

*Wednesday,
22nd September, 1915*

ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Council of the Governor General of India,
LAWS AND REGULATIONS

Vol. LIV

April 1915 - March 1916

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE COUNCIL OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA,

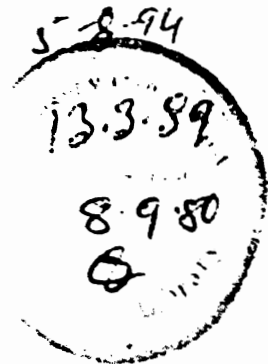
ASSEMBLED FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING

LAWS AND REGULATIONS,

From April 1915 to March 1916.

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GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.
LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COUNCIL OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA
ASSEMBLED FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING LAWS AND REGULATIONS
UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF THE INDIAN COUNCILS ACTS, 1861 to 1909
(24 & 25 Vict., c. 67, 55 & 56 Vict., c. 14, AND 9 Edw. VII, c. 4).

The Council met at the Council Chamber at Viceregal Lodge, Simla, on
Wednesday, the 22nd September, 1915.

PRESENT :

His Excellency BARON HARDINGE OF PENSHURST, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.,
G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., I.S.O., Viceroy and Governor General, *presiding*,
and 46 Members, of whom 39 were Additional Members.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

The Hon'ble Mr. J. H. Abbott asked :—

1. "(a) Do the Government propose to consider the question of house-rent allowance to members of the Local Service of the Telegraph Department ? House-rent allowance to members of the Telegraph Department.
(b) Is it a fact that until recently all members of the Department, irrespective of whether they belonged to the General or Local Service, were in receipt of house-rent allowance ?"

The Hon'ble Sir William Clark replied :—

"The answer to both parts of the Hon'ble Member's question is in the negative. I would, however, add, with reference to the second part of his question, that, prior to the 1st March 1913, house-rent allowances in lieu of free quarters were admissible to European and Anglo-Indian members of the Signaling Establishment of the Indian Telegraph Department, irrespective of whether they belonged to the General Service or to the Local Service."

The Hon'ble Mr. J. H. Abbott asked :—

2. "(1) Is it a fact—
(a) that, under the new rules, Military Assistant Surgeons will pass out of College at an average age of 23 years ; Discharge of Military Assistant Surgeons from service.

[Mr. J. H. Abbott ; His Excellency the
Commander-in-Chief]

[22ND SEPTEMBER, 1915.]

(b) that, under the rules, a Military Assistant Surgeon cannot claim his discharge from service until the completion of his seventh year of service ; and

(c) that the age-limit for the Indian Medical Service Examination is 28 years ?

(2) If the answer to parts (a), (b) and (c) is in the affirmative, is the Government aware that the effect of those rules is to automatically close the door of the Indian Medical Service to Military Assistant Surgeons ? ”

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief replied :—

“ (1) (a) The age of admission of military pupils to the Medical College has, up to date, ranged from 16 to 18 years, so that a candidate would ordinarily have obtained his diploma between the ages of 21 and 23 years. It has, however, recently been decided to raise the maximum age-limit for admission to college from 18 to 20. The result of this change is that a candidate should obtain his diploma between the ages of 21 and 25 years.

(b) The reply is in the affirmative.

(c) The reply is in the affirmative.

(2) The answer is in the negative, for if an Assistant Surgeon chooses to refund the cost of his education, he is at liberty to proceed to England at any time, and compete for the Indian Medical Service with other candidates.”

The Hon'ble Mr. J. H. Abbott asked :—

3. “ (1) Is it a fact—

Reduction
of the quali-
fying period
for a Major's
Commission
for Members
of the I.S.M.D.

(a) that Military Assistant Surgeons have to retire from service at the age of 55 years ;

(b) that the average age at which Military Assistant Surgeons attain to a Lieutenant's Commission is 45 years ; and

(c) that, under the rules, the qualifying period for attaining to a Major's Commission is 15 years ?

(2) (a) If the answer to parts (a), (b) and (c) of (1) is in the affirmative, is it a fact that the effect of the above rules is to make it impossible for Military Assistant Surgeons to attain to a Major's Commission ?

(b) Do Government propose to consider the advisability of reducing the qualifying period for a Major's Commission from 15 to 7 years ? ”

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief replied :—

“ (1) (a) The reply is in the affirmative.

(b) The reply is in the affirmative.

(c) The reply is in the affirmative.

(2) The question of reducing the qualifying period for a Major's Commission has been under consideration by the Government of India on more than one occasion, and it has been decided not to reduce the 15 years' limit. It is pointed out, however, that promotion to any of the commissioned ranks of the Indian Subordinate Medical Department is not made as a matter of course, or merely in accordance with a time-scale, but by selection for ability and merit, and a reference to the Indian Army List will show that one officer was promoted to Major after seven years' service in the commissioned rank.”

[22ND SEPTEMBER, 1915.]

[Mr. J. H. Abbott; His Excellency the
Commander-in-Chief.]

The Hon'ble Mr. J. H. Abbott asked :—

4. “ (a) Is it a fact that, during the South African and China wars, temporary commissions were granted to first class Assistant Surgeons to complete establishment in India ? Grant of temporary commissions to Assistant Surgeons.

(b) If so, do the Government propose to follow this precedent during the present war ? ”

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief replied :—

“(a) No record can be traced of any such commission having been granted during the South African and China wars.

(b) Government do not at present propose to grant temporary commissions to Military Assistant Surgeons during the present war.”

The Hon'ble Mr. J. H. Abbott asked :—

5. “ (a) Will the Government be pleased to say whether an Anglo-Indian Regiment has been recruited and trained for service in one of the theatres of War ? Recruitment of an Anglo-Indian Regiment for the war.

(b) If the answer to part (a) is in the negative, will the Government be pleased to state the reasons for not recruiting and training such a regiment ? ”

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief replied :—

“ The answer to (a) is in the negative.

The answer to (b) is as follows :—

The Government has at present another scheme under consideration for the employment of the Anglo-Indian Domiciled Community as soldiers, which is likely to be more in the interests of India, and will allow the members of the community ample scope for showing their patriotism. ”

The Hon'ble Mr. J. H. Abbott asked :—

6. “ (a) Is it a fact that a Training College has been opened at Quetta for training candidates for Commissions in the Indian Army ? Admission of Anglo-Indians to the Quetta Training College.

(b) If so, is the College open to members of the Domiciled European and Anglo-Indian Community ?

(c) If the answer to part (b) is in the negative, do the Government of India propose to address the Secretary of State recommending that members of the Domiciled European and Anglo-Indian Community should be admitted to the College, and that the Entrance Examination (if any) for such admission should be held simultaneously in India and England ? ”

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief replied :—

“ The answer to (a) is in the affirmative.

(b) The status of Cadets is the same at Quetta as at Sandhurst. In both cases, Cadets who have already qualified at a literary examination, held for the purpose in England, are trained in military subjects before joining their regiments. Rule 2 of the Regulations for admission to Sandhurst lays down that a candidate for admission to the examination is accepted, provided that, in the opinion of the Army Council, he is, in all respects, suitable for admission. There is nothing, as far as the Government of India are aware, to prevent the selection of members of the community, provided the Army Council considers them suitable.

[*Mr. J. H. Abbott; His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief; Sir Harcourt Butler.*] [23ND SEPTEMBER, 1915.]

In view of the reply to (b), it does not appear to be necessary for the Government of India to address the Secretary of State on the subject, as suggested in (c). ”

The Hon'ble Mr. J. H. Abbott asked :—

- Grant of Commissions to Military Assistant Surgeons.** 7. “ (a) Is it a fact that hitherto no Commissions in the Indian Medical Service have been granted to Military Assistant Surgeons ?
- (b) If so, is it a fact that this has produced a grave feeling of discontent among officers of this class ? ”

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief replied :—

- “ (a) The answer is in the affirmative.
- (b) The Government of India have no information on the subject. ”

The Hon'ble Mr. J. H. Abbott asked :—

- Cambridge Examinations.** 8. “ (a) Is it a fact that the Cambridge Senior Examination is considered a sufficient test for the purposes of admission into the Universities and the public service in the North of India, whereas it is not recognised for such purposes by the University or the Government of the Southern Presidency ?
- (b) If so, will the Government be pleased to state the reason for this difference ? ”

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied :—

“ (a) It is understood that the Hon'ble Member alludes to the Cambridge Senior Local Examination. A pass in this examination (in some cases with conditions regarding the subjects in which a pass is obtained) is recognised as admitting to University courses by the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay, the Punjab and Allahabad. The Syndicate of the University of Madras are empowered, by regulation, to recognise other examinations as equivalent to the Matriculation Examination of that University. It is understood that the Syndicate of that University accept the Cambridge Senior Local Examination as admitting to the Arts course, provided it is passed at centres outside of India and Ceylon.

(b) The Government of India are not aware of the reason which has influenced the Syndicate of the University of Madras in making this decision.

(c) That portion of the Hon'ble Member's question, which relates to the acceptance of the same test for admission to the public service, is too vague to permit of a reply. ”

The Hon'ble Mr. J. H. Abbott asked :—

- Employment of Anglo-Indian pensioners for the manufacture of munitions.** 9. “ (a) Is it a fact that there are residing in India a large number of Domiciled European and Anglo-Indian pensioners who, before retirement, were connected with the Railway, Telegraph, Police, Salt and Forest Departments and with the Civil, Mechanical and Electric Engineering professions ?

(b) If the answer to part (a) is in the affirmative, do the Government propose to utilise the services of these persons in the manufacture of munitions ?

(c) If the answer to part (b) of the question is in the affirmative, do the Government propose to cause lists to be prepared of such persons willing to be so employed, and to state the terms and conditions on which their services will be entertained ? ”

[22ND SEPTEMBER, 1915.] [Mr. Gillan; Mr. Setalvad; Sir William Clark; Sir Harcourt Butler; Sir Reginald Craddock.]

The Hon'ble Mr. Gillan replied :—

“(a) The answer is in the affirmative.

(b) The only difficulty so far experienced with regard to the personnel required for the manufacture of munitions, is that there is some scarcity of suitable labour at a few centres. The class of pensioner referred to could not with advantage be employed on manual work. For superior duties, such as supervision, the existing staff is at present adequate, and the Government do not propose to take the action indicated, but should there be an increase in the work for which pensioners would be suitable, the possibility of employing them will not be lost sight of.”

The Hon'ble Mr. Setalvad asked :—

10. “ Will Government be pleased to state—

(a) if there is a contract for freight of Government Stores with any Steamship Company ;

(b) if so, what are the terms and rates of such contract for the last five years ;

(c) if there is no such contract, what was the average rate of freight paid during each of the last five years ? ”

Contract for freight for Government Stores with any Steamship Company.

The Hon'ble Sir William Clark replied :—

“ A statement* is placed on the table which furnishes the information asked for, so far as it is readily available.”

The Hon'ble Mr. Setalvad asked :—

11. “ Do Government propose to publish the Report of the Committee that was appointed in 1913 to inquire into certain matters relating to the Tata Research Institute at Bangalore ? ”

Report of the Committee appointed in connection with the Tata Research Institute at Bangalore.

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied :—

“ The reply is in the negative.”

The Hon'ble Mr. Setalvad asked :—

12. “ Do the Government propose to publish the correspondence between the Government of India and His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, as well as the opinions that may have been obtained in India from Local Governments, High Courts, and other authorities, relating to the Indian Statutes Consolidation Act recently passed by Parliament ? ”

Correspondence regarding the Indian Statutes Consolidation Act.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

“ The Government of India regret that they do not consider it expedient to comply with the request.”

The Hon'ble Mr. Setalvad asked :—

13. “ (a) Will Government be pleased to state the conditions governing the chartering of steamers in normal times for trooping purposes ? ”

Conditions re: chartering of steamers in normal times for trooping purposes.

(b) Will Government be pleased to state what rates are fixed for passage between India and England and *vice versa* in case of Government servants on duty who are not travelling by special chartered steamers ? ”

* Not included.

[His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief;
Maharaja Ranajit Sinha; Sir Harcourt
Butler.]

[22ND SEPTEMBER, 1915.]

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief replied :—

“(a) A statement* is placed on the table.

(b) Tariff rates, less rebate allowed by shipping companies, are paid when passages by private steamer are provided by Government. In cases in which individuals are allowed to make their own arrangements, they are given passage money as follows :—

	1st Class.			2nd Class.		
	Rs.	as.	p.	Rs.	as.	p.
For passages booked from Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Karachi	618	12	0	528	0	0
For passages booked from Rangoon	698	12	0	578	0	0.”

The Hon'ble Maharaja Ranajit Sinha asked :—

Amounts
spent for
sanitation
out of Public
Works
Cesses.

14. “(a) Will the Government be pleased to furnish a statement showing the amount spent in each Province by the District Boards for the purpose of sanitation out of the assignment of Public Works Cesses ?

(b) Will the Government be pleased to state if they have issued any instructions how the grants of Public Works Cesses to the District Boards will be utilized in the several provinces ?

(c) Do the Government propose to issue any instructions to Local Governments and Administrations to earmark a certain proportion of the said grant for the purpose of sanitation ?”

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied :—

“(a) A statement† is laid on the table furnishing the required information so far as it is available.

(b) and (c) In March 1913, the Government of India addressed the Local Governments concerned, as follows, with reference to the assignments made in favour of District Boards :—

‘The Government of India leave it to Local Governments to determine, if necessary, to what specific purposes this increased income should be devoted, but they trust that a substantial portion of this sum will be set apart for the improvement of the rural water-supply, for anti-malarial measures, for the protection of grain stores and markets in plague-infected localities, and generally for the sanitation of villages and small towns.’

The Hon'ble Member's attention is also invited to paragraph 3 of the Resolution of the Government of India No. 888-909, dated 13th May, 1914, on Indian Sanitary Policy.

The Government of India do not propose to issue any further instructions on the subject.”

The Hon'ble Maharaja Ranajit Sinha asked :—

Rise in the
price of the
food-stuffs.

15. “Is it a fact that there has lately been an abnormal rise in the price of foodstuffs ? If so, do the Government propose to take any further action in the matter ?”

*Fide Appendix A.

†Fide Appendix B.

[22ND SEPTEMBER, 1915.]

[*Mir Asad Ali ; Sir William Clark.*]

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali asked :—

16. " Will Government be pleased to state what measures they have recently taken in each of the provinces to prevent the abnormal rise in prices of food stuffs, and what steps (if any) have been taken to prevent the adulteration of foodstuffs, such as ghee and oils ?" Steps taken to prevent the abnormal rise in the price of foodstuffs.

The Hon'ble Sir William Clark replied :—

" It will be convenient if I reply at the same time to this question and to that asked by the Hon'ble Maharaja Ranajit Sinha.

A statement* has been placed on the table which shows monthly fluctuations in the prices of the principal food-grains in the principal Indian markets between March and July last. A summary of the results has been attached to the statement.* It will be observed that, during the period under review, no abnormal fluctuations have occurred. Wheat is the only crop in respect of which special measures have been taken, and the present position is that practically no wheat is leaving the country, since the price of wheat is above the figure of Rs. 4-10-9 per maund, f. o. b. Karachi, at which Government are prepared to purchase for export.

As regards the second-half of the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali's question, the Government of India have consulted Local Governments and Administrations on the subject of legislation to prevent the adulteration of food and drugs in India. All replies have now been received, and the question is under consideration."

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali asked :—

17. " Will Government be pleased to state—

(a) whether the Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs has received any memorial from the subordinate postal officials of the Madras Circle re : the revision of their pay ?

(b) if so, what action has been taken on it ?"

Memorials from the subordinate postal officials of the Madras Circle re : revision of their pay.

