating 'in the Maharashtra and the Deccan a mediatory body between the Government and the people.'" Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the President, headed the deputation, nine out of the ten members of which were Deccani Brahmans. The Sabha supported the Congress-League Scheme, and urged that popular discontent could not be allayed until the demands of that scheme were fully met.

"The National Congress very wisely commenced with propagandism of the reform of the Indian Legislative Councils; and after a fruitless advocacy of the reforms of the minor administrative details, it has come back to rely upon a thorough reform of the Legislative Councils as the only ultimate solution of every vexed question of practical politics in India. The refusal by Government of the demand for reforms even in small matters has had, paradoxical as it may seem, the effect of their emphasising and clinching the highest demand, viz., for a legislative body composed mostly of popularly elected members, wielding full power of the purse, and exercising the fullest control over the executive.

"Isolated public associations in India may be said to have parted with the dominating influence, which they exercised in the different provinces of India, since the advent of the Indian National Congress. The associations, however, having been conscious and willing helpers in the creation of the national body, are quite content to remain in the different provinces as subordinate bodies, more or less loosely affiliated to it, and working as so many feeders and nerve-centres of the great central organisation. Having a true sense of perspective and proportion, they feel that, while it is for them in the future, as in the past, to develop and focus popular opinion

in comparatively smaller areas on comparatively lesser questions of official administration, it is for the Congress, as a non-official national body, parallel to the Imperial Legislative Council, to take cognisance of the highest political problems such as affect the interests or the well-being of the whole nation. Even individual public associations, however, cannot but feel that there can be no decisive or abiding reforms in the administration of this country, unless it is given to the people themselves, as represented by their elected deputies in the Imperial or Provincial Legislative Councils, not only to shape the policy of administration, but also to enforce it at the hands of an executive agency responsible to themselves. The secret of success, from the point of view of the people, lies solely in responsible and representative government, without which both the people and the Government might go on for a century, tinkering with administrative reforms without improving the situation in the slightest degree."

"In this the concluding year of the first century of British rule after the subversion of the Maratha Government, it would be an unparalleled glory to British statesmanship to rehabilitate the people in self-government, though it would be, as it necessarily should be, under extremely altered and also improved conditions. The British will have completely vindicated their title as the high priests and the arch-custodians of the sacred fire of political liberty if, within a century, they could allow their political tutorship of the people in this province to so richly fructify as to establish in the land a system of self-government participated in by the people on as wide a basis as possible."

95.—THE HOME RULE LEAGUES, BOMBAY AND POONA.

This deputation, including Hindus (amongst whom was Mr. Tilak), Muhammadans, and Parsees, and the English editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, was headed by the Hon. Mr. M. A. Jinnah (Member of the Imperial Legislative Council). The Address accepted the Congress-League Scheme as a substantial step towards self-government. A seven-page Annexure expounded the Congress-League Scheme, and went into the questions of franchise and of local self-government. Direct election to the Legislative Council was strongly urged, the franchise tentatively suggested being the payment of Rs. 50 revenue assessment, the receipt of Rs. 250 a year as wages, the payment of income-tax, or the possession of a school-leaving certificate.

"Our two Leagues, with their affiliated branches, represent a membership of about 50,000, though they have only been in existence for two years past; and our experience, as a result of the work that the Leagues have been carrying on during that time, assures us beyond doubt that the principles for which the Leagues stand and the scheme which we have come here to press upon your acceptance, command the support not merely of the "educated" minority (so-called), but of the vast bulk of the people of the Presidency. The political activities of the past two years have afforded clear and emphatic evidence that the advocacy of these principles and this scheme, and the passionate desire for a definite transfer of the control of the administration from the hands of the bureaucracy to those of the representatives of the people, can no longer be said to be confined to a minority of the educated classes—if such an assertion were ever true—but are widespread throughout the country, permeating every class, and actuating with equal strength the ryots and peasants in the villages and country districts, and the professional and trading classes in the towns. We have had exceptional opportunities of gauging public feeling in this respect, and nothing has been more striking in regard to the work on which we have been engaged than the fact, most strongly evidenced wherever our meetings have been held, wherever our branches have been formed or wherever else our workers have gone in response to the appeals that have reached us for co-operation in political organisation, that there has been no task placed upon us of sowing the seeds of political awakening. We have found without exception that the awakening has already taken place and the seeds have already been sown through the realisation by those who feel it the most acutely that the present hard and officialised system of administration has outlived the needs of the country. All that has been required of our organisation has been to provide the channel, so eagerly desired, by which the longings of the people for a reform of the government which will enable them to manage their domestic affairs through their own elected representatives, may be made known to those in charge of the King-Emperor's Government in this country and to

the great democracy beyond the seas who we know are generously desirous to do justice to the vast people whose destinies have been confided to their care.

"The demonstrations of public feeling which have recently become a common feature of life in this Presidency, as in other parts of the country, are unparalleled in the history of India and are comparable in their popular character only to the great gatherings which used to take place in the Eastern Presidency during the agitation for the revocation of the Partition of Bengal. In the City of Bombay it may not be a matter of such great surprise that mass meetings, at which it is no unusual event for more than 20,000 persons of all classes and communities to assemble, should be a feature of the agitation which has recently been in progress in support of the movement for the grant of self-government to India, though even these gatherings in the capital of the Province are a new factor in public life and form a striking indication of the extent to which the sentiment of the people has been stirred. But the demonstrations in the district towns and in the villages have been a revelation in their extent and the strength of feeling that has been displayed, even to those who had never doubted that the leaders of this movement had behind them the support and sympathy of the masses, who have hitherto been represented by our opponents as being apathetic towards the questions in the settlement of which they are so vitally affected."

"The whole weight of the foremost political organisations in the country has been thrown into the support of the scheme the acceptance of which we now advocate, and that all classes of people have indicated their approval of it by the demonstrations that have been held throughout the country and by the signatures to the monster petition that has been already submitted to you; that the time has gone by when piecemeal and partial reform can be of avail in satisfying the hunger of the people of this country for the exercise of those political rights which are enjoyed by the other great components of the British Empire; and that nothing short of the concession of the measure of autonomy which is now proposed as a substantial and definite step towards the prized goal of full self-government within the Empire, such as is enjoyed by the great self-governing Dominions, can possibly satisfy that hunger. If India after the war is left in any degree in a position of dependency in regard to the management of her own affairs, she will not only be the only great country within the British Empire, which stands for political freedom throughout the world, in that humiliating position, but she will be left without the enjoyment of those political rights and privileges which her treasure and the blood of her sons are helping to win for the oppressed nationalities, which it is the aim of Great Britain and her Allies to release from their thralldom."

96.—BOMBAY PRESIDENCY ASSOCIATION.

This Association, an influential political body in Bombay City, strongly supported the Congress-League Scheme, laying special stress on the need for provincial autonomy. It argued that for the last 65 years the over-centralisation of Government had been the subject of criticism. The demand for provincial autonomy for Bombay was a demand for the restoration of the position that existed before the Regulating Act of 1773, with the difference that autonomy must now entail popular control. The Association submitted a detailed scheme for an enlarged Bombay Legislative Council of 125, with 100 elected members. Of the latter four should be returned by non-official European constituencies, 32 by Mahomedans, 10 by other communal electorates. Suggestions were made for the franchise, which should generally be based on existing municipal franchises until the reformed Legislative Council frames new rules with the sanction of Government. Indirect election would be practically eliminated.

"The complaints of educated Indians in regard to the existing system of administration relate mainly to its cumbersomeness, exclusiveness, expensiveness, secrecy, illiberal and mistaken exercise of executive discretion, excessive centralisation of legislative and executive power calculated to impair the authority, influence and efficiency of Provincial Governments and to unduly hamper the progress of the Provinces, and, above all, absence of responsibility to the tax-payer, and hence its inefficiency from the point of view of its acceptability to the people. Add to these, the infirmities and hardships to the people of India of a system akin to that of absentee landlordism in the form of a nominal—shadowy—unreal—

Parliamentary control of Indian affairs. This last, as said above, is an addition to the defects from which the Company's Government suffered and against which educated Indians of the time bitterly complained, those defects being substantially the same as have formed the subject-matter of Indian grievances since the Crown assumed direct responsibility for the governance of India."

"In order to give effect to the policy foreshadowed in the Delhi Despatch of August 1911, there must be a definite and complete separation of Imperial from Provincial finance, accompanied by effective financial control on the part of the Local Legislative Council so constituted as to give 'a potent and determining voice' therein to a popularly elected majority representing the tax-payers in the Province. The said financial separation is to be effected by treating all revenue and expenditure as entirely Imperial or Provincial as the case may be. The present wholly Provincial and wholly Imperial heads should be retained, but the present *divided* heads should become wholly Provincial. In this connection, the Council beg to point out that originally, prior to 1881-82, all heads of revenue or expenditure were either *wholly* Provincial or *wholly* Imperial, and the Local Government sanctioned its Budget prepared by the Accountant-General *without reference to the Government of India*. Reverting, in principle, to this older arrangement, the Government of India should be allotted its *entirely separate* Imperial heads, as proposed in the Congress-League Scheme, and a *fixed* contribution—not a percentage of the Provincial revenues—should be made by each Provincial Government to the Government of India for the purpose of enabling the latter to carry on its duties. A fixed contribution will supply a much needed check to the extravagant tendencies of the Government of India. A percentage of the Provincial revenues will prevent the more enterprising Provincial Governments from reaping the full benefit of their careful and energetic husbanding of their local resources and will result in inequitable levies from them and in consequent heart-burning fatal to harmonious relations between them and the central authority. Under the Congress-League Scheme, the military expenditure of the Government of India is *excluded* from the control of the Imperial Legislative Council. *Fixed* contributions from the Provincial Governments, not liable to revision except when *extraordinary and unforeseen* contingencies render such revision necessary, will act indirectly, but none the less powerfully, to control that expenditure within legitimate bounds. The determination of 'extraordinary and unforeseen contingencies,' however, should not rest entirely with the Government of India so as to make them the sole judge in their own cause to the prejudice of the Provincial Governments, who, being liable to increased levies, are entitled to have a voice in the matter. The autonomous Provincial Governments, in their turn—subjected as they will be, and must be, to the control of their Legislative Councils in the raising and spending of provincial taxes—cannot be allowed to vote away on their own responsibility an increased contribution to the Government of India without the assent of their own Legislative Councils. However much these proposals may be opposed by vested interests, they are justifiable as necessary safeguards against the possibility of extravagant military expenditure by the Government of India and their imaginary conjuring up of 'extraordinary and unforeseen' circumstances in such a way as to make inroads from time to time on the autonomy of the Provincial Governments until it becomes more or less shadowy.

"The considerations urged in the foregoing paragraphs constitute the justification for the composition, the powers and the functions of the Provincial Legislative Council as outlined in the Congress-League Scheme. The *conditio sine qua non* for the introduction of provincial autonomy, it need hardly be emphasised, is the reform of the Legislative Council so as to give 'a potent and determining voice' therein to the elected representatives of the tax-payers in the province. It follows that these representatives must have a substantial majority in the Legislative Council. The Congress-League Scheme therefore proposes that the elected members of the Council shall form four-fifths of the total number, which in the major provinces should not be less than 125. The scheme, however, does not go into details as to how the electorates are to be formed and how the four-fifths elected members are to be made up by distribution of the seats among the various electorates. It lays down some broad principles as to the nature of the franchise and specifies the proportion of the Mahomedan elected members to the total number of elected *Indian* members. It lays down further that the interests of important minorities shall be duly safeguarded by election. The principle of separate representation to Mahomedans has necessitated the provision that they shall *not* participate in any other electorates except those which represent what are called 'special interests.'"

"The Council of the Association submit that in constituting the Imperial Legislative Council the same principle of a broad-based franchise should be given effect to as in the case of the Provincial Legislative Council, and that there should be no electorate retained or framed which may be open to the objection that it is little else than a 'pocket-borough' or a 'rotten borough.' Further, in determining the number of elected representatives of a Province in the Imperial Legislative Council the contribution of each Province to the Government of India should be taken as the basis."

97.—THE DEPRESSED CLASSES MISSION SOCIETY, BOMBAY.

This deputation, while including one representative of an "untouchable" class, the first member of his community to pass the Bombay University Matriculation, was composed mainly of Indian gentlemen of good position who are keenly interested in social reform. It was headed by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar.

