

THE INDIAN LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

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**PROCEEDINGS
OF
*THE INDIAN LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL***

ASSEMBLED FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING

LAWS AND REGULATIONS

VOL. LVIII

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GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.
LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE INDIAN LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL ASSEMBLED UNDER
THE PROVISIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1915.
(5 & 6 Geo. V, Ch. 61.)

The Council met at the Council Chamber, Imperial Secretariat, Delhi, on
Friday, the 30th January, 1920.

PRESENT :

His Excellency **BARON CHELMSFORD, P.C., G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., G.C.M.G., G.C.B.E.,**
Viceroy and Governor General, *presiding*, and 58 Members, of whom 51
were Additional Members.

OATH OF OFFICE.

The following Additional Members made the proscribed oath or affirmation of allegiance to the Crown :— 11 A.M.

The Hon'ble Mr. Reginald Arthur Mant, C.S.I.
" **Sir Sydney D'Aguilar Crookshank,**
K.O.M.G., C.B., C.I.E., D.S.O., M.V.O.
" **Mr. George Francis Stephen Christie.**
" **Mr. Basil Copleston Allen.**
" **Mr. Charles Augustus Kincaid, C.V.O.**
" **Mr. Herbert Alexander Casson, C.S.I.**
" **Mr. Leonard Frederick Morshead.**
" **Mr. Kiran Chandra Do, C.I.E.**
" **Sir John Barry Wood, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.**
" **Mr. Claude Fraser de la Fosse, C.I.E.**
" **Rai Lalit Mohan Chatterjee, Bahadur.**
" **Khan Sahib Shah Nawaz Bhutto, O.B.E.**
" **Mr. Arthur Edward Nelson, O.B.E.**

[*The President.*] [30TH JANUARY, 1920.]

HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT'S OPENING SPEECH,

11-9 A.M.

"Hon'ble Members will notice that the Flag and Shield, which I formally received a few minutes ago, have now been affixed to the walls of the Chamber.

"I am confident that they will always be treasured as honoured heirlooms embodying the history of heroic deeds.

"Let me now welcome Hon'ble Members to another Session. We have before us an immense amount of important work to do, but I am hopeful that it will be of an uncontroversial kind, though I recognise that there must necessarily be differences of opinion among Members in an assembly of this size and character.

"The outstanding fact which we have to record is the passing by Parliament of the Reforms legislation, and I am sure that Hon'ble Members would wish me to express our great indebtedness to the Secretary of State in this matter. We, who have been associated with Mr. Montagu in this policy, know how much we owe to his great ability, to his fertile resourcefulness and to the enthusiasm which he has displayed in this cause. Tribute has been paid to him in England for the tactical skill and the persuasiveness with which he has handled the Bill in Parliament. We can only know this through hearsay and not of our own knowledge. But from the fact that he has piloted his Bill through Parliament, we may not unfairly infer that that tribute was well founded. I think I shall be only echoing what is in the minds of Hon'ble Members when I congratulate him and tender him our thanks for the conspicuous service which he has rendered.

"But I do not wish to stop here. It would have been impossible for Mr. Montagu to have accomplished what he has if it had not been for the loyal and devoted manner in which the spade work of Reforms has been performed. I doubt whether many Hon'ble Members realise to the full what work is involved in the passage of a great Bill through Parliament, especially when the Bill has, as in this case, to run the gauntlet of examination and criticism in a Select Committee. I know what this work has been, and I am sure Hon'ble Members would wish me to express our gratitude to those who have worked so zealously, so loyally and so devotedly in this field. It is needless for me to say that there have been many others besides those whose names I propose to mention. In a work of this immensity the circles of labour radiate out far and wide. But there are three whose conspicuous labours I should like to mention. My colleagues in the Government will, I am sure, understand why my reference must necessarily be to those who are not members of the Government. The first name is that of Lord Meston, and I am sure you will wish me to congratulate him on the well-merited distinction which His Majesty has been pleased to confer upon him. Lord Meston has been in the thick of the Reforms from the very beginning and no one has done more, by masterly philosophical analysis of the problems, to elucidate and straighten out the difficult questions with which we were faced. As Lieutenant-Governor, as Member of Council carrying on his shoulders the double burden of Finance and Reforms, and now as the *vir pietate gravis* commissioned to carry out the thorny task of settling the Financial Relations between the Central and Provincial Governments he has earned and will earn our gratitude. I trust that he is not putting too great a strain on himself, and that when he has accomplished his present task, he will have many years during which he may help India, the land he has loved, from his seat in the House of Lords.

"My relations with Sir William Marris have been so intimate that I feel some difficulty in placing before you the character and extent of his service. Prior to Mr. Montagu's arrival I appointed him on special duty in connection with Reforms and ever since, whether on duty here or in England, he has brought to the cause his great intellectual powers, his unrivalled industry and his mastery of the pen. He is now working specially under me to

[30TH JANUARY, 1929.] [*The President.*]

perfect the machinery which is required to set the new constitution in motion. He will greatly dislike my mention of him, but his displeasure is a risk which I have no hesitation in taking.

"Constitutions may be projected in men's minds, may float in unsubstantial form as dreams, but at some time or other they must take shape in hard, clear cut legal form. To Mr. Muddiman we are indebted in large measure for the work which has been done in this respect. As one who in his time practised Parliamentary drafting, I know the difficulties and the thanklessness of the task. The draftsman is not his own master. He is not left to himself to turn out his work *teres atque rotundus*, completely finished and rounded off. He has to fit in amendments, perhaps thrown at him at the last moment, at variance and inconsistent with the main principles of his structure, and subsequently the critic will point the finger of scorn at lacunæ and inconsistencies. But I am confident that Mr. Muddiman has met these crosses with smiling imperturbability. I am sure Hon'ble Members will be in accord with me when I thank him for his work.

"Over the bodies of these three gentlemen there has been for the past two years a friendly tussle with the Secretary of State. We have each of us appraised their worth and have clung to their possession. It reminds me of some struggle depicted in Homer over the body of a dead hero. Now he, now I have had the mastery.

"But I cannot stop here. There is a vast multitude of public servants throughout India, whose services have been requisitioned in order that this thing might be accomplished. To them, the vast majority of them unknown to me, I would tender my thanks. The inquiries which have taken place have necessitated demands for information which meant hard, painstaking and accurate work. This has been given loyally and ungrudgingly. What happier augury could there be for the working of our great experiment! Indian ministers will find a running machine composed of human parts of finest temper and quality ready to their hand. The work which has been done is an earnest of what will yet be done. I am confident that nothing will be lacking in the loyalty and efficient working of the machine of Government.

"And now what of the work which lies ahead of us?

"We have still the best part of a year's strenuous labour before the new Councils can come into being. To deal with the press of work involved a new office has been created in the Government of India under a Reforms Commissioner working in direct relation with myself, assisted by a Secretary, Under Secretary and the necessary establishment; and all Local Governments have similarly placed officers on special duty to deal with local problems. We have discussed in conference with Heads of Provinces all preliminary points which presented any obstacles to immediate progress. It is our aim to take public opinion freely into our confidence, and I will take this opportunity of stating our intentions upon points of wider interest. We contemplate a lowering of the franchise in Madras and the Punjab which will result (so far as our rough estimates indicate) in an increase of something over six hundred thousand voters in the two provinces taken together. We shall provide for some increase in the rural seats which the Joint Committee wish us to attain, without a reduction of the urban seats. We shall similarly provide for some better representation of the depressed classes. The special case of the urban wage-earner is also being provided for in Calcutta and Bombay where the class is numerous and important. I hope that under the sympathetic and capable guidance of Lord Willingdon and Sir George Lloyd the difficulties about non-Brahmans in Madras and Mahabattas in Bombay are in a fair way to settlement.

"The process of making the electoral rolls has begun or is beginning, and with it will proceed also the shaping of the election rules. Another matter of immediate urgency is the drafting of the rules of legislative and other business for the several Provincial Councils and for the Indian legislature. On all these points it is the aim of my Government and Local Governments freely to consult Indian opinion and so far as may be to carry it with us, and

[*The President.*] [30TH JANUARY, 1920.]

we, as our proposals mature, shall take every opportunity of laying them before non-official advisers and considering their suggestions. Our proposals for the distribution of seats in the Indian legislature have now been for some weeks made known, and no criticism of substance has yet reached the Government of India from any quarter.

"The scheme of Reforms also entails some important legislation. Council will have noticed the recommendation of the Joint Committee that it should enact legislation of a stringent character dealing with corrupt practices at elections. In due course a Bill will be laid before the Council. Not only is the subject new to Indian legislation, but it bristles with inherent difficulties, in dealing with which the Government will be greatly assisted by Hon'ble Members' knowledge of what is expedient and possible in the conditions of India.

"At a later stage we propose to introduce also measures providing for the devolution upon Local Governments of many powers now vested in the Government of India, and for the rights and duties of the public services. But these are not yet sufficiently advanced for any definite statement about them to be made.

"I may say that we intend, at the earliest possible moment, to publish for information and convenience of reference the Government of India Act, 1915, as amended by the recent Act passed by Parliament, but Hon'ble Members will of course understand that the old law continues in force until the new one is brought into force by notification. Regarding the lifetime of existing Councils we have asked the Secretary of State to sanction an amendment of the regulations which will enable us to continue in existence such of the present Councils as would otherwise expire, until the date on which the new Councils come into existence. I think you will gather from what I have said that nothing is being left undone to carry into operation the great Reform which has just passed through Parliament. We shall want your whole-hearted co-operation in our labours. To me the one thing that matters is to get the work done and to get it well done. Anything else is of supreme unimportance.

"The heavy demand which necessary legislation will make upon the time of Council makes it necessary to limit the time to be set apart for the discussion of other matters of public interest. I propose to allot six days for the discussion of resolutions during February, and Hon'ble Members will be informed shortly of the exact dates; but the pressure of legislation and the Budget will make it impossible for us to find time for the discussion of Resolutions during the month of March.

"Before I turn to other matters of current interest I might briefly allude to a small matter which has been brought to my attention by Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, whom we are all glad to see again in India and who is conversant with the facts. He tells me that the appointment of Sir Sankaran Nair to the Council of the Secretary of State has been construed as a direct snub to me and my Government. If this concerned me alone I should not touch the question, but this interpretation of the appointment conveys an imputation on the Secretary of State, with whom I have the honour to work, which I cannot pass by. The facts of the case simply stated will dispose of this imputation.

"I put forward the name of Sir Sankaran Nair myself for the Council of the Secretary of State, and his appointment to the specific vacancy, which he was chosen to fill, was made after consultation with me and with my cordial concurrence.

"I turn now to other questions which are of interest to Hon'ble Members.

"When I last addressed this Council in September, the grip of famine was upon the land. Fortunately that grip has now been relaxed, and, though the high prices still cause considerable hardship, the necessity for measures of famine relief has almost entirely passed away. The pendulum of the weather has swung back in a more favourable direction, and after experiencing in 1919 a failure of the monsoon which was almost unprecedented in

[30TH JANUARY, 1920.] [*The President.*]

geographical extent, we were favoured in 1919 with exceptionally good rains which was unusually well distributed. Good *kharif* crops have been garnered in most provinces, and the prospects of the *rabi* crops are generally good. Though the effects of last year's drought are still reflected in depleted stocks of food-grains and inflated prices, the situation is immensely improved. Those of you who have perused the interesting report by Mr. Innes, published in November last, on the Operations of the Indian Food-stuffs Commissioner, will realise how serious was the economic crisis through which we passed last year: and how much cause we have for thankfulness that we have come through it, not indeed unscathed, but without shipwreck. We still have to guard against a drain on our food supplies, and though it is the policy of my Government to withdraw restrictions on the export of food-grains as soon as we can do so with safety, we think it necessary to maintain those restrictions until the stocks in the hands of the people have been replenished and easier prices indicate that the normal course of trade can be resumed.

"Hon'ble Members may or may not have read my speech at the Calcutta University Convocation. In that I outlined the course which the Government of India propose to take on the monumental document known as the Sadler Report. Our resolution on the subject is on the point of issuing, and towards the end of April I hope that a draft Bill may be published for general information. Last week I had the advantage of meeting the Heads of Provinces, and I was glad to learn that in all the provinces the proposals of the Sadler Commission are being considered from the point of view of their applicability to the University position in the several provinces.

"You have doubtless seen the Communiqué about the reorganisation of the Indian and Provincial Educational Services. You will observe that the Secretary of State has accepted our recommendation that the Indian element in the Indian Educational Service should be largely increased up to 50 per cent. of the cadre.

"At the opening of the last Session of the Council, I described to you the steps taken to obtain the views of the Local Governments on the recommendations of the Industrial Commission and thereafter to obtain the decision of the Secretary of State regarding those cardinal points of principle that had to be established before we take the first practical step forward in organisation. From the papers published in November last Hon'ble Members will have seen that the Secretary of State accepted the two fundamental principles underlying the recommendations of the Commission; namely, that in future Government should play an active part in the industrial development of the country and should, consequently, be provided with adequate administrative equipment and be forearmed with reliable scientific and technical advice.

"But in order that there should be no undue delay in pushing ahead with practical schemes, we did not rest with the discussion of fundamental principles: we proposed three specific measures for the purpose of dealing with the questions that were obviously most urgent. These, we considered, were—

Firstly, the creation of an interim central authority for the purpose of designing the new official machinery and establishing a system of co-operation with the Provincial Governments;

Secondly, the formulation of conditions for the establishment of the necessary scientific services; and

Thirdly, the institution of a system for the local purchase of Government stores.

"All three proposals having been sanctioned by the Secretary of State, a Committee was appointed at once to advise on the best lines of organising the chemical services, which are the most urgently required of those necessary to deal with our neglected raw materials. We have been fortunate in obtaining, as the Chairman of this Committee, Professor Jocelyn Thorpe, the distinguished Professor of Organic Chemistry at the Imperial College of Science and Technology in London, and it is hoped that the proposals of this Committee will be ready by the end of April.

[*The President.*] [30TH JANUARY, 1920.]

"The local purchase of Government and railway stores is probably the most important among the practical proposals made by the Industrial Commission. The principle that Government stores should be purchased whenever possible, in India has long been accepted; but, in the absence of an institution for the amalgamation of indents and for technical inspection during manufacture, we have been caught in a vicious circle. Manufacturing industries obviously could not be started without a sufficient and continuous market, while orders could not be placed in India so long as there existed here no adequate means of manufacture. Demands have thus continued to be made on England for many articles and materials which might very well be manufactured in this country if we had had the machinery for bringing Government buyers into effective touch with local manufacturers. On receipt of the Secretary of State's sanction, a Committee was appointed in December last under the Chairmanship of Sir Francis Couchman of the Railway Board to design the organisation of a new department for scrutinising Government indents, with a view to their being executed in an increasing degree in India; to consider the ways in which the duty of purchasing stores can be shared by the Central and Local Governments; and to examine the possibility also of assisting in this way Railway Companies and other public bodies. The Report of this Committee will be ready, I hope, before June next.

"Meanwhile, formalities are being completed for the purpose of re-constituting the Munitions Board which, while carrying on the work of securing local stores (undertaken as a necessity during the war), will work out, for the sanction of the Secretary of State, those of the Industrial Commission's specific proposals which still remain. The Board will thus lay the foundations and will design the structure of the new Department of Industries, which the Secretary of State agrees with us in regarding as important enough to require a special Membership of Council.

"Since the Secretary of State dealt with our proposals in September last, the Joint Committee has reported and the new Government of India Bill has become law. In compliance with the recommendations of the Joint Committee the administration of industrial activities in the Provinces will become one of the functions of the elected Ministers. The proposal of the Industrial Commission (that the functions of the Central Department of Industries should be mainly advisory) thus becomes a definite statutory prescription, while the responsibility for local executive action will rest with the representatives of the people.

"I need not say that the object of the Ministers in developing the material resources of India, with the help of her own young men, will have our cordial support. The new Central Department will place its resources freely at the disposal of the Provincial Ministers, will assist them, when required, with technical advice in dealing with specific industrial schemes, in the development of industrial education, in the exploitation of extra-provincial markets, in the collection and distribution of industrial intelligence, and in the recruitment of staff. But it will be the duty of the Ministers to initiate and administer local operations for the purpose of developing provincial resources.