The Hon'ble Sir William Clark replied :—

" Last year 54 identical memorials were received from subordinate postal officials of the Madras Circle, in which the main request was that the number of appointments in the Rs. 20 grade should be reduced as far as possible. The Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs, recognising that the grading was no longer satisfactory, sanctioned a scheme costing Rs. 6,000 a year for its improvement. After these orders took effect, the Director-General received further petitions in which, while referring to the improvements already carried out, the memorialists asked for a great deal more. Their case has been re-examined recently, and the Director-General has approved of a further revision costing Rs. 9,600 a year."

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali asked :—

18. " Will Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement for each of the last ten years, showing province by province—

- (a) the number of candidates at the University and public examinations ;
- (b) the subjects in which the largest number of failures occurred ;
- (c) the number of failures at such examinations ;
- (d) the number of admissions into Colleges ; and
- (e) the total number of students in each of the College classes ? "

Candidates for University and public examinations.

* Not included.

[*Sir Harcourt Butler ; Mir Asad Ali ; Sir William Clark.*] [22ND SEPTEMBER, 1915.]

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied :—

“(a) and (c) The information is shown in the statement* which is laid upon the table.

(b), (d) and (e) The Government of India are not in possession of the information asked, and it is doubtful whether it is possible to collect it. The Government of India will, however, address Local Governments and the University of Calcutta with a view to ascertaining if the information is procurable.”

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali asked :—

Excise Ad-
visory Com-
mittees.

19. “ Will Government be pleased—

(i) to lay on the table a statement showing—

(a) the total number of Excise Advisory Committees in each of the Indian Provinces ;

(b) their composition in each case, with particular reference to non-official representation ;

(c) their methods of work in each province ; and

(ii) to state whether they propose (a) to extend the Advisory Committees throughout India ; and (b) to establish Licensing Boards in the capital cities of the major provinces ?”

The Hon'ble Sir William Clark replied :—

“ As regards the first part of the question, a statement† containing the information asked for in heads (a) and (b) and a memorandum regarding the constitution and working of Excise Advisory Committees, which contains the information asked for in head (c), are laid on the table.

As regards the second part, the attention of the Hon'ble Member is invited to paragraphs 5 and 6 of the Excise despatch to the Secretary of State, No. 12, dated the 26th February, 1914, to paragraph 6 of His Lordship's reply No. 77 Rev., dated the 29th May, 1914, and to paragraph 3 of the Resolution in this Department, No. 6305-6323-221, dated the 25th July, 1914, which were all published in Volume I of ‘ Papers relating to Excise Administration in India, 1914 ’.

From these it will be seen that the desirability of the extension of the system of Advisory Committees and the enlargement of their functions and powers has been generally accepted in principle, and Local Governments and Administrations have been asked to report the action which they propose to take in this direction. A report has recently been received from the Government of Bengal on the working of the Excise Licensing Boards appointed in Calcutta and its suburbs in 1913. The experiment initiated by the Local Government has so far worked fairly well, but the circumstances under which it has been tried are not such as to justify the Government of India in requiring its extension to other provinces at the present stage. The Government of India are, however, ready to allow the experiment to be tried in other provinces where it would be warranted by local conditions, and the report of the Government of Bengal is being communicated to other Local Governments and Administrations for such action as they may deem fit to take.”

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali asked :—

Post Office
holidays for
Ramzan and
Id-ul-azha
festivals in
Madras.

20. “ Will Government be pleased to state—

(a) whether it is a fact that there is but one post office holiday for Ramzan for Moslem employes in Madras, and that Hindu employes get five such holidays for their festivals during a year ?

* *Vide* Appendix C.

† Not included.

[22ND SEPTEMBER, 1915.] [Sir William Clark; Rai Sita Nath Ray Bahadur; Sir William Meyer; Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy; Sir Harcourt Butler.]

(b) whether they propose to make Id-uz-zuha (Bakrid) another post office holiday for Mussalmans?"

The Hon'ble Sir William Clark replied :—

"(a) The facts are as stated by the Hon'ble Member.

(b) In 1911, the Southern India Chamber of Commerce was consulted as to the six days to be observed throughout Madras as extra holidays in the Post Office. After considering the local importance of the various festivals, the Chamber recommended that one of the holidays should be a Muhammadan one. This proposal was accepted and no objection to the arrangement has since been received by Government, no doubt because the local authorities endeavour, as far as possible, to exempt Muhammadan employes from duty on the Id-uz-zuha festival.

In these circumstances, the question of making Id-uz-zuha a general Post Office holiday in Madras has not been considered by Government, but they will bear the Hon'ble Member's suggestion in mind when deciding on the list of holidays to be observed in 1916."

The Hon'ble Rai Sita Nath Ray Bahadur asked :—

21. "Do the Government propose to take any action with a view to sustaining the present price of existing $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent Government paper?"

Floatation of new loan of 4 crores.

The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer replied :—

"The Government of India see no sufficient reason at present for taking any extraordinary action such as appears to be contemplated in the question."

The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy asked :—

22. "(a) Will Government be pleased to lay on the table the papers connected with, or to state, the arrangements (if any) arrived at between themselves and Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Co., regarding the *Haj* traffic during the current year?"

Arrangements as regards the Haj Traffic during the current year.

(b) Is it a fact that the *Hajis* do not approve of return tickets, which they are compelled to buy now, on account of the present terms on which Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Co. issue the tickets, and that this is producing dissatisfaction among the *Hajis*?

(c) Is it a fact that the services of licensed brokers have hitherto been employed on behalf of Government to render such services as the vaccination of the pilgrims, issuing of passports, keeping of lists of the sick, arranging for the disinfection, etc., and that such services have been dispensed with by Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Co.?

(d) Will Government be pleased to state what agency (if any) they intend to substitute in place of such brokers?

(e) Do Government propose to consider favourably the proposition that vessels owned or chartered by Mahomedans for the *Haj* traffic should be given preferential treatment in the matter of the transport of pilgrims and for the cargo traffic to Jeddah?"

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler replied :—

"(a) The Government of India are not prepared to lay papers on the table. The general attitude of Government regarding the pilgrim question during the current year has been guided by three main factors—the difficulties created by Turkey's entry upon the war and the increased risks and discomforts thereby entailed upon pilgrims; the desire of Government to respect the religious

[*Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoj ; Mr. A. H. Grant.*] [22ND SEPTEMBER, 1915.]

feeling of Muhammadans in connection with the *Haj* ; and, finally, the shortage of vessels and high price of freights. The Government of India have accordingly permitted, under certain conditions, the transport of food supplies for the pilgrims to Jeddah ; they have refused to consider the proposal of granting a monopoly to Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Company, and, in the face of considerable difficulties, have done what is possible in the present exceptional circumstances to arrange facilities for pilgrims bent on performing the *Haj*.

(b), (c) and (d). Representations have been received from certain bodies protesting against the refusal of Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Company to issue single tickets to Jeddah. This firm was reluctant to carry pilgrims at all on account of the present exceptional circumstances. They agreed to do so only on certain conditions including the issue of none but return-tickets. The Government of India, in the special circumstances of this year's *Haj*, felt themselves unable to oppose this condition. The Government of India observe that the position of the firm in regard to return-tickets and brokers has recently been explained by Mr. Wardlaw Milne in an open letter to the press. This letter states that refunds will be made in case of non-return, refers to the question of employment of brokers by this firm, and details the arrangements now to be made. As stated above, Messrs. Turner, Morrison and Company have no monopoly of the pilgrim traffic, and it is stated in the press that vessels of other firms also will convey pilgrims to Jeddah.

(e) No proposition is before the Government of India to the effect that vessels owned or chartered by Muhammadans for the *Haj* traffic should be given preferential treatment."

The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoj asked :—

Detention of
Indians pro-
ceeding to
Quetta at
the Hirk
Segregation
Camp.

23. "(a) Is it a fact that all Indians, of whatever position, whether travelling first or second class, when proceeding to Quetta are detained at the Segregation Camp at Hirk in summer and at Sibi in winter, and that first and second class passengers are permitted to proceed to Quetta only on production of a medical certificate of ten days' residence in an uninfected area ?

(b) Is it a fact that these restrictions are not applied in the case of Europeans and Eurasians ?

(c) Is it a fact that a person wishing to go 10 miles from Jacobabad is compulsorily taken to Hirk, more than 100 miles from Jacobabad and brought back the next day ?

(d) Will Government be pleased to state if similar Detention Camps are in existence in the case of other military hill-stations ?

(e) Do Government propose to consider the advisability of the removal of the Detention Camp at Hirk ?"

The Hon'ble Mr. A. H. Grant replied :—

" (a) The reply is in the negative. No persons are detained in the Segregation Camp at Hirk who come from areas which are free from plague. First class Indian passengers from plague-infected areas are detained only in extremely rare cases, when it is obvious that they are escaping, with numerous dependents, from places in which plague is raging. Second class Indian passengers from plague-infected areas are detained, unless they produce a certificate to the effect that they have resided for ten days in a locality which is free of plague.

(b) The answer is in the affirmative—the reason being that such persons are few in number and easily traced, so that any cases of plague which may occur among them are sure to be detected at once.

(c) If a passenger wishes to travel by rail, he is required to proceed *via* Sibi or Hirk, as the case may be ; but there is nothing to prevent his proceeding by road, as the very few local travellers doubtless do. The rule is essential

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS; THE INLAND STEAM-VESSELS 33
(AMENDMENT) BILL; THE BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY
BILL; THE INDIAN PORTS (AMENDMENT) BILL.

[22ND SEPTEMBER, 1915.]

[*Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandy ;
Mr. C. H. A. Hill ; Sir Reginald
Craddock ; Sir William Clark ;
Sir Harcourt Butler.*]

to prevent evasion of inspection by persons alighting at intermediate stations and re-booking or proceeding direct to foreign territory.

(d) Except at Pachmarhi, where a Detention Camp is maintained by the Cantonment authorities, no such camp, as is described in the Hon'ble Member's question, is maintained in British India. In the North-West Frontier Province, certain inspection posts were established during the recent plague epidemic for persons suffering, or suspected to be suffering, from plague.

(e) In view of the peculiar position of Baluchistan, of the great political importance of preventing the spread of plague to Afghanistan and Persia, and of the success which has attended the arrangements in question (which have been in force, without serious complaint since 1897, and which are heartily approved by local public opinion), the Government of India do not consider that it would be in the public interest to remove the Detention Camp at Hirak."

The Hon'ble Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandy asked :—

24. " Do the Government propose to take any steps on the recommendations of the Co-operative Committee which was presided over by Sir Edward Mac-lagan ?" Co-operative
Committee.

The Hon'ble Mr. C. H. A. Hill replied :—

" The Report is at present under the consideration of Government."

The Hon'ble Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandy asked :—

25. " Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table the correspondence regarding the relative strengths of the Calcutta and Bihar High Courts ?" Relative
strengths of
the Calcutta
and Bihar
High Courts.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock replied :—

" The correspondence regarding the relative strengths of the Calcutta and Bihar High Courts is still in progress, and cannot therefore be laid on the table".

THE INLAND STEAM-VESSELS (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Hon'ble Sir William Clark presented the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill further to amend the Inland Steam-vessels Act, 1884.

THE BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY BILL.

The Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler presented the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill to establish and incorporate a teaching and residential Hindu University at Benares.

THE INDIAN PORTS (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Hon'ble Sir William Clark :—" My Lord, I move for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the Indian Ports Act, 1908.

" The occasion of this Bill is a reference from the Government of Madras. That Government wish for power to exempt from taxation and port dues fishing vessels entering the port. The Government of India are entirely in sympathy with their object, which is the assistance of a very valuable industry, but it turns out that, under section 34 of the Act, there is no power to sanction the exemption of one particular class of vessels. An amendment of the Act is therefore necessary, and we have taken the opportunity, at the same time, of circulating the proposals to Local Governments, and, after receipt of their replies, of embodying in the Bill various other proposals of an administrative character. It is proposed to circulate the Bill, if this motion is accepted, and it will then be taken up in the cold weather."

The motion was put and agreed to.

[*Sir William Clark ; Sir Pardey Lukis.*] [22ND SEPTEMBER, 1915.]

The Hon'ble Sir William Clark introduced the Bill, and moved that the Bill, together with the Statement of Objects and Reasons relating thereto, be published in the Gazette of India in English, and in the Fort St. George Gazette, the Bombay Government Gazette, the Calcutta Gazette, the Burma Gazette, the Bihar and Orissa Gazette and the Assam Gazette, in English, and in such other languages as the Local Governments think fit.

The motion was put and agreed to.

THE INDIAN MEDICAL (BOGUS DEGREES) BILL.

The Hon'ble Sir Pardey Lukis :—“My Lord, I move for leave to introduce a Bill to prevent the grant to unqualified persons of titles implying qualifications in western medical science, and the assumption and use by such persons of such titles.

“In so doing, in order that Hon'ble Members may obtain a clear understanding as to the necessity for this Bill, it is desirable that I should make a short statement as regards its genesis. In 1906, when submitting, for the consideration of the Government of India, proposals for the passing of an Imperial Medical Registration Act for all India, the Government of Bengal suggested that, if such legislation were undertaken, clauses should be included in the Bill to prohibit and penalise the granting, by unauthorised persons or bodies, of any degrees or licenses to practise the western system of medicine or of any colourable imitations of such degrees or licenses, or the use thereof by any persons. The reasons given for this proposal were that, within recent years, a number of self-constituted Medical Colleges had sprung up in Calcutta, all of which were turning out men with diplomas and licenses, granted on their own authority, and without any recognition either from Government or the Calcutta University. There were, at that time, and I believe still are, four such institutions, calling themselves, respectively, the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Calcutta, the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Bengal, the College of Physicians and Surgeons of India, and lastly, the National Medical College. In none of these institutions were there any fixed standards of preliminary education, and, with one possible exception, none of them provided a proper course of teaching or had adequate facilities for practical training, while, in some of them, an efficient teaching staff, proper equipment, and arrangements for clinical instruction were practically non-existent. Each of these institutions issued its own diplomas, which were more or less colourable imitations of licenses granted by the recognized English and Indian examining bodies, and there were no arrangements for outside control or inspection. For these reasons, the Local Government were of opinion that, on the analogy of the Legal Practitioners Act, not only fully qualified medical practitioners, but also the public, were equally entitled to be protected in respect of the practice of the western system of medicine.

“After giving the matter full consideration, the Government of India, in 1910, replied to the Bengal Government to the effect that, whilst agreeing to the introduction of a Provincial Medical Registration Act on lines similar to those of the Act, which had already been introduced for the Bombay Presidency, they considered it undesirable, at that stage, to undertake legislation affecting these self-constituted Medical Colleges in Calcutta; at any rate, until an effort had been made to induce all or some of them to unite in forming one really good teaching institution, which might either be affiliated to the University, or, if it failed to reach the University standard, to the Campbell Medical School at Sealdah. During the last five years every effort has been made to secure the amalgamation of these colleges, and the Government of India has also agreed to certain non-recurring and recurring grants which should enable one of them, at any rate, to be placed upon a sound footing. The efforts at securing such amalgamation have,

[22ND SEPTEMBER, 1915.]

[*Sir Pardey Lukis.*]

however, come to nothing, and the authorities of the institution, to which financial assistance has been offered, have, up to the present, failed to fulfil their part of the bargain, so that we are now practically where we were when the Government of Bengal wrote their letter in 1908. Seeing that Medical Registration Acts have already been passed in many of the large provinces of British India, and that others are under consideration, it is now considered necessary to supplement this Provincial Legislation by an Imperial Act restricting to duly constituted authorities the right to issue degrees and diplomas in the western systems of medicine and surgery, so as to ensure that such degrees and diplomas are not issued to unqualified persons. This Bill prohibits all persons, save certain specified authorities, from issuing, or alleging that they are entitled to issue, any degree or diploma in western medicine or surgery. It also penalises persons who voluntarily and falsely assume any medical title, which is granted either by the General Council of Medical Education of the United Kingdom, or by the authorities constituted under the Act, and further, it prohibits the use of any colourable imitations of such titles. The Bill does not affect the right of any person to exercise the profession of medicine or to practise as a Physician or Surgeon, provided that he does not pretend to qualifications which he does not possess, and its operation is rigidly restricted to the western methods of allopathic medicine and surgery; practitioners of the Homœopathic, Ayurvedic, and Unani systems being excluded from the purview of the Bill.