The deputation supported the Congress-League scheme; but asked for separate representation of the depressed classes. It also pressed for free and compulsory education.

The Address set out that at a public meeting of the Depressed Classes of Hindus held at Bombay on the 11th November 1917, attended by about 2,500 members of "the castes called the depressed or untouchable" under the chairmanship of Sir N. Chandavarkar, six resolutions were passed.

"The first resolution carried at the meeting unanimously and amidst great enthusiasm was: 'That this public meeting of the depressed classes gives expression to its sense of loyalty to the British Government and prays to God for victory to the 'Allies in the present war.' All the speakers to this resolution gave eloquent and earnest expression to the fact that the British Government had proved and was proving the salvation of the depressed classes in India; that it was under that Government alone that the depressed classes, who had been subjected for centuries before by religion and social custom to the most degrading treatment, felt assured of justice and righteousness. Those remarks of the speakers were received by the large audience with the most enthusiastic cheers of approval.

"The second resolution carried at the meeting by an overwhelming majority, the dissentients being about a dozen, expressed approval of the scheme of reform in the administration of India recommended by the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League.

"The third resolution carried unanimously was: 'As the population of the 'depressed classes in India, considered untouchable and treated as such, is very 'large, as their condition is very degraded owing to that treatment and as they are 'behind the rest of the people in point of education, being unable to secure fair 'opportunities for their improvement, this public meeting of the depressed classes 'strongly feels that in the scheme of reform and reconstitution of the Legislative 'Councils which Government may be pleased to adopt, due regard should be paid to 'the interests of the said classes. This meeting therefore prays the British Govern- 'ment to be so gracious as to protect those interests by granting to those classes the 'right to elect their own representatives to the said Councils in proportion to their 'numbers. This meeting with that object and for that purpose further resolves that 'a deputation on its behalf do wait upon His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor- 'General of India and the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India in 'Bombay to urge their claims and interests, and that Sir Narayan Ganesh Chanda- 'varkar, the Chairman of this meeting, is hereby authorised to take the necessary 'steps for praying and arranging for such deputation.'

"The fourth resolution unanimously carried at the meeting was: 'That the 'Government be prayed for the adoption with all convenient speed of a compulsory 'and free system of education rendered necessary by the fact that the social 'elevation of any community depends upon the universal spread of education among 'its members and that the degradation of the depressed classes is due to their 'illiteracy and ignorance.'

"The fifth resolution carried unanimously was as follows: 'That the Chairman 'of this public meeting be authorised to request the Indian National Congress to pass 'at its forthcoming session a distinct and independent resolution declaring to the 'people of India at large the necessity, justice, and righteousness of removing all

'the disabilities imposed by religion and custom upon the depressed classes, those 'disabilities being of a most vexatious and oppressive character, subjecting those 'classes to considerable hardship and inconvenience by prohibiting them from 'admission into public schools, hospitals, courts of justice and public offices, and 'the use of public wells, &c. These disabilities, social in origin, amount in law and 'practice to political disabilities and as such fall legitimately within the political 'mission and propaganda of the Indian National Congress.'

"The sixth resolution prays all Hindus of the castes other than the untouchables and depressed, especially those of the higher castes, who claim political rights, to take steps for the purpose of removing the blot of degradation from the depressed classes, which has subjected those classes to the worst of treatment in their own country."

At the same time a series of resolutions passed at a later public meeting in Bombay was received to the following effect:—

"A public meeting of the untouchable classes in the city of Bombay was held at the Tank Bunder under the presidency of Mr. Bapuji Namdeo Bagade. In spite of the lack of advertisement and festivities, the meeting was attended by about 2,000 men from the various communities composing the untouchables.

"The following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

"(1) Resolution of loyalty to the British Throne.

"(2) That this meeting cannot give its support to the Congress-League Scheme in spite of its having been declared to have been passed at the meeting of 11th November 1917 by an "overwhelming majority."

"(3) That it is the sense of this meeting that the administration of India should be largely under the control of the British till all classes and specially the depressed classes rise up to a condition to effectually participate in the administration of the country.

"(4) That if the British Government have decided to give political concessions to the Indian Public, this meeting prays that Government should grant the untouchables their own representatives in the various legislative measures to ensure them their civil and political rights.

"(5) That this meeting approves of the objects of the Bahiskirt Bharat Samaj (Depressed India Association)¹ and supports the deputation to be sent on its behalf to Mr. Montagu.

"(6) That this meeting prays that Government, looking to the special needs of the depressed classes, should make primary education both free and compulsory. That the meeting also requests the Government to give special facilities by way of scholarships to the students of the depressed classes.

"(7) That the meeting authorises the President to forward the above resolutions to the Viceroy and the Government of Bombay."

98.—INDIAN MERCHANTS' CHAMBER AND BUREAU, BOMBAY.

This body represents Indian commercial interests. Like the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce (No. 32) this Chamber demanded that India should have a free hand in the determination of her own commercial and fiscal policies. No scheme of reform was put forward, but the view was urged that the first step in any such scheme should be to grant adequate representation to Indian commercial interests on the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils. The Commerce and Industry Department should be rearranged and a special portfolio for railways and irrigation created. In all provinces there should be a department of industry. It was suggested that a portion of the Gold Standard Reserve should be kept in India and utilised in advances to Presidency Banks and otherwise made available for industrial purposes.

"Living as we do in these critical times, we in India fully realise the might and main of the British Navy and the valour of British and Indian armies who are fighting for the Empire and affording protection and security not only to life and property, but also to the commerce and industry of the Empire. Many indeed are the questions affecting Indian trade and industries in relation to the other parts of the

¹ See Appendix I.

British Empire as well as foreign countries, the most important of which will arise when peace negotiations are considered at the end of the war. These far-reaching deliberations demand that India's interests should not only be represented but adequately safeguarded in the Councils or Conferences of the Empire wherever and whenever held. It is the earnest request of this Chamber that His Majesty's Government will not fail to secure Indian representation competent and qualified to give advice at such deliberations. It is of supreme importance to the healthy and natural growth of Indian commerce and industries that India should have a free hand in the determination of her own policy; and that no considerations other than the best interests of the country should prevail. Under existing circumstances, the subordination of the Indian Administration in matters of trade and industry to external and more powerful influences have been found to be a great evil prejudicial to Indian welfare. The Government of India should have complete fiscal autonomy. So far fiscal autonomy has been found in the case of the Colonies to be perfectly compatible with their own interests, pure and simple, without clashing in any way with the harmonious development of inter-Imperial relations. There ought to be nothing to prevent India from similarly bearing her full share of Imperial responsibility without sacrificing her own interests. Whilst on this subject may we beg leave to express our whole-hearted gratitude for the removal of the grave injustice which India had been subjected to for over twenty years on account of the preferential duty on imported cotton goods. We have also noted with the highest satisfaction the emphatic pronouncement made by your distinguished predecessor in office at the luncheon in honour of the Imperial Conference given by the Empire Producers' Associations in London, which augurs well for the future."

99.—SIR DINSHAW WACHA, SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR,
AND EIGHT OTHER BOMBAY GENTLEMEN.

These ten gentlemen are members of the Bombay Presidency Association (No. 96), who desired to submit a separate representation. Nine of them had signed that Association's memorial. Their Address was accompanied by an elaborate Note, extending, with appendices, to 50 pages. The purpose of the Note was "to justify and supplement the Congress-League Scheme of Reform." It gave a historical retrospect of Indian administration in several of its aspects, and on it were based the following conclusions:—

- "(1) The lesson of the Mesopotamia muddle is the lesson of the present system of bureaucratic administration in India.
- "(2) Under the present constitution of the Government of India there is nobody of sufficient independence to protect the tax-payers of India, and to that have been mainly due India's financial embarrassments.
- "(3) The British mercantile and monied interests, as the late Lord Lawrence, among others, affirmed, have operated upon India in their own interests without due regard to the interests of the people.
- "(4) The British members of the Indian Civil Service are indeed a capable, conscientious, and upright class of officials; they have, in the past, served the Indian Empire by consolidating it; but India has outgrown the period of consolidation and the service has become a close bureaucracy wedded to routine, unable to move with the times, impatient of outside criticism, and as one of its members (quoted in the Note) declared at a sitting of the Viceroy's Legislative Council in 1882, while introducing the Jhansi Encumbered Estates Bill, knowledge comes to it too late, not until after mischief has been done.
- "(5) It is agitation by the Indian Press, by the educated Indians, by the Indian Public Associations and leaders which, having been disregarded, opposed and thwarted for a long time, has, under the stress of circumstances, led British officials in India to accept the Indian view for the amelioration of the condition of the masses and which has justified the character and influence of the educated Indian classes as the true leaders and representatives of their people having a more intimate knowledge of the political, economic, and social conditions of the country than the British officials or non-officials in India."

In reply to the charge made in some quarters that the Congress-League proposals are "revolutionary," they observed that in 1857 the proposal to transfer India from its East India Company to the Crown was "equally condemned as revolutionary by the critics on the ground, emphasised notably by John Stuart Mill, that under it India would suffer for the want of a controlling influence to protect the interests of the Indian people in general and the Indian tax-payers in particular."

100.—THE PARSI COMMUNITY.

This deputation of leading Parsis was headed by Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Bart. The Address was simply a plea that, if communal representation were found necessary, the Parsis, though as a community they are opposed to the principle of separate representation, might receive consideration along with other minorities, without prejudice to their present opportunities of representation.

"That the Parsi community has been settled in this country for more than a thousand years. That it numbers at present about a hundred thousand, half of whom reside in the city of Bombay, and of the other half the majority is spread over various places in the Bombay Presidency, while a fairly large number is to be found in cities like Calcutta and Nagpur. That on the advent of the British in India the Parsis were among the first to take advantage of the opportunities which were then placed within the reach of Indians of acquiring knowledge of the literature, arts and science of the West. That by reason of their eager pursuit of Western education, and their natural capacity, intelligence and public spirit, the Parsis were soon able to occupy a leading position among the millions of this vast continent. That in the field of social, political, educational and commercial activities, the labours of a long succession of eminent men whom the community has produced have resulted in giving the Parsis, in spite of their numerical inferiority, a conspicuous status and position in the country, while their catholic charities have made them widely known throughout the civilised world."

"Strengthened by the assurance given at the close of the last sessions of the Imperial Legislative Council that 'no scheme of reform which was sound could be based on injustice to the British or any other community,' your Memorialists pray that, in the event of communal electorates finding a place in the projected constitutional reforms, the claims of the Parsis as a small but enlightened and influential minority may be duly considered, and adequate representation of the community provided for in the new Provincial and Imperial Councils, and in such other spheres of administration as may be thrown open to the people of this country."

101.—THE TALUKDARS AND SARDARS OF GUJERAT, BOMBAY
PRESIDENCY.

The Talukdars are a section of the Sardars or leading landholders, who represent the old landed aristocracy of Gujerat, holding land on a special tenure. The Sardars of Gujerat (like those of the Deccan) return a member to the Bombay Legislative Council. The Thakors are another section of Sardars, and, like the Talukdars, of Rajput descent. The major portion of the Address consisted of the exposition of the claim of the Thakors and Talukdars to rank as chiefs. The Sardars asked that they should be allowed to return two members to the Provincial and Imperial Legislative Councils, and that, if a second Chamber composed of princes and noblemen is established, their claim to representation in it might be considered. They also claimed representation in any Federal Parliament that might be formed. They suggested that no legislation affecting their interests should be introduced without their views being obtained. Like other landholders they would like a permanent settlement, and they also asked for special representation on district and Taluka boards.

"We are grateful to the Bombay Government for the remedial measures which have been taken from time to time to extricate the Talukdars from their debts, and to regulate their relations with money-lenders, and to improve their condition. However, the promise given by Sir Bartle Frere to reconsider their political status remains to be fulfilled, and the revenue relations between them and the Government on the basis of the Jama payable by them being a fixed tribute remain to be settled."

"We beg leave to say that we have shown that the striking contrast that is presented by the present condition of the Talukdars and Thakors of Gujerat who were shorn of their dignities and jurisdiction to that of their historical compeers, the ruling princes in Kathiawar and elsewhere, is admittedly due to mistakes and to the accident that while the former's territory fell at an early date under British rule by treaties with the Peshwa and the Gaikwar, the latter came at a later date within the sphere of British influence by the slow course of diplomacy. 'A more melancholy instance,' says Mr. Rogers, 'of blundering mismanagement of a peculiarly fine proprietary body of men, partly through their own fault and partly through the ignorance of the officers of Government, cannot, it is believed, be adduced throughout the annals of the British administration in India.' (*The Land Revenue of Bombay*, Vol. I., page 18.) We pray that the promises given by Sir Bartle Frere may be fulfilled, and that the jurisdiction and political status of the Thakors and Talukdars may be restored, and they may be assigned their legitimate place in the body politic when the new reforms are introduced.