"Since we met last September, our anxieties regarding the future of our Indian fellow-subjects in South Africa have increased rather than diminished. As you have read in the papers, a recent decision of the Transvaal Provincial Court endangers rights which we hoped had been secured beyond dispute by the Act of last summer. I would, however, renew most earnestly my plea for calmness. In a few weeks, probably, South Africa will be in the throes of a general election. It will only injure those whom we desire to help, if agitation here forces the Indian question to the front as an election issue.

"Already, I think, by steady and moderate representations we have done much to ensure a friendly hearing for our case. We have now been informed that the long-awaited Commission will probably assemble about the end of February. The *personnel* of the Commission and the terms of reference have not yet been announced. But we understand that the Chairman will be a high judicial officer, and that the inquiry will be limited to the right to trade and to

[30TH JANUARY, 1920.] [*The President.*]

own fixed property in the four provinces of the Union. Sir Benjamin Robertson sailed yesterday for South Africa, to represent our case before the Commission, and we earnestly hope that his skill and experience will avail to effect an honourable settlement.

“ Meanwhile, fresh difficulties are arising in the British East African Protectorate. As yet we know no more than what has appeared in the press regarding the report of the East Africa Economic Commission, but I need not assure you that my Government will do everything in its power to defend Indian interests against this new attack. I may remind you, however, that this Report, as Colonel Amery, has already declared in the House of Commons, must not be regarded as representing the views of the Government of East Africa, still less of the Imperial Government, with whom the final decision will lie. British East Africa is not a self-governing Dominion; and the position of the Government of India is, and always will be, that there is no justification in a Crown Colony or Protectorate for assigning to British Indians a status in any way inferior to that of any other class of His Majesty's subjects. With the support of the Secretary of State we have steadily pressed this view on the Colonial Office; and we have asked the Secretary of State to see to it that Indian interests are fully represented at the forthcoming discussions in London between Lord Milner and the Governor of East Africa.

“ While in some parts of the Empire we have these difficulties, other parts are eager to attract Indian settlers. There are now two deputations in India, one from British Guiana and one from Fiji, who have come here to persuade us to re-open emigration to those Colonies on a new basis. The British Guiana deputation have put forward a scheme of free emigration, with State assistance, which deserves, I think, our careful consideration. The Fiji Government have also given proof of their desire to enter on new and happier relations with this country by cancelling unconditionally all the outstanding indentures, and by declaring their intention of introducing at an early date measures to provide for the representation of the Indian community in the Legislative Council of Fiji on an elective basis.

“ I wish, however, to make it clear that the position, which was taken up by Lord Hardinge's Government, still holds good. It is not the duty of India to provide labour for British Colonies. But if the Colonies offer Indians a wider and more prosperous career than that which they can look for in their own homes, then we should not stand in the way. Our duty then will be to protect the ignorant Indian emigrant against misrepresentation, and to see that such guarantees are given as will safeguard his interests as a free settler in the country to which he goes. We propose that a Committee of this Council should meet the deputations, discuss with them the conditions on which it would be possible to re-open emigration, and report their conclusions to the Government. Sir George Barnes will move a Resolution to this effect. I would suggest that the Committee should be in a large measure, if not entirely, composed of unofficial Indian Members, for the question is one which concerns Indians alone, and we intend to be guided by the findings of the Committee. I think Hon'ble Members would wish me to express our appreciation of the success which Sir George Barnes has achieved by his untiring efforts in this matter of Indentured Labour.

“ I was very glad to have an opportunity of referring to the subject of Imperial Preference when I was recently invited to address the inaugural meeting of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of India and Ceylon. I said then, and I repeat it now, that I want to see the subject freely discussed and carefully examined. I said then, and I repeat it now, that it is not the Government of India's intention to adopt a policy of preference throughout the Empire as a general policy without full discussion and support from enlightened public opinion. It was with this object that, as Sir George Barnes told the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau in November last the Government of India intend to move for the appointment of a Committee of the Council to discuss the question and to examine the statistical records relating to the various

[*The President.*] [30TH JANUARY, 1920.]

commodities of our export and import trade. I need hardly say that a preliminary examination, at any rate, of the statistical position, has already been made in the Department of Commerce and Industry. It is my intention that this preliminary examination should be placed before the Committee in order that they may study the figures for themselves, and I hope it may be possible for them to come to some general conclusion on the question whether the adoption of a system of preferential tariffs is or is not likely to be to the advantage of the country as a whole. The question is one of course of great complexity and difficulty. Part of the difficulty perhaps arises from the fact that most of us have some kind of pre-conceived ideas on the subject of tariffs, perhaps not always based on a critical examination of the facts. I think that it will be of advantage if the members of the Committee could approach their task by divesting themselves, as far as possible, of all their previous notions and trying to look at the question as if it were an entirely new one, to be examined in the cold light of commonsense and statistical figures.

“ Now I will turn to the position of affairs on and beyond our Frontiers.

“ The situation in the Middle East has been recently painted in startling and lurid colours by the European Press. It has been said that the Bolsheviks flushed by their successes are about to join hands with the discontented elements for an overwhelming attack on the Allied Powers and especially on the British Empire ; that the East is in ferment and that a time of acute perils lies before us especially in India. Now I do not wish to minimise the dangers threatening us, and indeed threatening the civilised world, as a result of the upheaval of the last five years. Men's minds are troubled and excited, as perhaps never before by the spectacle of the foundering of Empires, the decay of conventions and the loosening of religious restraint ; while starvation and distress have goaded whole peoples to desperation. At the same time also the Allied States, who alone have the power or organisation needed for the repair of the world, are tired of war, and eager to disband their armies and concentrate their energies on the problems of their own reconstruction. But I am confident that things are not so bad as they have been represented to be. Germany and Austria have now finally ratified the Peace terms presented to them, and the horrible prospect of a renewal of war in the West has disappeared. Trade is being opened with our former enemies ; so that we may expect that prosperity will gradually return to them, and that, with prosperity, internal commotion will subside. The real disturbing factor in the world is the ebb and flow of the uncontrolled forces let loose by the collapse of the Russian Empire. The forces fighting against the Bolsheviks have, it is true, been badly defeated, but the Bolsheviks themselves are extremely disorganised. Disillusioned and sated by more than two years of hideous excesses, massacre and rapine, there seems now some prospect that the Bolshevik rulers may adopt a more moderate policy ; and if this proves to be the case, they may become a less active menace to the outside world. But they still preach the necessity of the disruption of the whole fabric of society, the destruction of property and the domination of mankind by its lowest and most ignorant elements ; and, where they cannot penetrate by arms, they seek to penetrate by propaganda and secret agitation. It is to the dangers of such penetration rather than to those of actual invasion that the Middle East is, according to my information, chiefly exposed. We are watching this development most carefully, and we have set up a special staff to deal with it.

“ Turning now from the region of surmise and conjecture, important though it is, to the actual position on our Frontier, the Amir of Afghanistan has since the signature of the Treaty of Peace at Rawalpindi expressed uniformly friendly sentiments in his communications with us ; but, as is known to you, he has allowed a Bolshevik Mission to visit his capital and has sent an Afghan deputation to Moscow. An attitude such as this makes it difficult for us to enter into closer relations straightaway. Our position *vis-a-vis* Afghanistan remains as it was last September. We wish to live on terms of friendship with her, but it is idle to enter into a treaty of friendship, until she has given us by her conduct proof that the treaty of friendship will not be a mere piece of paper, but a document based on the proved fact of friendliness.

[80TH JANUARY, 1920.] [*The President.*]

“ Our border tribes have not yet recovered from the unrest caused by the Afghan war. To the north of the Khyber we have had peace ; but the younger and more excitable men of the Afridis have, in spite of the strength of our grip on the Khyber and of the efforts of their elders to restrain them, indulged in constant raids. We have announced to them comparatively lenient terms of submission ; and I hope that they will before long realise the futility of their conduct, and that the former confidence between these tribesmen and our frontier officers will be restored. The tribes of Waziristan, the Mahsuds in the centre and the Wazirs of the Tochi in the North and of Wano in the South, had committed themselves deeply against us during the Afghan war ; and after the conclusion of peace they continued their intolerable depredations on the peaceful population of Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan. At the beginning of November a strong field force was assembled, and the terms of their submission were announced to the Mahsuds and Tochi Wazirs. The Mahsuds rejected our terms, but the Tochi Wazirs accepted them, being deterred by our display of force in the Tochi and by the advance of our troops in imposing strength to Datta Khel. In the meanwhile the Mahsuds, after being given time to remove their women and children, were severely bombed from the air ; but though they were much shaken by the bombing and though many individuals were anxious to submit, the tribe as a whole remained recalcitrant, and an advance of our troops in force became necessary. On the 18th December the Derajat column advanced from Jandola and was strongly opposed by the Mahsuds and Wano Wazirs, who now possess plenty of modern rifles and ammunition, and large numbers of whom have been trained in our Militias in the most recent methods of warfare. In this fighting, while I regret to say that our casualties were numerous, heavy losses are known to have been suffered by the enemy, and on the 29th December the Mahsud jirgah came in and accepted our terms in full. But the disintegration of the tribe is so great that the hundreds of petty headmen have little authority and about a third of the tribe have continued to oppose our advance. This will now be maintained until the tribesmen have shown the reality of their submission by the payment of their fines and of the rifles which have been demanded of them. The Wano Wazirs will then remain to be dealt with ; but they are not expected to prove so stubborn as the Mahsuds, and we hope that before long these troublesome but inevitable operations will be brought to a successful issue. Our forces have had a hard time of it in difficult country under the severe conditions which winter imposes in that region, and I would express my warm appreciation of the grit and gallantry they have displayed in their advance against determined opposition into the heart of the enemy's country. I should like to say in passing that General Olimo has been kept fully supplied with reinforcements throughout his campaign ; that the air force consists of the most up-to-date machines, of which a full reserve is kept with the force ; and that the latest pattern of heavy mountain howitzer has been employed throughout the campaign. We shall now proceed, by a greater concentration of our forces at strategic points and by a vigorous extension of roads fitted for mechanical transport, to secure our more effective future domination of this portion of the frontier and protection of our border tracts.

“ Further south the Sheranni tribe including both the sections under the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan have submitted, and the tribes of the Zhob Valley have given no trouble.

“ To sum up then :

“ The position in our Frontier, complicated and difficult though it is, is being gradually straightened out.

“ I do not minimise the dangers arising out of the turmoil of the disintegrated Russian Empire, but I rest my confidence on the peoples of India. They will never, I believe, open their hearts to the abhorrent doctrines of murder, anarchy and atheism.

“ The present is indeed a critical time in the world's history when every nation which hopes to maintain or advance its position in the community of civilised

[*The President ; Sir George Barnes.*] [30TH JANUARY, 1920.]

States must stand firm by its traditions and set up bulwarks of sanity and moderation against the forces of disorder and destruction. In India I see no grounds for pessimism. There may be clouds in our sky, but the shadows they cast are relieved by much that is bright. In his deep concern for India's welfare in these days of stress and change His Majesty the King-Emperor has issued to the Indian people a gracious Proclamation. The Royal Message full of inspiration and hope has been acclaimed throughout India, and you will have an opportunity of acknowledging it when Mr. Sinha's Resolution comes before you. The Proclamation ends :

' It is my intention to send my dear son, the Prince of Wales, to India next winter to inaugurate on my behalf the new Chamber of Princes and the new Constitutions in British India.

' May he find material good-will and confidence prevailing among those on whom will rest the future service of the country, so that success may crown their labours and progressive enlightenment attend their administration. And with all my people I pray to Almighty God that by His wisdom and under His guidance India may be led to greater prosperity and contentment and may grow to the fulness of political freedom.'

To this we will answer *Amen*.

" It remains for me only to express what I know is the great satisfaction of all Hon'ble Members that the task of opening the new Indian Legislature of the future will be performed by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. The extraordinary success which has attended the Prince's visit to other parts of the Empire will, I know, be equalled by the reception which this great country will give him.

" By his gracious presence in our midst he will forge anew the links of Empire. Let us prepare to welcome the Prince in Shakespeare's words :

' Now is the winter of our discontent.

' Made glorious summer by this sun of York.'

STATEMENT LAID ON THE TABLE.

11-54 A.M. **The Hon'ble Sir George Barnes** :—“ On the 15th September last, in reply to a question asked by the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma, I promised that an endeavour would be made to supply information, so far as it is obtainable, of quantities and values of materials supplied to the United Kingdom and the Allies during the war at controlled prices. A* statement has accordingly been prepared and is placed on the table for the Hon'ble Member's information. As, however, the term 'controlled prices' is rather an ambiguous one, I take this opportunity of explaining that the producers, exporters, etc., of the various articles included in the statement were in no case compelled to sell their goods to Government at a fixed price. In most cases Government named a maximum rate at which they were prepared to buy, and it remained open to sellers to supply the required goods at these rates or to dispose of their stocks to other buyers if they wished to do so. In regard to shellac and raw jute, special arrangements were made. In the case of shellac an agreement was reached with the trade whereby all shippers of this article guaranteed a certain quantity to Government at a rate considerably below the existing market price, but the shippers recouped themselves by obtaining correspondingly higher prices for non-Government exports. This of course was only possible because India possessed a monopoly of that commodity. In the case of raw jute, an arrangement was made in 1916 with certain firms for the supply of this article to the War Office at cost price *plus out-of-pocket* expenses. This agreement was, however, a voluntary one, and was in fact suggested by the firms concerned. Similarly, in the case of jute manufactures, agreements were made with the Jute Mills for the supply of fixed quantities of sandbags at prices below the market rates. These agreements, however, were also on a voluntary basis.”

*Not included in these Proceedings.

[30TH JANUARY, 1920.] [*Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda; Sir Arthur Anderson; Sir William Vincent.*]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

The Hon'ble Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda asked :—

11-58 A.M.

1. " When is the system of control of traffic and issue of priority certificates to be abolished ? "

Abolition of the system of control of traffic and priority certificates.

The Hon'ble Sir Arthur Anderson replied :—

" The system of controlling traffic by means of certificates giving priority of wagon supply or despatch ended on 30th November 1919 except in the case of food-grains to the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan. Owing to heavy military traffic it was considered necessary in the case of these Provinces to continue priority for food-grains over other civil traffic in order to ensure the non-interruption of food supply."

The Hon'ble Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda asked :—

2. "(a) Will Government be pleased to state how long Lieutenant-Colonel Beadon has been in Delhi? Is it a fact that he was at first Settlement Officer for five years in Delhi and then went on leave and after return was for a few months posted to the adjoining district, Rohtak, after which he became Deputy Commissioner of Delhi in December 1911, and from that time till recently continued in his present appointment?"

Appointment of Lieutenant-Colonel Beadon as Deputy Commissioner of Delhi.

(b) Is it in accordance with rules that one officer should remain so long at one place?

(c) Will Government state when his time will be up?

(d) Is it the intention of Government that he is to remain in Delhi till retirement in one capacity or another?"

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent replied :—

"(a) The information required can be obtained from the 'History of Services' which is available to the public, and a copy of which I shall very gladly show to the Hon'ble Member. Colonel Beadon was Settlement Officer of Delhi from October 1906 till September 1910. He became Deputy Commissioner, Delhi, in January 1912 and remained in that appointment till recently with short interruptions.

(b) There is no rule limiting the period for which an officer should remain at a particular place.

(c) and (d) Colonel Beadon is now on leave, and it is probable that on his return he will revert to the Punjab."

The Hon'ble Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda asked :—

3. "(a) Is it a fact that Assam ranks third among the eight major Provinces of India as regards Moslem population?"

Representative of the Moslems of Assam in the Imperial Legislative Assembly.

(b) Has any provision been made for any special Moslem electorate in Assam for returning any member to the Imperial Legislature under the Reform Act?

(c) Is it a fact that the Southborough Committee recommended that in the Imperial Legislative Assembly one seat and half a seat (that is to say one seat in every alternate term) be allotted to the Assam Moslems?

