

*Tuesday,
10th September, 1918*

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

Vol. LVII

April 1919 - March 1920

ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS
OF
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ASSEMBLED FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING
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April 1919 - March 1920

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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, Viceregal Lodge, Simla, on Tuesday,
the 10th September, 1918.

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 52 Members of whom 48
were Additional Members.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

The Hon'ble Mr. V. J. Patel asked :—

1. "(1) Will Government be pleased to give a list of books, pamphlets, etc., published either in English or in the Vernaculars of the country that have been proscribed since the passing of the Press Act of 1910, and to state :—

List of books
and
pamphlets
proscribed
since the
passing of
the Press
Act, 1910.

- (a) whether it has been the policy of Government to consult any independent body of literary men before arriving at any decision in regard to the proscription of a publication, and, if not, whether Government propose to consider the advisability of setting up such a body in each province ?
- (b) whether any specific reasons for the step taken in the order of proscription were given or communicated either to the authors or publishers of the proscribed publication ?
- (c) whether the passage or passages taken objection to by the Government were sufficiently and clearly identified in the order, and whether any opportunity was given either to the authors or publishers to expunge them totally or to re-write them and publish anew the proscribed publication ?
- (d) in how many cases applications for expunging or re-writing the objectionable passages were granted or rejected ?
- (e) the total value of the proscribed publications destroyed by the Government.

(2) Are Government aware that certain vernacular translations of English books and speeches and writings of eminent persons have been proscribed, whereas the original English books, etc., have free and unrestricted circulation in this country ? If so, will Government be pleased to assign reasons for the course adopted ?

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent replied :—

"The information is being collected and will be laid on the table when complete."

[*Mr. V. J. Patel; Sir George Barnes; Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandi; Major-General A. H. Bingley; Sir William Meyer; Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea.*] [10TH SEPTEMBER, 1918.]

The Hon'ble Mr. V. J. Patel asked :—

Indian
Pearl
Merchants
of Bombay.

2. "(a) Have Government received a memorial dated the 15th June 1918, signed by some of the leading Indian Pearl Merchants of Bombay? If so, what orders have been passed on the said memorial, and have those orders been communicated to the memorialists?

(b) Is there any truth in the rumours (referred to in paragraph 13 of the memorial) that the restrictions imposed on exports of pearls have been relaxed in the case of certain foreign merchants?

If so, will Government be pleased to state the reasons for the relaxation and the names of the firms in whose favour it has been made?"

The Hon'ble Sir George Barnes replied :—

(a) A memorial from the Pearl Merchants' Association of Bombay was received and duly considered by the Government of India. The memorialists were informed in reply on the 28th August 1918 that the Government of India for the reasons stated were not prepared to reconsider their orders.

(b) With reference to the second part of the Hon'ble Member's Question, there is no truth whatever in the rumour referred to."

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

Recruits
raised for
the Indian
Army since
August, 1914.

3. "Will Government be pleased to state the total number of recruits raised for the Indian Army, Province by Province, since August 1914, and what proportion of them have actually been sent out to fight in the different battle-fields of the War?"

The Hon'ble Major-General A. H. Bingley replied :—

"It would be contrary to the public interest to furnish the information asked for."

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

The Gold
Standard
Reserve.

4. "Will Government lay on the table (a) the nature of the investments made in London with the gold standard reserve and (b) the names of the firms, if any, to which moneys out of this reserve have been lent out by the Secretary of State in England in 1915, 1916 and 1917, and the conditions of their investments and their rates of interest?"

The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer replied :—

"(a) A statement* showing the details of the securities held on behalf of the Gold Standard Reserve in London on 31st March 1918 is laid on the table.

(b) The information asked for is not available in India."

The Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea asked :—

Appoint-
ment of
Advisory
Committees
regarding
internment
cases.

5. "(a) Will Government be pleased to state in respect of each Province separately :—

(i) the number of Advisory Committees appointed in connection with cases of internment under the Defence of India Act, and of detention under Regulation III of 1918?

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(ii) the dates of their appointments ?

(iii) the number of cases disposed of by them ?

(iv) the number of cases in which they recommended the release of prisoners, and how many prisoners have been released in consequence ?

(b) Are Advisory Committees authorised to call for fresh evidence in any case in which they deem such evidence to be necessary ? And have they, as a matter of fact, called for such evidence in any case ? ”

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent replied :—

“ We have telegraphed to Local Governments for this information, and when complete it will be laid on the table.”