“ I think that Hon'ble Members will agree with me that the time is now ripe for the introduction of such a Bill, and I trust that it will not be considered as controversial in any sense of the word; neither can it be regarded as dealing with a matter of merely local or provincial interest. It is true that, at present, self-constituted Medical Colleges exist nowhere in India outside of Calcutta, but no one can say how long this condition of affairs will continue, and, as a matter of fact, one of these institutions has already endeavoured to open so-called 'examination centres' in different parts of India. The licentiates, moreover, of these colleges have now penetrated to every corner of the Indian Empire, so that the matter has become one of Imperial importance. I wish, however, to state here quite clearly and emphatically that the Government of India have no desire whatever to injure any of these self-constituted Medical Colleges. It is desired merely to induce them to raise the standard of efficiency of their teaching staff; to provide proper appliances and clinical material for the training of their students; and finally, instead of examining their own students and issuing their own diplomas, to submit to regular inspections on the part of some recognised examining body, to which they have secured affiliation, such as the Calcutta University or the State Medical Faculty of Bengal. This, my Lord, is of course only the preliminary stage of the Bill which, if introduced, will be published and freely circulated in the usual manner, in order that all concerned may have every opportunity of expressing their views and putting forward their suggestions before any further action is taken. Full opportunities for discussion will also be afforded, moreover, to Hon'ble Members when the replies have been received to the references to the various Local Governments and public bodies.

“ With these explanatory remarks, my Lord, I move for leave to introduce the Bill. ”

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Sir Pardey Lukis :—“ My Lord, I now introduce the Bill, and move that the Bill, together with the Statement of Objects and Reasons relating thereto, be published in the Gazette of India in English, and in the local official Gazettes in English, and in such other languages as the Local Governments think fit.”

The motion was put and agreed to.

[*Sir William Clark.*]

[22ND SEPTEMBER, 1915.]

THE ENEMY TRADING BILL.

The Hon'ble Sir William Clark :—“ My Lord, I move for leave to introduce a Bill to provide facilities for the payment to a public authority of certain moneys, the payment of which is, or may be, prohibited owing to the present war, and to provide for other matters in connection with trading with foreigners.

“ This Bill is one of the measures which has been found necessary owing to the present state of war. Various Proclamations have been issued, from time to time, by His Majesty, the King-Emperor, prohibiting commercial and other dealings with enemy subjects, and any contravention of the provisions of these Proclamations is punishable under the law of British India. The present Bill deals with certain points which have arisen in connection with the operation of these Proclamations.

“ As trading with an enemy is prohibited, some difficulty has arisen as to how payment is to be made of sums due to an enemy. It might perhaps appear the simplest course that such payments should not be made at all. They would, however, have to be made when the war is over, and it is for the convenience of the commercial public, who wish to close their accounts at the ordinary intervals, to be able to effect such payments during the currency of the war and to discharge their debts. It was found necessary in the United Kingdom, in 1914, to constitute by legislation a public authority to whom certain sums due to enemies have to be paid, but there is no authority in British India to whom sums payable by way of interest, dividends or profits to an enemy, or sums due to individuals or firms prohibited from carrying on business or from receiving payments of money in British India, can be paid. The Government of India have ascertained by inquiry from the principal Chambers of Commerce and others that the lack of such an authority has caused practical inconvenience, and they, therefore, are introducing the present Bill in order to constitute public authorities, to be known as ‘ Custodians ’ to receive payments of the nature to which I have referred. The provisions of the Bill are largely based on the English Trading with the Enemy (Amendment) Act of 1914, but our Bill differs from the English Act in the important respect that payment of such sums to the constituted authority is optional and not obligatory. On the other hand, we are giving our Bill a somewhat wider scope, and instead of restricting its application, as in the English Act, to payments of the nature of dividends, interest or profits, it has been thought expedient to insert in the Bill a clause authorising the Governor General in Council to declare that its provisions shall apply to any other classes of payments.

“ The other main matter with which the Bill deals, is a question which has come to notice in connection with the existing law penalising trading with the enemy. Doubts have arisen as to whether the provisions of the law are sufficient to penalise attempts and efforts to trade with enemy subjects in contravention of the King's Proclamations, as well as actual trading with such subjects. The same difficulty arose in England, and was dealt with in the Trading with the Enemy (Amendment) Act of 1914. A clause to remove these doubts, based on the clause in the English Act, has, therefore, been inserted in the Bill.

“ It is important that the Bill should be passed into law, as soon as possible, in order that the Custodians may be established without further delay. If, therefore, Council agree to the introduction of the Bill to-day, I propose, with your Excellency's permission, to move that it should be passed through its final stages at the next meeting of Council. I beg to move for leave to introduce the Bill.”

The motion was put and agreed to.

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

The motion was put and agreed to.

[22ND SEPTEMBER, 1915.]

[*Sir Ali Imam; Sir Reginald Craddock;
Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shafi.*]

THE REPEALING AND AMENDING BILL.

The Hon'ble Sir Ali Imam :—" My Lord, I beg to move that the Bill to amend certain enactments and to repeal an enactment be taken into consideration."

The motion was put and agreed to.

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

The motion was put and agreed to.

THE INDIAN SOLDIERS (LITIGATION) BILL.

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock :—" My Lord, I beg to move that the Bill to provide for the special protection in respect of civil and revenue litigation of Indian soldiers serving under war conditions be taken into consideration."

The motion was put and agreed to.

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

The motion was put and agreed to.

RESOLUTION ON THE REPRESENTATION OF INDIA IN THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shafi :—" MY LORD, the British Empire, embracing within its sphere of control continents larger in extent and population than the Empire of Rome, wielding its sway over nations and races, some of whom are possessed of civilizations more ancient than that of Greece, administering its vast dominions not only for their own mutual benefit, but also for the general good of mankind, constitutes a wonderful phenomenon unparalleled in the past history of the human race. The gradual evolution, in a world-Empire like this, of a constitutional system of government which, while conceding to its component parts varying degrees of internal autonomy suited to their local circumstances, should, at the same time, enable them to play their legitimate part in Imperial affairs, is undoubtedly the ultimate guarantee of its permanence and stability. But so long as British politics were dominated by the 'Manchester School,' which regarded self-governing institutions as only a step towards ultimate separation, this idea of permanent Imperial unity could obviously find no place in the political schemes which engrossed the minds of British Statesmen in the middle of the nineteenth century. Strange, as it now appears, the idea of an Imperial Federation was first mooted not in the centre of the Empire, but in its outlying dominions. The fascinating suggestion, having been first put forward in New Zealand in 1852, was, five years later, officially made in London by the general association of the Australian Colonies. The foundation of the Royal Colonial Institution with its motto of a 'United Empire' in 1863; the open repudiation, in 1872, by Lord Beaconsfield of the pernicious doctrine of the 'Manchester School' initiated by Cobden and Bright; the advocacy of the Imperial idea by Mr. W. E. Forster in 1875; and the foundation of the 'Impe-

[*Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shafi.*]

[22ND SEPTEMBER, 1915.]

rial Federation League' in 1884, brought this all-important subject into prominence, and paved the way for the assemblage of the first Colonial Conference in 1887. And finally, the foundation of Imperial Federation was firmly laid in 1907 by the adoption, in that year's Conference, of the following Resolution:—

'That it will be of advantage to the Empire if a Conference, to be called the Imperial Conference, is held every four years, at which questions of common interest may be discussed and considered as between His Majesty's Government and His Governments of the self-governing Dominions beyond the seas.'

"It is this Resolution, which forms the basis of the existing constitution of the Imperial Conference, and defines the nature and scope of its deliberations.

"My Lord, to us in this country, it is a source of deep disappointment as well as of profound astonishment that, in spite of her prominent position in the galaxy of peoples and countries constituting the British Empire, of her political, commercial and strategic importance, of the obvious utility of her participation in the deliberations of the Conference, and of the invaluable services rendered by her to the Empire, India should have been hitherto excluded from this scheme of Imperial Federation. Of India's prominent position within the Empire, I do not propose to speak to-day. Hon'ble Members are, I have no doubt, perfectly familiar with the eloquent and absolutely faithful picture of our country's importance within and to the Empire drawn by Lord Curzon in his Guildhall (1904) and other speeches. Fortunately, that Imperial Statesman is a member of the National Cabinet to which I am appealing to-day. All India will watch with a vigilant and an expectant eye to see if those memorable speeches represented merely the impassioned rhetoric of an orator designed to create a momentary impression upon his audience in order to win their applause, or the sentiments expressed therein were, in reality, as they undoubtedly appear to be, in the beautiful language in which they are clothed, the outcome of his sincere convictions. The request embodied in the Resolution, which I am about to move, is but the logical result of Lord Curzon's utterances relating to India's position within the Empire, and not only will India of to-day, but also the future historian, judge His Lordship's sincerity as an Imperial Statesman by the measure of support, which will be given by him to the earnest appeal which India is making to be allowed to take her proper place in the Imperial Federation of Greater Britain.

"My Lord, electricity and steam having bridged over the wide gulfs of space and time, the expressions the 'Near East,' the 'Middle East' and the 'Far East' have lost their erstwhile significance. And not only have the different parts of the East, though distant from each other if measured in miles, been thus brought close together, but the East has thereby come into direct and immediate contact with the West. Under the world-conditions brought into existence by modern culture and civilization, the East is henceforward bound to play an increasingly important part in international affairs. To those who have carefully watched the trend of those political and sociological movements which have, of recent years, stirred humanity to an extent hitherto entirely unknown, it must be obvious that not only has India become in truth the pivot of the East, but the part, ever increasing in its momentous importance, which she is destined to play in the political and commercial spheres of human activity, is bound to gather volume with the advance of time. And with this practical annihilation of space and time, the strategic position of India not only within the Empire, but also in relation to the States with whom the vital interests of the British Empire, are at all likely to come into conflict in the future, near or remote, is becoming more and more important. This vital aspect of the Imperial problem is of such fascinating interest as to require a volume for its adequate treatment, and it is impossible for me to do justice to it within the absolutely insufficient space of time at my disposal. Indeed, with the immense material and military resources of India, her political, commercial and strategic importance to the Empire is a factor of ever-increasing moment in world-politics and, in proportion, is her direct participation in the deliberations of what has been called the 'Family

[22ND SEPTEMBER, 1915.]

[*Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shafi.*]

Council ' of the Empire absolutely essential to its future development and prosperity.

“ My Lord, is there a single problem of Imperial or even international interest in which India, as an integral and an important part of the British Empire, is not directly concerned? Is there a single Imperial question in relation to which the interests of Great Britain, of the self-governing Colonies and of India are, under the existing conditions, not indissolubly bound together? Can any scheme of Imperial defence be regarded as complete without taking into account India's defensive requirements and her offensive capacity not only in relation to her own frontiers, but, as recent events have made it abundantly clear, also in connection with the military needs of the Empire in every portion of the globe? Is it possible to evolve any scheme of Imperial Preference, or to introduce any workable Imperial fiscal reform without taking into consideration what may be called India's inter-Imperial interests? To these and other cognate questions there can be but one answer. India is directly and materially interested in all important problems of the Empire, of which she is proud to form an integral part, to the same extent and in the same degree as any other portion of His Imperial Majesty's vast dominions. Moreover, are there not a number of domestic problems of the nature of family complications, such as, immigration, tariffs, etc., which can only be satisfactorily solved by the representatives of the Imperial, Colonial and Indian Governments meeting together in periodical Conferences? And is not their solution indispensable to the smooth-working of the Imperial machinery and to the happiness and contentment of His Majesty's subjects in all parts of the world? The more or less satisfactory settlement of the South African Indian troubles—due mainly to the firm stand made by your Excellency on behalf of this country—was, in part, brought about by the timely deputation of the Hon'ble Sir Benjamin Robertson as the representative of our Government, and by the visit of that devoted Indian patriot, the late Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale, to the scene of that unfortunate conflict. The presence, in the Imperial Conference, of one or more representatives of the Government of this country, with intimate knowledge and experience of the East generally, and of India particularly, would not only satisfy Indian sentiment, but also prove of immense benefit to the Empire, and would help to solve, smoothly and expeditiously, many difficult problems which have, in the past, imposed tremendous strain on British statesmanship.

“ My Lord, in view of recent occurrences, it is hardly necessary for me to dwell in detail on India's past services to the Empire not only along, or in close proximity to her, own frontiers, but also in China, South Africa, Somaliland, Egypt, the Persian Gulf and at other points of vital importance outside her statutory boundaries. These are historical facts well known to His Majesty's Ministers in England. But just as the terrible crisis, through which the world is now passing, has dwarfed all previous international upheavals into insignificance, so has the part taken by India, in the defence of the Empire's honour and in support of her glory in this titanic struggle, surpassed all her previous record. Simultaneously with Great Britain's declaration of war in defence of weaker States, of sacred obligations arising out of solemn international treaties, and in vindication of those principles of justice and honour which have ever appealed to the best instincts of mankind, a remarkable wave of intense loyal enthusiasm passed over the length and breadth of India. Prince and peasant alike vied with each other in their readiness to sacrifice everything in upholding the honour and glory of the Imperial banner under which they had hitherto enjoyed the priceless blessings of peace and prosperity. Thanks to your Excellency's wonderful foresight, the outbreak of hostilities found India, from a military point of view, readier than any other part of the Empire to take the field wherever the presence of her armies may be needed. And when your Excellency obtained for Indian soldiers the proud privilege of fighting side by side with their British and Colonial comrades on

[*Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shafi.*]

[22ND SEPTEMBER, 1915.]

the battlefields of Europe, and thus attain their full and undoubted right of upholding the King's banner irrespective of locality, the delight of His Majesty's subjects in this country know no bounds. The share taken by India in this gigantic struggle, the part played by our soldiers in China, Africa, Mesopotamia and on the European battlefields, has not only won for them the unstinted admiration of their British and Colonial comrades, but has also been fully acknowledged by the British nation in solemn Resolution adopted at the Guildhall meeting. And if, when merely knocking at the outside gate for admission into the Imperial Federation, India has willingly and spontaneously done what she has done in this critical period of British history, what is it that she will not be prepared to do if allowed her proper place in the Councils of the Empire? Contented India will, then, place at the disposal of the Empire not only '124 regiments of infantry with artillery, and 28 regiments of cavalry besides smaller bodies of troops, aggregating more than an infantry division,' but the martial races of India will, should occasion arise, pour forth millions upon millions of unrivalled fighters for the defence of the Empire. With the part which India has taken in this titanic war, with the conclusive proof given by her of her abiding loyalty to the British Crown in this international crisis, is it surprising that, in November last, Mr. Charles Roberts, speaking in the House of Commons on behalf of the Secretary of State, should have given expression to the desire of Government that India should 'occupy a place in our free Empire worthy alike of her ancient civilization and thought, of the valour of her fighting races and of the patriotism of her sons?' 'She now claims,' said he, 'to be not a mere dependent of, but a partner in, the Empire.' And on behalf of the then Leader of the Opposition, now Secretary of State for the Colonies in the National Cabinet and with his full authority, Mr. H. W. Forster, recognizing 'India's splendid and unswerving loyalty,' associated His Majesty's Opposition with these sentiments. With the eloquent words uttered by the Prime Minister and the Right Hon'ble Mr. Bonar Law in the memorable Guildhall meeting still ringing in our ears, is it surprising that the Indian subjects of His Imperial Majesty should be full of hope and trust in the future of their country? And that hope and trust are vastly strengthened when we remember that the comradeship, on the battlefields of three continents, between the British, Colonial and Indian soldiers has not only removed groundless misconceptions and brought about mutual confidence and understanding, but has sealed with blood for all time this renewed compact of fellow-citizenship of a great and glorious Empire. In the words of Eric Harmond's 'Salutation to Indian Soldiers'—

. . . 'Through the boom of guns
That rumbles round the surface of the globe,
Your prowess and your courage strike the sight
Of all men living. You have won your right.
Our Empire needs, and has, the circling bard
Of steadfast union, part to part. Our ways,
Our hopes are one; and, onward hand in hand,
We tread, Invincible, our Imperial strand.'