(d) With reference to the last part of the answer given by Sir Reginald Craddock to my question on the subject on the 27th September, 1916, do Government propose to consider the question of allotting one seat and a half to the Moslems of Assam?"

[*Sir William Marris; Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda; Sir Claude Hill; Sir William Vincent; Mr. Shafi.*] [30TH JANUARY, 1920.]

The Hon'ble Sir William Marris replied :—

"(a) The information is available in the census reports. Assam ranks seventh among the eight major Provinces in aggregate Moslem population, and third in the proportion of Moslems to total population.

(b) and (d) The Hon'ble Member is referred to the Press Communiqué issued on the 8th January.

(c) The answer is in the negative. The Southborough Committee, in paragraph 33 of their report, proposed that one seat only should be allotted to the Moslems of Assam."

The Hon'ble Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda asked :—

Co-operative societies or stores for students.

4. "(a) Do any co-operative societies or stores for students exist in any Province ?

(b) Do the Government of India propose to suggest to the Local Governments that steps should be taken to popularise such societies or stores ?"

The Hon'ble Sir Claude Hill replied :—

"(a) The Provincial Reports on the working of Co-operative Societies show that Co-operative Societies or stores for students exist in Bengal, Assam, Bihar and Orissa, the United Provinces and the Punjab.

(b) It is not the policy of the Government of India to intervene in such details of the administration of Co-operative Societies, and they do not propose to move in the matter. The Hon'ble Member's question will, however, be brought to the notice of Local Governments."

The Hon'ble Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda asked :—

Confinement of Mr. Shankar Lal of Delhi in a solitary cell.

5. "(a) Is it a fact that Mr. Shankar Lal who was lately tried at Delhi was kept in a solitary cell while an under-trial prisoner ?

(b) If so, under what provision of the law was he so kept and what was the reason ?"

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent replied :—

"Lala Shankar Lal was not confined in a solitary cell, but on his admission to the Delhi Jail on 20th April, 1919, was placed in quarantine by the Medical Officer, as required by paragraphs 478 and 1069 of the Punjab Jail Manual. The fact that the quarantine accommodation in the Delhi Jail is entirely cellular may account for the impression that this prisoner was kept in solitary confinement. He was removed from quarantine on 30th May, and then occupied a small barrack with an open yard for exercise, affording good accommodation for a prisoner of his class, until his release on 21st July, 1919."

The Hon'ble Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda asked :—

Boy Scout movement.

6. "Do Government propose to encourage endeavours to popularise the Boy Scout movement in all educational institutions ?"

The Hon'ble Mr. Shafi replied :—

"The Hon'ble Member is referred to a speech of the Hon'ble Sir Sankaran Nair made in this Council on the 21st March 1917 in which he indicated the position of the Government of India with reference to the boy-scouts movement. In addition to the Circular which it was stated by the Hon'ble Sir Sankaran Nair was about to issue and which, as a matter of fact, issued immediately afterwards, the Government of India again addressed Local Governments on the subject last year. Replies have been received which show that good work is being done in some of the provinces, and that efforts are being made to encourage the movement. In other provinces, notwithstanding

[30TH JANUARY, 1920.] [*Mr. Shafi; Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda; Sir William Vincent.*]

encouragement, little interest has been displayed. The movement is one in which the Government of India have already demonstrated their interest, and its development rests mainly with Provincial authorities."

The Hon'ble Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda asked :—

7. "(a) Has any system of medical inspection of the health of students been instituted in any province?" Medical inspection of the health of students.

(b) If such a system does not exist in all provinces, do Government propose to issue instructions recommending it?"

The Hon'ble Mr. Shafi replied :—

"(a) The attention of the Hon'ble Member is invited to paragraph 7 of the Government of India, Department of Education Resolution No. 301-C. D., dated the 21st February 1913, in which the Government of India emphasised the importance of school hygiene including the inspection of the health of students. In the same year the Government of India allotted a sum of Rs 25 lakhs to Local Governments for these purposes, and they further addressed Local Governments in June 1913 pointing out that school and college hygiene was a subject which they considered had not hitherto received adequate attention in India and on which they laid the utmost emphasis. Systems of medical inspection have now been instituted in various provinces. An account of these systems will be found in the last Quinquennial Review of the Progress of education and the short Annual Narrative called 'Indian Education' for 1917-18. The Educational Commissioner will again give an account of progress in the Narrative which will be laid on the table in March.

(b) Owing to the war and financial stringency it has not been possible for all provinces to introduce the complete schemes which they had contemplated. Good progress, however, has been made and further improvements are taking place. The Government of India have recently addressed the Secretary of State supporting a proposal from the Government of Bengal for the entertainment of an adequate staff for physical education and medical inspection. The Government of India do not propose to issue further instructions."

The Hon'ble Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda asked :—

8. "(a) Is it a fact that while the questions of promotion, supersession, transfer, etc., of Munsiffs and Sub-Judges lie with the High Court, those regarding the District Judges and Additional Judges are with the Local Government?" Promotion, supersession and transfer of Munsiffs and sub-Judges.

(b) What are the reasons for this distinction?

(c) Do Government propose to consult the different High Courts about the matter and place the replies when received on the table? Do they propose to revise the rules?"

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent replied :—

(a) I lay on the table* a statement showing the authorities which appoint District Judges, Additional Judges, Sub-Judges and Munsiffs in the various provinces. The power of appointment necessarily connotes the power to order promotion, supersession or transfer of the persons appointed.

(b) The powers of appointment are laid down in the Statutes governing the judicial administration of each province, which have been in force for many years past. The Government of India understand that it is the practice in most, if not all provinces, for the executive authorities to consult the Supreme Court of the province in regard to orders affecting the promotion, supersession or transfer of subordinate judicial officers.

(c) The answer is in the negative. The Government of India have no reason to suppose that the present system works unsatisfactorily."

[*Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda; Sir George Barnes; Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru.*] [30TH JANUARY, 1920.]

The Hon'ble Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda asked :—

The Assam
Labour
Board.

9. "(a) Is it a fact that there is not now, nor has there been at any time since the creation of the Assam Labour Board, any Indian member on it ?

(b) What is the number of tea estates in Assam owned by Indians and Europeans, respectively ?

(c) Do Government propose to make some provision for appointing at least one Indian member on the Board from either Valley in Assam ? "

The Hon'ble Sir George Barnes replied :—

"(a) Yes.

(b) The Government of India have no information as to the number of tea estates in Assam owned by Indians and Europeans, respectively. The large majority of the tea estates in Assam belong to limited liability companies, many of which presumably include Indians as well as Europeans among their shareholders.

(c) Under section 116-A of Act VIII of 1915, the members of the Assam Labour Board, other than the Chairman, are elected, and the Government of India have no present intention of amending the Act."

The Hon'ble Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda asked :—

Colonisation
outside
India by
Indian
soldiers.

10. "Has any action been taken to give effect to the following recommendation contained in paragraph 329, pages 155, 156 of the Joint Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, namely :—'If opportunities of colonisation outside India are forthcoming after the war, we believe that many Indian soldiers would take advantage of them ; and we would urge upon His Majesty's Government that their claims in this respect should be favourably considered' ? "

The Hon'ble Sir George Barnes replied :—

"We are at the present time inquiring from Local Governments whether it would be practicable to attempt an organised scheme of settlement in the event of territory being available for this purpose, and how far a suitable type of agriculturists, ex-service men or others, would be attracted by the prospects of free settlement in such territory."

The Hon'ble Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda asked :—

Colonisation
by India of
the tropical
possessions
conquered
by Indian
troops.

11. "(a) Is it a fact that the suggestion was made by several public men during the course of the war that the tropical possessions of the enemy should be handed over to India for colonisation on the ground that they were conquered mainly by Indian troops ?

(b) Has this question been considered and has any decision been arrived at ? If not, do the Government of India propose to bring it to the notice of His Majesty's Government ? "

The Hon'ble Sir George Barnes replied :—

"(a) Yes.

(b) The question has been considered, but no decision has yet been reached."

The Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru asked :—

Publication
of the
Hunter
Committee's
report in
India.

12. "Will Government be pleased to state when the report of the Committee presided over by Lord Hunter will be ready, and when it is proposed to publish it in India ? "

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS; PROVINCIAL INSOLVENCY 605
(AMENDMENT) BILL.

[80TH JANUARY, 1920.] [*Sir William Vincent; Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru; Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandi; Sir George Barnes; Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy; Sir George Lowndes.*]

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent replied :—

“ Government have no information when the report of the Committee over which Lord Hunter presided will be submitted, but they hope it will be received by the end of February or early in March. Until the report is received, and in the absence of any definite information as to the date of such receipt, it is not possible to make any statement as to the date of publication in India.”

The Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru asked :—“ Will the Government allow the Council a chance of discussing the Report ?”

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent replied :—“ Undoubtedly the Council will have an opportunity of discussing the Report after publication.”

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

13. “ Will Government be pleased to lay on the table a detailed statement of the export of the following articles from the various Ports of India to different parts of the world in each of the five years before the war and each of the years 1916, 1917 and 1918 :— Exportation of certain articles from various ports of India.”

- (a) Rice ;
- (b) Wheat ;
- (c) Pulses, and
- (d) Cloths and textile fabrics ?”

The Hon'ble Sir George Barnes replied :—

“ I must refer the Hon'ble Member to the Annual Statement of the Sea Borne Trade of British India which gives the figures of exports of the commodities named in the question for the different provinces of India. The Annual Statement does not give information with regard to each separate port in India, but I trust that the information given will be sufficient for the Hon'ble Member's purposes.”

The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy asked :—

14. “ (a) Have Government taken into consideration the representation made by the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, and the statement made in the telegram from the Reverend Mr. Andrews published in the newspapers, as regards the treatment of Indians in East Africa ? Safeguarding of interests of Indians in East Africa.”

(b) What steps do Government propose to take for safeguarding the interests of Indians there ?”

The Hon'ble Sir George Barnes replied :—

“ (a) The Government of India have received no representation from the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau as regards the treatment of Indians in East Africa, but their attention has been drawn to the telegram from the Rev. Mr. Andrews.

(b) The Hon'ble Member will have learnt from His Excellency's speech the steps which we are taking to safeguard the position of Indians in East Africa, and I can assure the Hon'ble Member that the Government of India will continue to be watchful of the interests of Indians there and elsewhere.”

PROVINCIAL INSOLVENCY (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Hon'ble Sir George Lowndes :—“ My Lord, I beg to move that the Bill further to amend the Provincial Insolvency Act, 1907, be re-committed to Select Committee for the purpose of consolidation, with instructions to report on or before the 1st March, 1920. 12-6 P.M.”

606 PROVINCIAL INSOLVENCY (AMENDMENT) BILL; INDIAN STEAMSHIPS (AMENDMENT) BILL; INDIAN ARMY (AMENDMENT) BILL.

[*Sir George Lowndes*; *Sir George Barnes*; *H.* [30TH JANUARY, 1920.]
E. the Commander-in-Chief.]

This motion is made in accordance with the recommendations of the Committee contained in the Report which has already been presented to the Council."

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Sir George Lowndes :—" My Lord, I beg to move that the Hon'ble Mr. Muddiman and the Hon'ble Mr. Kincaid be added to the Select Committee on the Bill, in place of Mr. Rice and Mr. Mountford, who have resigned."

The motion was put and agreed to.

INDIAN STEAMSHIPS (AMENDMENT) BILL.

12-8 P.M.

The Hon'ble Sir George Barnes :—" My Lord, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Indian Steam-ships Act, 1884. The object of this Bill is simply to correct a mistake and to supply an omission in the Indian Steam-ships Act of 1884. In order to secure the safety of passengers no steam-ship is allowed by the Act of 1884 to carry more than twelve passengers without a certificate of survey which must specify the number of passengers which the steam-ship may carry. This Act imposes a penalty if a steam-ship carries more than twelve passengers without a certificate of survey, but unfortunately it imposes no penalty in the event of the passengers in excess of the number entered in the certificate of survey being carried. It is clear that this is an accidental omission, and the object of this Bill is to rectify it."

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Sir George Barnes :—" 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.

INDIAN ARMY (AMENDMENT) BILL.

12-10 P.M.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief :—" My Lord, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Indian Army Act, 1911. The object of the Bill is to amend a deficiency in the Act that recent experience has disclosed. As explained in the Statement of Objects and Reasons sections already exist for the speedy disposal of moveable property of those who die or desert or become insane. The intention of the Bill is to extend the provisions of the Act to persons who, when on active service, are reported missing. It is contemplated that this clause should come into effect one year after the date of the report."

The motion was put and agreed to.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief :—" 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.

[30TH JANUARY, 1920.] [Mr. Shafi; Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha.]

**UNITED PROVINCES TOWN IMPROVEMENT
(APPEALS) BILL.**

The Hon'ble Mr. Shafi:—"My Lord, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to modify certain provisions of the United Provinces Town Improvement Act, 1919. Hon'ble Members may be aware that with a view to make improvements and extension of town in the United Provinces an Act was passed last year in the local Legislative Council called the United Provinces Town Improvement Act. Under section 3 of that Act the duty of carrying out the provisions of the Act in any local area to which the statute may by notification be extended vests in a Board called the Improvement Trust of that area. By section 56 of the Act, the Trust may, with the previous sanction of the Local Government, acquire land under the provisions of the Land Acquisition Act, 1894, as modified by the provisions of this Act, for carrying out any of the purposes of this Act. Under section 57 a Tribunal is constituted for the purposes of performing the functions of the Court in reference to the acquisition of land for the Trust under the Land Acquisition Act, and under section 58 (a) the Tribunal so constituted is deemed to be a Court and the President of the Tribunal is deemed to be a judge under the Land Acquisition Act. Finally, under clause (d) of that section the award of this Tribunal is deemed to be the award of the Court under the Land Acquisition Act and is considered final. There is one more provision in this enactment which it is necessary to invite the attention of Hon'ble Members to in order to make the position clear. By section 64 (1) (b) questions relating to the determination of persons to whom compensation is payable or the apportionment of compensation may be tried and decided in the absence of assessors if the President of the Tribunal considers their presence unnecessary, and when so tried and decided the decision of the President is to be deemed the decision of the Tribunal. And in sub-clause (c) of the same section, notwithstanding anything done under the foregoing clauses, the decision on all questions of law and procedure rests solely with the President of the Tribunal, and Hon'ble Members will have noticed that the award of the Tribunals is under that Act final. 12-13 P.M.

"Now when the Local Government sent up the Bill as originally drafted by them there was a clause in it, 56 (e), which provided for an appeal from the award of this Tribunal in certain circumstances, to the High Court of Judicature at Allahabad. The Government of India were of opinion that such a provision in a local Act was *ultra vires* of the Provincial Legislature.

"The Bill which I am now asking for permission to introduce is being undertaken at the instance of the Local Government in order to supply that omission, and I am sure Hon'ble Members will recognise that in its nature it is essentially a non-controversial measure. The Bill has been in the hands of Hon'ble Members for the last two or three days, and it is, therefore, unnecessary for me to summarise its provisions in my speech."

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble Mr. Shafi:—"My Lord, I now 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.

**RESOLUTION RE HIS MAJESTY'S PROCLAMATION
ON REFORMS.**

The Hon'ble Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha:—"My Lord, I rise to move the Resolution which stands on the Agenda paper in my name and which runs as follows:— 12-17 P.M.

"That this Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that he may be pleased to transmit, through the proper channel, to His Majesty the King-Emperor the

[*Mr. Suchchidananda Sinha.*] [30TH JANUARY, 1920.]

following humble representation :—‘ That this Council begs leave to tender to His Most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor its dutiful homage and loyal devotion and to express its sense of profound gratefulness for the Royal Proclamation issued by His Majesty on the memorable occasion of his having given his Royal assent to the Government of India Bill, declaring, as the Proclamation does, noble and lofty principles of government which are to guide in future the policy of His Majesty’s officers to enable the Indian nation to attain full responsible government and full political freedom as an equal member of the British Commonwealth.’