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya asked :—

6. “ Have Government received any paper or papers which were presented to Parliament, giving a statement of the contributions made to the war in men and money by the Government of India, the Ruling Princes, and the people of India ? Contributions made towards the War by India. ”

If the answer be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to lay the papers on the table ? ”

The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer replied :—

“ Certain papers regarding offers of service, money, etc., made in India in connection with the War, were laid before Parliament in the autumn of 1914. These papers were published in the Gazette of India of the 14th November 1914 (page 1879, *et seq.*). It is not known whether any further papers were subsequently presented to Parliament.

It is intended to publish as soon, as possible after the war, a report completed, as far as is possible, of contributions by India towards the prosecution of the war. Steps have been taken to facilitate the completion of this report on the termination of hostilities.”

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—“ May I ask why such a Report should not be published now ? Why not now ? ”

The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer replied :—“ There are two reasons. In the first place, it could not be complete, and in the second place, perhaps the Hon'ble Member will understand that all the Departments concerned are simply up to the eyes in work in connection with war measures. They cannot set aside that work for the preparation of this Report.”

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya asked :—

7. “ Will Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the total number of (a) Indian combatants, and (b) Indian non-combatants engaged from the beginning of the present War up to the end of July last, and also a statement of the total number of casualties amongst them during the same period ? ” Number of combatants and non-combatants furnished by India.

The Hon'ble Major-General A. H. Bingley replied :—

“ It is not in the public interest to give the information asked for.”

[*The President ; Mr. Ironside.*]

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RESOLUTION *re* FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE IN RESPECT OF THE COST OF THE MILITARY FORCES RAISED, OR TO BE RAISED, IN INDIA—*contd.*

11-3 A.M. **His Excellency the President:**—"We will resume the adjourned debate of yesterday on Sir William Meyer's Resolution."

11-9 A.M. **The Hon'ble Mr. Ironside:**—"Your Excellency, whenever Government require support and approval for proposals involving the safety, honour and welfare of the country and the community, they have always been aware that they can command and count upon the support of the community which I have the honour to represent, and knowing full well that the main burden of the proposals for taxation which the Hon'ble Member presented yesterday will fall, so far as Calcutta and Bengal are concerned, on my community, I can still promise you, my Lord, the same support, absolute and undivided. I wish, however, to make a few observations on the Hon'ble Member's proposals, and I fear that, as they will deal with matters commercial, they are rather apt to be uninteresting to the bulk of Members present here.

"We have always disputed the success of the Hon'ble Member's Budget proposals of the past two years. The super-tax will ever remain a sore point with industrialists and financial people with a true desire for the furtherance of industrial progress on sound economic lines. The present proposal in regard to excess profits in consequence of the Hon'ble Member's hesitation (though this opinion may not be held by all the Members of the Council), to face the music last year, is bound now to create a very serious situation on the Stock Exchanges of Calcutta and Bombay. It is quite possible that some of the Jute Companies, for instance, will be unable during the current half year to pay any dividends at all if the proposals as outlined yesterday are given full effect to. Investors are bound to suffer much inconvenience, presumably we may take it that stock exchange speculators deserve no consideration. But the financial question appertaining to the subject may cause not a little financial inconvenience and trouble.

"I would ask Government, if possible, to broaden the incidence of their taxation proposals. At present you seem to have proceeded along the line of least resistance. It is easy to slaughter the wicked industrialist and merchant to make a holiday.

"We have been accused even of profiteering, and I for one dispute that assertion and I will endeavour before I sit down, to disprove it. Now, one of the proposals I have to make is, can you not also tax those firms who have come to India since the war started where by circumstances which one need not enter into closely but which must be apparent to everybody,—circumstances which have been taken advantage of by these new arrivals, our difficulties of shortage of staff, finance and freight,—I mean those technically British and Foreign firms and others possessing as far as I know no country at all; but they exist in Calcutta and Bombay, and it is my contention that these people have been the real profiteers, people who have made Rs. 5 for every one that the true Indian producer has earned. Surely what is sauce for the British Indian goose is equally applicable to the foreign gander.