"My Lord, it is impossible for me to discuss in detail all the solid grounds which lie at the basis of my Resolution within the half hour to which I am limited. I have confined myself to what is but an incomplete synopsis of this important subject, and indicated the lines upon which, in my humble judgment, the discussion of this Imperial problem should proceed in and out of this Council. It is not only absolutely unnecessary, but would, to my mind, be, in

RESOLUTION ON THE REPRESENTATION OF INDIA IN 41
THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

[22ND SEPTEMBER, 1915.]

[*Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shafi; His Excellency the President.*]

the highest degree, impolitic to dwell on the past, and to criticise the policy which has hitherto kept India out of the Imperial Conference. The dawn of a new era of hope and trust, of mutual confidence and understanding is already visible above the horizon, and it behoves all well-wishers of the country to approach the question in a spirit of hopefulness, dealing with it in the light of those principles of constructive statesmanship which alone lead to ultimate success.

“ My Lord, India is not content with the occasional presence of the Secretary of State at the Imperial Conference : what she wants is her own direct representation like that of the British Colonies. And just as the glimmer of the early dawn heralds the coming of the Fountain of Light, so is the gracious permission granted me to-day the harbinger of the happy period when, this her just claim being duly recognised, India will take her proper place in the Councils of the Empire. Fortunately for her, the affairs of the Empire are at this moment presided over not by this party or that, but by a truly National Cabinet representative of the entire British nation. And the glorious example of South Africa has already furnished an object-lesson to those who may have entertained any doubts regarding the absolute efficacy of a policy of sympathy and trust. On behalf of 313 millions of my countrymen, representing over 75 per cent of the entire population of the Empire, I appeal, through your Excellency, to His Majesty's Government and, through them, to the enlightened conscience of our British fellow-subjects in Great Britain and her Colonies for India's admission in the Imperial Federation which, with the resulting contentment in all parts of the Empire, will constitute the best guarantee not only of the happiness of His Majesty's subjects, belonging to all races and creeds, but also of the peace of the world. With complete confidence in the justice of our claim and a heart full of hope and trust, my Lord, I beg leave to move the following Resolution :—

‘ This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that a representation be sent, through the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State, to His Majesty's Government urging that India should, in future, be officially represented in the Imperial Conference.’ ”

His Excellency the President :— “ It has been a source of profound satisfaction to me that it has been within my power to accept for discussion the very moderate and statesmanlike Resolution, happily devoid of all controversial character, that has been proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. Muhammad Shafi, and it is a matter of still greater satisfaction and pleasure to me to be able to announce that the Government of India gladly accept this important Resolution, which has their warmest sympathy, and, if it is accepted by Council as a whole, the Government will readily comply with the recommendation contained therein.

“ We have all listened with deep interest to Mr. Muhammad Shafi's eloquent speech, and it is a real pleasure to the Government of India to be able to associate themselves with his Resolution.

“ Before proceeding further, it would be as well that I should recapitulate what has taken place at Imperial Conferences in the past, and define the actual constitution of the Conference as created by the Governments who have hitherto been represented in it.

“ It was due to the presence in London, in 1887, of the Premiers of the various self-governing Dominions, representing their countries at the celebrations of the Jubilee of the late Queen Victoria, that the idea of a Colonial Conference first took practical shape, and similar meetings took place in 1897, 1902, 1907 and 1911. At the earlier meetings, the Secretary of State for the Colonies presided.

[*His Excellency the President.*]

[22ND SEPTEMBER, 1915.]

“In 1887, the Secretary of State for India attended the formal opening meetings of the Colonial Conference, but at subsequent proceedings neither he nor any representative of Indian interests was present.

“At the meetings of the Colonial Conferences held in 1897 and 1902, the Secretary of State for India neither attended nor was represented.

“In 1907, by arrangement between Lord Morley, then Secretary of State for India, and the Prime Minister, Sir James Mackay, now Lord Inchcape, was permitted to attend the meetings in the absence of Lord Morley, not as a member of the Conference nor as the representative of India, but on behalf of the India Office, and ‘with a view to the representation of Indian interests’ and in a debate upon Colonial preference, Sir James addressed the Conference at some length, explaining the Free Trade principles on which the economic situation in India is based.

“In that year a new constitution was approved by the Conference for its future gatherings.

“Henceforth it was to be known as the Imperial Conference, and was to be, in the words of a Resolution passed by the Conference, ‘a periodical meeting for the discussion of matters of common interest between His Majesty’s Government and His Governments of the self-governing Dominions beyond the seas.’ With the change of title, additional importance was given to the Assembly by the assumption of the Presidency by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

“The members of the Conference, as then and now constituted, are the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Prime Ministers of the self-governing Dominions, but again in the words of the Resolution, ‘such other Ministers, as the respective Governments may appoint, will also be members of the Conference, it being understood that, except by special permission of the Conference, each discussion will be conducted by not more than two representatives from each Government, and each Government will have only one vote’.

“At the Imperial Conference of 1911, the Secretary of State for India was present at a meeting, but India herself had no recognised place in this Conference.

“Representation is, therefore, at present confined to the United Kingdom and the self-governing Dominions, and no one can now attend the Conference as a Representative except a Minister. Further, alterations in the constitution of the Conference are made only by, and at, the Conference, itself: and, if precedent be followed, take effect only at the next succeeding Conference. From this statement of the actual constitution of the Imperial Conference, you will see that the ultimate decision upon the representation of India at the next meeting of the Conference rests with the Conference itself. It is of course premature to consider the manner in which the representation of India, if admitted, should be effected, but *prima facie* it would appear reasonable that India should be represented by the Secretary of State and one or two representatives nominated by the Secretary of State in consultation with the Viceroy, such nominees being ordinarily selected from officials resident or serving in India. The present practice of the Imperial Conference excludes non-official representatives. It would of course be incumbent on these nominees to act in the Conference in conformity with the policy and wishes of the Secretary of State. Just as in the case of the self-governing Dominions, the Ministers accompanying the Prime Minister have to take their policy from him, and the constitutional position of the Secretary of State is infinitely superior.

“I have thought it desirable to put before you all the difficulties and obstacles that present themselves to the attainment of the object that we all desire and have in view. At the same time, I am authorised by His Majesty’s

[22ND SEPTEMBER, 1915.] [*His Excellency the President ; Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis.*]

Government, while preserving their full liberty of judgment and without committing them either as to principles or details, to give an undertaking that an expression of opinion from this Imperial Legislative Council, in the sense of the Resolution that is now before us, will receive most careful consideration on their part, as expressing the legitimate interest of the Legislative Council in an Imperial question, although the ultimate decision of His Majesty's Government must necessarily depend largely on the attitude of other members of the Conference.

“ This is, I venture to think, all that we can reasonably expect at the present time, and that such a pledge is eminently satisfactory as showing due consideration for the claims of India. We can only hope, with trust and confidence, that, when the right moment arrives, these claims may merit the approval and support of His Majesty's Government and receive sympathetic consideration from the Governments of the self-governing Dominions.

“ We have no knowledge of the date when the next Imperial Conference will be held, nor what form it will take. But much has already happened, since the last Conference was held in 1911, which will leave a lasting mark upon the British Empire, and it is to me inconceivable that Statesmen of such distinguished ability and far-seeing patriotism as the Premiers and Ministers of the self-governing Dominions will not have realised, from recent events, the great and important position that India occupies amongst the various Dominions and Dependencies composing the British Empire. It is true that India is not a self-governing Dominion, but that seems hardly a reason why she should not be suitably represented at future Conferences. India's size, population, wealth, military resources, and, lastly, her patriotism demand it. No Conference can afford to debate great Imperial issues in which India is vitally concerned, and at the same time to disregard her. To discuss questions affecting the defence of the Empire, without taking India into account, would be to ignore the value and interests of the greatest military asset of the Empire outside the United Kingdom. So also in trade, to discuss questions affecting commerce within the Empire, without regard to India, would be to disregard England's best customer. To concede the direct representation of India at future Imperial Conferences does not strike me as a very revolutionary or far-reaching concession to make to Indian public opinion and to India's just claims, and I feel confident that if, and when, this question is placed in its true light before the Governments of the self-governing Dominions, they will regard it from that wider angle of vision from which we hope other Indian questions may be viewed in the near future, so that the people of India may be made to feel that they really are, in the words of Mr. Asquith, ‘ conscious members of a living partnership all over the world under the same flag.’ ”

The Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis :—“ My Lord, I beg to thank Government for having accepted this Resolution, and for having promised to make every effort to secure for this country an opportunity to take part in the counsels of the Empire. The association of Indian representatives on this Conference is necessary for the promotion of mutual acquaintance and respect among this country and the Colonies. Local experience is essential for wise and good government ; hence the necessity for direct representation. The great War of to-day is being fought by the people. The politics and commerce of the iron age that is now to follow will be conducted on the widest national lines for the people's benefit.

“ The acceptance of this Resolution by Government, with the permission of the Secretary of State, is in consonance with the highest ministerial assurances that the amazing outburst of Indian loyalty of last year had created a better feeling towards us among the English people, and that it would lead to the initiation of a policy of greater trust and confidence. India has given the clearest proof of the identity of her interests with those of the self-governing parts of

[*Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis ; Sir Fazulbhoy
Currimbhoy.*]

[22ND SEPTEMBER, 1915.]

His Majesty's glorious Empire. The country has, along with other parts of the great Kingdom, in accordance with her humble means, shared the burden of the Empire which will, I am sure, never again be laid. We have begun to learn to think imperially. We realise that, as citizens of the Empire, we are members of a great Imperial family. Our loyalty is admittedly unimpeachable, and the great heart of the nation is absolutely sound.

"I therefore again thank Government for the announcement that has now been made by your Excellency, and for the sympathetic and statesmanlike sentiments you have just expressed in regard to this country in making this announcement."

The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy:— "My Lord, I am glad my friend, the Hon'ble Mr. Shafi, has moved this Resolution. Hon'ble Members will remember that this subject of Indian representation at the Imperial Conference was pressed by me in Council on 17th March last, and if I did not move a Resolution then, it was only with the object of not embarrassing Government. My Lord, before proceeding further, I cannot help but digress in order to allude to this fresh mark of your Excellency's unquenchable devotion to the welfare of the people of this country as shown by your admitting for discussion this Resolution which has, I may safely say, the unanimous approval of the country.

"I have always felt that the present exclusion of India from the *Imperial* Conference lacks justification. Hon'ble Members will be pleased to note that the periodical Conferences at which we claim representation are no longer Conferences of Colonial Premiers, but are 'Imperial' Conferences of the representatives of the different units of the Empire. The adoption by these Conferences of the wider and more comprehensive name 'Imperial,' invests them with an importance much beyond what they had in the initial stages, and renders their proceedings of paramount importance to the whole of the British Empire. The 'Imperial idea' of the late Mr Joseph Chamberlain, which was the basic and constructive principle of these Conferences, would be meaningless if any important unit of the Empire was left out. That India is an integral unit of the Empire, which it would be folly to ignore, cannot be denied.

"My Lord, however great, however attractive the 'Imperial idea', the Colonial Premiers' Conference would not have assumed the importance it did within a few years of its inauguration, were it not for the fact that the self-governing Colonies rendered material assistance to the United Kingdom at the Boer War. The union with the Colonies was thus sealed with blood. It is a pity India was not allowed her legitimate share of the responsibility as a unit of the Empire on that occasion. It was not that she was reluctant to help England; but the old idea still dominated the counsels of the Imperial authorities, that the Indian soldiers should not be pitted against the European enemy. Race prejudice prevailed, and the Colonies got all the chance and all the credit for the help, notwithstanding the fact that some Indians did go to the Front as non-combatants. Had we the opportunity fifteen years ago, as we now have through the noble initiative and efforts of your Excellency, of helping England with men and money in her hour of trouble, the Ministers would, in all probability, have admitted India into the Imperial Confederacy in 1902. But this speculation need not be pursued further. The history of these Conferences warrants the conclusion that substantial and unmistakable proof of the identity of interests of one part of the Empire with those of the United Kingdom, such as is provided by loyal help in war, entitles that part to an honourable share in Imperial deliberations.

"To put it more tersely, assumption of responsibility is an enabling condition of acquisition of power. On the present occasion too the question is seriously mooted that the self-governing Colonies should be given a larger share in the administration of the Empire in appreciation of the great help rendered

RESOLUTION ON THE REPRESENTATION OF INDIA IN 45
THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

[22ND SEPTEMBER 1915.]

[*Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy.*]

by them in the European war. The same principle applied to our case for representation would appear to be not only strong but irresistible. If the statements of high authorities have any meaning, the assistance rendered by India to the Allies is as valuable as that rendered by the Colonies. The only difference has been due to the absence of an Indian navy. It would be wrong to contend that the proposed larger powers of participation could be fairly given to the Colonies in appreciation of their services without India being given a place in the Imperial Conference in recognition of her equally loyal and unstinted support. This cannot be done without the abandonment of all accepted principles of justice and fairplay. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, in his inaugural address at the Conference of 1902, observed :

‘The link which unites us, almost invisible as it is sentimental in character, is one which we would gladly strengthen.’

“The link between England and India naturally escaped his notice then ; but the present war has made it patent to all impartial observers, and there would be few living Statesmen, either in the United Kingdom or the Colonies, who would not be glad to strengthen it by the same generous process of admission of India into the Imperial Confederacy and the counsels of the Empire.

“My Lord, it is just possible to raise a technical difficulty to the grant of the concession. It might be argued that India is a Dependency, and, as such, holds a position inferior to that of the Colonies. *Ex hypothesi*, she cannot have an equal status with the Colonies at the Conference. A scrutiny will expose the unsoundness of the position. India is undoubtedly classed as a Dependency, but this is more in view of her present stage of political development than from any false idea of her subjection to England. By our gracious Sovereigns we have always been treated in the same way as their other subjects ; equality of status has been assured to us by more than one document of unimpeachable authority. Even in the matter of internal administration, the trend is definitely towards self-government although the consummation is yet far away. In the field of battle we are comrades of these Colonials. The advancement of any argument of supposed political inferiority to defeat our claim, which is founded upon justice and the highest considerations of Imperial statesmanship is unthinkable. The present temper of the Colonials is favourable to India. Now that the Colonials have mixed with our countrymen in the different theatres of the war as comrades in arms, they have, from all reports, modified their views about us, and much of their present prejudice against us has disappeared. A new friendship has grown up between the two classes of His Majesty’s subjects on the stricken field which is full of the best augury for the future. It is ungenerous to suppose that the Colonial is wanting in a sense of justice. A brave people with fine impulses, such as these Colonials undoubtedly are, cannot fail to appreciate merit and to take a just view of the rights of other parties. It is true we have had our troubles with the self-governing Colonies ; but we cannot ignore the fact that a great deal of the difficulty of the situation has been due to economic causes. But when such causes are absent, as in the case of Indian representation at the Imperial Conference, the Colonies will surely not have any serious objection to recognise the equal status of India as a component part of the Empire. I have the liveliest hope that, with their present appreciation of Indian loyalty and Indian bravery, the Colonies will welcome India into the great Imperial Confederacy, and accord to it a seat at the Imperial Conference. They will realise that the subjects discussed at the Imperial Conference are of supreme interest to India also, and that it would be unfair for the Colonies to advise the Imperial Government about matters of general interest to the Empire, and of particular interest to India, while she is denied her legitimate say. And further, that would be a denouement in flat contradiction with all that has been said in responsible quarters of the just reward of Indian loyalty, Indian valour, and Indian support, and it would be difficult to justify such a position. I am loath to

[*Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoj ; Mr. Surendranath Banerjee.*] [22ND SEPTEMBER, 1915.]

believe that, after we have given the most conclusive proof of our unswerving fidelity to the Empire, we shall look in vain for the fruition of our hopes even in this matter of direct representation at the Imperial Conference. I am sure, under your Excellency's wise and statesmanlike guidance and with your Excellency's earnest and powerful support, we shall get this right in the immediate future.