"We beg leave also to mention that the Bombay Government has recently created the title and class of Sardars of Gujerat. The object in view, however, was to provide a suitable electorate to represent large landholders and some other interests, and to revive an old Indian title of honour. The class includes within its pale not only Thakors and landlords of aristocratic descent, but landholders and merchants with considerable incomes, and those who have rendered themselves conspicuous by public services. The title of Sardar was conferred by Indian rulers on persons who had rendered distinguished military services to the State and on military Jaghirdars. We beg to submit that such a title hardly compensates the Thakors and Talukdars for the loss of their ancient princely titles and dignities. We beg to request that the ancient princely titles of the Thakors and Talukdars, which were duly conferred and confirmed by previous Governments, and which were officially recognised in the beginning of British rule, may be again recognised, or an historically appropriate title may be created, and proper political rights may be given them."

102.—MUHAMMADANS OF THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

This deputation claimed to represent the views of a large number of Muhammadans in Western India. Their Address followed very much the same lines as those presented by the more conservative Muhammadan deputations at other centres. The Congress-Muslim League Scheme was first criticised, and the following specific objections to it were raised :—

- (1) It does not sufficiently safeguard Moslem interests.
- (2) The proposal that Indian members of Executive Councils should be elected is in itself unsound and would also effectually exclude Muhammadans.
- (3) An elected President of a Legislative Council could not command the same confidence as the Head of the Province.
- (4) The proposal that resolutions should be binding would result in administrative chaos.

The Address contained certain practical constructive proposals, of which the most important were that there should be two Indians, including one Muhammadan, on the Imperial and Bombay Executive Councils, that Muhammadans should have a separate electorate in municipal and district board elections, should receive a due proportion of posts in the public services, and should have complete freedom in religious observances.

"In view of the complicated political conditions obtaining in this country, it is impossible for the Mahomedan community to commit themselves to any particular form of self-government. We firmly believe that the realisation of the goal of self-government for India must be the result of a process of evolution suitable to local conditions. We are opposed to any readjustment calculated to weaken the British character of the administration, or its ultimate guiding and controlling power; nor can we lend our support to any scheme of reforms which would tend to perpetuate the ascendancy of one community to the detriment and disadvantage of the others. While desiring perfect unity between Moslems and Hindus, we contend that it is not wisdom to forget that, in the existing backward condition of the majority of both

Hindus and Mahomedans, with their divergent customs and clashing interests, the differences between them cannot but be reflected for years to come in their dealings with each other."

"What is proposed now in certain quarters is not so much the reform of the present Government as its extinction and hasty introduction of a new form of Government which under certain conceivable circumstances might revolutionise the country. It is freely asserted that in no distant future the English bureaucracy will disappear and an Indian majority in the Councils will take its place. Whatever may have been the defects of that much abused bureaucracy in the past, it must be admitted that it has had one redeeming merit, viz., that of holding the balance even as between the two principal communities in India, and thus protecting the weak against the strong. If that balancing agency is to be removed or reduced, such provision for the protection of the Moslem minority will have to be embodied in the future Constitution as will make it impossible for any majority in the Councils and local bodies to encroach upon their rights. Care should also be taken that in the place of the English bureaucracy some narrow-minded oligarchy might not be established by the new Constitution itself.

"We cannot accord our entire agreement to the Congress-League Scheme of Reforms as it will, in the absence of certain additional guarantees, result in jeopardising the existence of the Mahomedans of India as a distinct political entity. The Hindu-Moslem understanding, revealed therein, is practically confined to the question of separate electorates for the Moslems in the various Councils, and does not extend to other questions equally vital to the progress of the community, such as those of local self-government, recruitment of the public services, freedom in the exercise of religious rites, &c. Moreover, some of the provisions in the scheme, as it stands, are most detrimental to Moslem interests and must be considered impracticable at the present stage of the progress of the country. Take, for example, the proposal that half the members of the Executive Councils, who are to be Indians, should be elected by the majority in the Councils. Even in England it is not the House of Commons but the Prime Minister who selects the Ministry, and he naturally takes care to select such as would work smoothly with him. It is quite conceivable that the Head of a Province in India would find it most difficult to conduct the administration with members in whose selection he would have no voice and who might be in perpetual conflict with his policy. The strongest objection to such an arrangement from the Mahomedan point of view, however, is that there is hardly any possibility in it of a Mahomedan being ever elected to the Executive Council because of the permanent Hindu majority in the Legislative Councils."

103.—THE SIND MUHAMMADAN ASSOCIATION, KARACHI.

This Association represents the great body of Sind Muhammadan landholders, and claimed to speak on behalf of the Muhammadans of Sind, who (being 2½ millions) form about three-fourths of the population.

These Mahomedans were opposed to the Home Rule League propaganda and the Congress-Moslem League Scheme of Reforms. They considered that the province of Sind is not yet ripe for democratic government and explained their reasons for opposing the Congress proposals. They denied that there could be any satisfactory agreement between the Hindus and Mahomedans which was not safeguarded by legal and constitutional guarantees. They apparently claimed three-fourths of the representation on the Bombay Legislative Council allotted to the Indian communities of Sind, which in turn should not be more than one-half the total number of seats. They claimed the same proportions on Executive Councils that may be established and on municipalities, local boards, &c. They were entirely opposed to the Provincial Conference Committee's suggestion (No. 104) that Sind should be more directly under the Governor of Bombay in Council. They looked on such a proposal as retrograde and considered that progress lay in conferring a greater degree of independence on the province. They proposed that this should be done by the formation of a new province composed of Sind and Baluchistan. The Association was opposed not to progress but to undue haste. It advocated the wider employment of Indians in the higher branches of the administration. It specially urged that more provincial service officers should be promoted to high posts, and that the cleavage between

Imperial and provincial services should be made less wide. At the same time steps should be taken for the gradual establishment of a system of federal government.

"The Congress-League reform of Government, the method of appointment and the proposed constitution of the Councils are largely inimical to Muhammadan interests, and if your memorialists may be permitted to say so, to the best interests of the country. Your memorialists do not wish, however, to refer to other parts of India, but will confine their observations to Sind. This province is not yet ripe or ready for democratic government. Its history, traditions, the heredity and disposition of its peoples, its want of homogeneity or community of interests—social, religious or any other kind—all point the other way. Less than a century ago it was from time immemorial under the rule of a monarchical Government. The short time that has since elapsed is not sufficient even under the beneficial influences of the benign British Government, and the blessings of Western education, to evolve the spirit, sentiment, and disposition essential to the success of democratic institutions; on the contrary it has had the temporary effect of upsetting the equilibrium of the two main classes of the population, and the Muhammadan community, which was in the dominant position in the former regime, are transitorily eclipsed by the Hindus, who were then a subject race and consequently in a relatively inferior position economically, socially and politically and every other respect. Many factors have combined to disturb this equilibrium, chief among which was the greater readiness on the part of the Hindu community to adapt itself to the changed conditions. This it did by practically monopolising positions in Government service, and making greater and more rapid headway than the Moslem community in English education. Another important factor was the enactment of Western legislation unsuited to the conditions of a simple agricultural people without effective safeguards. This disturbance of equilibrium has already reacted most prejudicially to the Muhammadan community as will be apparent from almost if not all the Addresses your memorialists have had the honour of presenting to Governors, Viceroys and other representatives of the King-Emperor on their comparatively infrequent visits to this province. But at any rate such prejudice was to some extent mitigated by the active sympathy we now receive from the Executive Administrators—a sympathy which we could rely on so long as the Government of the country remained absolutely British. The Muhammadans cannot enjoy this easiness of mind so long as they do not feel certain that the contemplated political changes will not place their national interests and communal rights entirely at the mercy of another community. They want to be absolutely sure not only that they will be allotted a proper share in the remodelled and reformed Councils and the different State and Public Services to be thrown open to Indians, but that the share justly allotted to them will be inviolable by any future legislation influenced by adverse communities."

104.—THE SPECIAL SIND PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE, HYDERABAD.

This Conference supported the Congress-Moslem League Scheme in its entirety. They were not satisfied with the position of Sind and demanded that it should be altered so as to place the affairs of the Province directly under the Governor of Bombay in Council by reducing the position of the Commissioner to that of an ordinary divisional Commissioner, until the time came when it might be formed into a separate province under its own Governor in Council.

"Your memorialists whole-heartedly support the scheme of reforms passed by the Indian National Congress and the All-India Moslem League at their sessions at Lucknow in December 1916 and subsequently endorsed by numerous political associations and meetings held in the country. The political reforms contained in that scheme, this Sind Provincial Conference regards as the minimum which can for the present satisfy the needs and aspirations of the people of India. For the last century and a half, although under the administration of the liberty-loving British Parliament, the people of India have not been permitted to have an effective voice in the administration of their own country. The reins of power have been in the hands of a bureaucracy which has never sympathised with the aspirations of the people of the soil. The result has been that progress has been retarded in some spheres of activity of the nation and effectively blocked in others. The Government have throughout all these years failed to tackle the question of education and discountenanced attempts to introduce the principle of compulsion for the education of

the masses now leading their lives in appalling ignorance and all the evils consequent thereto. The machinery of legislation has been made use of for the enactment of repressive measures of which the Press Act is a typical instance. The Arms Act, despite persistent appeals by the people, still disfigures the Statute Book of India and has been responsible for the emasculation of the nation, the full effects of which can be realised only to-day, when India is unable, as it fain would, to hurl its millions against the King's enemies at all the fronts of the Great War and help England to crush the Prussian militarism. The galling sense of inferiority in their own country so keenly felt by the Indian educated community will necessarily keep the relations strained between the representatives of the Indian nation and those of the English nation in India, until and unless the administration of affairs in all the domains of national activity, in peace and war, is subordinated to the will of the people and the children of the soil are permitted to rise to the topmost rung of the ladder in all public services and to attain to their full development as a first rank nation of the world, unimpeded by any direct or indirect limitations."

"We venture to place before you, Sirs, our firm conviction that if the introduction of responsible government in India is to have any reality for the three and a half million Indians who have lived for over 70 years in Sind under a more autocratic system of administration than perhaps prevails in any other province of India except the military provinces of Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province, it is absolutely essential that, until the time comes for the elevation of Sind to the position of an independent province with a duly responsible executive and a Chartered High Court, the administration of the affairs of our province should for the time be placed directly under the Governor of Bombay in Council and all enactments and measures which relate to the delegation of powers to the Commissioner in Sind be so amended or repealed as to place the Commissioner in Sind on the same footing as other divisional Commissioners, all the powers conferred on these latter being also retained by him but no more. The Governor of Bombay should reside at Karachi during a few months of the year, the members of the executive should visit the province more frequently than hereto and at least one of the sessions of the Bombay Legislative Council should be held at Karachi every year."

105.—THE JAIN ASSOCIATION OF INDIA.

This Association represents the Jain community of Bombay, and is a religious and social organisation aiming at its well-being and progress.

The Association supported the Congress-Muslim League scheme and expressed the hope that, if special representation of minorities is granted, their community would not be forgotten.

"We beg humbly to submit that we entirely support and approve the scheme of reforms suggested by the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League, as one to be carried out for the immediate requirements of the constitution. We are, however, confident that any scheme of constitutional reforms that you devise after full and mature deliberation will be so large and liberal as to make a substantial step forward towards meeting the growing aspirations of the people of this land, as also to so re-shape the constitution as to assure them speedy and secure advance along modern lines.

"In a country of varied population like ours, the interests of certain important minorities have to be safeguarded without introducing any possible element of discord in the unity of India. The Jain Community of India is, by its faith, a distinct entity, and if important minorities are to have representation in the future electoral system, we humbly submit that the claims of the Jain Community, whose loyalty has been proved unswerving, will be given a due weight and consideration."

106.—THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, BOMBAY.

The address submitted on behalf of the European commercial interests of Bombay argued that India, at any rate in its present state of development, was entirely unfitted for any system of representative government on Western lines, because it was impossible to establish an electoral system which would ensure that the elected members are truly representative of the people.