“ My Lord, I do not think I need make any apology for my having brought up this Resolution on this the first day of the opening of the Session of this Council, for the very simple reason that as your Lordship was pleased to observe in the course of your very exhaustive inaugural address delivered this morning this Proclamation has been acclaimed by the people of India throughout the length and breadth of the country, and I felt I should be wanting in my duty if I did not put forward this Resolution which represents the unanimous opinion of the people of India in regard to the Proclamation so graciously issued by His Majesty. My Lord, had it not been that the time at my disposal is limited, I would have read out to the Council a large number of extracts from the leading exponents of Indian public opinion in the various Provinces, which would support my view that even papers, which are regarded as very advanced in their views on questions of Indian self-government, have all unanimously and with one voice expressed their heartiest welcome to His Majesty’s Proclamation as embodying and laying down principles of a lofty and noble character alike for the guidance of His Majesty’s officers and His Majesty’s subjects in this country. I shall content myself with reading two short extracts from two leading papers, one of Calcutta and one of Bombay, to satisfy the Council that what I claim is a fact beyond dispute ; I read from the ‘ Bombay Chronicle ’ which says :—

‘ All India will gratefully welcome the Proclamation of the King-Emperor, heralding as it does the opening of a new epoch in the history of India.....The words of the Proclamation reveal a loftiness of purpose which will touch the hearts of the people, because it is something more than a ceremonial announcement about the Royal Assent which is given to the Reform Act’.

“ I shall also read one short passage from a paper which is generally regarded as a very advanced journal in this country, namely, the *Amrita Basar Patrika*, so well known to my friend, the Hon’ble Sir William Vincent. It says :—

‘ The Proclamation of His Majesty the King will be read with thrilling interest throughout the length and breadth of India. We have no doubt that the people of this country will heartily respond to the appeal of His Majesty whose genuine sympathy for the aspirations of his Indian subjects is well known’.

“ My Lord, I could multiply similar extracts from other leading nationalist papers in various parts of the country, but these two short extracts will, I am sure, satisfy the Council that I am justified in saying that all shades of Indian public opinion are absolutely unanimous in according a very hearty welcome to His Majesty’s Proclamation. I may also say here that it has been to me a matter of very great gratification to find that, with one single solitary exception, all the leading Anglo-Indian papers have taken a similar view and have expressed an equally hearty appreciation of the terms of His Majesty’s Proclamation. This is not the occasion, my Lord, to raise any controversial topic, and I shall, therefore, refrain from making any comments about the conduct of the one leading Anglo-Indian paper of Calcutta, which has utilised the Royal Proclamation for an attack on Mr. Montagu, in language which I would not care to characterise. Now I have no desire to confer cheap immortality on that paper by referring to it by name, but those who have read its three leading articles will agree with me that it has shown—to say the least of it—very scant courtesy to His Majesty’s Proclamation by calling it, as it has done, a political manifesto of Mr. Montagu, an allegation which I entirely repudiate and deny. I also say this, not in anger, but in sorrow, that I have not seen any one of my British fellow-subjects entering a protest against the kind of language employed by a leading Anglo-Indian paper in regard to

RESOLUTION *RE* HIS MAJESTY'S PROCLAMATION . 609
ON REFORMS.

[30TH JANUARY, 1920.] [*Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha.*]

His Majesty's Proclamation. But with that one single exception, I claim that Indian and Anglo-Indian opinion as expressed in the press of India and in the resolutions adopted by the various political bodies is emphatically unanimous in welcoming the Royal Proclamation as a document of very great historic importance. I shall not, therefore, trouble the Council with any further observations in justification of my placing before it my Resolution.

" My Lord, the Resolution which I have read out is in three parts. In the first, I am requesting your Lordship's Government to transmit our humble representation on behalf of this Council to His Majesty the King Emperor. From the fact that your Lordship, as President of this Council, has admitted the Resolution exactly in the terms I drafted it, I take it that your Lordship's Government will be pleased to accept the Resolution. The next part of the Resolution tenders to the King Emperor our dutiful homage and loyal devotion, and then gives expression to our opinion about the Proclamation itself. Now, I believe, it is regarded as a convention that whenever British subjects approach their Sovereign with a representation, they first tender to him their loyal devotion and dutiful homage, but I assure your Lordship that so far as we Indians are concerned, we do not regard it as a mere formality. We take it as an obligation and a duty to our King Emperor George V, who has taken such a deep and abiding personal interest in the affairs of his Indian subjects, and we deem it a privilege to offer to him, on occasions like these, our dutiful homage and loyal devotion. I have been, since the Resolution was admitted, looking into some literature upon the subject, and I have tried to find any important speeches by any Viceroy or Minister of State in proposing the toast of the King Emperor. I have found curiously enough very little upon it as, I believe, it is regarded as customary to propose the King's toast at the end of banquets. I once asked a Scotch friend of mine why no speeches were made, as a rule, in proposing the King's toast, and he said: 'we take our loyalty as a matter of course, and there is no occasion for us to make any speeches or to express our views in regard to our loyalty'. Now that may be the right course to take for the British subjects of His Majesty, but in the case of his Indian subjects,—even though your Lordship declared in the Joint Report on Constitutional Reforms, that although Indians criticise freely and frankly and sometimes in strong language the actions of His Majesty's officers in this country, their loyalty is above suspicion—I nevertheless think that on an occasion like this a few observations will not be irrelevant in regard to the reasons why we all are most profoundly loyal to the King Emperor.

" Now, my Lord, looking into this matter I lighted upon some very happy and apposite observations of your Excellency's distinguished predecessor, Lord Curzon, made by him in this very city of Delhi on 1st January 1908, on the occasion of the State Banquet given by him when he held the Durbar to proclaim the accession to sovereignty of His late Majesty King Emperor Edward VII. In proposing the Royal toast Lord Curzon said:—

'...This Indian possession of His Majesty is no mere dead-weight tied on to the heels of the British Empire, but a Dominion, a Continent, an Empire by itself, rich in its own personality and memories, self-confident in its own strength, and aglow with abundant potentialities for the future. To be King of the United Kingdom and of the British possessions beyond the Seas is a great and noble title. But to be Emperor of India is in no respect less, and is in some respects greater. For powerful Empires existed and flourished here, while Englishmen were still wandering painted in the woods, and when the British Colonies were wilderness and jungle; and India has left a deeper mark upon the history, the philosophy, and the religion of mankind than any other territorial unit in the universe. That a British Sovereign should in the fulness of time have been able to do what no predecessor of his ever accomplished, what Alexander never dreamed of, what Akbar never performed, namely, to pacify, unify, and consolidate this great mass into a single homogeneous whole, is, in my judgment, the most impressive phenomenon in history, and the greatest wonder of the modern world'.

" I think, my Lord, that although these words came from one of His Majesty's British subjects, every Indian subject of His Majesty will equally gladly subscribe to these observations of Lord Curzon, and it is exactly in that light that we regard our King Emperor, as the head of a great system of administration

[*Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha.*] [30TH JANUARY, 1920.]

under which it has been possible for India to become in the course of less than a century a nation. There are, no doubt, various reasons which appeal to various minds on the basis of which each Indian is loyal to the King Emperor. Loyalty, however, being, a subjective feeling, I shall leave it to my colleagues to express each in his own way his grounds for his loyalty to the King Emperor. But for my part, the real reason why His Majesty's rule and that of his predecessors has appealed to me is that it has enabled the people of India who, till this country passed under the Crown were a congeries of different nationalities, races and tribes to have become since a single nation. On that point I do not think I should express emphatically my own opinion, because I find that a gentleman, to whom your Lordship referred this morning in terms of deservedly high appreciation, namely, Lord Meston, made some very striking observations in the House of Lords in the course of the debate on the Government of India Bill. He said:—'What lies behind and below the whole of the political difficulties in India, is the spirit of nationalism, a spirit bred in the soil, nurtured..... by our own methods and our own examples, and spreading rapidly through all ranks and classes. I say deliberately all ranks and classes, because I have been watching its operations now for over thirty years. It, of course, permeates the professional classes, with whom it originated. That is accepted. But it is also going deep into the trading and monied classes. A few years ago they had nothing whatever to do with politics, but they are now a prominent feature in all political organisations, and it is very largely their money which finances the nationalist movement. It has also spread to the landed classes'. So that it is quite clear, as Lord Meston puts it, that a national spirit is permeating now all ranks and classes in this country. Beginning with the professional classes, it has filtered down to other strata and even to the masses. That is absolutely incontrovertible, and, I think, your Lordship will agree with me that of all the titles to honour of our King Emperor and of his claim to our loyalty and devotion to him, the greatest is this—to have found the Indian people divided into races, tribes, ranks and classes and moulded them by means of education, training and culture into one great homogeneous, political whole. It is on this ground that I have retained the words in my Resolution as expressing our real sentiments of loyal devotion and homage to the King Emperor, and not merely by way of a customary convention or formality.

"I shall now say a few words about the Proclamation itself, but before I do so, I desire to clear the ground by pointing out two omissions advisedly made by me from this Resolution. Although there is much in the Proclamation about Royal clemency, I have not referred to that part of it, for the simple reason that, although the question of Royal clemency is a very important one at present, it will not be one of any permanent interest in time to come. The subject of Royal clemency also figures at length in Her Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria's Proclamation, but although we all remember certain important passages from that historic and memorable document, no one to-day remembers or tries to recall what is said in it about the grant of amnesty. Similarly, after your Lordship has been pleased, as I hope your Lordship will be, to extend, on behalf of the King Emperor, the Royal clemency as freely as possible, this particular question will not be a matter of importance hereafter. But in regard to the policy laid down in the Royal Proclamation, there are statements made therein in regard to the wishes of the King Emperor which are binding upon all his subjects, and those declarations are and will be invaluable for all time to come. It is, therefore, that I have made no reference in my Resolution to the subject of Royal clemency.

"I have also advisedly refrained from putting in anything in this Resolution about the Government of India Act. The reason is not because I am afraid of the question being discussed as to whether that measure is a little thing or a big thing, but because I quite agree with my esteemed friend, the Hon'ble Mr. Sastri, who in an article contributed by him to Mrs. Besant's paper, published in England, called 'United India' rightly points out that 'rules have to be framed under no fewer than seventeen sections of the

[30TH JANUARY, 1920.] [*Mr. Saohchidananda Sinha.*]

Bill and some of these are of capital importance, while many involve matters of intricacy. The Selborne Committee have in addition recommended that as many as twelve different matters must be investigated in India and the data for their settlement furnished in definite shape before the new Act could be brought into operation'. And he then gives a note of warning by saying 'It is a commonplace that the Morley-Minto Reforms were rendered unpopular by the rules framed by the Government of India'. Now I do not take Mr. Sastri to mean, nor do I mean it myself, that there is any reason to apprehend that the rules and regulations to be framed under the sympathetic guidance of my friend, Sir William Marris, will partake of the nature of those framed ten years back by the Government of India. At the same time, it is quite clear that this Act is incomplete in itself. It is admittedly a skeleton measure, and unless we have got before us the complete material, namely, the rules and regulations, it is not fair to any one to express our definite opinion about it. It is with this aspect in view that I have omitted any reference to the Government of India Act. But I would point out that, whatever view we may take of the new Statute, whether we regard it, as I am told some people do, as a little thing, or whether we regard it, as I am told some other people do, as a big thing, no honest man but will concede that an Act of Parliament, which introduces for the first time in the history of British India an element of responsibility in the Provincial Governments, for the people to work up to for their full political freedom in course of time makes the occasion a memorable one. It is, therefore, that I say that the occasion of the passing of the Act was a memorable one, and it was with a rich and rare political instinct that His Majesty the King-Emperor has issued this Proclamation which we all welcome so much as a new Charter of our legitimate goal and aspirations.

"Now, my Lord, coming to the Proclamation my thoughts naturally go back to the other great Proclamation, which is referred to by His Majesty in the present one, namely, that of Her Majesty Queen Victoria. That Proclamation has a history of its own, and because certain incidents which occurred in regard to that Proclamation may have, in future, some bearing on the present one, I wish, with your Lordship's leave, to say a few words about them. It has been contended by some people that His Majesty's Royal Proclamation is really the act of his Ministers and that it is, therefore, open to us to take it in that light. My contention is that this view is untenable. I urge that a Royal Proclamation is principally an act of the Sovereign, although a constitutional monarch like our King Emperor naturally acts on the advice of his Ministers. We know that in the case of Queen Victoria's memorable Proclamation Her Majesty took a special personal interest in the draft which was being prepared. Lord Morley refers to the fact in the Appendix to the collected edition of his Indian speeches, and an important communication on the subject, is to be found in the 'Letters of Queen Victoria,' Volume III. Writing to the Earl of Derby under date 15th August, 1858, Her Majesty said :—

'The Queen has asked Lord Mallesbury to explain in detail to Lord Derby her objections to the draft of Proclamation for India. The Queen would be glad if Lord Derby would write it himself in his excellent language, bearing in mind that it is a female Sovereign who speaks to more than one hundred millions of Eastern people on assuming the direct government over them, giving them pledges which her future reign is to redeem, and explaining the principles of her government. Such a document should breathe feelings of generosity, benevolence, and religious feeling, pointing out the privileges which the Indians will receive in being placed on an equality with the subjects of the British Crown, and the prosperity following in the train of civilization.'

"This very remarkable document clearly shows that Her Majesty took a great personal interest in the matter, and I have the authority of Lord Morley that 'the last sentence of the Proclamation was the Queen's'. Curiously, in spite of the declarations made in the said Proclamation, when many years later a controversy arose in regard to the amendment of the Code of Criminal Procedure about certain matters which I need not refer to in detail at present, a distinguished predecessor of my friend, the Hon'ble Sir George Lowndes—

612 RESOLUTION RE HIS MAJESTY'S PROCLAMATION ON REFORMS.

[*Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha.*] [30TH JANUARY, 1920.]

Sir James Stephen—expressed certain views about it which gave a very rude shock to the people of this country. Sir James Stephen propounded the view that 'the Proclamation has no legal force whatever', and that though 'as a ceremonial, the Proclamation may have been proper, but in any other point of view it is a mere expression of sentiment and opinion'. This declaration of an ex-Law Member gave a profound shock to the people of this country who had come to regard Her Majesty's Proclamation as a solemn pledge given on a very memorable occasion. The matter naturally attracted very great attention, and I find from the Proceedings of this Council that when the debate came to be summed up by the President, the late Lord Ripon, to whom India will always be grateful for the many reforms he introduced, made these very striking observations on the views expressed by Sir James Stephen :—

' When Sir James Stephen goes on to maintain that a Proclamation issued by the Sovereign of England and of India is only a ceremonial . . . a mere formal utterance of sentimental phrases of no binding force or practical effect whatever, I cannot too emphatically express my dissent. To me it seems a very serious thing to put forth to the people of India a doctrine which renders worthless the solemn words of their Sovereign, and which converts her gracious promises . . . into a hollow mockery.

' The document is not a treaty—it is not a diplomatic instrument; it is a declaration of principles of government which, if it is obligatory at all, is obligatory in respect to all to whom it is addressed. The doctrine, therefore, to which Sir James Stephen has given the sanction of his authority I feel bound to repudiate to the utmost of my power. It seems to me to be inconsistent with the character of my Sovereign and with the honour of my country.'

" These are noble words, nobly spoken. Some years later the matter again came up, in a different form, in this Council. This time it was not about the effect or validity of the Proclamation as a whole, but about certain words in it and it was Lord Curzon, who, speaking in the course of his seventh Budget debate speech on the 29th of March, 1905, with reference to certain observations of my late lamented leader, Mr. Gokhale, said :—

' He (Mr. Gokhale) . . . referred to the Act of 1833 and to the Queen's Proclamation of 1858. I am familiar with both those documents, and I also remember—which those who quote them sometimes forget—that the late Queen's words contained a qualification, not indeed modifying their generosity, but limiting their application by the necessary tests, firstly of practical expediency, and, secondly, of personal fitness'.

" My Lord, these words of Lord Curzon also were regarded by His Majesty's Indian subjects as unduly emphasising, if not practically imposing, an unwarranted limitation upon the Queen's Proclamation, and the matter attracted the attention of the then Secretary of State Mr. John (now Lord) Morley, with the result that shortly after Lord Curzon's pronouncement, Mr. Morley, speaking in the House of Commons, in 1906, said :—

' I think those words 'so far as may be' have been somewhat misinterpreted in the past. I do not believe that the Ministers who advised Queen Victoria in framing one of the most memorable documents in all our history meant those words to be construed in a narrow, restricted or pettifogging sense. I do not believe that Parliament ever intended this promise of the Queen should be construed in any but a liberal and generous sense'.