"With these observations, I support the Resolution."

The Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjee:—"My Lord, I think I speak the sense of my non-official colleagues on this side of the House when I say that there is at the present moment but one feeling which is uppermost in our hearts, and that is of deep gratitude to your Excellency for accepting the Resolution and for the terms in which you have been pleased to notify that acceptance. They contain that true ring of genuine sympathy and of active concern and solicitude for our interests which have enshrined your Excellency's name in the grateful recollections of my countrymen.

"My Lord, you asked us to state our views upon the proposition that has been placed before this Council, and I am sure, my Lord, you expect us to state them with perfect frankness and candour. My Lord, fifteen months ago such a Resolution, as the one which has been introduced by my friend to-day, would have been deemed hopelessly premature; but the aspect of things has changed and the war has brought about a complete transformation in the current of public opinion both here as well as in England. War is one of the direst of human calamities, but, my Lord, there is no cloud without its silver lining, and this war has afforded us the opportunity of demonstrating to the world our undying devotion to the British Empire, an Empire which stands for us as the emblem of, and the guarantee for, the steady and progressive development of constitutional freedom in this great and ancient land.

"The loyalty of our people and the courage of our Indian troops have made a profound impression upon British public opinion. My Hon'ble friend, the Mover, has referred to the change in the angle of vision on the part of the British democracy upon which the late Under Secretary of State for India dwelt with so much eloquence. My Lord, this change of attitude on the part of the British people is not confined to any particular class or to any particular section, but is universal. The 'Times' newspaper—not always friendly to our interests—thus observed the other day :

'We must see to it that after the war is over we secure to India an ampler voice in the counsels of the Empire.'

"Mr. Bonar Law, speaking at the Mansion House, observed that, after the termination of the war, every part of the Empire must have its share in the control and management of the affairs of the Empire. My Lord, the feeling has penetrated even to the Colonies and found expression in the utterances of their most illustrious Statesmen. Sir John McColl, Agent-General for Tasmania, in a speech that he delivered at the Royal Colonial Institute, observed that not only India but that also the Crown Colonies should be invited to send their representatives to the Imperial Conference, which should discuss all questions affecting the Empire.

"My Lord, in view of a situation so full of hope and promise, it seems to me that my friend's Resolution does not go far enough. He pleads for *official* representation at the Imperial Conference: he does not plead for *popular* representation. He urges that an address be presented to His Majesty's Government, through the Secretary of State for India, for official representation at the Imperial Council. My Lord, official representation may mean little or nothing. It may indeed be attended with some risk; for I am sorry to have to say—but say it I must—that our officials do not always see eye to eye with us as regards many great public questions which affect this country; and indeed their views, judged

RESOLUTION ON THE REPRESENTATION OF INDIA IN 47
THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

[22ND SEPTEMBER, 1915.]

[*Mr. Surendranath Banerjee.*]

from our standpoint, may sometimes seem adverse to our interests. At the same time, my Lord, I recognise the fact that the Imperial Conference is an assemblage of officials, pure and simple, consisting of Ministers of the United Kingdom and of the self-governing Colonies. But, my Lord, there is an essential difference between them and ourselves. In their case, the Ministers are the elect of the people, their organ and their voice, answerable to them for their conduct and their proceedings. In our case, our officials are public servants in name, but in reality they are the masters of the public. The situation may improve, and I trust it will, under the liberalising influence of your Excellency's beneficent administration; but we must take things as they are, and not indulge in building castles in the air which may vanish 'like the baseless fabric of a vision'. My Lord, much will depend upon the questions that will be discussed at the Conference. Your Excellency has referred to some of these questions, and with your Excellency's permission, I desire to point out that whatever difficulties there may be in regard to official representation, they are very much minimised in view of the topics that are likely to be considered by the Conference. These questions, as your Excellency has pointed out, include Imperial defence, the commerce and trade of the Empire, and, lastly, the question of Indian immigration into the Colonies. Is there any cleavage or difference of opinion between officials and non-officials as regards these matters? My Lord, if we examine the matter, we shall find there is very little. As regards the first, the question of Imperial defence, I take it that there is none. Officials and non-officials, representatives of the people and representatives of the Government, we are all animated by a common sentiment of devotion to the Empire, and by the firm resolve to defend it at all costs and at all hazards. No doubt the question of the equitable distribution of the financial burden may involve some difference of opinion, but let me gratefully recognise the fact that the Government of India, throughout the long controversies that have taken place on this question, have strenuously endeavoured to uphold the claims of India. What is even more valuable, there is a growing feeling in England to do justice to the financial interests of India. As regards trade and commerce, we of the educated community are all protectionists; the Colonies are also protectionists; and public opinion in England, so far as we can gather from the statements in the newspapers, is steadily veering round to the side of protection. The other day, a deputation waited upon the Prime Minister—a mixed deputation consisting of free-traders and protectionists—and they urged the imposition of import duties. That, my Lord, is a very significant fact. Therefore, as regards trade and commerce, I take it that there will be no cleavage between official and non-official opinion.

“Coming now to the question of Indian immigration into the Colonies, my Lord, its consideration has been very much simplified by your Excellency's great pronouncement upon the subject. Your Excellency was pleased to lay down the policy which should be followed in this matter, and that is a policy of reciprocity. My Lord, I am perfectly sure that any official representative of the Government of India sitting in the Imperial Conference cannot possibly ignore the weighty pronouncement of your Excellency.

“Therefore, my Lord, as regards most of the questions that are likely to be taken up by the Imperial Conference, it may be assumed that there will be little or no difference, or cleavage, between official and non-official opinion. But, my Lord, there is one argument of overwhelming importance which seems to me to be wholly decisive of the issue, and that is this: if this Resolution be accepted and given effect to, it will mean the definite recognition of India's claim to a place in the Imperial Conference. That may mean little or nothing. Perhaps, at the present moment and under existing conditions, it means little or nothing. But, my Lord, it is by and through these little things, as all history tells us, that the great fabric of constitutional freedom has been built up. We cannot forego our opportunities, however trivial or insignificant they may be. I feel sure, my Lord, along with the rest of my countrymen, that the time is fast approaching when even in India public opinion will become irresistible,

[*Mr. Surendranath Banerjee ; Mr. Dadabhoj.*]

[22ND SEPTEMBER, 1915.]

and our officials, who are public servants in name, will really become the servants of the public. My Lord, if this Resolution is accepted and the concession is granted, one point at least will have been gained in the definite recognition of the fact that India is entitled to a voice in the counsels of the Empire. To-day that voice may be official, to-morrow it will be popular. In that hope and confidence I support the Resolution.

“ One word more, my Lord, and I shall be done. Your Excellency's Government has been pleased to accept this Resolution, and possibly the Resolution will be given effect to by His Majesty's Government. My Lord, if there is to be official representation, may we not suggest that the officials may be selected by this Council—one of whom I hope will be an Indian—subject to the approval of the Government of India? My Lord, our delegates will then go forth to the Imperial Conference as the chosen representatives of the Government and the people alike.”

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoj:—“ My Lord, I trust the Resolution will meet with the unanimous approval of the Council. As far as I understand, the principle of representation is not so much in question. The Imperial Government would appear to have accepted the principle that India should be represented at the Imperial Conference on particular occasions. On 29th March, 1911, Mr. Lloyd George, in reply to a question in the House of Commons, stated that ‘the Prime Minister will take any steps necessary to ensure the representation of India when required’. But the Imperial Government was of opinion then that representation by the Secretary of State for India was sufficient, as on 2nd June, 1911, Mr. Harcourt, on behalf of Government, asserted that ‘representation by the Secretary of State for India meets all reasonable requirements’. And, in pursuance of this policy, at the Conference of 1907, India was represented by Sir James Mackay, of the India Office, who spoke about the proposed inter-Imperial preferential tariffs. At the Conference of 1911, Lord Crewe, as Secretary of State for India, stated the case for India on the motion for ‘wider legislative powers in respect to British and foreign shipping’. The Resolution before the Council does not thus propose any violent change in the existing order of things. It does, however, suggest modification of the rules in two material respects. In the first place, it recommends Indian representation *as of right*, and in the next place, *direct* representation from India is recommended. And the issue before us is, whether this is necessary?

“ My Lord, even a cursory review of the history of the Imperial Conference will show that it deals, and it is intended that it should deal, with matters which concern India in common with the other parts of the Empire. The root-idea was ‘the desirability of drawing different parts of the Empire closer together for purposes of defence and commerce’. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain advocated this from 1887 onwards, and he availed himself of two great ceremonial occasions to gather together in conference the representatives of the self-governing Colonies. The idea gradually developed of calling an Imperial Conference for business, and in 1907, as pointed out by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the Conference of that year, the first of its kind, was ‘specifically summoned for the purpose of business’,—‘a discussion of the matters which are of common concern to us all’. In 1911, Mr. Asquith, in the course of his inaugural address at the Conference, stated that—

‘ It is the primary object and governing purpose of these periodical Conferences that we may take free counsel together in the matters which concern us all.’

“ Now, in view of these weighty statements, the decision on the issue formulated above hinges upon the determination of the further issues, whether India is a unit of the Empire, whether India is interested in the maintenance of British power, and whether the matters discussed at the Imperial Conference concern India? There could be but one answer to all these questions.

[22ND SEPTEMBER, 1915.]

[*Mr. Dadabhoj.*]

It is beyond question, true that, so far as the Imperial Government is concerned, we, His Majesty's Indian subjects, occupy the same position in the British Empire as His Majesty's Colonial subjects, and equality of citizenship has been guaranteed to us both by Statute and Royal Proclamation. The Charter Act of 1833 and the Royal Proclamations of 1858 and 1908 are in point. The Charter Act recognised 'definitely and finally, the equality of status, of rights and of duties of the Indian subjects of His Majesty with the British subjects'. The Royal Proclamations proceed upon the assumption that India is a unit of the Empire. There is no distinction in all this between one class of subjects and another, and the idea obviously is that India is as good a unit of the Empire as any of the self-governing Colonies. In His Gracious Message to India of September 8, 1914, His Imperial Majesty feelingly referred to—

'The unanimous uprising of the populations of my Empire in defence of its unity and integrity.'

"This pronouncement is remarkable for the same absence of all distinction between India and the Colonies.

"Thus, constitutionally, we enjoy the same status as the Colonials, and India does form a unit of the British Empire in the same way and to the same extent as the Colonies. This status is unaffected by the difference in the degrees of political development of the two component parts. Similarly, in the matter of defence of His Majesty's Realm, India is equally deeply interested. Mr. Bonar Law, on 13th July, 1915, in speaking in Parliament of General Botha's services, made a pointed reference to the help rendered by India, Australia, New Zealand and Canada, and observed:—

'They have come entirely of their own free will, not merely to help us in *our* quarrel, but to take part in what they regard as *their* quarrel, and to defend the Empire which was assailed, which was *theirs* as much as *ours*.'

"This is unequivocal testimony to India's interest in the defence of the Empire in common with the United Kingdom and the Colonies. On 16th September, 1914, Mr. Asquith, speaking about the cost of the Indian Expeditionary Force in Parliament, gave expression to 'an acknowledgment, sincere and heartfelt, of the spontaneous and splendid assistance which our great Dependency of India is giving us'. If we had no interest in the defence of the Realm, why should we offer all this assistance to England at this crisis? Nay, for the maintenance of British power, India is as keen and as necessary an associate of the United Kingdom as the Colonies.

"With regard to the third point, apart from the weighty statements about the purpose and scope of the Conference referred to above, the mere fact that the India Office is consulted about certain matters discussed at the Conference, even though India has so far not secured a rightful position at it, proves conclusively that that body deals with matters which concern India as much as the other parts of the Empire. Indeed, the very idea of a British Empire presupposes and connotes the existence of common interests which concern every unit thereof. As Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson pointed out in this Council in March, 1913:—

'The British Empire may be said to be regarded as consisting, not of an aggregation of separate entities with no mutual relation to each other, but of a family of States animated by a common family purpose.'

'And again, it is clear that the development of India in the future must be dependent on, and primarily affected by, the policy pursued by the British Empire as a whole and particularly by the United Kingdom.'

"It is the settlement of this policy of the British Empire as a whole that is 'the governing purpose' of the Imperial Conference. The deliberations of the Conference are thus of deep moment to us. In the light of these facts, there can be no question that adequate representation of India at the Conference is absolutely necessary. And for such representation two conditions

[*Mr. Dadabhoy.*]

[22ND SEPTEMBER, 1915.]

must be fulfilled. In the first place, India must be allowed a share in the labours of the Conference in the same way as the Colonies, instead of being summoned to plead her cause on special occasions, at its special sittings. It is one thing to appear at the bar of the Empire to advocate, or it may only be to criticise, a particular policy, and it is quite a different thing to co-operate with the representatives of the various units of the Empire in the evolution of a policy which is for the common good. And it is this right of co-operation which India claims, and which must be assured to her to ensure that adequate representation which is of the last importance to her.

“The next important condition is, that India must have direct representation at the Conference, irrespective of the question of the personnel. I have listened with great respect and interest to the position of the Secretary of State in this matter as just explained by your Excellency. The Secretary of State for India is undoubtedly the supreme authority as regards our internal administration. As a Minister of the Cabinet, he also is the protector of our interests in the larger concerns of the Empire. While the dual position gives him a distinct advantage, it may also prove in actual working a disqualification in certain respects. Generally, the Secretary of State comes fresh to office without any previous acquaintance with the special needs of India; and as a party man, his tenure of office is more or less uncertain. It often happens that, by the time he acquires the requisite knowledge of details, he vacates the office, and makes over charge to another Statesman. His Council, it is true, may be expected to have fuller information; but the members cannot have that up-to-date firsthand knowledge which is so essentially necessary, especially in this matter of representation. It comes to this then, that the India Office, in order to represent Indian views at the Conference, must get the requisite information from the Government of India, and depend wholly upon the reports of this Government. But reports, however complete, hardly ever supply the want of firsthand knowledge. And not only that, the Secretary of State for India, being also a Member of the Cabinet, cannot be expected to wholly dissociate himself from the Imperial interests which may not coincide with the special interests of India. It would be more satisfactory, therefore, to depute a special officer or officers from India to represent her at the Conference just as the Colonies send over their Ministers. Indian officialdom is strong and capable enough to act for India at the Imperial Conference. As matters stand at present, some of these very officials, on appointment to the India Council, will have this privilege which is now denied to them. This is a position anomalous and unsatisfactory. Far better the Government of India should have the right of deputing direct to the Conference such among their officers as appear to them most competent to take, on behalf of India, a conspicuous and statesmanlike part in its proceedings. This direct representation will be free from the defects inherent in the present arrangement, and will satisfy the Indian demand for adequate representation, provided of course the first condition of the right of co-operation is assured to the representative or representatives. We all know how direct representation has lately been productive of wholesome results in South Africa, even though Sir Benjamin Robertson had no seat on the Inquiry Commission.