"We may say at the outset that we are strong supporters of the present system of government. We do not deny that it requires improvement in many ways, but in its main features it is we believe the only system suited to the present conditions and needs of India. We have no desire to approach these matters from any other standpoint than that of the best interests of India as a whole, for we are convinced that what is best for India will also be best for the present and future interests of Indian commerce. In this sphere which more especially concerns us it is hardly possible to think of interests exclusively British. In India commerce presents a free and common field of activity which is open to us and to our Indian fellow subjects in every respect on terms of absolute equality. Not only that but it is an incontrovertible fact that British and Indian commerce as it at present exists, is so indissolubly united and interdependent that it would be extremely hard to name any so-called British commercial enterprise in this country which did not represent the closest co-operation and association with Indians. We shall therefore attempt to show that revolutionary changes are contrary not only to our interests but to the interests of India as a whole.

"The first point for consideration is what is the exact nature of the problem before us. The present system of administration in this country is in many respects a very good system and has a glorious history behind it. It is just, efficient and stable, it is tolerant and not oppressive to any section and commands the confidence of the vast bulk of the population, which, like ourselves, desires only to be allowed to work in peace under a just and stable Government: under it India has steadily advanced in material prosperity till she is now wealthier and more prosperous than she has ever been before. There are no acute grievances of an immediate nature or complaints of bad government to be redressed. The demand for change is therefore based on two main grounds, both of which arise directly out of the results of the efficiency of the present system. The first ground is that the general development of the country has so increased the functions and responsibility of Government that a considerable measure of decentralisation is called for and the second is that the educated classes desire a greater share in the government of the country."

Any changes in the latter direction must come gradually, with adequate safeguards, and must not impair the justice, efficiency, or stability of the administration. Any attempt to establish representative government at the present time would "merely result in giving wide powers into the hands of a narrow oligarchy," which would not have the responsibility of maintaining law and order. The Address emphasised the want of homogeneity among the inhabitants of India, and represented that the interests of the large illiterate majority were often antagonistic to those of "the small literate fraction."

The Chamber approved a cautious extension of local self-government. As regards the public services "too much importance cannot be attached to the "necessity of maintaining the essentially British character of the administration." It submitted that "any attempt to make the executive Government either dependent for their offices on the support of or directly responsible for their actions to the Legislative Councils would, under present conditions, imperil the whole fabric of "Government." If the Legislative Councils were enlarged, the non-official British community should be represented in accordance with the importance of the interests for which they stand. The Chamber regarded the spread of education as probably the most important present need of India, and suggested that the educational system should be brought into closer touch with the development of the material resources of the country. It was in favour of gradually extending to other Provinces the system of a Governor in Council (from which Indian civilians should not be excluded), and made certain suggestions for the improvement of the administrative system: "At the present time there is a much too detailed control of Provincial administrations by the Government of India, and of the Government of India by "the Secretary of State."

"Our main contentions, therefore, are that the welfare of India as a whole will be better served by the improvement of the present system of administration, the increased employment of Indians in it, so far as suitable men may be forthcoming, and the gradual extension of local self-government, than by the sudden conversion of the present system into an administration by a narrow Indian oligarchy masquerading as a democracy. In these days of international competition no State can afford to have its administrative organisation influenced by sentimental considerations. It must be eminently practical and must entrust its government to the most capable hands.

It seems a much more promising operation to try and remedy the weak points of the present system of government and to leave it to develop naturally with the progress of the country rather than to embark on experiments involving sudden or violent changes."

107.—THE CENTRAL PROVINCES CONGRESS COMMITTEE AND THE CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR PROVINCIAL ASSOCIATION.

These bodies sent a joint deputation, and it is understood that they have many members in common. The deputation supported the Congress-Muslim League Scheme, but made certain additional proposals which are not found in that scheme. Thus they suggested the creation of an Indian Privy Council and of a single High Court for all India in place of the provincial courts. They also asked for the enlargement of their own provincial area so that they might no longer suffer the humiliation of belonging to a minor province. This increase in size should be accompanied by the grant of Council Government.

A scheme attached to the Address indicated how these bodies would apply the Congress-Muslim League Scheme to the Central Provinces with certain additions such as the establishment of a High Court for the province, if a single High Court for all India is not established, the abolition of Divisional Commissionerships, and the proposal that in making all appointments preference should be given to natives of the province. The local self-government proposals were also an addition to the Congress-League Scheme.

A distribution of revenues between Imperial and Provincial was suggested. No suggestions were made as to the functions which the Privy Council would perform. Redistribution of provincial territory on a linguistic basis was advocated.

The deputation laid special stress on education.

"The non-official Europeans have memorialised to you, sirs, to shelve the question of all reforms, however urgent, during the continuance of the war. As members of a ruling race, and practically enjoying a monopoly in their trade, their opposition was not unexpected. We cannot expect, sirs, that this privileged class would willingly offer to the people of this land a helping hand of good fellowship, or to encourage them in their struggle for freedom. No privileged class has ever willingly surrendered its privileges, and there is no reason why the Europeans in India should do so. But it is no reason why the progress of 315 millions of people should be retarded for the benefit of a few hundred commercial men. It has often been urged as a good reason for withholding political concessions that the bulk of the proletariat is ignorant and uneducated. But it is seldom realised that this is not their fault, but rather a fault of the Administration. We believe that when the Mikado published his celebrated Rescript of 1871, Japan was almost equally ignorant; but with the liberation of her people and the liberalisation of her political institutions, Japan has suddenly emerged from the position of an insignificant oriental state to a formidable unit in the comity of nations, and it vies to-day with the most advanced nations of Europe in the education of her people and the expansion of her industries. It is a factor which cannot be lost sight of in considering the future of this country."

108.—THE NAGPUR DISTRICT COUNCIL.

This is the District Council of the headquarters district of the Central Provinces. The office-bearers of the Council are elected non-officials.

A scheme of reforms appended to this Address was practically identical with the scheme presented by the Central Provinces Provincial Congress Committee and the Berar Provincial Association (No. 108).

The only important differences were—

- (1) that the District Council did not suggest any territorial re-distribution;
- (2) that the District Council suggested a Legislative Council composed of 75 members only as compared with 100 proposed by the other deputation.

It was clear from this Address that the functions of the proposed Indian Privy Council would be judicial and that it would take over the Indian cases now disposed of by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

A noticeable recommendation regarding the veto was made: that if any legislation or resolution were passed a second time after the lapse of one year in either the Imperial or a Provincial Council, and by a two-thirds majority of the non-official members of the Council, the head of the Government should have no further power of veto.

"As a body composed of persons actually engaged in the administration of affairs we are not oblivious of the necessity of acquiring a sufficient familiarity with the principles and methods of the art of government, nor are we unaware of the basic principles upon which the relations of an empire, with its component parts, must be determined. The goal of responsible self-government which we seek to attain is one, we need not assure you, Sirs, to be attained as an integral part of the British Empire by the maintenance of the British connection. In the memorandum which we beg to lay before you, Sirs, we have briefly set forth our proposals for reform, and therein have provided for the exclusion from the purview of the Legislative Councils in India—both Imperial and Provincial—of matters such as the direction of military affairs or foreign relations, the declaration of war, and the entering into peace. In view of the responsibility devolving upon the head of the Government, we have provided for the power of vetoing any legislation or resolution passed by his Legislative Council, the power not being available to him when a resolution is passed a second time after the lapse of a year by a two-thirds majority of the non-official Members of the said Council. We recognise the impracticability of giving effect to a resolution which does not commend itself to the Executive Government and in respect of which the nation is almost equally divided. Hence we have provided the safeguard of a substantial support of the nation in the manner aforesaid being assured before compelling the Government to give effect to a resolution of which the Government do not approve."

"But of all the reforms urged none is of such paramount necessity as that which would leave the Government in India autonomous in fiscal and economic matters, and free it from the frequent interference which in these matters has been exercised by the Secretary of State for India in Council, and the suspicion is entertained that sometimes the pressure from competing British interests has been responsible for such interference. All that we demand, Sirs, is that in these matters, as in certain others, India shall be treated as equitably as are the self-governing Colonies."

The Vice-Chairman of the District Council submitted a minute of dissent and a separate scheme which he believed would receive "considerable support from members of the District Council who, being in a position to form sound opinions, are willing to exercise their independent judgment." He would retain the Secretary of State's Council. In the Government of India he proposed a Standing Committee composed of the Viceroy and the eight Members of Executive Council (four of whom would be Indians), and eight non-officials elected by the non-official Members of the Legislative Council, two to be Muhammedan and one neither Hindu nor Muhammedan, with considerable powers over legislation. A similar Standing Committee was proposed for the Provincial Government.

109.—THE BERAR PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

This body is affiliated to the National Congress. The Committee adhered to the principles underlying the Congress-Muslim League scheme but sketched out a more or less complete scheme of their own based on the principle of provincial autonomy. They suggested that the powers of Parliament in relation to Indian affairs should be strictly defined and limited, and that India should be represented in the House of Commons by 40 or 50 members. The Secretary of State should have no right of interference except on matters specifically reserved for Parliament. The Government of India should likewise have its sphere carefully defined and restricted. The Executive Council should consist of six members, half of whom would be Indians. The Legislative Council would be composed as in the Congress scheme, and the Government of India would be financed as in that scheme. There should be a certain redistribution of territories, and the provinces thus constituted should all be under Governors with Councils of either six or four members according to size and importance. Governors should be in two differently paid classes.

Half the Executive Council should be appointed by the Crown after election by the non-official members of the Legislative Councils. The Provincial Legislature should have power of raising loans. Local self-government should be reorganised. Municipal Committees, District Boards, Local Boards and Village Panchayats should be purely elective, and should be under the control of a Local Government Board. The concluding portion of the address dealt with the claim of Berar to be treated as an integral part of British India rather than semi-foreign territory as at present.

"We freely admit that the aboriginal races are still sunk in ignorance, and that the lower strata of the Hindu and Mahomedan communities are very backward. But this fact cannot justify the attitude that no real advance is to be made till every one in the country is fit to enter Parliament, despite there being millions of capable and discriminating persons qualified to exercise the franchise. The people of this country have every right to protest most emphatically against the erection in the case of India of a standard which England during all these centuries never thought of adopting for herself. We have, however, full confidence in the wisdom and sense of justice of the British nation and Parliament, and trust that the Government of His Majesty and the Government of India will not allow themselves to be deflected from the policy of honour and rectitude, the claims of which have been admitted so often."

110.—REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE OF BERAR.

It did not appear how these representatives were chosen, but the address which they presented was stated to have been approved by local bodies and by public meetings in Berar. It was practically an abbreviation of that of the Berar Provincial Congress Committee (No. 110).

"The people of this country have accepted the ideal laid down in the Government of India's despatch of 25th August 1911 that India should consist of autonomous provinces with the Government of India over their head, dealing with general questions. Provincial autonomy must, we know, be the key-note of Indian progress; but the authority to be vested ought to be in the representatives of the people. The mere devolution of power from one set of officials to another set cannot and will not satisfy the legitimate and increasing political aspirations of the people, nor properly subserve the real interest of the country or of efficient administration. We recognise that at present and for some time to come the supreme power will have to be in Parliament. We also know that very important functions and powers must, for the general good of the country, be vested in the Government of India and the Imperial Legislature. But excluding the matters expressly reserved for Parliament or the Imperial Indian Legislature, plenary powers should be given to the Provincial Governments constituted on lines indicated below and to Provincial Legislatures enlarged, popularised and clothed with effective authority."

111.—THE GRADUATES' ASSOCIATION OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR.

This Association, consisting entirely of non-officials, does not include the many graduates in the Provinces who belong to the Public Services.

The Association appended to their address a 17-page scheme which entered into a much greater degree of detail than any other scheme received. Generally they professed to adhere to the principles of the Congress-Muslim League schemes, with this exception that instead of any department having one head they recommended that it should have a board of three. They suggested a complete re-organisation of the Public Services. While recommending a system of provincial autonomy, they proposed an All-India system of examinations for admission to the Public Services. They spoke of "Cabinet" instead of "Executive" Councils. Like other Central Provinces associations they recommended the establishment of a Court in India to take over the functions of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

They did not recommend the immediate abolition of the Secretary of State's Council, but suggested its re-organisation so as to consist of nine members, three nominated by the Secretary of State, and six elected, one by each of the Provincial Legislative Councils.