" I have referred, my Lord, briefly to the historical facts and incidents about Queen Victoria's Proclamation so that it may not be possible in future for any one either to impugn the validity or try to limit the scope either of Queen Victoria's Proclamation or the Proclamation of our King-Emperor George V.

" Now, my Lord, I do not think I should detain the Council at any length on a question of this character, which is non-controversial, and I shall say a few words about the Proclamation itself. The Proclamation, as I have said in the Resolution, lays down noble and lofty declarations of policy, and I particularly invite the attention of the Council to paragraph 5, for reading out the whole of which I make no apology :—

' With the same sympathy and with redoubled interest I shall watch the progress along this road. The path will not be easy and in the march towards the goal there will be need of perseverance and of mutual forbearance between all sections and races of my people in India.

RESOLUTION *RE* HIS MAJESTY'S PROCLAMATION 613
ON REFORMS.

[30TH JANUARY, 1920.] [*Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha; Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea.*]

'I am confident that those high qualities will be forthcoming. I rely on the new popular assemblies to interpret wisely the wishes of those whom they represent and not to forget the interests of the masses who cannot yet be admitted to franchise. I rely on the leaders of the people, the Ministers of the future, to face responsibility and endure misrepresentation, to sacrifice much for the common interest of the State, remembering that true patriotism transcends party and communal boundaries and, while retaining the confidence of the legislatures, to co-operate with my officers for the common good in sinking unessential differences and in maintaining the essential standards of a just and generous government. Equally do I rely upon my officers to respect their new colleagues and to work with them in harmony and kindness; to assist the people and their representatives in an orderly advance towards free institutions; and to find in these new tasks a fresh opportunity to fulfil, as in the past, their highest purpose of faithful service to my people.'

"I do not think, my Lord, if I may say so without the least impertinence to my King-Emperor, it possible to have put better in one short paragraph ideas of such profound wisdom affecting the current and even future problems of this country. If only both the races in India—His Majesty's British subjects and Indian subjects will constantly keep these words of wisdom in mind and proceed upon the lines laid down by His Majesty, I am sure we shall be all the better for it in future.

"My Lord, I have been all my life a staunch—a very staunch—optimist; although I have for many years seen the country pass through stages of political repression which have placed, from time to time, a very great strain on our loyalty to our King-Emperor's Indian Government. But in spite of all that I have always believed that, notwithstanding the repressive measures and the misguided policies resorted to by the Indian Government, our King-Emperor's rule is the one great instrument of our political salvation, the one mighty lever by means of which the people of India will be raised to a higher destiny and to their right place in the scale of nations. It is, therefore, that I feel enthusiastic about the King-Emperor's declarations of policy in his great Proclamation. I am sure His Majesty's officers also will obey the Royal command and respect the Royal wishes. His Majesty very properly says that India is on the threshold of a momentous epoch in her history. 'A new era is opening,' says His Majesty and I for my part am quite prepared to obliterate the past if His Majesty's officers in this country also will turn over a new leaf. It seems to me, my Lord, that what is wanted now, is that all sections of the people, all His Majesty's subjects, should really co-operate in the right spirit. 'Unfortunately co-operation' in the past, if I may say so, has often been misconceived and misconstrued. I am not talking of places like Calcutta, Madras or Bombay, or Provincial capitals where exists influential public opinion; but in the mufassal—which means practically the whole of India—co-operation has often been regarded by the officials as more or less synonymous with subservience on the part of non-officials. I earnestly hope that the words of His Majesty that his officers will in future treat their non-official colleagues as their equals will be kept in mind by them; and if this is done I am sure the chances of misunderstanding between the two sections will be materially reduced. The situation demands great forbearance on both sides, and I sincerely wish that both will rise to the occasion. It seems to me that in the critical period of our trial, both officials and non-officials should keep in mind the memorable words of the great American poet, Lowell, which are singularly appropriate in view of the King-Emperor's injunctions in his Royal Proclamation:—

'New occasions teach new duties, time makes ancient good uncouth;
They must upward, still and onward who would keep abreast of Truth;
Lo! before us gleam her camp-fires, we ourselves must pilgrims be;
Launch our Mayflower and steer boldly through the desperate winter sea,
Nor attempt the future's portals with the past's blood-rusted key.'

The Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea:—"My Lord, 2-50 P. M.
I desire whole-heartedly to support the Resolution which has been moved by my Hon'ble friend. My Lord, it seems to me that there is peculiar appropriateness in our moving this Resolution and in this Council adopting it. We are a Legislative Council, the highest Legislative Council in the Indian Empire, and when we speak with a united voice we impart to it an authority

[*Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee.*] [30TH JANUARY, 1920.]

which does not belong to any other similar body in the land. My Lord, it is our high and appointed function to guide the public mind of India and to give it a lead and a direction. We have performed this duty in the past with dignity and success. When after the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme the country was distracted with a babel of tongues, we in this Legislative Council adopted a Resolution, a practically unanimous Resolution declaring that the recommendations contained in that Report represented a substantial and definite stage towards the progressive realisation of responsible government. Our lead was accepted by the country. Similar Resolutions were passed by other Legislative Councils, and they had a sobering effect upon public opinion; and now, my Lord, it is our duty to express a similar opinion with regard to the Royal Proclamation, which we hail, and I am sure the country will hail, with enthusiastic gratitude.

"My friend, Mr. Sinha, says in his Resolution that we desire to convey to His Majesty the expression of our dutiful homage, our loyal devotion, our profound gratitude for the Proclamation of the 23rd December last. My Lord, the Proclamation, in the terms of the Resolution, sets forth lofty principles of government and a great policy for the guidance of His Majesty's officers in order that they may help us to rear up the fabric of self-government in this country, so that India may take her place as an equal partner among the self-governing Dominions of the Crown.

"My Lord, that is only one aspect and perhaps not the only or the most important aspect of the Proclamation. I am sorry to have to say that my friend's Resolution makes two notable omissions. One of these he has tried to correct. The first point which I should like to advert to is the absence of all reference to the general amnesty granted to all political prisoners so far as is compatible with the public safety. My friend says that it is a transient feature. I hold that it is a permanent factor which will have a profound effect in tranquillising the situation and preparing the public mind for the successful working of the Reforms Scheme. It is of such paramount importance that in my judgment, and I am sure in the judgment of this Council, it ought to find a place in the Resolution itself.

"Another point which I desire to refer to, is that no mention is made in the Resolution of the service of Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha, and whatever sentiment of gratitude we may feel or express towards them, a similar measure of gratitude is due to your Excellency for what you have done in connection with the Reforms Act.

"My Lord, Lord Sinha has let us into the secrets of his prison house. In one of the very first speeches which he delivered at Bombay he told us that the message of the 20th August 1917 was largely due to your Excellency's initiative, and that your Excellency came out to this country with that message in your pocket. Furthermore, but for your Excellency the Montagu-Chelmsford Report would not have been dealt with or accepted by the official world, in the way it has been. Lastly, when the Bill became law, your Excellency wired to the Secretary of State stating that you were prepared to work it in a loyal and cordial spirit. We thus owe a great deal to your Excellency in this connection. Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's. In politics let us be fair-minded, generous, just to all. My Lord, we have differences with your Excellency's government, profound differences in regard to Punjab and other matters. But here we are dealing with a Proclamation which concerns the Reforms Act and the issues connected therewith. In regard to the Reforms Act, your Excellency has rendered great service to India and therefore I repeat render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's. Our acknowledgments are due to your Excellency, and I am glad that I am able to make them publicly here from my place in the Legislative Council.

"Then, my Lord, there is another omission to which I desire to call my friend's attention. Nothing is said about the approaching visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to this country. The Proclamation announces that fact; and your Excellency was pleased to allude to it in the concluding words of that speech to which we listened with so much interest and admiration.

RESOLUTION RE HIS MAJESTY'S PROCLAMATION ON 615
REFORMS.

[30TH JANUARY, 1920.] [*Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea.*]

I speak the sense of this Council, I may add the sense of my countrymen at large, indeed of all sections of the community, European and Indian, official and non-official, when I say that we welcome the announcement and shall feel profoundly grateful for the visit, and that when His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales comes to India, he will receive an enthusiastic reception from all sections of our vast and multitudinous population. It will indeed be a welcome in conformity with our traditions and loyalty, and of devotion to the British connection.

" My Lord, the Proclamation is not merely a repository of lofty principles or of a noble policy ; it is something more than that. It embodies an Act of Parliament galvanised into a living and beneficent instrument of government by the vivifying breath of sympathy and of lofty statesmanship. My Lord, the Proclamations of the past were more or less in the nature of pledges to be carried out in the future ; the Proclamation of to-day stands on a different, and if I may be permitted to say so without irreverence, upon a higher footing. It confers a boon at once, and it is the greatest of earthly boons which it is in the power of any Government to confer, and the full measure of it is placed in sight and to be won by our own patriotic efforts and the vindication of our capacity for responsible government. My Lord, a gift is also a trial, and we shall soon be on our trial. A privilege connotes an obligation which we shall have adequately to discharge, not indeed as has been suggested in some quarters by an agitation to be started at once, but by solid work, by the justification of the trust that is reposed, and by the consolidation of the privilege that is conferred.

" My Lord, the hour for the final verdict will soon come ; it may come in ten years but what are ten years or even less in the life-time of a Nation ? When it does come and judgment is pronounced before the eyes of all India and of the civilised world, I trust it will not be said of us that we were tried and found wanting.

" My Lord, what is the central idea of the Proclamation ; what is it that imparts to it its distinctive character and complexion ? It is set out in a few pregnant words by His Gracious Majesty. His Majesty recognises that the people of India have the full right to direct their own affairs and to safeguard their own interests. The whole of the Proclamation is addressed to the generation of a set of conditions which will secure the same. His Majesty invites us, the people of India, invites the European community, invites the officers of Government, to unite for the creation of an atmosphere of contentment, of peacefulness, of mutual trust and of mutual esteem which will pave the way for the harmonious and successful working of the Reforms Scheme. ' Let by-gones be by-gones ' is the resounding note of the Proclamation. Let all irritation, all bitterness be obliterated, let co-operation be the watchword of the new era, and hence it is that a general amnesty has been proclaimed of all political prisoners, such as may be compatible with the public safety. My Lord, I have heard it said that your Excellency should not have been empowered with discretion to determine the manner, the measure and the extent to which the act of Royal clemency should be exercised. Those who argue in this way seem to forget what is the obvious, natural presumption, in this case, namely, that your Excellency must have been consulted, must have been a consenting party to the provisions of this act of clemency. For myself, I will say this, that clemency has been exercised on a generous scale ; if there are complaints it is open to the aggrieved parties or their friends to bring them to the notice of the authorities, and I am sure they will receive sympathetic and careful consideration. My Lord, the Proclamation makes an appeal to all of us, it lays a special mandate upon the representatives of the educated community. We have been invited by His Majesty to safeguard the interests of the masses because they do not possess the franchise. Let me say this on behalf of my educated countrymen that we shall scrupulously carry out the Royal behest, not only because it is the mandate of our Sovereign, but also because it is entirely in accord with our own deep-rooted instincts and with the trend and tenour of our past activities.

616 RESOLUTION *RE* HIS MAJESTY'S PROCLAMATION ON REFORMS.

[*Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea; Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis.*] [30TH JANUARY, 1920.]

"My Lord, the educated community ever since they have felt the first throbbings of national life, have constituted themselves as the appointed guardians and protectors of their uneducated countrymen. In their Congresses, in their Conferences, from their public platforms, in their public prints, they have in season and out of season advocated measures for the benefit of the masses. They have pressed for the extension of primary education, for the reduction of the Salt tax, reform of the Police and of the judicial systems, and other kindred matters calculated to ameliorate the condition of the masses. Therefore I repeat that in loyally carrying out the Royal mandate, we shall only continue to act in accordance with our aims and traditions.

"My Lord, the Proclamation announces the birth of a new era. It says 'a new era is opening. Let it begin with a common determination among my people and my officers to work together for a common purpose'. In so far as the educated community are concerned, we shall loyally carry out that mandate, and I am sure that the officers of Government and representatives of the European community will do the same. For good or for evil, for good as I believe, Indians and Europeans have got to live together in this country, as fellow-citizens of a common Empire. Let us live together in peace and amity, in the cultivation of those friendly relations which alone can make for our mutual advantage and our mutual prosperity. We, the educated community, are prepared to extend the hand of fellowship and friendship to the servants of the Government, to the representatives of the European community. I ask them to grasp it with alacrity. We are prepared to make the first advance. Are they prepared to reciprocate the sentiment and to do likewise? I am sure they will, for I have reason to believe that there is a movement going on in Calcutta for a good and friendly understanding between Europeans and Indians. As for the Civil Service, they have had a great past. They have built up the fabric of stable government in this country. A higher task now awaits them. They will be our helpmates, our comrades, our colleagues in the more exalted function of rearing up the nobler edifice of constitutional freedom. That will be their *magnum opus*, their greatest achievement, which will throw into the shade even the glory of their past work. Well, my Lord, one word more and I have done. Let Europeans and Indians, officials and non-officials, enter at the bidding of our Sovereign into a solemn League and Covenant of fellowship and friendship, consecrated by common and devoted service rendered to this great and ancient land, which in the case of many of us is the land of our birth, in the case of others the land of their adoption, and in the case of all, I hope, the land of their love whose destinies are indissolubly inter-linked with those of the greatest and the freest Empire that the world has ever seen, presided over by our gracious Sovereign whose Proclamation has enthroned him in the hearts of the people whom he loves so well. With these words, my Lord, I desire to support the Resolution."

[At this stage the Council adjourned for Lunch].

2-15 P.M.

The Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis:—"My Lord, I beg to support this Resolution. Among the many measures and acts designed for the good government of India and for the contentment and encouragement of the people, none can lead to better results than the historic Proclamation of His Most Excellent Majesty, ushering in a substantial measure of constitutional reforms, having for their objective the gradual evolution of self-government in India. Like the Pronouncements of Queen Victoria and King Edward of blessed memory, His Majesty's Proclamation is marked not only by sympathy and love for the people, but by an active desire to help on their political development. British Indian history has been noted throughout by a benevolence on the part of the administrators, but the noblest part has always been played by the Monarchs of England. If I may be allowed to say so, this Proclamation of His Majesty expresses the Sovereign will and desire for generosity in British Indian Administration and self-respect in national policy. This country has always been a sacred

RESOLUTION *RE* HIS MAJESTY'S PROCLAMATION ON 617
REFORMS.

[30TH JANUARY, 1920.] [*Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis ; Mr. Jaffer.*]

trust to our Sovereigns ; our interests have uniformly been a matter of personal concern with them. They have never lacked the will to adjust the Indian constitutional machinery to changed conditions. The Royal Proclamation under discussion is a welcome development of His Majesty's message of hope and sympathy of 1910. It will now be for us to justify His Majesty's hopes by a grateful appreciation of his motives, by the wisdom of our action, by mutual forbearance, and by the adjustment of conflicting interests of the different communities ; to fulfil the high expectations of His Majesty's Ministers ; and to fit ourselves by restraint, moderation, sacrifice, efficient discharge of duty and foresight for complete self-government within the next few years—a consummation so near the heart of His Majesty.

“ My Lord, speaking on this Resolution, a reference cannot honestly be omitted to the authors and initiators of the Reforms with which it is associated. We must gratefully recall and appreciate the great and important services of Mr. Montagu, and, as has been well said by Lord Sinha in his speech in Bombay, the equally great and important part your Excellency played in the initial stages, especially the part you took in inviting Mr. Montagu to India, and in making him discuss these reforms with the people and enabling him to see for himself, how eager the people, the educated among them were for some advance in the constitutional development of the country. The King-Emperor has appealed for harmony and co-operation in actual working. Mr. Banerjea has, in the very excellent language at the end of his speech, appealed through this Council to his countrymen to give effect to this Sovereign desire of the King-Emperor. I beg to endorse every word he has said, and I hope that his powerful words will have the desired effect, and all parties and communities will join together to make the Reforms a great success.”