"The Jute Companies of which I have some small knowledge have supplied, since the beginning of the war, through His Majesty's and your Excellency's Government, a thousand million and odd jute bags and many hundred million yards of cloth to Government, equal to 30 per cent or a third of the entire output, the prices of which have been controlled by Government and have been worked on the basis of 10 per cent profit over cost of production. I will leave it to my legal friends present here to say whether that can be called

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profiteering. The greater portion of the remainder of the jute production has gone to foreign countries and has been disposed of by the mill agents largely to speculators, and it cannot be brought against the mills if other people like to take the risk and purchase jute cloth 12 and 18 months ahead and capture the market against the consumer. It is not the mills' fault if the consumer has had to pay high prices.

"Coal, with which also I have a sneaking acquaintance, has been controlled from the start to the extent of 80 per cent of its production both as to price and output. I personally have been blamed as a consequence for starving shareholders of their dividends. Perhaps there may be one or two such share-holders here.

"Tea of burning memory to the Hon'ble Member is entirely controlled by His Majesty's Government, and I could enumerate a score of articles. Paper and Steel, Mica and Wool, all of which have helped to make the wheels of the Empire go round. We have filled a niche, I contend, with credit to ourselves and the body politic, and to those, my Lord, who dispute my claim, I can only say that I would not give them the vote:

"We have made large profits in consequence of war conditions, but I will leave a dissection of the War Loan figures to convince the Hon'ble Member that we have played our part, I mean so far as my community are concerned at any rate, and I know also that my Indian Industrial neighbours too have played their part, as British citizens.

"The Reserve Funds built up during the past few years have been in Calcutta practically entirely invested in the War Loan. My Lord, I hesitate to use the word 'practically'. I fear I shall be accused of concealing a fraud by the Hon'ble Member opposite who is such a stickler for judicial finesse, but I cannot express myself in mathematical equations and the Hon'ble Member will forgive me if I limit myself to the English dictionary. The European firms have played their part. I could mention one office who with its ramifications and varied interests has put into the War Loan one-tenth of the total of Calcutta and Bengal. I could name three who collectively have placed a fifth to the credit of the Hon'ble Member. This is not loose surplus money for which we have no other use. The organizations I refer to have placed their entire financial strength at the disposal of Government.

"Let me just refer in passing to those nebulous, nascent industries, a number of which have been started since the war commenced, largely at the behest of Government, poor fledglings scarcely out of the shell, does the Hon'ble Member suggest that these miserable birds should be divested of their plumage before they are able to fly?

"Then there is one more point which I should like to ask the Hon'ble Member. Does he propose to tax the individual in regard to excess profits on the same scale as the company and firm? because, the present super-tax appertains to limited companies and individuals? If the individual is to be charged excess profits, plus super-tax, my Lord, some additional applications will be made to the Government of India for posts at Simla. I think I have placed the position as far as the purely mercantile and industrial organizations are concerned before the Hon'ble Member, and I have done so in no hesitating or carping spirit. We know that we have made money as a consequence of the war, and Government will find us at their back whole-heartedly to do as we are asked as good citizens. I would now appeal to my non-official Indian friends to consider these financial proposals in no spirit of hesitancy, surely rather in one of devout thankfulness to the soldiers and sailors of the Empire and her Allies and to the Almighty for preservation from the horrors and pain which have afflicted so large a portion

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of the world, and which might well in any other circumstances have been the lot of us all in this country."

11-17 A.M.

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur B. D. Shukul:—"My Lord, although I could not be present here in the Council yesterday, yet I have read the speech delivered by the Hon'ble the Finance Member very carefully and, while offering my heartfelt thanks to my Hon'ble friend for the care and solicitude he has evinced for the welfare of the poor in the country, I must confess that the Resolution in its present form does not appeal to me. I wish to make my position clear.

"My Lord, at the very outset, I wish to state that I am in full sympathy with the object of the Resolution, and have no doubt that the country would receive it in the same spirit, provided its scope were defined and specified. I do hope therefore that the Government will see their way to accept the amendment moved by my Hon'ble friend, Mr. Sastri. He asks for nothing more than to embody in the Resolution itself what the Hon'ble mover has thought fit to declare in his statement, with a view to protect and safeguard the interests of those who are least capable of bearing further burdens. I have every confidence in the Hon'ble mover seeing the force and justice of such a step which, if taken, will secure for the Resolution the unanimous support not of this Council alone but of the country at large.