"Our scheme begins with the unit of every reform, the village, by advocating village punchayets on a modernised basis. Local self-government, being the next step, we suggest that its scheme should be so enlarged as to give it an effective control over all local affairs and not as at present a mixed and limited control over only a few.

"Our suggestions about the reform of the Local and Imperial Governments accord in the main with those of the joint memorial of the All-India Congress Committee and the Moslem League, except that provision is suggested for a rule of three to be substituted for the rule of one in every department of the administration.

"Our Association has ventured to suggest reform in the Public Services, with the object of not only placing the Civil Services in their proper positions in the administration instead of as at present allowing them the monopoly that they now enjoy of administrative offices, but also of giving to the sons of the soil a just proportion of the higher appointments.

APPENDIX I.

ADDRESSES NOT FORMALLY PRESENTED.

In addition to the Addresses summarised in the preceding pages, a large number of Addresses were submitted, for the formal presentation of which, for various reasons, arrangements could not be made. This section contains a complete enumeration of these Addresses, with a brief note of their contents. The arrangement is according to the Provinces to which the authors belong.

MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

1. *The Godaveri District Association* support the Congress-League Scheme, with the addition of due provision to safeguard the different interests of the Madras Presidency, including the formation of a separate Andhra province under a Governor in Council. They disapprove of any "compartmental" scheme of reform.

2. *The Kistna District Association* approve the Congress League Scheme, but advocate more far-reaching reforms, including Indian representation in the House of Commons, an Upper Chamber of the Indian Legislature to include members from Native States, redistribution of territory on a linguistic basis, complete responsible government in the major provinces, Indians as Governors, and communal representation in the Madras Presidency through territorial mixed electorates.

3. *The Panchamas*, or "untouchables," claim to be the backbone of agriculture, and advocate reforms which will secure for them social and political regeneration, in the sphere of education, grants of land, communal representation, &c.

✓ 4. *The Yadakula Maha Sangam*, of the Yadava community, said to number 1½ millions in South India, are opposed to Home Rule as premature and the demand of "a minor section of the educated classes." They desire power to remain in British hands, and humbly ask for better representation on legislative and local bodies and in the public service.

✓ 5. *The Panchama Kalvi Abivirthi-Abimana Sanga* deprecate political change, and desire only to be saved from the Brahmin, whose motive in seeking a greater share in the Government is described as that of the cobra seeking the charge of a young frog.

✓ 6. *The Madras Authee Dravida Jana Sabha* forwarded an Address identical with No. 79 of "Addresses presented."

✓ 7. *The Oppressed Classes of South India* regard Home Rule as premature, and as likely to increase their own disabilities, relief from which they seek in certain specified directions—education, communal representation, temperance reform, &c.

8. *The Adi Andras of the Kistna District* similarly confine their requests mainly to social reforms, including communal representation. They are not opposed to political reform, but consider India unfit at present for self-government.

9. *The Panchama Reform Association* (Malabar), seeks social reform and communal representation. They are strongly opposed to Home Rule on grounds of self-interest.

10. *The Residents of Kurumbalurpalaiyam* are opposed to Home Rule, which, from all they hear of it, is calculated to benefit only the Brahmin.

✓ 11. *The Lingayat Community* of the Madras Presidency, said to number about 500,000, ask for separate representation on local bodies and the Madras Council, and for free education and a greater share in the public service.

✓ 12. *The Indian Christians of Vellore* regard self-government as their ultimate goal, but consider an advance towards Home Rule now premature and dangerous. They seek special representation on local bodies and the Councils of the Empire.

✓ 13. *The Indian Christians of Trichinopoly* hold the same views as regards Home Rule, which they regard as the demand of a small minority and compare it, if granted,

to a loaded revolver in a child's hand. They claim for themselves adequate representation on the Indian and Provincial Councils, and advocate communal representation and wider employment in the public service as the means of educating Indians to responsibility.

14. *The Catholic Church in South India* thinks that reforms should take the direction of advance in local self-government, the more responsible employment of Indians in the public service, and the strengthening of the Legislative Councils. They advocate communal representation and desire the maintenance of the integrity of the British Raj.

15. *The Visva Brahmanas of the Telugu District*, who claim to stand midway between Brahmans and non-Brahmans, support the Congress-League Scheme, but advocate communal representation on all elective bodies, and demand five seats on the Madras Council for their own community.

16. *The Visva Brahmanas of the Godavari, Kistna, Guntur and Nellore Districts*, on the contrary, view with alarm any transference of power from British to Brahman hands. They seek educational advancement and special representation.

17. *The Visvakarma Mahajana Conference* adopt the Congress-League Scheme as calculated to provide adequate representation to minorities such as themselves. They attribute their present condition to the breakdown of their ancient organisation and to foreign competition.

18. *The Visva Brahman Mahajana Central Sabha*—an organisation of craftsmen—ask for responsible government at an early date as more likely than the present system to foster industrial prosperity and the upraising of a fallen community. As a first step they ask for representation on all elective bodies in accordance with their numbers.

19. *The Visva Brahmans of Madura* advocate communal representation as the guiding principle in all reforms, and seek educational and other advantages for their own community.

20. *The Southern India Skin and Hide Merchants' Association* base their desire for effective popular control over the Provincial Governments on the alleged ill-informed and destructive policy adopted by the present form of Government towards the tanning industry. They desire an enlarged franchise and real control by the Councils over the Executive Government—Imperial and Provincial—and adequate representation of their own interests.

21. *The Nathukottai Chetty Community* support the proposals of the Nineteen Members, with two reservations—that the Head of the Government should remain President of the Legislative Council, and that members of Executive Councils should be members, included in the non-elected one-fifth, of the Legislative Council. They also demand representation of minorities, including their own.

22. *The Arya Vysya Community* support the Congress-League Scheme, but add a claim for special seats of their own on the Provincial and Imperial Councils.

23. *The Vaidika Vidvath Paripalaka Sabha* (Vaidik Brahmans) urge special representation on the Imperial and Madras Councils of orthodox Hindu interests.

24. *The Vidya Prapancha Sabha* follow the request of the preceding Sabha, with an additional request for a power of veto of measures opposed to the *Shastras*. Otherwise they support the Congress-League Scheme.

25. *The Vighanasa Brahmana Community* (temple priests) ask for a nominated representative on Legislative Councils until they can return their own member by election.

26. *The Pandits of Kumbakonam* support the Congress-League Scheme subject to provision that the reformed Councils and executives be compelled to observe religious neutrality, and to drop any measure opposed by Hindus on religious grounds.

27. *The Ezhuvas of Palghat* (palm-tappers) base a claim for representation (nominated) on the Councils, if reformed, on the alleged prejudicial effect of the Abkari Act on their community. They also advocate the separation of judicial and executive functions, and communal representation for minorities.

28. *The Tiyya Community* (also palm-tappers) follow the lines of No. 27.

29. *The Madras Salt License Association* claim to be classed as landholders, and ask for proper representation.

30. *The Nadar Community* seek seats of their own on the Indian and Provincial Legislative Councils and on the Provincial Executive Council, with increased nomination on all elective bodies.

31. *The Chattada Srivaishnava Community* adopt the Congress-League Scheme with certain modifications, notably that there should be communal representation on the Indian Legislative Council, and that education and local self-government should be controlled by the elected members of the Legislative Councils immediately after the war.

32. *The Namboodri Yogakshema Sabha*—a Brahman organisation of the landed aristocracy of the West Coast—support a scheme such as that of the Congress League, which should be introduced “with proper safeguards and necessary precautions,” such as protection of rights in property and special representation for landholders, including their own representative on the Indian and Provincial Councils.

33. *The Indrakuladhipar Sangam*—another organisation of the landed aristocracy—object to catastrophic changes, and favour “gradual, cautious, progressive political development in the wake of proved fitness.” They consider communal representation essential in the interests of their own community.

34. *The Ryots of the Bellary District* deplore the loss of a golden age when panchayats flourished. They support the Congress-League Scheme and demand the revival of panchayats and free primary education.

35. *The Carnatic Family Association*—representatives of the old ruling family of the Carnatic—oppose the Congress-League Scheme and seek equal representation of Moslems and Hindus on enlarged Legislative Councils, and one seat for Moslems on Executive Councils. They also seek to satisfy family aspirations by means of educational and service facilities.

36. *The Marawar Mahajanam of Trichinopoly, Madura, Ramnad, Tinnevely, Tanjore and Coimbatore* seek the amelioration of their backward condition by means of educational facilities and special representation. They are opposed to immediate Home Rule, but desire gradual advance towards self-government.

37. *The Jains of South India* seek separate representation on the Indian and Provincial Councils.

38. *The Buddhists of South India* consider the Nineteen Members' and other similar schemes to be premature, and not a popular demand. The crying need is the abolition of the caste system, and spread of education.

BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

39. *The Bene-Israelite Community* support wholeheartedly the Congress-League Scheme, but are opposed to communal representation, except possibly for Muhammadans.

40. *The Catholics of the Bombay Presidency* support a policy of advance towards the establishment of responsible government, and seek special representation for their own community, through nomination or communal election, on Councils, and if possible on local bodies.

41. *The Karachi Chamber of Commerce* claim direct representation on the Supreme Legislative Council.

42. *The Dhed Community* (a “depressed class”) claims “a proper share of communal representation in the final scheme of post-war reforms” and invites Congressmen to declare that they have abandoned the doctrine of untouchability.

43. *The Hindu Mahajan Committee* supports generally the Congress-League Scheme, but would not exclude members of the Indian Civil Service as such from Executive Councils. They demand the representation of India in the House of Commons.

44 and 45. *The Home Rule Leagues, Ahmedabad and Karachi*, regard the Congress-League Scheme as essential and the least that will satisfy Indian aspirations.

46. *The Kabber Community*.—Carnatic agriculturists, weavers, and petty traders—seek social and educational advancement, and legislation to protect their women from prostitution.

47. *The Mali Community* (gardeners) support the Congress-League Scheme, if the interests of minorities, including their own, are secured by proper representation.

48. *The Maratha Aikyechnu Sabha*, representing the Marathi-speaking backward classes of the Bombay Presidency, numbering 5½ millions, make no proposals for reform, but demand separate representation with separate electorates, detailed suggestions for which are put forward.

49. *The Shimpi Community* (tailors) of Poona demand separate representation on all elective bodies, and pray that the Congress-League Scheme may be favourably considered.

50. *The Sind Moslem League* support the Congress-League Scheme, and urge that its introduction immediately is necessary for the welfare of India. The memorial admits that the members of the League are a small section of the community, which is mainly agricultural, but the members claim to represent the community.

51. *The Sind Zamindars' Association* claim better representation of their community on the Councils, and advocate financial autonomy for Local Governments, the subjection of the budget to a vote, compulsory education, separation of judicial and executive functions, and the right of every Indian to a seat when interviewing a Government official.

52. *Vernacular Petition from Zamindars of Sind*.—The petitioners are opposed to the grant of Home Rule, which is sought merely in the selfish interests of the seekers. They ask for better representation on the Councils, but deprecate any decrease in the strength of European officials.

53. *The Bombay National Union* supports the Congress-League Scheme, and replies to objections taken to it.

54. *The Bombay Municipal Corporation* claim more than one member on the Bombay Council, and the privilege of electing a member to the Indian Legislative Council.

55. *The Bombay Social Reform Association* favours a more representative form of Government, such as that of the Congress-League Scheme, as likely in the long run to give greater scope than the present form for social reform.

56. *The Depressed India Association* oppose the immediate transfer of political power to Indians as "bound to prove disastrous to the best interests of the depressed classes." They approve the grant of provincial autonomy with enlarged provincial councils having increased advisory scope, and urge the representation of their community by communal electorates or by nomination. "The best way of removing social injustice is to enlighten those who are its victims and not those who are its perpetrators."

57. *The Anjuman-i-Islam Ahle-Sunnat-ul-jamat of Bombay* pray for equal representation of Moslems with Hindus and communal electorates for Sunnis as distinct from Shias.

58. *The Maratha Community, Bombay*, pray for adequate representation according to their numerical strength on all elective bodies, and for facilities for volunteering.

59. *The All-India Maratha Conference* warmly supports the Congress-League Scheme and elaborates a Mahratta franchise.

BENGAL PRESIDENCY.

60. *The Murshidabad Association* submits a scheme which is identical with that of the Congress League with some minor modifications.