The Hon'ble Mr. Jaffer :—“ My Lord, we, in this country, have 2-18 P.M.
always hailed, with the highest reverence, and cherished with the deepest loyalty, the utterances and pronouncements of the British Sovereign with respect to the policy of His Majesty's Government, in connection with the status and progress of the People of India. With their traditional attachment to the Throne the Indian People have combined a reasoned conviction about the beneficence of their Sovereign, whose words have ever worked as a charm upon the minds of all classes and creeds in this country. The Proclamation of 1858, issued by the Queen Victoria of blessed memory, was held in India as a great Charter, in fact, as their Magna Charta. The gracious assurances, conveyed through that Charter, buoyed up the people with hopes, through favourable and unfavourable circumstances, and through reverses and disappointments. The Proclamation was issued at a time when the country had just emerged from a national calamity of a serious character, and the machinery of administration had been adopted to the changing surrounding conditions. It not only assuaged sore public feelings, but opened to the people new paths of racial equality and political opportunity, for national progress. For about two generations the Charter of 1858 was appealed to as a sacred source from which the rights of people flowed and popular faith in its promises seldom dimmed, though, in practice, it had become ineffective.

“ My Lord, the gracious Proclamation of His Majesty the King-Emperor, has a still greater significance, and will find an abiding place in the hearts of His Majesty's loyal subjects, of every class and creed. That Proclamation, coming, as it does, at a momentous stage in the history of this ancient land, breathes the spirit of generous appreciation for the aspirations of the Indian people, is instinct with sentiments of Imperial good-will and benevolence, and is full of inspiration for officials and non-officials, who have loyally and wholeheartedly to carry out the policy laid down for their guidance. That Proclamation has announced the inauguration of a new era, and interpreted, to Indian officials, the duty which devolves upon them in making the Reforms a success. My Lord, the Royal Proclamation heralds a new epoch in the development of India's destinies, and, therefore, very opportunely indicates the lines along which His Majesty's officials and

618 RESOLUTION *RE* HIS MAJESTY'S PROCLAMATION ON REFORMS.

[*Mr. Jaffer; Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandi.*] [30TH JANUARY, 1920.]

Indians must work, if that epoch is to bring progress and happiness to the country. Opinions may differ as to the length to which the Reform Act will take us in the path of constitutional freedom, and of elevation of national status. But there is a general agreement that the Reforms constitute a substantial advance; and are calculated to give India full responsible government, and an equal status in the Empire, at an early date. In order that this consummation, should be successfully accomplished, His Majesty the King-Emperor has sent us an inspiring message, directing us officials and non-officials to work in harmony and to the best of our ability to make the most of the Reforms. On behalf of the people and especially of the Mahomedan community, whom I have the honour to represent in this Council, I beg leave to give the humble but strong assurance that the Royal Proclamation has evoked a loyal and hearty response, and I trust similar sentiments will prevail on the official side. The country is profoundly grateful to His Majesty for the gracious, inspiring, and encouraging Proclamation and this Council will only be doing a plain duty in giving expression to its own, and the people's abiding devotion to the Throne, in conveying the Nation's heartfelt gratitude to the King-Emperor for the generous and stimulating message. With these words, my Lord, I support the Resolution."

3-24 P.M. **The Hon'ble Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandi:—**

"My Lord, I rise to accord my whole-hearted support to the Resolution which has just been placed before this Council and which, I am sure, will meet with its cordial and enthusiastic acceptance. The Proclamation of His Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor, issued on the eve of the last anniversary of the nativity of the Prince of Peace, marks an important landmark in the annals of British India, and is a unique event in the history of my land. It has been hailed with abounding gratitude by the people in all parts of the country and a profound impression, wholesome and inspiring in its effects, has been produced upon the public mind which augurs well for the success of the great constitutional experiment upon which the country is about to be embarked.

"Truly, it may be said that the Royal Proclamation of the 23rd December 1919, constitutes the greatest of our political and constitutional Charters. It has, therefore, been received with an outburst of loyalty from the people and a demonstration of good-will, the like of which has seldom, if ever, been witnessed in any generation. For the first time, it is felt that a Charter has been granted by the Sovereign, not of promises but of deeds, which, in the fulness of time, are destined to be fruitful of glorious results. Not many years ago, His Majesty the King-Emperor delivered to his people in India a message of 'Hope.' That message now stands vindicated by the Charter of living deeds which has recently been vouchsafed to us, and which will be generally regarded as one of the most precious milestones in our road to Progress.

"The Proclamation announced to us the Royal assent given to the most momentous measure ever introduced in the British Parliament for the governance of India, and definitely sets seal to the purpose of British policy in leading India to take her due share in the progressive march of Nations. For the first time in the history of this ancient land, India is now being made safe for democracy, and the first step towards this goal has now been definitely taken. England has done her duty by us now, and her august Sovereign has announced her new policy in this country in the most gracious Proclamation which is just now under our consideration, and it is our beholden duty to thank His Majesty for this Proclamation and to justify the trust and responsibility reposed on us.

"Then, again, my Lord, I must say that this Proclamation has cleared the air to a very gratifying extent in another direction. The amnesty granted to a very large number of detainees and political prisoners all over the country has taken a load of anxiety from the mind of the people. I have no doubt that most of these men will now prove themselves very useful members of society and worthy citizens of a new Empire, and justify the hopes of our King-Emperor.

RESOLUTION *RE* HIS MAJESTY'S PROCLAMATION ON 619
REFORMS.

[30TH JANUARY, 1920] [*Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandru Nandi; Sir
Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy; Raja Sir Rampal
Singh.*]

'A new era is opening before us,' observes His Majesty. 'Let it begin with a common determination among my people and my officers to work together for a common people.' I hope we shall all be inspired by this Royal sentiment and succeed in creating a new and puissant state in the heart of Asia.

"Let us go forward to our new destiny with hope and confidence. The terms in which the Proclamation has been couched betoken statesmanship of a high order, and show how the heart of the Sovereign beats in unison with the aspirations and feelings of his loyal subjects in this country. No more appropriate and graceful terms could be conceived to bring the Royal message right into the heart of the people, and impress them with the good-will and sympathy of the Sovereign. No more fitting prelude could be imagined to herald the new era with the best and most hopeful promises of success. From the hearts of millions of our people, therefore, goes forth the prayer to the footstool of the Almighty for the long life of His Majesty the King-Emperor who has enthroned himself in their love, esteem, and gratitude, and also for the prosperity of the great Empire to which it is our high privilege to belong. In conclusion, I desire to associate myself with what Mr. Banerjea has said about your Excellency's part in the introduction of the Reforms. Posterity will remember it. The same observations will apply to Mr. Montagu and to Lord Sinha also. In the name of the Zamindars and Landholders of Bengal, I, therefore, heartily support the Resolution and wish its unanimous acceptance and anxiously welcome the arrival of our Royal guest the Prince of Wales in India in November next."

The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy :—"My Lord, as a 2-30 P. M. representative of the Indian commercial community I have pleasure in supporting the Resolution. The All-India Industrial and Commercial Conference, which held its session last week in Bombay, unanimously passed resolutions which I had the honour of putting from the Chair, expressing their heartfelt gratitude for the Royal Proclamation and also welcoming the Reforms. I have little to add to what I said on that occasion. I fully endorse the views expressed by my revered friend Mr. Banerjea in support of the Resolution, and I have great pleasure in supporting it."

The Hon'ble Raja Sir Rampal Singh :—"My Lord, I desire 2-31 P. M. to associate myself with my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha and to extend my cordial support to the Resolution that has been moved by him. The Royal Proclamation which has been issued by His Majesty is a new Charter of liberty to the Indian people, and we cannot too highly appreciate its contents. Its liberal and generous terms, the noble and lofty policy which it lays down, and the wise and far-reaching principles which it embodies, and above all the counsel of co-operation which it embraces, are all worthy of our Sovereign, and have gone deep into the hearts of the people. It is a matter of very great gratification to India that her beloved Sovereign is ever so watchful of the progress and advancement of his Indian subjects, and that India occupies so prominent and high a position in the heart of His Majesty. It now rests with India to prove worthy of the attainment of the goal that has been set before her. The full realisation of that goal is now in our hands and lies in the manner in which we may discharge the duties and responsibilities that have been thrown upon our shoulders by the Reforms Act. His Majesty, out of love and affection for the Indian people and the deep interest that he feels in their welfare, has not failed to point out the easiest and shortest route to reach that goal. It is by co-operation not only between officials and non-officials, but also between the different communities inhabiting this land. His Majesty's gracious advice is that co-operation should be the keynote in the administration of this country. We Indians, as in duty bound, readily and whole-heartedly respond to the bidding. That advice shall be our guiding-star, and let us hope that no racial prejudices or uncalled-for patriotism or bureaucratic tendencies shall be allowed to mar the even progressive course of Reforms towards the desired goal."

620 RESOLUTION RE HIS MAJESTY'S PROCLAMATION ON REFORMS.

[Major Malik Sir Umar Hayat Khan; Sardar Bahadur Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia.] [30TH JANUARY, 1920.]

2-35 P.M.

The Hon'ble Major Malik Sir Umar Hayat Khan :—“ My Lord, on behalf of the Muhammadans of the Punjab I cordially support the Resolution. They have fought in every theatre of the war with distinction and it was one of their class who earned the first Victoria Cross among the Indians. They have extensively contributed to the Forces of the Crown before and in the war, and have always stood the test even when asked to fight with their own co-religionists.

“ As they were instrumental in achieving the victory for the Allied Arms and the fame and name for India whose services have been amply recognised by His Gracious Majesty's Government by the Proclamation as well as various other recognitions, namely allowing her a separate representation at the Peace Conference, etc., they should take the foremost place in offering their respectful thanks.

“ It will not be out of place to put in a word on behalf of the martial classes of India in general, and the Punjabis in particular, that their representation on the Provincial as well as the Imperial Council should be properly vouchsafed to them. I have seen a large number of them lately and some of the leading representatives of these classes who are under the impression that their interests would not be adequately represented. But, I think, your Lordship's pronouncement this morning will cheer them up and we may safely hope that they will get their due share.

“ I would strongly urge that some provision should be made that the business of the Councils, particularly in the Provinces at least for a time, may be carried in vernacular, so as to admit such members as are in close touch with the masses to be able to come forward to voice their feelings. These classes should be represented by their own men.

“ If the above-mentioned classes which form the bulk of the population are given to understand that Government will not forget them even if they do not agitate but live as peace-loving subjects of His Majesty's Government, they will remain satisfied.

“ In the end I would urge that rules should be so framed that when the boon of Reforms is bestowed upon the country, which is meant for the whole population, it may not go to any one class. In conclusion, I once again cordially support the Resolution.”

2-33 P.M.

The Hon'ble Sardar Bahadur Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia :—“ My Lord, I rise to support the motion of my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha and join with him in tendering on behalf of His Majesty's loyal subjects of the Punjab their dutiful thanks for the passing of this great historic measure which entrusts to the elected representatives of the people a definite share in the government of the country and points the way to full responsible government hereafter. Indians are proud to belong to the Empire of an Emperor whose house has always kept the welfare of its subjects at heart. In 1858 when the British possessions in the East passed under the direct sway of the Crown, the venerable Queen Empress, known as Queen Victoria the Good, issued a memorable Proclamation—the first Magna Charter of India by which Her Majesty assured to her Indian subjects full religious freedom and equal and impartial protection of the law and the maintenance, unimpaired, of the principles of humane and equitable administration. The present epoch-making Proclamation is an event which will go down to posterity as a land-mark in the history of the Country, and will be remembered by the people with deep gratitude, thereby granting to them the right of directing and safeguarding of her interests and the control of her domestic affairs. This is the highest gift that a civilised Government could give to a people under its control.

“ We know, my Lord, that it is a high responsibility which is being placed upon the shoulders of the people, and England can well be proud that she will

RESOLUTION, *RE* HIS MAJESTY'S PROCLAMATION ON 621
REFORMS.

[30TH JANUARY, 1920.] [*Sardar Bahadur Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia; Khan Bahadur Mir Asad Ali.*]

see her charge performing these duties successfully. Her work in the past must eventually fit us for this. During the first stages, however, there may be mistakes made, but these are inevitable, as no child can learn to walk and stand upon its legs unless it has had the experience of a fall. Experience thus gained breeds confidence and future pitfalls are thereby avoided.

"In the advancement of a country time must necessarily elapse before the complicated machinery of government works smoothly and without any hitch or mishap in new hands. I am not one of those who will be disappointed at delays which in political advancement are inevitable. Everything will depend, my Lord, upon the spirit in which these Reforms are worked, and the devotion and perseverance that are brought to bear upon them. We, therefore, realise the necessity of full harmony, kindness and co-operation between the officers of Government and the representatives of the people. It is necessary that this should exist.

"I am, however, sorry to make one remark, but I would be failing in my duty to my community, to which I have the honour to belong, if I were to omit doing so. The Sikhs have felt very great disappointment at the share allotted to them under these Reforms in the various Councils, both Imperial and Provincial. There would have been no ground for complaint if the representation of all the communities had been based on numerical strength, but once the claims of important minorities for special representations having been conceded and recognised, my community feel very keenly that similar principles of representation have not been applied in their case as have been applied in the case of the Mohamedans where that community numerically forms a minority. Let me hope that something will still be done when rules are made under the Act to meet the claims of the community which has been foremost in their service to the Empire ever since their connection with the British.

"How I wish that the time may come when the people are able to rise higher above petty class differences, which unfortunately do exist at present in some form or other, and reach that ideal stage of advancement when the interests of the country will be equally dear to all communities, and all bear in mind in the words of the Proclamation that true patriotism transcends party and communal boundaries and that common good demands the sinking of unessential differences, not only in words but in deeds, and in the maintenance of essential standards of just and generous government; and that all, whether representatives of the people or the officers of the Government, work hand in hand for the common good of the country. generous

"I sincerely join my venerable friend the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjea in his ideas and sentiments expressed to-day and in offering your Excellency and Lord Sinha our hearty and most sincere thanks for the memorable Act of Parliament.

"In offering my humble duty to His Majesty the King-Emperor and in extending our most sincere and cordial welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, the heir apparent to the throne, I heartily join in the prayer to the Almighty that by His Grace and Guidance India may follow the paths of wisdom and righteousness, and that this great and generous boon may lead to greater prosperity and contentment of the people, and that India may become a worthy member of the British Commonwealth."

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mir Asad Ali:—"My Lord, 2-44 P.M. I have much pleasure in associating myself with those who support the Resolution which is before the Council. In doing so, I may be permitted to say that the King-Emperor's Proclamation has been cordially received by the Indian communities of all shades of opinion. We are deeply grateful to His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor for the Royal Proclamation, and this Proclamation is, in my opinion, largely due to your Excellency's initiative in the matter of Indian reforms. I think, my Lord, it is my duty to support the Resolution both on my own behalf and on behalf of my community, and I, therefore, tender

[*Khan Bahadur Mir Asad Ali; Mr. W. E. Crum; Mr. Nigel F. Paton; Raja of Kanika.*] [30TH JANUARY, 1920.]

our sincere and loyal devotion to His Majesty the King-Emperor. As far as I know the Muhammadans of the Madras Presidency are quite satisfied with this Act, and they hope the Madras Government will have due regard to the safeguarding of their interests."

2-46 P.M. **The Hon'ble Mr. W. E. Crum:**—"My Lord, while discussions on the Government of India Bill were in progress we opposed many of its principles and we criticised certain of its details; but now a new scene has come. The Bill has become an Act and has received the Royal assent.

"I can assure Mr. Surendranath Banerjea and every other member of this Council that my community will do everything in its power to make the Act a real success; and I go further and I say that should our doubts prove unfounded and should this period of trial be a success, as we all hope it will be, India will not find us backward in agreeing to such further advancement as may be found advisable. My Lord, I have great pleasure in supporting this Resolution, because, I think, we must all agree that the future of India must lie in eventual responsible government and political freedom as an equal member of the British Commonwealth."