"The Resolution, if accepted in its present form, will, I am afraid, be regarded by the people as placing the whole country under obligations, which it might not be possible for it to discharge. After all, my Lord, India's fate is that of a poor man, though an obliging man. His ambitions are high and spirit generous, but the coffers are empty. Ever since the commencement of the war India has been heart and soul with England. She has done what she could to help her in her hour of need, and she only wishes that she had more, and could be of greater assistance to the country with whom her future destinies are so indissolubly linked. My Lord, it is certainly to the credit of the Hon'ble mover that, so far as the present year is concerned, the additional expenditure amounting to Rs. 12·7 millions could be borne out of the existing revenues and one should be but too willing to accept the suggestion. For the succeeding year also, my Lord, I am confident that none could take any objection to the extra expenditure out of the tax on war-profits. But the matter for serious consideration comes in when the question of imposing an additional burden has to be considered. India is an agricultural country, and we will have to be very careful that no additional burden is imposed upon the agricultural classes, whose poverty is proverbial and 'the enormous masses of whom' as your Lordship has already observed in that memorable document, the Report on the Indian Constitutional Reforms, 'have but little to spare for more than the necessaries of life,' and with regard to whom it is recognised that 'there is still no great margin of taxable capacity.' If I have to oppose the Resolution as it stands, it is in the interest of these dumb millions, the poverty-stricken classes, with whose conditions, I frankly acknowledge, your Lordship as well as the Hon'ble mover are already in full sympathy. For these reasons, my Lord, it is highly desirable that the amendment be accepted so that there should be no disappointment or uneasiness felt in the country, rather the decision of the Council may be received by the people in a spirit of intense devotion and unswerving loyalty."

11-40 A.M.

The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer:—"May I just explain, my Lord, to help the discussion that, so far as the Government are concerned, there is not the slightest objection to the amendment proposed by my Hon'ble friend, Mr. Sastri."

11-41 A.M.

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—"Would your Lordship permit me to move an amendment at this stage, to the effect that

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The President.*]

provided that the total amount of such additional cost shall be regarded by His Majesty's Government as a part of the contribution of £100 million which we promised last year to England."

His Excellency the President :—" I think the Hon'ble Member must see that any amendment of that sort is a direct negative and would be regarded as such by the Government of India."

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—" My Lord, as I submitted yesterday, the Resolution moved by the Hon'ble the Finance Member virtually amounts to a Money Bill, and I therefore asked that the Rules of Business of this Council might be suspended in order that the Resolution might be fully and fairly dealt with. I must express my regret that the suggestion did not commend itself to your Lordship. The course adopted by the Government has placed us in a difficult position. The Hon'ble the Finance Member has moved the Resolution in a long speech which lasted nearly an hour, and which raised important issues, which would commit the country to a fresh expenditure of £45 million, and in a general way to proposals for taxation by which that amount is to be raised in the future, and we are asked to form and express our opinions on those issues. I submit, my Lord, that as is done in the case of the annual Financial Statement a week's interval should have been allowed after the Statement was made by the Finance Member, to enable the Members and the public to digest it and to suggest such amendments as they might think fit. As matters stand, without meaning any disrespect to any one, I venture to doubt if some of my colleagues who have so readily given their support to the proposal have weighed fully all that it means, whether they have, weighed for instance, the propriety of that part of it which would saddle India with £11½ million on account of 'extraordinary' pension charges not merely of Indian troops and followers, but of British officers of the Indian Army, and the 'service share' of similar charges relating to British troops including those who belonged to the Indian establishment at the outbreak of the war, and those who have at some previous time served in India. As the Hon'ble Member stated, at present 'with regard to British troops belonging to the Indian establishment, the position is that Indian revenues have no liability for the 'extraordinary' pensionary charges arising out of the war.' But he evidently was not troubled by any doubt in arriving at the conclusion and proposing 'that, in the present circumstances, we might offer to bear these extraordinary pension charges,' also. I doubt, however, if any Indian Member would have equally easily assented to this part of the proposal if he had had time to consider it.