61. *The Rajshahi Association* submit the main outlines of a reform scheme which is modelled upon that of the Congress League. They also suggest a territorial

redistribution on a linguistic basis, and a scheme for local self-government which is the same as that of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee (No. 48 of "Addresses presented").

62. *The Vaishya Sabha, Calcutta*, supports the Congress-League Scheme, but urges the necessity of securing the adequate representation of all important interests, including its own.

63. *The Bengal Vaisya Barujibi Sabha* welcomes the announcement of prospective responsible government, and urges the establishment of District, in addition to Provincial, Councils and communal electorates for minorities.

64. *The Tippera People's Association* supports the Congress-League Scheme with certain modifications, namely, that the Provincial Councils should be entirely elective, that every district should have its own representative, that members of permanent services should be entirely excluded from Executive Councils and Governorships, and that Bengal should include the Bengali-speaking districts of Bihar and Assam.

65. *The Chittagong People's Association* accepts the principles underlying the Congress-League Scheme, but wish for extensive modification in detail so as to secure more direct representation of the masses—the agricultural, commercial, labouring and industrial classes—on local bodies and the Councils. They are opposed to aristocratic domination as a substitute for bureaucratic control.

66. *The Bangiya Brahmin Sabha* claim seats on Provincial and Indian Councils for the Brahmin Pandits as representative of the spiritual and social interests of the Hindu population. The electorate for these seats should consist of Pandits.

67. *The Suhrid Sammilani Sabha, Noakhali*, supports the Congress-League Scheme.

68. *The Mahammadans of Faridpur* protest strongly against the grant of Home Rule as likely to put power in the hands of Hindus and to depress the Muhammadans. They regard the safeguards of the Congress-League Scheme as totally inadequate and insist on the disastrous consequences to Muhammadan interests wherever Hindus possess influence at present.

69. *The Bangiya Krishi Vaisya Samiti* claim to represent the agricultural and trading classes, urge the necessity of economic educational and social reforms and express no interest in local self-government or Home Rule.

70. *The Bratya-Kshatriya (or Jhalo-Malo) Samiti* adopt the same attitude as that of the preceding memorial, but also urge the separation of judicial and executive functions.

71. *The Vaishya Karmakar Sabha* approve the Congress-League Scheme, but urge an electoral basis sufficiently wide to give elective representation to all important communities, including their own.

72. *The Bratya-Khattriya (Pol) Community* press only for the due representation of the backward classes in the public offices of the country.

73. *The Nator Krishak Sammilani*, representing the agriculturists of a subdivision of the Rajshahi District, claim a separate electorate for agriculturists, in which the landlords should find no place, and urge that other electorates for provincial councils should be framed on the local board basis.

74. *The Jessore District Association* submits a complete scheme of responsible government, some of the chief features of which are:—

- (i) That the Imperial Legislative Council should have a membership of at least 500, with all the powers of the House of Commons subject to the veto of the Governor-General in Council pending a reference to the House of Commons or Federal Parliament.
- (ii) That the Viceroy and three Indian (elected) members of his Executive Council should appoint the remaining three members, who may be either Indians or Europeans.
- (iii) That all the members of Executive Councils (Provincial) should be elected by the Legislative Councils.
- (iv) That there should be a Legislative and Executive Council in every district.

75. *The Bengal Namasudra Association* advocates the enlargement of Provincial Legislative Councils to 150 members, all directly elected on a low franchise. Each Province should have a Governor with an Executive Council of four, two Indians and two Europeans, with 10 years' official experience. Suggestions are also made for the development of local self-government, and the immediate control of the executive by the legislature is deprecated.

76. *The Bakarganj District Association* approves the Congress-League Scheme as the "irreducible minimum," but adds a proposal for a Federal Empire Council containing Indian representatives. In the sphere of Provincial Legislative Councils, they desire the whole council elected by direct electorates, and if officials have seats they should have no votes. Separate representation of minorities should be secured. Local bodies should be entirely freed from official interference.

77. *The North Bengal Zamindars' Association* agree generally with the memorial of the Landholders of All India (No. 56 of "Addresses presented") but add certain other requests such as that one-third of the members of the Indian and Provincial Councils and one member of the Executive Councils should be landholders, and that the representation of their class on local bodies should be improved.

78. *The Gurkha Community of Darjeeling*, unlike the Hillmen of Darjeeling (No. 49 of "Addresses presented"), consider that Home Rule is necessary. They also seek commissions in the Army and Gurkha representation on the Councils.

79. *The Chattala Dharma Mandal's* address is identical in substance with that numbered 66 above.

80. *The Backward Classes of Bengal*, in an address claiming to represent 14 million persons, urge that reforms should not overlook their interests, and fear that any sudden advance towards responsible government will strengthen the hands of those few castes whose interests are opposed to those of the backward classes, and will consequently make future progress for these classes impossible.

81. *The Nadia District Association* warmly approve the Congress-League Scheme, and propose in addition a scheme of their own for the advancement of local self-government. They would have an Executive Council with functions similar to those of a Cabinet, and an entirely elected Legislative Council.

82. *The Co-operative Union of India* suggest the formation of an "Indian Federal Congress" to "ease the present tension visible on all sides"—a body to be elected by all interests in the country to take the place of the National Congress and Muslim League, whose scope does not embrace a number of interests, with the object of evolving a properly organised public opinion. An elaborate Memorandum is attached to the address from which it is difficult to extract any concrete proposals for constitutional reform, though many aspects of the theory of government are touched upon.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

83. *The Tenantry of North-Western India*.—This Address purports to represent the views of the peasantry of the United Provinces. The main contention is that the landlord in India has acquired a position of superiority in India at the expense of the tenant, and that to this position he has no historical right. It is urged that the tenant can never recover his due position in the economic and political sphere unless he secures adequate representation on the Boards and Councils of India. With this object two nominated seats on the Provincial Council are claimed immediately, and 10 elected seats when the Councils are enlarged and reformed, and in the election to which seats landlords should have no voice. A reconstitution of the system of local self-government—District Boards and Panchayats—is also advocated, designed to secure better representation on these institutions of the rural population.

84. *The Association to safeguard the Interests of the Muhammadans of Gorakhpur* repudiate the claims of the All-India Muslim League to represent the Muhammadans of India, and deprecate the abolition of the official majority in the Provincial and Indian Councils so long as Hindus are in the ascendant. Home Rule should not be contemplated until Muhammadans are the equals of Hindus in education, and reforms, when granted, should secure equal representation for Muhammadans and

Hindus on all elective bodies. The social and educational advance of the Muhammadan community is the first desideratum as the basis for general political development.

85. *The Muin-ul-Islam* submitted an Address and Memorandum compiled by a Haji of Agra, whose opinions are much the same as those represented by the previous Address. They urge the necessity of a strong Government, and of maintaining at sufficient strength the British element in it.

86. *The Kashi Suran Samaj* (Benares) supports the Congress-League Scheme, but advocates a further advance based upon Sanskrit culture and psychological science. Executive officers should be held generally responsible for the occurrence of overt enmity between Hindus and Muslims, and true learning is to find its place on the Councils of the country.

87. *The Muhammadans of Rohilkhand* are entirely opposed to the Congress-League Scheme as prejudicial to the religion, language and national aspirations of the Muhammadan community. They claim protection for their religious rites and places, equal representation with Hindus on all representative assemblies, and greater facilities in educational matters and in entry to the public service.

88. *The Jain Political Conference* accept the Congress-League Scheme in its entirety, but stipulate that their own community should receive special representation on the Councils of the Province and of India.

BIHAR AND ORISSA.

89. *The Gope Jatiya Mahasabha*, claiming to represent the Ahirs of Bihar, advocate an enlargement of the Indian and Provincial Legislative Councils and the inclusion in both of Ahir representatives. They propose both direct and indirect electorates, and that some 50 seats should be allotted to non-Muslim representatives of the masses to be filled by district electorates. Local bodies should elect their own chairmen.

90. *The Orthodox Muhammadans of Phulwari* oppose the grant of Home Rule as in conflict with the religious tenets of Islam, which prescribe a monarchical and not a republican form of Government. Their opposition is also based on the conditions in India—"a chaotic mass of conflicting castes and creeds, incapable of cohesion." They anticipate that disturbances will result from the dominancy of one community over another, which will follow on the introduction of Home Rule, and urge that recent events have shown India to be unfitted for its reception.

91. *The Residents of the Sambalpur District* approve the Congress-League Scheme and advocate the union of all Orissa-speaking tracts into one Province or sub-Province.

92. *The National Society of Balasore* make the same prayer.

93. *The Chota-Nagpur Improvement Society* urge that, whatever may be done in the way of reform elsewhere, the aborigines of Chota-Nagpur may be left to the administration of European officers, and make various suggestions for the economic advancement of this community.

94. *The Bengali Settlers' Association of Bihar and Orissa* approve the Congress-League Scheme, but ask for special representation on the Provincial Council.

95. *The Bengali Residents and Landholders of Bhagalpur* demand the transfer of that district to Bengal, the grant immediately of responsible government, and the adequate representation of such Bengalis as remain in Bihar and Orissa on the Council and local bodies of that Province.

96. *The Mahishyas of Bengal, Bihar, Chota-Nagpur and Assam*, claiming to represent 22 million persons, chiefly engaged in agriculture, ask for special representation on the Indian and Provincial Councils, and for greater recognition of their educational needs.

97. *The Inhabitants of the Manbhum District* seek the retransfer of the district to Bengal.

98. *The Orissa Association, Cuttack*, approve the Congress-League Scheme.

99. *The Central National Muhammadan Association, Cuttack*, urge the summary rejection of the Hindu request for the inclusion in one administration of all Orissa-speaking tracts, as opposed to Muhammadan interests, and in the matter of reforms support the views of the Central National Muhammadan Association, Calcutta (No. 31 of "Addresses presented").

100. *The Orissa Landholders' Association* claim separate representation on the Provincial and Indian Councils by at least three and two members respectively.

CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR.

101. *The Non-Official Members of the Akola District Board* submitted the same Address as No. 111 of "Addresses presented."

102. *Certain Residents of the District of Bandara* support the Congress-League Scheme, but propose in addition an elaborate reconstruction of local self-governing bodies and of the local Provincial Council, their scheme comprising panchayats, sub-local boards, and district advisory councils.

103. *Certain Non-Feudatory Chiefs of the Central Provinces* support the memorial presented by the All-India Landholders (No. 56 of "Addresses presented"), and pray for the restoration of their former status and privileges.

104. *The Majlis-i-Islam, Ellichpur*, claim an equal share for Muslims with Hindus in any Home Rule Government, and make requests for various privileges for their community.

ASSAM.

105. *The Inhabitants of the Jaintia Parganas* seek adequate representation in the councils, boards, and higher service of the Province, improved educational and medical facilities, a permanent settlement, and the restoration of the village authority.

BURMA.

106. *The Burma Muslim Community* pray only that in the expected reforms they may be given the same rights and privileges as are accorded to their Burman and Buddhist brethren.

107. *The Burma Branch of the Anglo-Indian Empire League* are opposed to "the demand of a section of the Indian people for Home Rule" and the separation of Burma from India. They ask for a Governor in Council and a High Court for Burma. But while recognising that Legislative Councils should be largely elective, they urge that the advance towards responsible government should be gradual, and should have proper regard for the interests of minorities, and for the maintenance of the British character of the administration.

108. *The Nathukotai Chetty Community in Burma* claim a representative or representatives of their own on the Provincial Council.

109. *The Sadya Mahajana Sangam* submitted an Address, the terms of which were very similar to that presented by the Dravida Mahajana Sangam (No. 80 in preceding section).

110. *The Mandalay Bar Association* confine their request to the separation of judicial and executive functions and the improvement of the conditions of the judicial service.

APPENDIX II.

1.—Memorandum submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy by Nineteen elected Additional Members of the Imperial Legislative Council with regard to Post-War Reforms, dated October 1916.