2-47 P.M. **The Hon'ble Mr. Nigel F. Paton:**—"My Lord, although in the very fullest sympathy with the Resolution before the Council I had not intended to say anything in regard to it. But after the stirring speech of Mr. Surendranath Banerjea I feel it to be my duty to say how whole-heartedly and unreservedly I respond to the appeal which he has made to our community for co-operation and unity. I endorse all that Mr. Crum has just said, and I think I can confidently assure the Council that nothing will be wanting on the part of the non-official European community to give reality and success to the far-reaching principles and intentions of the Reforms which have just been passed."

2-48 P.M. **The Hon'ble Raja of Kanika:**—"My Lord, I rise to give my most loyal and cordial support to the Resolution. The momentous Proclamation recently issued by His Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor of India has come to us as a new Charter of our rights and all India is deeply grateful for it. The deep and earnest sentiments of affection and the highest statesmanship which run through every line of the Proclamation could not fail to appeal to the hearts of the Indian people, and we, as members of this Council, would be failing in our duty if we did not take the earliest opportunity to record our sense of dutiful homage and loyal devotion to His Imperial Majesty for His gracious Proclamation. The felicitous language, my Lord, in which the Proclamation is couched is such as only a King could write, and the unique occasion of the Proclamation which marks a new epoch in the history of India has been most fittingly crowned by His Majesty's gracious Proclamation.

"My Lord, His Majesty, by his Proclamation has just made history and a very glorious chapter of Indian History has just now been ushered in. God grant that the earnest hopes expressed by His Majesty in the Proclamation might be realised in full so that the future history of India may be nobly written. A new epoch has just been reached in the Government of India for which let me add, all India is deeply grateful to your Excellency for the considerable share you had in formulating the new policy and in carrying it through. The new Government of India Act is, as His Majesty rightly points out, one of the greatest historic measures passed by the British Parliament. The Reform Act represents the first distinct and definite stage towards the progressive realisation of responsible government in India, and in the conception of this noble measure of government His Majesty had a very great share. It is therefore only meet and proper that this Council should convey to His Majesty its profound homage and its sense of deep and loyal gratitude for the Royal Proclamation of the 23rd December, 1919, which brings into existence a new era in the history of British rule in India by inaugurating the early stages of responsible government in the country.

RESOLUTION *BE* HIS MAJESTY'S PROCLAMATION 623
ON REFORMS.

[30TH JANUARY, 1920.] [*Raja of Kanika ; Saiyed Nawab Ali Chaudhri ;
Sir William Marris.*]

“ ‘ Ever since the welfare of India ’ His Majesty said ‘ was confided to us, it has been held as a sacred trust by our Royal House and Line.’ All India will rise up, my Lord, to testify that that trust His Majesty has discharged in full, and has done even much more than that. The political amnesty which His Majesty has been pleased to grant, the message which His Majesty has been pleased to send to announce the impending visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to this country in order to inaugurate the Reforms, the establishment of a Chamber of Princes to promote the common interests of British India and the Native States, and lastly, the Royal invitation to a new era of confidence, co-operation and mutual respect between the Government and the people of India are some of the essential features of His Majesty’s gracious proclamation. Clemency, sympathy and Royal confidence in the people are the most prominent traits in the Proclamation. My Lord, India had even before abundant proofs of the sympathy of our Royal House for India. The words of His Majesty more than eight years ago in reply to the loyal address of the Calcutta University are still ringing in our ears. ‘ Six years ago,’ said His Majesty, ‘ I sent to you from England a message of sympathy. To-day in India I give to India the watchword of Hope ’.

“ In less than a decade from that date, His Majesty has himself by His Royal assent to the Government of India Act, sent to India the first instalment of a concrete realisation of India’s hopes and aspirations. We had been waiting these eight years for the realisation of our hopes, and now our hour of triumph has come. Our hopes have been crowned and they have been rightly crowned by a King. The faith that is in us has now been vindicated and India has now taken her proper place in the British Empire.

“ My Lord, on behalf of the landholders of Bihar and Orissa I cordially support the Resolution.”

The Hon’ble Saiyed Nāwab Ali Chaudhri:—“ On behalf of 2-53 P.M.
the Muhammadans of Bengal I cordially support the Resolution.”

The Hon’ble Sir William Marris:—“ My Lord, it is apparent 2-53 P.M.
from the discussion that the Resolution which the Hon’ble Member has put forward and which has been supported by the Hon’ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjea in a speech of such moving eloquence, expresses feelings which every member of the Council, official as well as non-official, will share. It tenders, in the first place, due homage and loyal devotion to His Majesty the King-Emperor, which, if I may venture to say so with deference to the Hon’ble Mover, is on an occasion like this as real and sincere a thing on the lips of every official member of this Council as it is in the mouths of those for whom he spoke himself. The Resolution goes on to convey our humble thanks for the Royal Proclamation concerning the reforms, and for what another Hon’ble Member has rightly called the gracious and inspiring message embodied in it. It is, therefore, my Lord, a recommendation to Council which your Excellency’s Government entirely welcome, and have no hesitation in accepting ; and if I may say so it seems of the best augury that this discussion should have produced the very definite and unmistakeable offer of co-operation expressed by the Hon’ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjea and the spontaneous and speedy acceptance of that offer by the two representatives in this Council of the British Commercial community.

“ Therefore, my Lord, I am in the fortunate position of having no material to-day of a controversial nature to deal with. But although no breath of controversy has ruffled the discussion, the occasion on which the elected representatives in this Council take the first opportunity of expressing their gratitude for the reforms is an occasion the importance of which justifies and indeed requires that any one speaking on behalf of Government should do more than merely give utterance to a bare and curt formula of acceptance. For the Government of India too have their share in the satisfaction that has been expressed to-day. The Royal Proclamation marks, not indeed the attainment of the goal, but a perfectly definite stage in long and strenuous process. As His Majesty has himself

[*Sir William Morris.*] [30TH JANUARY, 1920.]

reminded us, that process began 150 years ago with the Regulating Act; but in a very definite sense it entered upon a new and nearer stage nearly four years ago when your Excellency assumed office. It was your Lordship who gave a new seriousness and a new precision to this question, and it was the deliberations of your Excellency's Government in the year 1916 that laid the foundation upon which the new structure has been built. I need not, my Lord, review all the various stages of the building, nor recall and assess the part played in it by the various architects and masons who have from time to time been called in, some of them from afar afield. But at a time like this, when Council is expressing its gratitude and satisfaction at the prospect of speedily being merged in a newer and ampler constitution, it is no more than right and just that member after member should have risen to-day to recognise the part which the President of this Council has personally taken in the work, to remember, apart from anything else, how much the reforms owes their inception and their first strong impulse to the President of this Council.

" My Lord, critics who have encountered the new constitution in its later stages cannot be altogether expected to realise the labours that have gone to its making. The problem before the Government of this country was, so far as I know—and nothing that I have heard or read has convinced me to the contrary—unprecedented in political history. There was no practical experience to guide the makers of the new constitution. They could, therefore, only follow the lines which they believed would secure the two distinct and equally necessary elements for which they were looking in their work—the permanence and security of the official system, for such period and to such extent as would enable the new material to form and harden and acquire the strength to carry the new weight imposed upon it, consistently at the same time with the freest and most generous opening of the door, within wide and at the same time definite limits, to the principle of responsibility. These were the dual aims before the builders; and now we have the verdict of Parliament given to the effect that no better scheme than theirs could have been devised.

" There remain, my Lord, complexities which are natural to a scheme which seeks to do so much, and these have given many people thought; and if I may venture to say so, it is at this point that His Majesty's Royal message conveys to all concerned a wise and timely message of caution and encouragement. It tells us in effect that the King-Emperor looks to us to make this new constitution a success by our joint efforts, and by our joint determination that it shall succeed. And after so much that has been said by non-official members to explain their attitude towards the reforms, I think the Council will perhaps expect me to say a word as to the spirit in which the officials approach the same task. So far as the Government of India is concerned, your Excellency has already made that clear. On the earliest possible occasion a message was sent that the Government of India were heartily glad that a decision had been reached and were absolutely ready to carry out loyalty the decision of Parliament. As regards the services as a whole, it seems to me that their attitude was put graphically and accurately by an official speaker the other day in another place, who said that the position of the official on the eve of this new development was that of a man who heard a rustling in the brush-wood about him and listened with expectancy to see what would come out, and whether it was a friend or foe who would emerge.

" Well, my Lord, after the re-assuring speeches we have heard from Mr. Banerjea and other non-officials, I do not think we need feel too much apprehension. They have promised us that the emerging figure shall be that of a friend. Nor, my Lord, are such doubts and anxieties as have been present in men's minds lately been all upon the one side. I have had evidence personally in the course of the last few weeks that thoughtful Indian gentlemen also are beginning to conjecture in advance something of the difficulties and responsibilities of Government, and to realise what it means to be called upon to weigh conflicting reasons, and to take difficult decisions, and to stand up to the criticism that inevitably follows in such cases. Well, it is good that that should be so, and that none of us should go into this great adventure too confidently or with too complete assurance, for it is going to make

RESOLUTION *RE* HIS MAJESTY'S PROCLAMATION 625
ON REFORMS.

[30TH JANUARY, 1920.] [*Sir William Marris; Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma.*]

demands on all of us, and we have to see that we can rise to the occasion. The present Resolution, naturally enough, has been formulated by the Hon'ble Mover in a way that lays stress upon one special element in the situation, namely, the obligation laid upon the public services; but it is clear, I take it, from the fact that the Hon'ble Member read to us paragraph 5 of the Royal Proclamation that he attaches no particular significance to the way in which his Resolution is expressed; and that, though he has formally dwelt upon the future policy enjoined on His Majesty's officers, he has no intention of disregarding the other and equally important element of the situation. I am glad that he has made that clear that other non-official members have addressed themselves to the same point. For of course the two elements are there: and as to their relative importance I have no doubt as to what the considered judgment of the future historian will be. One speaker referred to the verdict that will be passed ten years hence: I do not know, my Lord, whether it will be then or later. But whenever it is that the cool constitutional historian, sympathetic but detached,—the Freeman, or a Bryce or Stubbs at some later day sits down to deliver judgment upon the development and working of this new constitution, I do not think that there is much doubt to which of the two elements in the scheme he will attach the greater importance. It will not be to the gradually receding principle of officialism, to what is occasionally called bureaucracy, and what ought to be called the administration of this country by agents under the control and guidance of Parliament; it will be to the new principle of growing responsibility judged both by its wider ideals and purposes, but also by the transformation of these into practical everyday decisions upon the hard facts of life. It is on this element of the new scheme that the future historical critic will mainly pronounce his verdict. Therefore, I think, it is of importance that Hon'ble Members should make it clear, as indeed they have done, that, in spite of the formula chosen by the Hon'ble Mover for his Resolution, they are by no means turning a blind eye to one of the two signals that have been flown to us from the Royal Flagship.

“After all, my Lord, we can none of us add to or detract from His Imperial Majesty's words. We both have a serious and difficult part to play, and our business is to go into it believing that we shall succeed. We stand at the threshold of a great undertaking, and the best way in which we can prepare ourselves to lay hands to it, is to search out our own hearts and resolve earnestly that so far as lies in us it shall not fail.”

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma:—“My Lord, we are 3.8 P.M.
grateful to the Hon'ble Sir William Marris for the assurance he has given us on behalf of the officials. I am glad that Mr. Sinha has given us an opportunity of expressing to His Majesty our feelings of loyal devotion and an assurance on behalf of the people and the officials that mutual co-operation and good-will would be forthcoming in launching the new Scheme of Reforms and in trying to make it a success. We are prepared to let by-gones be by-gones as far as may be, and we shall try to realise the necessity for practising the precepts which have been set out so graciously in the Proclamation for our guidance. If in this country we had parties and party leaders it would not have been necessary to make more than one or two speeches, but under the present circumstances every presidency, every community, is expected to voice its feelings, to say what it understands to be the underlying spirit of this Proclamation, in order that the message may go forth to the throne, a united message from officials and non-officials alike of promise of good-will, unity and harmony. It is for this reason that I crave your indulgence when I speak for a few minutes on behalf of Madras and on behalf of the Andhra community. I associate myself heartily with the Resolution and why do I do so? Because for the first time has been laid down the principle that the people of India have a right to direct their own affairs and to safeguard their own interests. That is the noble message of this Proclamation, and it has been for the first time recognised by Statute as well as by Royal Proclamation. We have now an authoritative exposition of what the King understands by the Reform

626 RESOLUTION RE HIS MAJESTY'S PROCLAMATION
ON REFORMS.

[*Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma ; Dr. Tej Bahadur Saprū.* [30TH JANUARY, 1920.]

Act which has been placed on the Statute-book; we have an authoritative exposition of the principles underlying the British Parliament's attitude towards and relations with India. We have read the Royal assurance that the Act is meant to confer upon the people as a first step a definite share in the government of this country. Whatever the critics of the Act may tell me, I shall tell them that any other interpretation conflicting with the devolution of a definite power would be wrong, unmeaning and *ultra vires* and that the bright future of the enjoying of the benefits of full responsible government is assured to us. We are grateful for the assurance that India's security against foreign aggression will be a matter of Imperial concern and pride. We appreciate fully the spirit of that passage, the underlying meaning of it and we may assure His Majesty that India will be equally forward in considering that the safety of the British Empire will be the foremost concern of the Indian people also. There is one other matter to which I desire to allude. We are grateful that a machinery has been set up by which the Indian Native States and the British Empire in India can work together in the consideration of questions of common concern. It is in that light that we the people of India welcome the formation of the Chamber of Princes. Now, my Lord, after what has been said here, it is unnecessary on my part to assure His Majesty that when the Prince of Wales sets his foot on India's soil, from every part of the country there will go forth to him a welcome unparalleled in its past history, a welcome not less sincere and not less grateful than was or may be accorded to him by any other Dominion in the British Empire. Something has been said in the course of this debate with regard to the Reform Act. I would ask your Excellency and the Government of India to bear with the people if in the midst of turmoil and trouble and in the absence of full information they are unable to appreciate fully the share of your Excellency and the Government in the passing of the Reform Act. I am sure that when the days of controversy are over satisfactory rules are framed and the machinery is in full working order, India will be in a position to accord to your Excellency and the Government their due share, their due meed of praise in placing this reform measure of legislation on the Statute-book. Meanwhile, let me express my firm conviction that but for the attitude taken up by the Government of India and you, my Lord, in particular, the Reform Act of 1919 would not have come about for sometime to come, in whatever shape it may have emerged then, I therefore whole-heartedly associate myself with the Resolution."

3-14 P.M.

The Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Saprū :—"My Lord, I desire to thank my Hon'ble friend Mr. Sinha for having given this Council an opportunity of expressing their thanks on such a momentous question as this. I contend that Mr. Sinha never intended to minimise the importance or significance of the Royal Proclamation, by committing any reference to the amnesty or the other important features. Knowing Mr. Sinha as I do, I know that his object was to lay particular stress upon one or two items, I hope I am not misquoting him, that he intended to devote his attention to the more prominent features of the Proclamation. There is no doubt that every member of this Council, every politician in this country has been speaking of this Proclamation as a State document of the highest possible importance. This is not for the first time in the British rule in India that the King has chosen to address the people. We well remember the Proclamation of the year 1858 which has been always associated and will continue to be associated with the honoured name of Queen Victoria. That message was given to the people of this country after they had emerged from a terrible struggle. Now, my Lord, the message which has now been sent to the people of this country comes at a supreme moment in our history. We all know that during the last three or four years we have been passing through a phase of agitation which has been characterised as being sometimes bitter and disingenuous. Now it is at a juncture like this that the Royal word has been uttered. My Lord, I should think, if you consider the inherited tendencies of the people of this country, you will find that for one man who

[30TH JANUARY, 1920.] [*Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru.*]

talks of the Government of India Act of 1833 or of 1858, there are 99 men who still talk of the Proclamation of 1858. Similarly, it seems to me that twenty-five years hence, while the average man will not be able at once to point to the year when the recent Reform Act was passed by Parliament, every man will be able to point back with pride and gratification to the Proclamation which has been issued recently by His Majesty the King. The thread of devotion and loyalty to the Crown has always been running right through our history, and it seems to me that whoever was responsible for making this suggestion, he must be congratulated, for the Royal Proclamation seems to me to be a stroke of genius. You may find fault with the Reform Act. It may be that there are some politicians in this country to whom the Reform Act is what the red rag is to the bull. It may be that the Reform Act is disappointing, unsatisfactory or unacceptable, you may find fault with the Act, but, my Lord, I have yet to know whether there is a single individual among the 315 millions of the people of this country who will venture to treat the Royal Proclamation in the spirit in which it is possible to treat the Act, even though it may happen to have been passed by Parliament. It is on these grounds that I particularly welcome the Royal Proclamation, for let us not forget as one very great constitutional writer has said that 'it is the happiness and glory of British Constitution that the Crown stands above and beyond foreign politics.' Therefore, the principle of self-government has now been conceded not merely by an Act of Parliament, but also by the Royal word, and the Sovereign's word stands applied to it, and howsoever democratic we may be now, howsoever democratic we may be in future, we cannot get over our faith, our implicit faith, in the sanctity of the Royal word. It is for that reason that I, as an Indian, attach particular importance to this Royal Proclamation.