" Now, my Lord, coming to the subject-matter of the Resolution, we have been reminded by the Hon'ble the Finance Member that your Lordship said at the Delhi Conference as follows :—" Now I am very jealous of the position of the Imperial Legislative Council. The question of finance is essentially one in which we have to consult and carry with us the Members of our Imperial Legislative Council,' and your Lordship said you would later on 'consider in consultation with the Legislative Council, for this is a matter essentially in its sphere, how far it will be feasible for India to increase the direct financial contribution she has already made to His Majesty's Government, or in what other way she can assist financially.' From these remarks of your Excellency one should have expected that your Government would have consulted us, Members of the Legislative Council, in camera before shaping your proposal and deciding to publish it to the world and to put it formally before the Council in the manner it has been put. When the Government decided to do as they have done, they should have taken the responsibility of carrying their proposal in the ordinary way with the votes of the official majority of this Council. But the Government have adopted an unusual course. While you have given us no voice in determining upon the proposal, you have decided to leave the respon-

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sibility of accepting or rejecting it upon us non-official Members of the Council. And at the very commencement of his speech the Finance Member hurled at us what cannot, in the unhappy position in which we are placed, be regarded as a mere *brutum fulmen*, that if the bulk of us should not be able to support the Resolution, the Resolution will be withdrawn and on us will rest the responsibility for withholding the further aid which the Government of India desire to tender to His Majesty's Government at this crisis of the war. He concluded his speech by again reminding us that the responsibility for rejecting the course which, after full consideration, the Government have proposed, will fall on the non-official Members of this Council. I wonder, my Lord, if any disinterested person will regard this as a fair way of consulting and carrying the non-official Members of this Council with the Government. By adopting the procedure your Government have adopted, you have placed us in a position of great disadvantage. We must either swallow the proposal and become responsible for a large additional burden and fresh taxation being imposed upon the country, or we must expose ourselves to the risk of our opponents, and unfortunately they are neither few nor unimportant, making political capital in England by saying that Indian representatives had withheld the further aid which the Government of India desired to tender to His Majesty's Government at this crisis. He will be a bold man who will say that the vote of the non-official Members on the Resolution will, in these circumstances, be an altogether free vote. I yet hope, however, that my colleagues will try to act according to the dictates of the small voice within, which after all is the last anchor that holds.

"Now, my Lord, it should hardly be necessary for me to reiterate my deep and respectful sympathy with England in her present position. I fully recognise that the prolongation of the war inflicts an increasingly heavy burden upon her. It is a matter of sincere satisfaction to us that India has been able to help to the extent she has done. I hope it will be acknowledged by all reasonable men that she has helped ungrudgingly all these four years in men, money and material. I will not take up the time of the Council by attempting to recount what she has contributed. But the help we can give must be limited by our means, and by a consideration of what our duty to our own people, whom we are here to represent, permits; in other words, it must be limited to what we can spare and reasonably bear. The Hon'ble the Finance Member has told us that the Government have decided to leave the decision of this question to us non-official Members, on behalf of the much larger public in India to whom they desire to appeal. We are therefore not to express our opinions here as private individuals, but as representatives of the people, and we must, in forming that opinion, bear in mind how the proposal which the Government have put forward will affect the people at large. In considering this, my Lord, let me briefly refer to the history of our contributions during the last four years. Speaking two years ago of those contributions, our late Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, said that India had been 'bled white'

The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer :—" May I ask the Hon'ble Member to cite the passage in which Lord Hardinge said that India had been bled white ?"

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—" I have not got it here, but I will give it to the Hon'ble Member later on. "

The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer :—" I put it to the Hon'ble Member that what Lord Hardinge said was bled white of troops and war material."

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The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—“ If that is so, my Lord, I thank the Hon'ble Member for correcting me. Summing up our contributions in 1916, the Hon'ble the Finance Member explained why India could not contribute more. He said : ‘ we have also to remember that the termination of this war, when it comes, will leave us with heavy financial demands on us, and that the experiences and lessons of the war must also add in some directions to our permanent military charges.’ He also reminded the Council that ‘ we should be in a position, when peace returns, or as soon after as may be, to provide further funds for such beneficent purposes as the improvement of education and sanitation.’ Notwithstanding all this, it was proposed in 1917 that India should make a direct money contribution to the war. It is an open secret that the Government of India first fought hard against the idea, and that they eventually agreed after much correspondence and discussion to offer a gift to England. The public does not know what exactly passed between the Government of India and the India Office, but there is a strong belief, and it is widespread, that the Government of India wanted to offer a much smaller amount and agreed to give a £100 million only when the Government of England agreed to allow them to abolish the Cotton Excise duty.