There is no doubt that the termination of the war will see a great advance in the ideals of government all over the civilised world, and especially in the British Empire, which entered into the struggle in defence of the liberties of weak and small nationalities, and is pouring forth its richest blood and treasure in upholding the cause of justice and humanity in the international relations of the world. India has borne her part in this struggle, and cannot remain unaffected by the new spirit of change for a better state of things. Expectations have been raised in this country and hopes held out that, after the war, the problems of Indian administration will be looked at from a new angle of vision. The people of India have good reasons to be grateful to England for the great progress in her material resources and the widening of her intellectual and political outlook under British rule, and for the steady, if slow, advance in her national life commencing with the Charter Act of India of 1833. Up to 1909, the Government of India was conducted by a bureaucracy almost entirely non-Indian in its composition and not responsible to the people of India. The reforms of 1909 for the first time introduced an Indian element in the direction of affairs in the administration of India. This element was of a very limited character. The Indian people accepted it as an indication on the part of the Government of a desire to admit the Indians into the inner counsels of the Indian Empire. So far as the Legislative Councils are concerned, the numbers of non-official members were merely enlarged with increased facilities for debate and interpellation. The Supreme Legislative Council retained an absolute official majority, and in the Provincial Legislative Councils, where a non-official majority was allowed, such majority included nominated members and the European representatives. In measures largely affecting the people, whether of legislation or taxation, by which Europeans were not directly affected, the European members would naturally support the Government, and the nominated members, being nominees of Government, would be inclined to take the same side. Past experience has shown that this has actually happened on various occasions. The non-official majorities, therefore, in the Provincial Councils have proved largely illusory and give no real power to the representatives of the people. The Legislative Councils, whether Supreme or Provincial, are at present nothing but advisory bodies without any power of effective control over the Government, Imperial or Provincial. The people or their representatives are practically as little associated with the real government of the country as they were before the reforms, except for the introduction of the Indian element in the Executive Councils, where again the nomination rests entirely with the Government, the people having no voice in the selection of the Indian members.

The object which the Government had in view in introducing the reforms of 1909 was, as expressed by the Prime Minister in his speech in the House of Commons on the second reading of the Indian Councils Bill (1st April 1909), that "it was most desirable in the circumstances to give to the people of India the feeling that these Legislative Councils are not mere automatons the wires of which are pulled by the official hierarchy." This object, it is submitted, has not been attained. Apart from this question of the constitution of the Legislative and Executive Councils, the people labour under certain grave disabilities, which not only prevent the utilisation, but also lead to the wastage, of what is best in them, and are positively derogatory to their sense of national self-respect. The Arms Act, which excludes from its operation Europeans and Anglo-Indians, and applies only to the pure natives of the country, the disqualification of Indians for forming or joining Volunteer Corps, and their exclusion from the commissioned ranks of the Army, are disabilities which are looked upon with an irritating sense of racial differentiation. It would be bad enough if these were mere disabilities. Restrictions and prohibitions regarding the possession and use of arms have tended to emasculate the civil population in India and expose them to serious danger. The position of Indians in India is practically this, that they have no real part or share in the direction of the government of the country, and are placed under very great and galling disabilities from which the other members of the British

Empire are exempt, and which have reduced them to a state of utter helplessness. The existence, moreover, of the system of indentured emigration gives to the British Colonies and the outside world the impression that Indians as a whole are no better than indentured coolies, who are looked upon as very little, if at all, above the slave. The present state of things makes the Indians feel that, though theoretically they are equal subjects of the King, they hold a very inferior position in the British Empire. Other Asiatic races also hold the same, if not a worse, view about India and her status in the Empire. Humiliating as this position of inferiority is to the Indian mind, it is almost unbearable to the youth of India, whose outlook is broadened by education and travel in foreign parts where they come in contact with other free races. In the face of these grievances and disabilities, what has sustained the people is the hope and faith inspired by promises and assurances of fair and equal treatment which have been held out from time to time by our Sovereigns and British statesmen of high standing. In the crisis we are now going through, the Indian people have sunk domestic differences between themselves and the Government, and have faithfully and loyally stood by the Empire. The Indian soldiers were eager to go to the battlefields of Europe, not as mercenary troops, but as free citizens of the British Empire which required their services, and her civilian population was animated by one desire, namely, to stand by England in the hour of her need. Peace and tranquillity reigned throughout India when she was practically denuded of British and Indian troops. The Prime Minister of England, while voicing the sentiments of the English people in regard to India's part in this great war, spoke of Indians as "the joint and equal custodians of one common interest and future." India does not claim any reward for her loyalty, but she has a right to expect that the want of confidence on the part of Government, to which she not unnaturally ascribes her present state, should now be a thing of the past, and that she should no longer occupy a position of subordination but one of comradeship. This would assure the Indian people that England is ready and willing to help them to attain self-government under theegis of the British Crown, and thus discharge the noble mission which she has undertaken, and to which she has so often given voluntary expression through her rulers and statesmen. What is wanted is not merely good government or efficient administration, but government that is acceptable to the people because it is responsible to them. This is what, India understands, would constitute the changed angle of vision.

If, after the termination of the war, the position of India practically remains what it was before and there is no material change in it, it will undoubtedly cause bitter disappointment and great discontent in the country, and the beneficent effects of participation in common danger, overcome by common effort, will soon disappear, leaving no record behind save the painful memory of unrealised expectations. We feel sure that the Government is also alive to the situation, and is contemplating measures of reform in the administration of the country. We feel that we should avail ourselves of this opportunity to respectfully offer to Government our humble suggestions as to the lines on which these reforms should proceed. They must, in our opinion, go to the root of the matter. They must give to the people real and effective participation in the government of the country, and also remove those irritating disabilities as regards the possession of arms and a military career which indicate want of confidence in the people and place them in a position of inferiority and helplessness. With this view, we would take the liberty to suggest the following measures for consideration and adoption :—

1. In all the Executive Councils, Provincial and Imperial, half the number of members should be Indians; the European element in the Executive Councils should, as far as possible, be nominated from the ranks of men trained and educated in the public life of England, so that India may have the benefit of a wider outlook and larger experience of the outside world. It is not absolutely essential that the members of the Executive Councils, Indians or Europeans, should have experience of actual administration, for, as in the case of ministers in England, the assistance of the permanent officials of the departments is always available to them. As regards Indians, we venture to say that a sufficient number of qualified Indians, who can worthily fill the office of members of the Executive Council and hold portfolios, is always available. Our short experience in this direction has shown how Indians like Sir S. P. Sinha, Sir Syed Ali Imam, the late Mr. Khrishnaswami Iyer, Sir Shams-ul-Huda and Sir Sankaran Nair have maintained a high level of administrative ability in the discharge of their duties. Moreover, it is well known that the Native States, where Indians have opportunities, have produced renowned administrators like

Sir Salar Jang, Sir T. Madhavo Rao, Sir Sheshadri Ayer, Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao, not to mention the present administrators in the various Native States of India. The statutory obligation, now existing, that three of the members of the Supreme Executive Council shall be selected from the public services in India, and similar provisions with regard to Provincial Councils should be removed. The elected representatives of the people should have a voice in the selection of the Indian members of the Executive Councils, and for that purpose a principle of election should be adopted.

2. All the Legislative Councils in India should have a substantial majority of elected representatives. These representatives, we feel sure, will watch and safeguard the interests of the masses and the agricultural population with whom they are in closer touch than any European officer, however sympathetic, can possibly be. The proceedings of the various Legislative Councils and the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League bear ample testimony to the solicitude of the educated Indians for the welfare of the masses, and their acquaintance with their wants and wishes. The franchise should be broadened and extended directly to the people, Mahomedans or Hindus, wherever they are in a minority, being given proper and adequate representation, having regard to their numerical strength and position.

3. The total number of the members of the Supreme Council should be not less than 150, and of the Provincial Councils not less than 100 for the major provinces, and not less than 60 to 75 for the minor provinces.

4. The Budget should be passed in the shape of money bills, fiscal autonomy being conceded to India.

5. The Imperial Legislative Council should have power to legislate on, and discuss and pass resolutions relating to, all matters of Indian administration, and the Provincial Councils should have similar powers with regard to Provincial administrations, save and except that the direction of military affairs, of foreign relations, declarations of war, the making of peace, and the entering into treaties, other than commercial, should be vested in the Government of India. As a safeguard, the Governor-General in Council or the Governor in Council, as the case may be, should have the right of veto, which, however, should be exercised subject to certain conditions and limitations.

6. The Council of the Secretary of State should be abolished. The Secretary of State should, as far as possible, hold in relation to the Government of India a position similar to that which the Secretary of State for the Colonies holds in relation to the Colonies. The Secretary of State should be assisted by two permanent Under Secretaries, one of whom should be an Indian. The salaries of the Secretary and the Under Secretaries should be placed on the British estimates.

7. In any scheme of Imperial Federation, India should be given through her chosen representatives a place similar to that of the self-governing dominions.

8. The Provincial Governments should be made autonomous, as stated in the Government of India's despatch dated 25th August 1911.

9. The United Provinces, as well as the other major provinces, should have a Governor brought from the United Kingdom, and should have an Executive Council.

10. A full measure of local self-government should be immediately granted.

11. The right to carry arms should be granted to Indians on the same conditions as to Europeans.

12. Indians shall be allowed to enlist as volunteers and units of a territorial army established in India.

13. Commissions in the army should be given to Indian youths under conditions similar to those applicable to Europeans.

Manindra Chandra Nandy of
Kasimbazar.
✓ D. E. Wacha.
✓ Bhupendranath Basu.
Bishan Dutt Shukul.
✓ Madan Mohan Malaviya.
✓ K. V. Rangaswamiengar.
Mazharul Haque.
✓ V. S. Srinivasan.
✓ Tej Bahadur Sapru.

Ibrahim Rahimtoola. ✓
B. Narasimheswara Sarma. ✓
Mir Asad Ali.
Kamini Kumar Chanda.
Krishna Sahay.
R. N. Bhanja Deo of Kanika.
M. B. Dadabhoy. ✓
Sita Nath Roy.
Mohamed Ali Mohamed.
M. A. Jinnah. ✓

2.—Scheme of Reforms adopted by the Indian National Congress and All-India Muslim League, 1916.

Resolution of the Indian National Congress.

That having regard to the fact that the great communities of India are the inheritors of ancient civilisations and have shown great capacity for government and administration, and to the progress in education and public spirit made by them during a century of British rule, and further having regard to the fact that the present system of government does not satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people and has become unsuited to existing conditions and requirements, the Congress is of opinion that the time has come when His Majesty the King-Emperor should be pleased to issue a proclamation announcing that it is the aim and intention of British policy to confer Self-Government on India at an early date.

That this Congress demands that a definite step should be taken towards Self-Government by granting the reforms contained in the scheme prepared by the All-India Congress Committee in concert with the Reform Committee appointed by the All-India Muslim League (detailed below).

That in the reconstruction of the Empire, India shall be lifted from the position of a Dependency to that of an equal partner in the Empire with the self-governing Dominions.

Resolution of the All-India Muslim League.

That the All-India Muslim League, while adopting the scheme of reforms prepared by the Reform Committee of the League and approved by its Council, submits it in conjunction with the Indian National Congress to the Government for its introduction after the war as the first necessary step towards the establishment of complete Self-Government in India.

THE REFORM SCHEME.

I.—PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS.

(1) Provincial Legislative Councils shall consist of four-fifths elected and of one-fifth nominated members.

(2) Their strength shall be not less than 125 members in the major provinces and from 50 to 75 in the minor provinces.

(3) The members of Councils should be elected directly by the people on as broad a franchise as possible.

(4) Adequate provision should be made for the representation of important minorities by election, and the Mahomedans should be represented through special electorates on the Provincial Legislative Councils in the following proportions :—

Punjab	-	-	One-half of the elected Indian members.		
United Provinces	-	-	30 per cent.	"	"
Bengal	-	-	40 per cent.	"	"
Behar	-	-	25 per cent.	"	"
Central Provinces	-	-	15 per cent.	"	"
Madras	-	-	15 per cent.	"	"
Bombay	-	-	One-third	"	"

Provided that no Mahomedan shall participate in any of the other elections to the Imperial or Provincial Legislative Councils save and except those by electorates representing special interests. Provided further that no bill, nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution introduced by a non-official member affecting one or the other community, which question is to be determined by the members of that community in the Legislative Council concerned, shall be proceeded with, if three-fourths of the members of that community in the particular Council, Imperial or Provincial, oppose the bill or any clause thereof or the resolution.

(5) The head of the Provincial Government should not be the President of the Legislative Council, but the Council should have the right of electing its President.

(6) The right of asking supplementary questions should not be restricted to the member putting the original question, but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

(7) Except customs, post, telegraph, mint, salt, opium, railways, army and navy, and tributes from Indian States, all other sources of revenue should be Provincial. There should be no divided heads of revenue. The Government of India should be provided with fixed contributions from the Provincial Governments, such fixed contributions being liable to revision when extraordinary and unforeseen contingencies render such revision necessary.