"Now, my Lord, I do not wish to enter into any discussion of the merits or demerits of the Reform Act. So far as I am concerned, every one knows that I have been a strong supporter of the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme and also a strong supporter of the Bill as it has been passed by Parliament. I think, therefore, it would be perfectly useless for me to refer to that. I will only content myself by saying to those who think that the Reform Act is disappointing, that although it may not give us everything that they wanted or we wanted, yet it gives us a substantial measure of self-government in the living present, and a very earnest promise and pledge of the remainder to follow in course of time. My Lord, if I may be permitted to say so, it took us nearly thirty years to formulate our political ideal. For twenty-five years what were we doing? We wanted individual reforms in the administration of the country, or we wanted the introduction and expansion of representative institutions in the country, but it was during the period of the war that the national ambition and aspiration of the country found a concrete expression in the demand for responsible self-government for the country. That demand has been most authoritatively met not merely by the famous announcement of 20th August 1917, not merely by the Act of Parliament, but also by the Royal word of the Sovereign to which we Indians attach so much importance. It may be that we are not still in the promised land, but we are very near it, at any rate. That is my belief and that is my faith, and we may not have to wait as long as some people think before we actually enter the promised land. But, meanwhile, my Lord, I am not one of those who believe that once the Statute has been passed or the Proclamation has been issued our difficulties are over. Personally, I am one of those who think that we are at the commencement of our difficulties now. So far, we, the educated classes in this country, have been indulging in criticism, I believe honest criticism, of the bureaucracy in this country. But now the time has come when we must be prepared to share the criticism with the bureaucracy, and those of us who thought that if we were in power we could have ushered into existence the millenium in no time when a sun-dried bureaucrat had failed in spite of his efforts, will now realise the seriousness of the situation when they are face to face with concrete problems of administration. This does not mean that I am hopeless or that I have not faith in the capacity of my countrymen. My Lord, if this

[*Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru ; Mr. K. V. Rangaswami* [20TH JANUARY, 1920.]
Ayyangar.]

country has produced during the last thirty years men like the late Mr. Justice Ranade, like one of the most distinguished members of this Council—I refer to the late Mr. Gokhale, if this country has produced men like Lord Sinha of whom we are genuinely proud, I see no reason to despair that the future has in store for us men of the same type and probably with greater and higher ideals. But, my Lord, I also realise fully the significance of the message which His Majesty has been pleased to send out to us, and I do not think that it is possible for any one of us, speaking on an occasion like this, to light-heartedly treat that word 'co-operation'. Well, as my friend Mr. Sinha said, 'co-operation' was a word frequently used before the Reform Act was passed and before the Royal Proclamation was issued. But I believe with my friend Mr. Sinha that in the past 'co-operation' did not bear the same meaning to the non-official mind as it did to the official mind. What we want now is real, genuine and honest co-operation between one section of the community and another, between the officials and non-officials. We have had this afternoon an illustration of the spirit which is now going to permeate this country. The Hon'ble Mr. Crum and the Hon'ble Mr. Paton, representing their communities, have extended to us the hand of good fellowship, and let me assure them on behalf of the Indian community that they will not find us wanting or slow in grasping their hand, for although my claim to be a nationalist may be contested in certain quarters, I do believe, my Lord, that the basis of true nationalism in this country must be the recognition of the fact that the India of the future is not going to be the India of the Hindu or the India of the Muhammedan or of the European, but the India of all of them taken together. Now, my Lord, it is in that sense that I should like to approach the whole question of co-operation. Co-operation, however, does not mean that all criticism should be stifled. Probably criticism will be there and will be keener in future, but it is the underlying spirit which matters; it is not the criticism really which so much matters; we may criticise to destroy, we may criticise to construct, but it all depends upon how and in what spirit we criticise. Therefore, my Lord, we have no doubt that the sentiments which have been expressed this afternoon are very encouraging. It has been said with regard to the Civil Service, 'Oh, well, but the Civil Service is not going to co-operate with us.' My Lord, if I may be permitted to say so, when I was working on the Reforms Committee, I happened to be associated with three or four sun-dried civilians. We started with a great deal of suspicion against each of them in the beginning. But, my Lord, as month passed after month, I began to realise that the civilian was after all not so bad, and probably he began to realise that the so-called Indian agitator was not so foolish or so dangerous as he had been supposed to be, and in the end what did we find? We found that there was a free, honest exchange of views between one member and another, and although it is not true to say that we were agreed on all possible questions, yet, whenever we disagreed, we thought it was possible that there might be something in the opposite view. My Lord, it is because we have kept aloof from each other so far that we have been in the habit of misunderstanding each other. My Lord, I venture to think that when we come near each other and when we begin to work with each other, we shall find that a new spirit will pervade the entire administration, and that the civilian will consider it as much his pride and privilege to render an account of his conduct to the electorate in this country, and it will be our pride and privilege to render a true and faithful account to the electorate. But after all if responsible government has any true meaning about it, it will not be the government of any oligarchy, howsoever able or distinguished it might be, but it must be the government of the people at large, and I believe that it will be recognised on all hands that the true test of our success will be to what extent we are able to give satisfaction to the people whose interests will be in our charge and to what extent we earn their good-will. On these grounds, my Lord, I strongly support the Resolution of my friend Mr. Sinha."

RESOLUTION *RE* HIS MAJESTY'S PROCLAMATION 629
ON REFORMS.

30TH JANUARY, 1920.] [*Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Ayyangar.*]

Madras Presidency, I heartily join in tendering grateful thanks to His Imperial Majesty. His Majesty's gracious words, pregnant with genuine solicitude for the hapless people of India, have come not a moment too soon as a balm for the afflicted hearts. The House of the late Queen of revered memory has always shown generous affection and consideration for the Princes and peoples of India, and His present Majesty has maintained the traditions of his House in a manner which will entitle him to the gratitude of posterity in no ordinary measure.

"We have noted with grateful satisfaction the instantaneous change consequent upon the Royal Proclamation, in the surcharged atmosphere of the country which has reassured us that we are not left in the lurch. For some years past there was growing a feeling in India which was akin to unredeemed pessimism, and each was saying to the other 'Is our poor country beneath Royal notice? Is this a no-man's land?' It is a fact subject to no doubt that in a country, bereft of the fostering care of the King, the happiness of the people is nobody's special concern. However, we are now rejoiced to discover that we are not a forlorn people.

"The love effect of the Proclamation can be appraised only by comparing the general state of the country immediately before and after its publication. Who can fail to recall the dark pessimism of the people, which was turned, as if by a magic wand, to a revival of hope, dignified cheerfulness, and gratitude. The Proclamation came like gentle rain from heaven to slake the thirst of parched up fields to make the seedling shoot up and look upwards instead of being downcast.

"Let me not dwell on the dismal chapter of events preceding the Royal Proclamation. I have adverted to it with the object of emphasising the effect of His Imperial Majesty's gracious action. It undoubtedly is the dawn of a new, and let us devoutly hope, a happy Era.

"Your Excellency has, in the universal demonstrations of grateful rejoicings in the country, a sure proof that we, Indians, who have been described as irreconcilables are not wholly so. We have not abandoned our genuinely oriental traits; a modest display of kindness and the conferment of insignificant favours can bow us with a load of gratitude. We seem truculent, when despair goads us into sullenness, but really we are a great deal more susceptible to kindness than most people not fully familiar with us can imagine. But I am sure your Excellency has no longer any doubt that nothing is easier than satisfying the Indian politician and his followers. Many have attempted to probe into the psychology of the Indian temperament for the universal rejoicings, but I may be permitted to observe that we are not like creditors of an insolvent firm who are satisfied with one anna in the rupee, and it would also be unkind to conclude that the spirit of the village Bazarman of over-rating wares and demanding a big price with the object of successful huckstering permeates the Indian politicians and that they always overstate their case. Our irreducible minimum remains unaffected. We reiterate the demand formulated by the nineteen members of this Council as our demand has all the moral sanction on its side, and we feel that it cannot be legitimately withheld. But now we have ample reasons for our present attitude feeling highly grateful to our Sovereign for our status has been recognised, and the goal of British policy has been announced, for which our thanks are due to your Excellency and we are made to feel that we are no longer a forlorn people. More than all, the gracious grant of clemency to political offenders has given us a genuine outburst of joy. But I have to say that the exercise of Royal clemency must be on a Royal scale to satisfy the hopes raised by the Proclamation. Let the land overflow with gratitude, and let all bitterness be submerged in kindness. It is a golden opportunity for statesmanship to sweep off all political blunders and misunderstandings with a view to let the new Era be a reality and not a mere phrase. Various parts of India are still agitated over certain people's detention whose release must be a definite source of pacification.

"My Lord, it is a matter of profound satisfaction to us all to find that the Punjab happenings of April last have at last engaged the attention of the

[*Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Ayyangar*; *Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha*] [30TH JANUARY, 1920.]

British public. My Hon'ble friend Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea has taken the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha to task for not including certain items, and I have to blame him for not thanking the British public and the British press for ventilating the Punjab occurrences and for showing a great solicitude in our welfare. It is a matter which has strengthened our faith in British fairness and justice, and has saved us from what threatened to be a disappointment. We can now hope to see justice done in due course.

"The Proclamation has not merely served to strengthen the bonds between Great Britain and India, but has deepened the people's affection for the Sovereign. Staunch loyalty to the Crown is an inherited virtue of the oriental, and is so deeply ingrained in his nature that Indians are shocked at the behaviour of our late enemies to sign away the sacredness of their Emperor's person. Our affection to the person of the Sovereign is never of this time-serving type and is characteristic of the mighty nation.

"Coming to the question of co-operation, I feel that it is our duty to obey His Majesty's injunction loyally to its fullest extent without allowing the plastic rules of interpretation to alter the spirit of the King's pronouncement.

"His Imperial Majesty has offered us all another opportunity to retrieve all past errors and to begin the work of Indian re-generation in a spirit of cordial co-operation, and I have no hesitation in saying that whosoever, whether an official or otherwise, is guilty of disrespect to the Royal word is guilty of a very grave infraction, little short of treason. Let us all join in promoting reciprocal amity and good-will for the benefit of India which feeds and maintains us and to which we owe an inviolable duty."

8-39 P.M.

The Hon'ble Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha:—"My Lord, I think I have every reason to congratulate myself on the trend of the discussion on the Resolution I have had the honour to move to-day. Barring a few trifling criticisms, the tone of the debate has been in approval of the lines on which I placed the Resolution before this Council. I shall, therefore, be very brief in these my final observations. My thanks are particularly due to the Hon'ble Sir William Marris, who spoke on behalf of your Lordship's Government, for the view he took alike of the Resolution and the speech I made in explaining it. He was certainly right in thinking that my intention in reading the whole of paragraph 5 of His Majesty's Proclamation was to show that the responsibility created was not at all one-sided. I certainly accept the position that the responsibility cast upon non-official Indians is now as much, if not greater, than that on the officials, and I am grateful to Sir William for taking that sympathetic and correct view in regard to my submissions on this particular point.

"Next, I desire to thank my esteemed colleagues the Hon'ble Mr. Crum and the Hon'ble Mr. Paton for the assurance they have given, that whatever their attitude may have been in the past towards Indian reforms and Indian problems, whatever their view of the Government of India Act when it was a Bill, now that the measure has received the Royal assent, they, as the representatives of the most influential section of the British non-officials in the country, will do all that lies in their power to make the Act a success by co-operating with the Indians, as His Majesty expects them to do. This assurance, my Lord, will certainly go a long way towards improving matters, and in the light of it we are prepared to forgive our Indo-British fellow-subjects for their regrettable attitude in the past in keeping themselves aloof from Indian public affairs.

"I have now a word to say about the criticisms which have been made upon my Resolution by my esteemed friend and leader, the Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea. I think—if I may say so—that the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjea was a trifle hypercritical in the attitude he adopted towards my Resolution. But I make no grievance of that. I have sat at his feet for the last thirty years, and it is his privilege as my political *guru* to take me to task for my real or alleged omissions. I find, however, that

RESOLUTION *RE* HIS MAJESTY'S PROCLAMATION 631
ON REFORMS.

[30TH JANUARY, 1920] [Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha; Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea.]

the Hon'ble Mr. Rangaswami Ayyangar also has found fault with me for my alleged omission in not having complimented the British press on its attitude in exposing matters connected with the Punjab embroglio. Well, then, all I can say is that when the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjea and the Hon'ble Mr. Ayyangar see eye to eye on any particular question,—even on my omissions—there is hope for Mother India.

“Coming specifically to Mr. Banerjea's criticisms, I must frankly state that I was guilty of a serious omission in not saying anything in my opening speech in regard to the visit of His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales. My explanation, which I am sure the Council will accept, is this. I had brought with me a cutting of His Royal Highness' speech at the Mansion House to show what a sympathetic interest he was taking in the affairs of this country, and I was going to say that India will accord him a right royal welcome when he comes here. It was only because I found my time was up that I did not refer to the matter. If in your Excellency's discretion any clause on the subject may be added to the Resolution, I shall be the first person to accept it. But in regard to the two other points on which Mr. Banerjea found fault with me, I have, after a careful consideration, to state that I cannot see my way to yield to his contentions on them. The first was about the amnesty. Although as I said, the amnesty is at present a very important matter, yet I did not feel justified in bringing it up as a part of my Resolution, because, after all, it is a matter of ephemeral interest. Mr. Banerjea's other criticism that I did not thank certain gentlemen, including your Excellency, for the part taken by your Excellency and those others in the framing of the Reform Scheme, seems to me even more untenable. I must frankly state that your Excellency being in the chair, it is placing me at some disadvantage by raising personal issues. But I may say at once that it never occurred to me, nor does it occur to me now even after hearing Mr. Banerjea, that I have been guilty of any impropriety in not thanking certain gentlemen.—His Majesty's subjects—when I am bringing up a Resolution thanking His Majesty himself . . .

The Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea:—“My Lord, 3-14 P.M. I rise to a point of order. I did not use the word impropriety. I should be very sorry to use that word in regard to Mr. Sinha's Resolution. I used the word omission, and I think it is an exceedingly mild word to use in connection with any Resolution or statement.”

The Hon'ble Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha:—“The Members of this Council are quite aware of the mildness of Mr. Banerjea's criticism, but after his explanation I make no grievance of it. My submission is that I yield to none in my admiration for the gentlemen who have been instrumental in bringing about the reforms, but I submit that there is a time and place for everything, and it did not and does not strike me that this was the right time to do so. If Mr. Banerjea will care to bring up a Resolution on the subject I shall be as willing as he is to render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's. I do not think I shall be justified in detaining the Council any longer, and with these few observations, I shall ask the Council to accept this Resolution”.

The Resolution was put and adopted.

The Council adjourned to Wednesday, the 4th February 1920, at 11 A.M.

A. P. MUDDIMAN,
Secretary to the Government of India,
Legislative Department.

DELHI: }
The 5th February, 1920. }