“My Lord, I cannot understand how, with due regard to justice, our demand can be refused. In His Gracious Message to India of November, 1908, His Majesty pointed out —

‘Important classes among you, representing ideas that have been fostered and encouraged by British rule, claim equality of citizenship and a greater share in legislation and government. The politic satisfaction of such a claim will strengthen, not impair, existing authority and power.’

“These are wise words, and ought to be laid to heart by His Majesty’s Ministers. Our case for just and equal treatment, moreover, has been enormously strengthened by recent events. Minister after Minister have vied with

[22ND SEPTEMBER, 1915.] [Mr. Dadabhoy ; Mr. Setalvad.]

one another in their appreciation of 'India's rally to the Empire'. And the Marquess of Crewe, on September 9th, 1914, speaking of the Indian offer in the House of Lords, gave greater credit to India than to the Colonies, for the cogent reason that 'these Governments are manned by people of our own blood, with countless memories and traditions which centre round these islands'. But the appreciation is not confined to Ministers and Parliament; it is general, and the whole British nation has nothing but sympathy for us. Mr. Montague's celebrated reference in Parliament to a change in the official 'angle of vision' lends support to this view. We all feel our staunch loyalty, our devotion to the Empire, our sacrifices will not go unappreciated; we hope our action has given a deathblow to race prejudice all over the British Empire. The times are propitious for an extension of our rights as an Imperial unit. And it is a source of sincere joy to us that your Excellency has once again come forward to vindicate the honour of India by accepting this Resolution. With your Excellency's mighty help, in the present temper of the British nation and the Colonials, we ought to gain an honourable place in the federation of the Empire. The East, my Lord, is moved by sentiment; and even if it were only a matter of sentiment, which it is not, it would be statesmanship to give India a definite status at the Imperial Conference. We seek honour; we want the confidence of our rulers. If, in the judgment of the civilised world, we have deserved these, they should come to us without delay. It would be gratifying to the growing self-consciousness of the people of this country to be admitted into the Imperial Confederacy on equal terms with the Colonials. Will the Imperial Government, will the Colonial Governments be reluctant to remove once for all our badge of inferiority and to raise us in the scale of nations? My Lord, representation is the very foundation of the British constitution,—the accepted creed of civic development in the British Empire. Can it be that India alone among the federal units is to be denied this common privilege on the central Council of the Empire? We believe not, we hope not."

The Hon'ble Mr. Setalvad:—"Your Excellency, I confess that, when I read my Hon'ble friend Mr. Shafi's Resolution, I was not very much pleased with it, and I do confess too that, after earnestly and respectfully hearing what has fallen from my Hon'ble colleague and from your Excellency, I still adhere to that view. If the few observations, I propose to make, seem to strike a discordant note, I implore your Excellency and the Council not to misunderstand me. I do not underrate the importance of the demand made by this Resolution, nor do I deny the desirability of securing what it demands. But I do think, and I still hold to that opinion, after hearing what has been said, that it would have been desirable if this Resolution had been postponed to a more convenient occasion. I will explain in a few words, your Excellency, what I mean. The war that is going on has been an eye-opener, and has brought home to many people the necessity of a re-adjustment of their views about India, its people and its government. Not that it has created anything new, but it has brought vividly to the minds of people who did not before realise the real circumstances, the reality of the position. India has been, and always will be, loyal to the British Crown; all her best interests are bound up with the honour and glory of the Empire. This war has demonstrated more than anything else that India, steadfastly loyal to the British connection, will strain every nerve and make every sacrifice for maintaining unimpaired the prestige and position of the Empire. India has been fighting for the cause of freedom and liberty on the soil of Europe shoulder to shoulder with England, France, Russia and the other Allies, and it is freedom and liberty in their own land that Indians will naturally expect. I do trust and hope that, when the war is over and the time comes to take stock of things, there will be such a re-adjustment made in India itself with regard to its government, that India will be able to secure its goal and what, I submit, it has a right to expect, namely self-government within the Empire; it wants and expects the constitution of the Government in this country to be so re-adjusted as to make the Government really responsible to the people; in fact, what is needed is the government of

[*Mr. Setqzad ; Mir Asad Ali.*]

[22ND SEPTEMBER, 1915.]

the people in reality by and through the people. I am quite alive, your Excellency, to the fact that it is not a very easy problem to adjust, that there are enormous difficulties that will require to be solved before we arrive at a satisfactory conclusion regarding the matter, a conclusion that will satisfy the people, a conclusion that will be in their best interests, a conclusion that will be good for the whole of the Empire. I, therefore, hoped that nothing would be done piece-meal and in a hurry at this juncture. In that view, the present proposal which asks merely for official representation to the Imperial Conference, it would have been much wiser to have postponed to a more convenient occasion. As I have submitted, at the end of the war, the question of the future government of India must, and will have to, be taken into serious and immediate consideration, and if that adjustment is made properly, Indians will and ought to get an effective voice in the government of India that they are entitled to, and when that stage is reached and when that development is come to, India will *then* be in a better position, certainly than it is now, to take its proper place in the counsels of the Empire. What is needed is the remodelling of the constitution on such a basis that India would come into line in some measure with the other self-governing Dominions; it will then be fitting that India should take its proper place in the deliberations of the Empire. The Hon'ble Mr. Shafi has asked for representation at the Imperial Conference; but I venture to think that, when after the war is over, a reconstitution of the Government of India, in the manner I have indicated, is effected, then will the time be to ask for India to be given its proper place in the deliberations of the Empire.

“ Holding these views, your Excellency, I did not view the introduction of this motion at this stage with favour, and I do apprehend that, although people will no doubt realise to some extent the importance of what is now asked for, what it means and what underlies it, still, in the popular mind there is likely to be a misunderstanding. What will be said, I do not for a moment say, truly or justifiably—will be that the first movement made, regarding what is to be done in pursuance of the new angle of vision created by what the war has revealed about India, is to secure nothing substantial in the way of remodelling the Government of India, but to get Indian representation in the Imperial Conference, which meets once in three or five years, dealing no doubt with important questions, so far as the Empire is concerned, but not dealing with questions which immediately affect the administration and vital interests of this country. It will also be said that more urgent and necessary things may possibly be postponed, may possibly not be dealt with in the right spirit, and that an attempt is being made. I again say that, although this is not the true position, it is likely to be misunderstood in that way—to give to them what is really not much in substance, and what, though it recognizes a principle, does not affect them in the actual realities of the administration of India.

“ As I said, your Excellency, it is with great hesitation and diffidence that I venture to put forward this view. As I have said, my note is slightly discordant in this assembly where everybody seems to be in favour of this appeal for Indian representation in the Imperial Conference being made. I do not underrate its importance for a moment; it is a thing which will have to be done some day: all that I feel is that it would be much better to stay our hands, to do nothing at this stage, and to wait till the war is seen through. India, till then, wants nothing. Her first care is to see that the war is successfully carried through; when that is done, immediately take in hand the reconstitution of the Government of India on the lines necessary as well as other important matters that urgently require adjustment. When that is done, all these other things will follow.”

The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali :—“ My Lord, in rising to support the Resolution before the Council, I should like to recall to mind your Excellency's noble utterance in this Council last year. Referring to the

[*Mir Asad Ali* .]

[22ND SEPTEMBER, 1915.]

despatch of the Indian troops to the theatre of war, your Excellency was pleased to observe,—

‘ There is, I believe, nothing like comradeship in arms before the enemy and joint participation in the dangers and hardships of war to level all distinctions, to inspire mutual respect, and to foster friendship ’.

“ Your Excellency further could not help feeling that, in consequence of the heavy and material sacrifices that were being made by India for the sake of the Empire, better relations would be promoted amongst the component parts of the British Empire. The very comradeship and joint participation, as well as the significant part India has played, and is still playing, in the common defence of the Empire, might have suggested this Resolution, a Resolution submitted with a view to secure and deepen mutual good-will between the different members of the British Empire, to promote the growth of Imperial consciousness, and to develop the modern idea of Imperial partnership.

“ In the evolution of a truly Imperial policy, based upon justice and righteousness, India, the brightest jewel in the Imperial Crown, has much to contribute. For, without India, there can be no Empire in the true sense of the term. Differing widely, as India is, from the self-governing Dominions whose representatives alone for the present constitute the Imperial Conference, she has nevertheless her unique place within the Empire. When compared with any of the five self-governing Dominions in population, revenue and trade, India not only holds her own, but towers above any of them in all or most respects. Among all the British possessions, India alone is the largest customer of the United Kingdom. The value of her imports is more than one-and-a-half times that of Australia, about half as much as that of Canada, nearly four times as much as that of South Africa, and more than twelve times as much as that of New Zealand. While Canada and Australia are certainly bigger than India in mere size, their populations are about one-fortieth (1-40th) and one-sixtieth (1-60th) respectively, of the population of India. Again, India’s vast population is fifty times more than that of South Africa, and three hundred times more than that of New Zealand. As regards their revenues, India’s revenue is nearly three-and-a-half times as large as that of Canada, more than four times as large as that of Australia, more than seven times as large as that of New Zealand, and over four-and-a-half times as large as that of South Africa. Coming to their respective trade figures, what do we find? Here, again, India stands foremost. India’s total trade exceeds that of Canada, by four million pounds sterling, nearly two-and-a-half times as large as that of Australia, and ten times that of South Africa, while New Zealand’s trade constitutes but one-thirtieth of India’s trade. Hence, India occupies the foremost place amongst all the British possessions.

“ ‘ The position of Indians within the Empire ’ was one of the suggested subjects for discussion at the last Imperial Conference ; and the suggestion came from the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and Newfoundland. As far back as 1907, a desire was expressed for the formation of an Imperial Council, consisting of representatives not only from the self-governing Dominions, but from other parts, such as Crown Colonies, Dependencies, and Protectorates. The Council idea, which meant over-centralisation, had then to be given up in favour of the Conference idea which assured full freedom to each of the self-governing members of the Empire. But the Conference idea admits of sufficient room for expansion, so that it may not be unreasonable to hope for the enlargement in the near future of the Imperial Conference, so as to include India and other portions of the Empire. Now that an opportune moment has arrived, there should be no difficulty in the matter of Indian official representation on the Imperial Conference.

“ India, my Lord, bases her claims upon her important position within the Empire, her vast resources, natural and physical, and her loyal devotion and

[22ND SEPTEMBER, 1915.] [*Mir Asad Ali ; Rai Sitanath Ray Bahadur.*]

attachment to the British Throne and the Government. Her heroic part in the present world-struggle is not only fully recognised in high and responsible quarters, but warmly appreciated by the British public and the press. No one recognised India's response better than the Prime Minister. The Right Hon'ble Mr. Asquith spoke of 'the magnificent response which the princes and peoples of that country had made to their need', and of 'the spontaneous and splendid assistance which their great Dependency of India was giving them'. The Noble Marquess of Crewe, our former Secretary of State, spoke of the Indian races as representing 'a civilisation of almost untold antiquity' and being 'remarkable in arms, in arts, and in the science of government'. I feel confident that British Statesmen like these who have recognised in India a willing partner, prepared to share the joys as well as the burdens of the Empire, will surely support India's claims to Imperial representation.

"While the objective results may not be far-reaching and even substantial for the present, the moral victory would be great, if India were granted such representation. The inclusion of India would, in the first instance, mean a practical recognition of India's high status within the Empire, and would gradually pave the way for India's steady advancement along the path of self-government. And yet there are some with misapprehensions as to the heavy burden of India in the event of the adoption by the Imperial Conference of an army or naval programme for the common defence of the Empire. But India, while anxious to play a bigger part, should equally be prepared to pay for the new and additional privileges she wishes to enjoy.

"At one of the sittings of the last Conference, the Canadian Premier hoped that the day would come when there would be a grand alliance between all the English-speaking communities, and when that day came, the peace of the world would be assured for ever. Indian communities too are anxious to be taken into the large fold of the English-speaking communities. It seems as if that day is about to dawn soon after England emerges from this unparalleled war stronger, greater, and more victorious than ever she was. When that day comes, my Lord, we too shall be proud of our Imperial connection.

"To the Prime Minister who opens the next Imperial Conference will belong the honour of associating India with the Imperial Conference. May we not hope that the illustrious name of the Right Hon'ble Mr. Asquith, the greatest Statesman of the day, will be associated with this beneficent measure. Now that the angle of vision is widened, and the Indian soldiers fight shoulder to shoulder with their Colonial comrades, neither the Home Government nor any of the Dominion Governments is likely to thwart Indian aspirations. At the same time, I should heartily congratulate the Government of India upon their entertaining this proposal, and trust that this Resolution will meet with the acceptance of this Council."

The Hon'ble Rai Sitanath Ray Bahadur :—"My Lord, we are extremely gratified to hear that the Resolution, so ably moved by the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur, has the sympathy and support of your Excellency's Government and of the Home Government. We do not know how sufficiently to express our gratitude to your Excellency for the kind sentiments to which your Excellency was pleased to give utterance. The Resolution, in question, seems to have been drafted, on the line of 'least resistance' to which no one can, reasonably, take any exception. The Hon'ble Mover has given us a sufficiently clear idea of the scope and nature of the Imperial Conference. It is, so to say, the Cabinet of the Empire, in which all broad questions affecting the Empire, as a whole, are discussed. Though this Conference has no statutory basis, yet it exercises a powerful influence in shaping the policy of the British Empire. To this Conference, only the representatives of the self-governing Colonies are invited, and they, with the Prime Minister as President, and Secretary of State for the Colonies as Vice-President, are allowed to take part in its deliberations. My Lord, in my humble opinion, to style the Conference as 'Imperial,' without having any

RESOLUTION ON THE REPRESENTATION OF INDIA IN 15
THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

[*Rai Sitanath Ray Bahadur.*]

[22ND SEPTEMBER, 1915.]

Indian representatives on its Board, is somewhat misleading. It is something like the play of Hamlet with the part of the Prince of Denmark left out.

“ The usual title of His Imperial Majesty, our Gracious Sovereign, is King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of all the Dominions beyond the seas, Emperor of India, etc., etc. With your Excellency's kind permission and with the utmost respect, I beg to state that everywhere else, in his vast and world-wide Dominions, His Gracious Majesty is only styled King, whereas in India alone, he is King of Kings, Shahan-Shah Padisha, Raj-Chaekerbarty, Samrat, *i.e.*, Emperor. This Imperial title is an appalage of the British Sovereignty, primarily due to the possession of India, and has a peculiar significance of its own and as such, India can legitimately claim her full rights and privileges as a co-partner of the world-wide British Empire.

“ My Lord, it is a matter of common knowledge that, by the Great Proclamation of 1858, due recognition was made, in clear and explicit terms, of our just claims to the enjoyment of the full rights of British citizenship. The principles of the Great Charter have, since then, been confirmed and re-affirmed by our successive Emperors and Rulers. My Lord, we are, then, theoretically, on equal footing with the other subjects of His Imperial Majesty. But, in actual practice, our position in the Empire is altogether different. In all matters of Imperial concern, we are nowhere. It is said, and said with much truth, that Providence has placed India in the hands of the British as a kind of trust, and I may say, a sacred trust, with a view that India may be so educated and trained that she may ultimately rise in the scale of nations and take her proper place in the world. My Lord, we believe in that Divine Dispensation which has placed India in the hands of her English rulers. It is therefore fitting, my Lord, that as a practical part of her training, she should be invited and made an associate with the other members of the Empire in the Imperial Conference. My Lord, it is now more than half a century since the Great Charter of our rights and liberties was published. During this interval, owing to various causes, educational and otherwise, a mighty transformation has been going on in India, under the fostering care and guidance of our British rulers. In my humble opinion, India has now reached that stage of her evolution when she may be safely trusted to exercise her full rights as a partner of the British Empire, and take her proper place in the Councils of the Empire.