The Provincial Council should have full authority to deal with all matters affecting the internal administration of the province, including the power to raise loans, to impose and alter taxation, and to vote on the budget. All items of expenditure and all proposals concerning ways and means for raising the necessary revenue, should be embodied in bills and submitted to the Provincial Council for adoption.

Resolutions on all matters within the purview of the Provincial Government should be allowed for discussion in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself. A resolution passed by the Provincial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Executive Government unless vetoed by the Governor in Council, provided, however, that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance, if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

(8) A special meeting of the Provincial Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members.

(9) A bill, other than a money bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Government should not be required therefor.

(10) All bills passed by Provincial Legislatures shall have to receive the assent of the Governor before they become law, but may be vetoed by the Governor-General.

(11) The term of office of the members shall be five years.

II.—PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS.

(1) The head of every Provincial Government shall be a Governor who shall not ordinarily belong to the Indian Civil Service or any of the permanent services.

(2) There shall be in every province an Executive Council which, with the Governor, shall constitute the Executive Government of the Province.

(3) Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Councils.

(4) Not less than one-half of the members of the Executive Council shall consist of Indians to be elected by the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Council.

(5) The term of office of the members shall be five years.

III.—IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

(1) The strength of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be 150.

(2) Four-fifths of the members shall be elected.

(3) The franchise for the Imperial Legislative Council should be widened as far as possible on the lines of the electorates for Mahomedans for the Provincial Legislative Councils, and the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Councils should also form an electorate for the return of members to the Imperial Legislative Council.

(4) One-third of the Indian elected members should be Mahomedans elected by separate Mahomedan electorates in the several provinces in the proportion, as nearly as may be, in which they are represented on the Provincial Legislative Councils by separate Mahomedan electorates. *Vide* provisos to section I, clause 4.

(5) The President of the Council shall be elected by the Council itself.

(6) The right of asking supplementary questions shall not be restricted to the member putting the original question, but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

(7) A special meeting of the Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members.

(8) A bill, other than a money bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Executive Government should not be required therefor.

(9) All bills passed by the Council shall have to receive the assent of the Governor-General before they become law.

(10) All financial proposals relating to sources of income and items of expenditure shall be embodied in bills. Every such bill and the budget as a whole shall be submitted for the vote of the Imperial Legislative Council.

(11) The term of office of members shall be five years.

(12) The matters mentioned hereinbelow shall be exclusively under the control of the Imperial Legislative Council :—

Matters in regard to which uniform legislation for the whole of India is desirable.

Provincial legislation in so far as it may affect inter-provincial fiscal relations.

Questions affecting purely Imperial revenue, excepting tributes from Indian States.

Questions affecting purely Imperial expenditure, except that no resolution of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Governor-General in Council in respect of military charges for the defence of the country.

The right of revising Indian tariffs and customs duties, of imposing, altering, or removing any tax or cess, modifying the existing system of currency and banking, and granting any aids or bounties to any or all deserving and nascent industries of the country.

Resolutions on all matters relating to the administration of the country as a whole.

(13) A resolution passed by the Legislative Council should be binding on the Executive Government unless vetoed by the Governor-General in Council; provided, however, that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

(14) A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance, if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

(15) When the Crown chooses to exercise its power of veto in regard to a bill passed by a Provincial Legislative Council or by the Imperial Legislative Council, it should be exercised within twelve months from the date on which it is passed, and the bill shall cease to have effect as from the date on which the fact of such veto is made known to the Legislative Council concerned.

(16) The Imperial Legislative Council shall have no power to interfere with the Government of India's direction of the military affairs and the foreign and political relations of India, including the declaration of war, the making of peace and the entering into treaties.

IV.—THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

(1) The Governor-General of India will be the head of the Government of India.

(2) He will have an Executive Council, half of whom shall be Indians.

(3) The Indian members shall be elected by the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council.

(4) Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Council of the Governor-General.

(5) The power of making all appointments in the Imperial Civil Services shall vest in the Government of India, as constituted under this scheme, due regard being paid to existing interests, subject to any laws that may be made by the Imperial Legislative Council.

(6) The Government of India shall not ordinarily interfere in the local affairs of a province, and powers not specifically given to a Provincial Government shall be deemed to be vested in the former. The authority of the Government of India will ordinarily be limited to general supervision and superintendence over the Provincial Governments.

(7) In legislative and administrative matters the Government of India, as constituted under this scheme, shall, as far as possible, be independent of the Secretary of State.

(8) A system of independent audit of the accounts of the Government of India should be instituted.

V.—THE SECRETARY OF STATE IN COUNCIL.

(1) The Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished.

(2) The salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British Estimates.

(3) The Secretary of State should, as far as possible, occupy the same position in relation to the Government of India as the Secretary of State for the Colonies does in relation to the Governments of the self-governing Dominions.

(4) The Secretary of State for India should be assisted by two permanent Under-Secretaries, one of whom should always be an Indian.

VI.—INDIA AND THE EMPIRE.

(1) In any Council or other body which may be constituted or convened for the settlement or control of Imperial affairs, India shall be adequately represented in like manner with the Dominions and with equal rights.

(2) Indians should be placed on a footing of equality in respect of status and rights of citizenship with other subjects of His Majesty the King throughout the Empire.

VII.—MILITARY AND OTHER MATTERS.

(1) The military and naval services of His Majesty, both in their commissioned and non-commissioned ranks, should be thrown open to Indians and adequate provision should be made for their selection, training and instruction in India.

(2) Indians should be allowed to enlist as volunteers.

(3) Executive Officers in India shall have no judicial powers entrusted to them, and the judiciary in every province shall be placed under the highest Court of that province.

✓ 3.—Mr. Gokhale's Memorandum.

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY.

The grant of provincial autonomy foreshadowed in the Delhi despatch would be a fitting concession to make to the people of India at the close of the war. This will involve the twofold operation of freeing the Provincial Governments, on the one side, from the greater part of the control which is at present exercised over them by the Government of India and the Secretary of State, in connection with the internal administration of the country, and substituting, on the other, in place of the control so removed, the control of the representatives of taxpayers through Provincial

Legislative Councils. I indicate below in brief outline the form of administration that should be set up in the different provinces to carry out this idea. Each province should have:—

- (1) A Governor appointed from England at the head of the administration.
- (2) A Cabinet or Executive Council of six members—three of whom should be Englishmen and three Indians—with the following portfolios:—
 - (a) Home (including Law and Justice);
 - (b) Finance;
 - (c) Agriculture, Irrigation, and Public Works;
 - (d) Education;
 - (e) Local self-government (including Sanitation and Medical Relief);
 - (f) Industries and Commerce.

While members of the Indian Civil Service should be eligible for appointment to the Executive Council, no places in the Council should be reserved for them, the best men available being taken—both English and Indian.

- (3) A Legislative Council of between 75 and 100 members, of whom not less than four-fifths should be elected by different constituencies and interests. Thus, in the Bombay Presidency, roughly speaking, each district should return two members, one representing municipalities and the other district and taluk boards. The City of Bombay should have about 10 members allotted to it. Bodies in the mofussil like the Karachi Chamber, Ahmedabad mill-owners, Deccan Sardars, should have a member each. Then there would be the special representation of Mahomedans, and here and there a member may have to be given to communities like the Lingayats, where they are strong. There should be no nominated non-official members, except as experts. A few official members may be added by the Governor as experts or to assist in representing the Executive Government.
- (4) The relations between the Executive Government and the Legislative Council so constituted should be roughly similar to those between the Imperial Government and the Reichstag in Germany. The Council will have to pass all provincial legislation, and its assent will be necessary to additions to or changes in provincial taxation. The Budget, too, will have to come to it for discussion, and its resolutions in connection with it, as also on questions of general administration, will have to be given effect to unless vetoed by the Governor. More frequent meetings or longer continuous sittings will also have to be provided for. But the members of the Executive Government shall not depend, individually or collectively, on the support of a majority of the Council for holding their offices.
- (5) The Provincial Government, so reconstituted and working under the control of the Legislative Council as outlined above, should have complete charge of the internal administration of the province. And it should have virtually independent financial powers, the present financial relations between it and the Government of India being largely revised, and to some extent even reversed. The revenue under salt, Customs, tributes, railways, post, telegraph, and Mint should belong exclusively to the Government of India, the services being Imperial, while that under land revenue, including irrigation, excise, forest, assessed taxes, stamps, and registration, should belong to the Provincial Government—the services being provincial. As under this division the revenue falling to the Provincial Government will be in excess of its existing requirements and that assigned to the Government of India will fall short of its present expenditure, the Provincial Government should be required to make an annual contribution to the Government of India, fixed for periods of five years at a time. Subject to this arrangement, the Imperial and the Provincial Governments should develop their separate systems of finance, the Provincial Government being given powers of taxation and borrowing within certain limits.
- (6) Such a scheme of provincial autonomy will be incomplete unless it is accompanied by (a) a liberalising of the present form of district administration; and (b) a great extension of local self-government.

For (a) it will be necessary to abolish the Commissionerships of divisions except where special reasons may exist for their being maintained, as in Sind, and to associate small district councils, partly elected and partly nominated, with the collector, to whom most of the present powers of the Commissioners could then be transferred—the functions of the Councils being advisory to begin with. For (b) village panchayats, partly elected and partly nominated, should be created for villages or groups of villages, and municipal boards in towns and taluk boards in talukas should be made wholly elected bodies, the Provincial Government reserving to itself and exercising stringent powers of control. A portion of the Excise revenue should be made over to these bodies, so that they may have adequate resources at their disposal for the due performance of their duties. The district being too large an area for efficient local self-government by an honorary agency, the functions of the district boards should be strictly limited, and the collector should continue to be its *ex-officio* president.

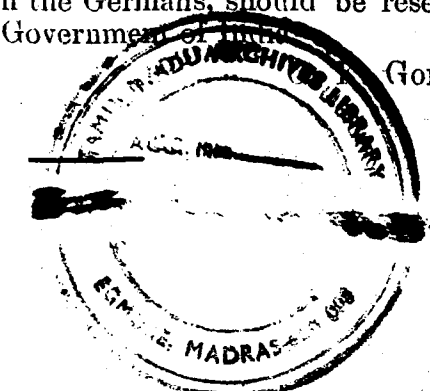
THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

1. The provinces being thus rendered practically autonomous, the constitution of the Executive Council or the Cabinet of the Viceroy will have to be correspondingly altered. At present there are four members in that Council, with portfolios which concern the internal administration of the country—viz., Home, Agriculture, Education, and Industries and Commerce. As all internal administration will now be made over to the Provincial Governments, and the Government of India will only retain in its hands nominal control, to be exercised on very rare occasions, one member, to be called Member for the Interior, should suffice in place of these four. It will, however, be necessary to create certain other portfolios, and I would have the Council consist of the following six members (at least two of whom shall always be Indian):—(a) Interior; (b) Finance; (c) Law; (d) Defence (Navy and Army); (e) Communications (Railways, Post, and Telegraphs); and (f) Foreign.

2. The Legislative Council of the Viceroy should be styled the Legislative Assembly of India. Its members should be raised to about 100 to begin with, and its powers enlarged; but the principle of an official majority (for which perhaps it will suffice to constitute a nominated majority) should for the present be continued, until sufficient experience has been gathered of the working of autonomous arrangements for the provinces. This will give the Government of India a reserved power in connection with provincial administration to be exercised in emergencies. Thus, if a Provincial Legislative Council persistently declines to pass legislation which the Government regards to be essential in the vital interests of the province, it could be passed by the Government of India in its Legislative Assembly over the head of the province. Such occasions would be extremely rare, but the reserve power will give a sense of security to the authorities and will induce them to enter on the great experiment of provincial autonomy with greater readiness. Subject to this principle of an official or nominated majority being for the present maintained, the Assembly should have increased opportunities of influencing the policy of the Government by discussion, questions connected with the Army and Navy (to be now created) being placed on a level with other questions. In financial matters the Government of India so constituted should be freed from the control of the Secretary of State, whose control in other matters, too, should be largely reduced, his Council being abolished, and his position being steadily approximated to that of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Commissions in the Army and Navy must now be given to Indians, with proper facilities for military and naval instruction.

German East Africa, when conquered from the Germans, should be reserved for Indian colonisation and be handed over to the Government of India.



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