“ Then, my Lord, if we look to the question from the view-point of political expediency, its acceptance becomes all the more appropriate, and it requires no very great argument to commend it to your Excellency's Government. England is not now a little island-Kingdom in a corner of the Great Atlantic Ocean, absorbed in her own local interests and concerns, but the centre and heart of a vast and mighty Empire, regulating and bringing into a harmonious whole the diversified interests of her several component parts, scattered throughout this wide world. At times, it becomes a very hard task to reconcile these several interests, not unoften, conflicting and clashing. It is for the solution of the problems arising therefrom that a common Council or Conference has become an absolute necessity, and in this Conference, my Lord, I submit, the different interests of the Empire should be properly represented, and India should have her representatives on the Board of the Imperial Conference.

“ My Lord, the time has arrived when full rights and privileges of British citizenship should no longer be withheld from us. Not only in the dark days of the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, but in the present crisis also, when the British Empire is engaged in the greatest war known in history, the civil population, from the highest prince to the lowest peasant, have come forward as one man, to the help of the Government and place their resources at its disposal, and what is more chivalrous and glorious, still in the present crisis, is that the Indian soldiers have responded with alacrity to the call of duty, and are now fighting side by side in the fields of Flanders and France with the British troops and shedding their blood and sacrificing their lives in the cause

[22ND SEPTEMBER, 1915.]

[*Rai Sitanath Ray Bahadur ; Pandit Madan
Mohan Malaviya.*]

of their Sovereign and in defence of the Empire. What further and better proof can our people give of their unstinted loyalty and faithful allegiance to the British Throne? We have not the faintest doubt, in our minds, of the final result of this fierce struggle, which, we are sure, will add fresh lustre to the British arms, and go further to the strengthening of the British Empire. Though not yet out of the woods, it must be said that the present war, however otherwise deplorable and condemnable it may be, has, at least, done one good that 'it has drawn,' to quote the recent utterances of a great public man, 'the whole of the British Empire together and forged new links of unity. In that unity, India has won, for herself, a place by a devotion that touched the heart of England—Responsible British Statesmen have freely acknowledged the title she has acquired to a reconsideration of her position in the Empire. The future will unfold what the finger of Fate has traced on the scroll of India's destiny.' But, for the present, this much we may safely demand that, as an earnest of what we may justly expect in the future, representatives from India should be allowed to take part in the deliberations of the next Imperial Conference. This is, my Lord, indeed a very modest request. The way in which India should be represented in the Imperial Conference is a matter of detail which may be worked out hereafter.

"With these words, I heartily beg to give my humble support to the Resolution."

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—"My Lord, I should hardly have taken up the time of the Council with any remarks on the Resolution before us after what has fallen from your Excellency, but for the view which has been expressed by one Hon'ble Member regarding the propriety of taking up this Resolution at the present time. My Lord, I do not yield one inch to any friend of mine in my desire, in my earnest hope and desire, that the constitution of the Government of India should be materially modified after the war is over. I belong to the same school to which my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Setalvad belongs, and look forward with confidence to the introduction of self-government in India after the war is over. But I think that my friend has unnecessarily mixed up the question which is before the Council with the question of the future government of this country. I think, my Lord, he is mistaken in the view that this Resolution will be regarded by the Indian public as having been taken up prematurely. It is widely recognised that, in view of the opinion expressed by Mr. Bonar Law that Colonial Governments will be represented at the Imperial Conference, it became necessary that the question of India, also being represented at such Conference, should be brought up before your Excellency's Government, and I am sure the Indian public will heartily thank your Excellency for having allowed this question to be mooted at this time. My Lord, our thanks are due, in the first instance, to you and in the second instance, to His Majesty's Ministers for having agreed to this question being taken up, and much more so for the reassuring message which they have, through your Excellency, conveyed to us in relation thereto. When that message is read by the public, I am sure there will be much gratitude felt throughout the country for what has been done.

"I congratulate my friend, the Hon'ble Mr. Muhammad Shafi, on the admirable manner in which he has presented the case for India. In view of what he has said and of the remarks which have fallen from your Excellency, it is hardly necessary for me to say anything more in support of the Resolution. I would leave the case for the representation of India as it stood at the conclusion of your Excellency's speech, because I recognise, if I may say so, with gratitude, that the case could not be better put than your Excellency was pleased to put it to-day.

"There are, however, a few points which have been raised, in the course of the discussion, which require clearing up, and I hope the Council will

[*Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.*]

[22ND SEPTEMBER, 1915.]

pardon me if I detain it for a few minutes with regard to them. I will not take up time by going into the history of the question, for it has been already so admirably dealt with; nor would I refer to the very reassuring utterances, regarding the future position of India in the Empire, which have come to us from our honoured fellow-subjects in England, from the Right Hon'ble Mr. Asquith downwards; nor yet shall I dwell upon the part which India has played in the war. I am sure, my Lord, that every Indian who can think of it feels proud and thankful that India has played her part as she has; and I should think that the one desire of every thoughtful Indian at this moment would be that India should play her part truly and well throughout the world-crisis through which the Empire is passing. It is not time from our point of view to think of boons and concessions; it is not time from our point of view to think of what the future has in store for us; but of one thing only, and that is, to contribute whatever of fighting strength and resources we can to the final triumph of the great and righteous cause in which our King-Emperor and the Empire are engaged.

“ My Lord, we long for the day, the blessed day, when the triumph of Greater Britain and her Allies, will establish throughout the world the triumph of those great principles of truth and justice, of freedom, of humanity and civilisation, for which His Majesty, King George and his Allies, are fighting to-day. And when that day comes, my Lord, the triumph of these principles will have been established, not for the moment, not for the hour, not for the day, but, I confidently hope, for a very long, long time to come. And when these principles have been re-vindicated and more firmly established than ever, I have no doubt that our British fellow-subjects who have done nobly by us in the past, in solemnly pledging to us unasked, by the Parliamentary Act of 1833, equality of rights and opportunities as fellow-subjects of a common Sovereign, and in ratifying and repeating that pledge of equality through their gracious Sovereign, the late Queen Victoria in 1858, I have no doubt, my Lord, that our British fellow-subjects will, when that happy day arrives, recognize the claim of Indians to a complete and practical equality of citizenship in the Empire, and that self-government within the Empire and many other advantages will inevitably follow in the wake of such recognition. At the present moment, I value this Resolution, because it seems to me to cast a shadow of coming events. It shows in an unmistakable manner that your Excellency's Government regards the aspirations of Indians in a kind and sympathetic spirit, it shows also that His Majesty's Government look at questions concerning India in a similar spirit. This is a happy augury for the future.

“ My Lord, there is one other point to which I should like to refer. It has been said by one of my esteemed friends here that the Resolution speaks only of India being officially represented at the Conference, and objection has been taken to the Resolution on that score. I think that was due to a rather cursory reading of the Resolution. What the Resolution aims at securing is, that India should, in future, be officially represented at the Imperial Conference. The remarks which your Excellency was pleased to make, make it clear that the representation has to be arranged after taking many things into consideration. But it does not, I was glad to gather from your Excellency's remarks, shut out the possibility of a non-official being associated with the official representative of the Government of India at the Conference. As each country can be represented by two representatives, even if an official must be appointed, as I take it one would be, there is nothing to prevent the second representative being a non-official elected by this Council or by a larger constituency and approved, if necessary, by the Government of India, and the Secretary of State. There is nothing to prevent such a representative taking part in the Conference and pleading before our fellow-subjects, representing the various other Dominions of the Empire, the cause of the 332 millions of His Majesty's subjects in India. I take it, my Lord, that when the details come to be considered, this point will be borne in

58 RESOLUTION ON THE REPRESENTATION OF INDIA IN
THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

[22ND SEPTEMBER, 1915.]

[*Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya ; Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola.*]

mind—I trust that it will be borne in mind—and I hope that India will be represented at future Conferences officially no doubt, because otherwise the representation would not be worth having, but represented not merely by an official of the Government of India, as the term is ordinarily understood, but also by one of those unsalaried officials of the King who labour in their own way and according to their own light, to serve the Government and the people.

“ My Lord, with these words, I heartily support the Resolution which is before the Council.

The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola :—“Your Excellency, I welcome the Resolution as it claims the right of India's recognition as a member of the Imperial partnership. I do so, especially in view of the remarks which the Right Hon'ble Mr. Asquith made in welcoming the delegates to the Conference held in 1911. In the course of his speech, Mr. Asquith said :

‘ And I may add a common trusteeship whether it be in India or in the Crown Colonies or in the Protectorates or within our own borders, of the interests and fortunes of fellow-subjects who have not yet attained, or, perhaps, in some cases may never attain, to the full stature of self-government.’

“ Your Excellency, according to this view, the Imperial Conference consists of a Board of Trustees to determine various problems arising in the government of Greater Britain. If that is so, I think the claims of India to representation on this Board of Trustees is indisputable. Its importance as a part of the British Empire, to my mind, definitely establishes the claim which we are putting forward to-day for such representation on, what I will again call, the Board of Trustees of the British Empire. India has not yet reached the stage of self-government, but whether India reaches that stage in the near future, or in the distant future, it ought not, in my opinion, to weigh in the consideration of its right to representation on a Council which deals with most important problems concerning the British Empire. I, therefore, cordially welcome the Resolution, and trust that it will receive the unanimous approval of this Council. Your Excellency, there is one observation which I should like to make in connection with to-day's debate, and that is, the repeated references which have been made in most of the speeches to the services and the sacrifices which India has made in connection with the war. Personally, your Excellency, I would have preferred that no such reference had been made. If India has served the Empire, if India has made sacrifices, it has done so as a call of duty, and not with the intention of getting rewards or recompense. India has borne its share of the burden of smaller wars in the past, and I am sure if another such crisis—which Heaven forbid—again arises in the history of the British Empire, India will, apart from any internal differences of opinion, which may then prevail, again rise as strong and as formidable to share in the duties and responsibilities of the Empire, I repeat, without hope of reward or recompense. It is for this reason, my Lord, that I wish that these frequent references to India's services and sacrifices had not been made. We certainly demand further political privileges, not because we have shared the responsibilities of Imperial partnership, but because we claim that we are gradually and steadily advancing under the fostering care of Britain, and are becoming daily more qualified to receive greater political privileges from the British Government. It is for these reasons that we claim not only India's recognition on the Imperial Conference, but we propose to claim, as soon as the proper opportunity arises, greater political privileges for which the country has become ripe. Your Excellency, I hope that the recognition of India's right to be a member of the Imperial partnership will receive official sanction, and that at the next meeting of the Imperial Conference, India's representatives will be officially invited to participate. I am constrained to admit, in view of what your Excellency has pointed out, that, in the first

[*Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola ; Mr. C. Vijiara-
ghavachariar.*]

[22ND SEPTEMBER, 1915.]

instance, India's representatives should be officials. I do not wish to raise any controversial point on the present occasion, but I cannot help expressing the hope that Government will favourably consider the suggestion which has emanated from my Hon'ble friend Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, namely, that some method should be devised by which the official representatives should have the hall-mark of approval of the non-official element in this Council. Under such a system, if adopted, the hands of the official representatives will be greatly strengthened in putting forward the views and claims of India in regard to the various measures which will come up for consideration before the Imperial Conference.

"Sir, I am one of those who, while welcoming India's recognition on the grounds I have already mentioned, do not very greatly believe in the full realization of the rosy picture of results which has been so eloquently painted during the debate. I am hopeful, however, that if the officials of the Government of India work in sincere co-operation with the non-official element in this Council, and unitedly press through their official and non-official representatives on the Imperial Conference for greater freedom in the matter of our fiscal policy and various other reforms, which are India's crying wants at present, we may be able to achieve for India something substantial.

"Your Excellency, there is one thing which I cannot help remarking. We all desire that the non-official members of this Council should, in some form, be associated in the choice of India's representatives on the Imperial Conference. Assuming that we are authorized to recommend—I won't say elect—officials and non-officials—and if, after your Excellency's retirement, you would be available, I think they would unanimously invite your Excellency's co-operation in representing India—not as an official, not as a non-official, but as Lord Hardinge of Penshurst. I can confidently say that India will regard it as a great boon if it can secure the services of Lord Hardinge as its first representative on the Imperial Conference."

The Hon'ble Mr. C. Vijiara-ghavachariar :—"My Lord, I rise to make a few remarks on the question before the Council. I am sure that I am not going to introduce a highly controversial tone into this morning's debate, and I am prepared to join in asking that the Resolution may be accepted. It seems to me that there has been considerable misconception as to the meaning and scope of the Resolution, and I fear that, in making these few remarks, I shall perhaps wander from the Resolution and from the gracious speech made by your Excellency, but I shall then confine myself to points as to which the speech and the Resolution are silent. The Resolution is as simple and plain in its meaning, as it is modest in its request. It asks for official representation of India on the Imperial Conference, and official representation, as has been already pointed out by one Hon'ble Member, does not mean representation by officials. The expression, 'official relation,' has a well-known meaning. I can say that my relationship to this Honourable Council as a Member of it is an official one, but I believe I am not an official in consequence. It is clear that my Hon'ble friend Mr. Shafi used that word in the Resolution in this sense, and I do not at all see why it should lead to the conclusion that the representation of this country on the Imperial Conference should be necessarily by officials. The Resolution neither confines it to officials nor does it exclude them. What the Resolution asks for is the recognition of a primary right to be represented on the Conference. In this connection, I fail to understand what is meant by our right to representation on this Conference. It is a voluntary body in which a number of Colonial Ministers take part. Constitutionally, it has no more status than the Indian National Congress, the Anglo-Indian Association or the Moslem League. Therefore, I venture to think, my Lord, that it is wholly unnecessary to range

60 RESOLUTION ON THE REPRESENTATION OF INDIA IN
THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

[22ND SEPTEMBER 1915.]

[*Mr. C. Vijiaraghavachariar.*]

over the whole set of the relations between England and India, existing and looming in the distance and to the services rendered to England by India and *vice versa*. We can, I believe, conduct this little business before us to-day as a matter of ordinary significance and routine.

“ I perfectly associate myself with my friend, the Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, when he said that no references should have been made to the services that are being rendered by our soldiers at the front and elsewhere in view to rewards in return. But I am a lawyer and he is not. The services rendered by our soldiers and the robust and unanimous response made throughout the country to the call of the Empire just at this crisis might well be alluded to, not in view to any reward, but as evidence of our real state of feelings towards England. Our loyalty, like the virtue and love of a true wife, it may be an ill-treated wife, is irrespective of any reward here or hereafter. If our services are referred to frequently, it is as evidence of our true relations towards England. There has been considerable misreading by Statesmen and considerable prejudice among some classes of people in England in consequence of some passing shadows in the national life of India due to exotic influences rather than to causes within India. There has been profound misconception about the matter, and this huge evil, thanks to German *Kultur*, this monstrous war has given us an opportunity to show to England and to the world at large what stuff we are made of. We want no reward, but we desire to secure delayed justice and fairplay forever.

“ Your Lordship has doubtless heard very often the saying that we, Indians, are easily pleased. Now, this is an occasion on which I am absolutely disinclined to be easily pleased, and I deprecate any attempt on the part of our rulers to welcome this aspect of the Indian character, because, let them remember, the faculty of being easily pleased implies the correlative of being easily displeased even to easy discontent. As our rulers certainly do not like the latter trait leading to excessive and unhealthy discontent, I hope they will pardon me if I venture to desire that they should not encourage the other faculty of being easily pleased. What is it we are now asking for? I do not know at all what it is we are asking for. We want to go and co-operate with a voluntary body in which some five representatives of the self-governing Colonies and one or two Ministers of State in England meet once in four years, with, I must say, conflicting interests. They, the Colonial Ministers, are all for protection. England is for free trade; and in India, I believe, the problem is not yet finally settled. We, the people as a whole, are for protection, no doubt with special arrangements with England and perhaps even with the Colonies. I believe the Government of India is rather for protection. Now, if our officials go and represent us in this Conference, may I know if what they do and say commit us with the Secretary of State for India and the Cabinet generally? I certainly think it would be very embarrassing for our representatives. If at all it is necessary for us to send a representative or two to this voluntary Conference, I should prefer that the representatives go with credentials and instructions both from the people and from the Government. Now these credentials and instructions may, on behalf of the people, be obtained from the non-official members of this Council, and, I would go further, from the non-official members of the various Provincial Councils in India and Burma. Then at least there is a chance of the true interests of India being represented, however inadequately, in this Conference. Now, what is the business they are going to transact? I fail to understand it quite exactly. A good deal would depend upon the Rules for the Conduct of their Business. Supposing that a Resolution is passed by the majority, is it binding upon all the representatives? Suppose the majority say, ‘The laws, rules and traditions as to the Indian indentured labour should be maintained for another twenty years.’ What is the binding force of it? If this country protests against it, they would say that our representatives have been a party to the Resolution. It does not matter whether they did not accept it.

[*Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar ; Raja Kushalpal Singh ; Maharaja Ranajit Sinha of Nashipur.*] [22ND SEPTEMBER, 1915.]

There is the Resolution passed by the majority. So it depends upon circumstances whether this representation would be of much use or the reverse to us. I therefore deprecate any rosy or sanguine hopes and expectations being entertained about this matter of representation in this non-constitutional Conference. The reason, my Lord, is this. We are now at a great crisis; soon after this war, England will have to revise her ideas and her ideals as to her policy, internal and international. Then, I believe and hope that Parliament will no longer busy itself with private and parochial affairs to the prejudice of the affairs of the Empire. Under whatever name it may be done, much of the business that is now being transacted in Parliament will have to be abandoned to other Councils. Whether you call it Home Rule, or by any other name, they will have to be abandoned, if England, true to the position which the Fates are raising her to, namely, as the most dominant partner in the family of nations, guiding the destinies of the world, is to maintain that position, she will have to revise her views, her constitution and all. If she does so revise, then, I believe that what India should demand and is entitled to get is seats in the new Imperial Council, and nothing less than that will satisfy us. And I do hope that your Lordship's energies and influence (though this is not the time for me to speak of it) will not be wasted, will not be frittered away in getting for us sweets in the place of solid food. Verily, we want enduring solid food; while the request of the Resolution, if granted to us, would be a sweet to us. Therefore, while I do not oppose the Resolution and I do mean to vote for it and associate myself with it, I should be understood as saying it is an extremely modest request, though not quite an illusory request, and it is not easy for us just now to say whether there might not be some little advantage in securing the object aimed at by the Resolution. With these words, my Lord, I desire to vote for the Resolution."

The Hon'ble Raja Kushalpal Singh :—" My Lord, after the very able and exhaustive treatment which the subject-matter of this Resolution has received at the hands of the Hon'ble Mover and also after the pronouncement of the views by the Government of India, I do not think that I should be justified in wasting the time of the Council by repeating what has already been said. But the Resolution is of such vital importance, that I cannot give a silent vote in its favour. On behalf of the large land-holders of the province of Agra, whom I have the honour to represent on this Council, I associate myself with the Resolution, and beg to offer our most grateful and respectful thanks to your Excellency for having accepted the request to which the Hon'ble Mover has given expression. By accepting the Resolution, your Excellency has added another act of gracious kindness to your Excellency's already too numerous acts of kindness and consideration for which your Excellency's honoured name will always remain enshrined in the hearts of the grateful people of India. I have every hope that our representation is certain to receive a sympathetic hearing. We recall that it is made to a Cabinet presided over by the Right Hon'ble Mr. Asquith, who looks upon the British Empire as an Empire which knows no distinction of race or class, where all alike, as subjects of the King-Emperor, are joint and equal custodians of our common rights and fortunes. I have no doubt that the Resolution will meet with the hearty approval of the Hon'ble Council."

The Hon'ble Maharaja Ranajit Sinha of Nashipur :—" My Lord, I beg to support the Resolution so ably moved by my Hon'ble friend Khan Bahadur Muhammad Shafi. After the most sympathetic and statesmanlike pronouncement which your Excellency has so kindly made in accepting the Resolution, I do not think it is at all necessary for us to add anything to commend the Resolution for the acceptance of the Council. Your Excellency has all along been very keen in advancing the cause of India, and in supporting its just rights and aspirations, and I doubt not that, through

[22ND SEPTEMBER, 1915.]

[*Maharaja Ranajit Sinha of Nashipur ;
Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad
Shafi.*]

your Excellency's kindness, India will attain all its legitimate aspirations and claims. Some of my colleagues have taken exception to the word 'officially' mentioned in the Resolution, but as far as I could make out from the wording of the Resolution, I agree with my Hon'ble friend Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya that the word "officially" here does not mean that an official should always represent India in the Imperial Conference; he may be either an official or non-official. The Mover only wants that the representation should be officially recognised by the Government. My Hon'ble friend, Sir I. Rahimtoola, has justly pointed out that we should not always mention about the sacrifices we have made, or the part we have taken in the war. It is our most sacred and bounden duty to place all our resources and humble services for the Crown and the Empire without expecting any reward or compensation on that account. But I think mention of the same is generally made to express our unswerving loyalty to the British Crown. My Lord, India has all along been truly loyal, but there were people at home who did not believe as to its genuine loyalty, and I think, by this war, we have been able to impress upon them that India is truly loyal to the British Crown, and that she is ready to sacrifice whatever she has got in order to be of use to the Empire and the Crown. My Lord, we are indebted and grateful to your Excellency for kindly accepting the Resolution which will give to our country a status and position in the eyes of the civilized world, and your name will ever remain enshrined in the hearts of the people. With these words, I beg to support the Resolution."

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shafi :—

"My Lord, those of us who are family men are perfectly familiar with the spectacle of children refusing to take food because a particular kind of raiment is not provided for them at *Id* or some other festival. The one discordant note which has been struck in connection with the Resolution, which I have had the honour to move, seems to me to partake somewhat of the nature of the attitude of mind which children adopt on such occasions. My Lord, every country within the British Empire occupies a dual position; that dual position being, on the one hand, represented by what I may call the individuality of the country itself, and the other position being that of a member of the Empire. In this dual position we have two sets of rights and privileges to which India is entitled. In her individuality, India is entitled to certain rights and privileges, and as a member of the Empire, she is, in addition, entitled to another set of rights and privileges. To say that we will not accept the rights and privileges to which India is entitled as a member of the Empire unless we get the rights and privileges to which she is entitled individually is logic, the soundness of which I for one am not prepared to accept. Some remarks have been made by certain of my Hon'ble friends with reference to the use of the expression 'officially represented.' I should have thought that the Resolution, as I have worded it, was plain English with reference to which there can be no possibility of misapprehension. What I have said is not that India should be represented by this set of persons or that; but that India should be officially represented just as British Colonies are represented on the Imperial Conference.

"My Lord, the remarkable unanimity with which my Resolution has been received in this Council is an infallible index of the still wider unanimity that prevails throughout the length and breadth of India in support of the claim I have put forward in this Council on behalf of my country. Moved by the elected representative of the Punjab, whose martial races have been aptly described as constituting not only the backbone, but the whole frame of the Indian Army, the Resolution has been supported by the representative of every province throughout the country. I regard even the Hon'ble Mr. Setalvad's observations as really supporting the Resolution, for he has admitted the necessity of India's representation on the Imperial Conference; only he thinks the demand

[22ND SEPTEMBER, 1915.]

[*Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shafi.*]

for it should have been put forward somewhat later. While, my Lord, the Resolution has been supported by all the representatives of every province of India in this Council, it has been accepted by your Excellency's Government, thus showing that, in regard to the claims which I have put forward on behalf of my country, the Government, as well as the people of India, are of one mind. My Lord, in accepting this Resolution, your Excellency has added an immeasurable weight to the debt of gratitude which India already owes to your Lordship, and when, through your Lordship's powerful advocacy, the promise of careful consideration which His Majesty's Government have, through your Excellency conveyed to the Council, will, I for one am optimistic enough to believe, be converted into unqualified acceptance, not only will the heart-strings of the Indians of to-day vibrate with deep gratitude to your Excellency, but your Excellency's name will be remembered with veneration by generations to come, and I shall be thankful to have rendered this humble service to my motherland."

The Resolution was put and accepted.

The Council adjourned to Friday, the 1st October, 1915.

SIMLA ;
The 30th September, 1915. }

W. H. VINCENT,
Secretary to the Government of India,
Legislative Department.

APPENDIX A.

[*Referred to in the Answer to Question 13*]

**Statement in Answer to Question (a) asked by the Hon'ble
Mr. Setalvad at the Council Meeting of 22nd September, 1915.**

Shipping companies are informed of the requirements of Government and asked to submit tenders. The most suitable tender is accepted provisionally, provided the ship concerned passes a preliminary survey which is held to determine what is necessary to render her suitable for the conveyance of troops. Owners then carry out, at their own expense, such works and repairs, as the surveyors may consider necessary, to render the ship fit for a final survey which is made to ensure that the desired arrangements have been completed, and that the vessel is adequately equipped in every respect for the voyage.

Ships are paid at rate per ton according to gross tonnage. Owners are responsible for all sea-risks.

Government reserve to themselves the right of occupying a ship for ten working days without payment of hire from the date she is ready for sea, to fit her to meet the requirements of troops. Hire charges are paid from the date this fitting is completed, provided all works directed by surveyors to be done are finished. The payment of hire ceases when the vessel is cleared of Government stores. A written notice of discharge is given by the marine authorities.

The cost of special fittings (with the exception of certain minor items), coal and water, as well as canal and harbour dues, are paid by Government.

A penalty clause for the non-fulfilment of tender by the owners of ships provides for the forfeiture of one-fifth of the amount payable as hire charges for one month.

APPENDIX B.

[Referred to in the Answer to Question 14.]

Statement showing the amount spent by the District Boards in certain Provinces on sanitation during 1913-1914 and 1914-1915.

Province.	AMOUNT SPENT DURING		Remarks.
	1913-1914.	1914-1915.	
	Rs.	Rs.	
Bengal ...	4,75,973	7,66,466	The Public Works cess, which was surrendered, has been merged in the District fund, and hence it is not possible to say definitely how much was spent on sanitation out of that cess.
Bihar and Orissa ...	1,95,363	2,94,043	Exact figures showing the amount spent on sanitation out of the enhanced resources are not available.
United Provinces ...	1,02,500	1,19,000	The expenditure was Rs. 63,600 in 1912-13. These figures do not include any expenditure on public works undertaken with sanitary purpose. The contracts with the District Boards provide for a recurring expenditure of Rs. 2,63,600 on sanitation, which will be gradually worked up to.
Punjab ...	7,303	13,529	These figures are approximate. Exact figures are not available.
North-West Frontier Province.	3,769	2,301	Two Districts incurred no expenditure on sanitation, while in a third, portion of the savings was utilized on communications, and educational and medical requirements.

APPENDIX C.

[Referred to in the Answer to Question 18.]

Statement showing the number of candidates and the number of failures at the prescribed examinations (including University examinations) in the several provinces of British India during the ten years from 1904-05 to 1913-14.

Provin ce.	Year.			Candidates.	Failures.
Madras	... 1904-05	...	...	67,038	33,665
	1905-06	...	...	21,324	13,640
	1906-07	...	...	21,244	11,200
	1907-08	...	...	20,591	12,764
	1908-09	...	...	18,590	9,637
	1909-10	...	...	19,156	11,905
	1910-11	...	...	15,625	4,501
	1911-12	...	...	15,967	5,516
	1912-13	...	...	17,317	5,582
	1913-14	...	...	18,187	6,361
Bombay	... 1904-05	...	...	126,412	54,863
	1905-06	...	...	142,431	61,997
	1906-07	...	...	149,057	63,530
	1907-08	...	...	151,989	64,318
	1908-09	...	...	156,302	67,371
	1909-10	...	...	164,840	69,342
	1910-11	...	...	170,199	73,133
	1911-12	...	...	176,851	76,404
	1912-13	...	...	164,160	68,887
	1913-14	...	...	179,866	71,939
Bengal	... 1904-05	...	...	175,758	61,122
	1905-06	...	...	99,288	82,720
	1906-07	...	...	101,772	33,108
	1907-08	...	...	101,829	31,908
	1908-09	...	...	107,829	32,633
	1909-10	...	...	115,213	31,151
	1910-11	...	...	125,798	31,431
	1911-12	...	...	135,621	35,319
	1912-13	...	...	199,053	53,275
	1913-14	...	...	204,839	56,434
United Provinces ...	1904-05	...	...	24,381	7,438
	1905-06	...	...	30,139	8,551
	1906-07	...	...	33,568	10,614
	1907-08	...	...	37,713	11,871
	1908-09	...	...	39,562	13,204
	1909-10	...	...	45,095	14,879
	1910-11	...	...	44,686	14,466
	1911-12	...	...	48,114	17,642
	1912-13	...	...	52,327	18,240
	1913-14	...	...	54,513	18,048

Province.	Year.			Candidates.	Failures.
Punjab	1904-05	...	...	22,172	7,358
	1905-06	...	...	22,965	7,199
	1906-07	...	...	24,526	6,552
	1907-08	...	...	26,154	6,711
	1908-09	...	...	8,482	3,204
	1909-10	...	...	8,783	3,726
	1910-11	...	...	9,629	4,052
	1911-12	...	...	9,136	3,900
	1912-13	...	...	9,203	3,480
	1913-14	...	...	9,849	3,888
Burma	1904-05	...	...	140,502	40,194
	1905-06	...	...	149,977	44,847
	1906-07	...	...	162,774	48,715
	1907-08	...	...	185,482	55,535
	1908-09	...	...	196,991	61,142
	1909-10	...	...	198,767	64,430
	1910-11	...	...	190,094	61,913
	1911-12	...	...	190,420	61,049
	1912-13	...	...	205,755	68,681
	1913-14	...	...	234,821	76,571
Eastern Bengal and Assam.	1905-06	...	...	67,465	19,881
	1906-07	...	...	66,313	19,264
	1907-08	...	...	67,573	19,001
	1908-09	...	...	73,984	21,480
	1909-10	...	...	79,322	23,248
	1910-11	...	...	85,495	25,341
	1911-12	...	...	96,678	26,130
Bihar and Orissa	1912-13	...	...	51,189	13,695
	1913-14	...	...	56,604	15,319
Central Provinces and Berar.	1904-05	...	...	20,885	7,874
	1905-06	...	...	21,434	7,461
	1906-07	...	...	21,333	7,828
	1907-08	...	...	23,859	7,944
	1908-09	...	...	25,671	8,706
	1909-10	...	...	27,750	10,230
	1910-11	...	...	29,458	11,749
	1911-12	...	...	31,030	12,525
	1912-13	...	...	36,596	13,771
	1913-14	...	...	36,537	14,054

Province.	Year.			Candidates.	Failures.
Assam	1904-05	...	...	5,666	2,514
	1912-13	...	...	13,769	5,085
	1913-14	...	...	14,461	5,023
North-West Frontier Province.	1904-05	...	...	1,466	488
	1905-06	...	...	1,608	521
	1906-07	...	...	1,755	525
	1907-08	...	...	1,677	557
	1908-09	...	...	1,834	622
	1909-10	...	...	2,063	660
	1910-11	...	...	597	230
	1911-12	...	...	1,093	392
	1912-13	...	...	1,099	318
	1913-14	...	...	1,154	300
Coorg	1904-05	...	...	552	207
	1905-06	...	...	489	202
	1906-07	...	...	23	16
	1907-08	...	...	33	14
	1908-09	...	...	29	18
	1909-10	...	...	39	15
	1910-11	...	...	32	23
	1911-12	...	...	33	24
	1912-13	...	...	16	13
	1913-14	...	...	38	33
Delhi	1912-13	...	...	353	135
	1913-14	...	...	352	144