“ When the proposal to make a gift of £100 million to England came before this Council, many of us felt that it was far too heavy a burden for our poor country, with its very limited means, and its numerous vital domestic needs, to bear. I will take the liberty of quoting a few sentences from what I then said about it :—

‘ In the second place, my Lord, it cannot be denied that the burden is a stupendous one. It will require special high taxation to the tune of £8 million a year to be maintained for the long period of over 30 years, to discharge it. Not to talk of the United Kingdom, if we were half so rich and prosperous as the self-governing Dominions, we would have gladly undertaken such a burden. But unfortunately India is very poor. Her resources are limited. Her vital domestic needs are great and pressing. The vast mass of her population suffers from want of education. Her agriculture and industries badly need to be developed. Her extreme poverty, which is the normal condition of the vast majority of the people, and which keeps them on a low grade of vitality and thus exposes them to disease and suffering, requires to be ameliorated. For many years we have been pressing these problems of internal improvement on the Government of India, and urging them to frame large schemes commensurate with the requirements of the situation, to carry out the necessary measures of improvement, and we have always been met by the reply that funds are not available for the purpose. . . . But the proposals of the Budget leave us face to face with a situation in which for the life-time of a generation internal improvement of even the most necessary kind will be considerably hampered.’

“ The proposal was accepted by the Council. We supported it and we were told that that would be the ‘ ultimate total special contribution to the war.’ The words ‘ ultimate total special contribution ’ were used in the telegram which we were told your Excellency had been pleased to send to the Secretary of State, and it was quoted by the Hon'ble the Finance Member in his Financial Statement. Thus, my Lord, when that contribution had been made, we had reason to think that we had done with a direct money contribution to the war. Let us see what has happened since to justify our making a further contribution by agreeing to bear a larger share of the cost of the new forces raised, or to be raised, for Imperial purposes. No doubt the war has been prolonged. Well, in loyal response to His Majesty's message, we have agreed to raise half a million more of men. We have made every effort to do so, and I hope the required number will be raised, that is our further contribution to the war. And it is not a small contribution. But so far as a further money contribution is concerned, I regret to think that we are not in a position to make it. If the matter had been raised at the Delhi Conference, I am sure there would have been a very clear expression of opinion on it on the part of many of the representatives of the people, that it was not the will to contribute more that was wanting, but the power to contribute more money. I think my esteemed friend Mr.

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Gandhi, in the letter which he addressed to your Excellency shortly after that Conference made this point clear. We have laboured accordingly to raise recruits, and to support the Government in every way we can; but I regret that the poverty of the country does not permit of our assenting to a larger money burden being imposed upon the people.

“ My Lord, we are asked to make a further money contribution to the Imperial expenditure on war by taking upon ourselves the charge of meeting the cost of the new forces raised in this country and to be raised hereafter. It is said that this proposal is subject to three conditions: that our liability to pay the proposed additional charge shall be reconsidered if (a) agricultural conditions should be worse than they are at present; (b) if exchange should be affected adversely; and (c) that the war should come nearer home, and we should have to fight on our own account on our frontiers. I respectfully submit that when these three possibilities are before us, it will be the part of wisdom not to undertake any further obligations upon us. But that on the same principle on which it is proposed that in the event of certain new conditions arising, we shall be released from the obligation which we are asked to undertake, in view of the fact that since we agreed to contribute £100 million to England as a war gift, we have raised and are going to raise half a million men in this country, the cost of this additional force should be met out of the £100 million which we have promised.

“ It was said we would not be doing enough if we raise the troops and let the pecuniary charges be borne by England. We have promised to contribute £100 millions. We have paid £60 millions of this by loan. We have to pay £40 millions more. In view of this fact, it is not too much to ask the Government in England to accept this additional help that we are giving as a humble contribution and to allow the cost of raising these troops to be regarded as a part of the contribution which we have already agreed to make. It is proposed that this additional cost should be met partly out of the surplus of this year and partly by an excess profits tax. The excess profits tax should have been levied two years ago; at any rate it should have been levied last year. The reasons urged by the Hon'ble the Finance Member for not levying it then did not satisfy a large section of the public that it should not have been raised earlier. What should have been done, my Lord, when the £100 million gift was promised to England, was that an excess profits tax should have been levied in order to liquidate the debt as early as practicable. My Lord, as matters stand, it will take nearly thirty years to liquidate the debt of £100 million. This is a matter which ought to receive the attention of Government and to be provided for. How can this be done except by raising every possible revenue that can be legitimately raised and by meeting the situation in the way I have suggested.

“ My Lord, I hope I have made it clear that I am not opposed to the idea that we should bear the additional charges of the new troops we are raising. I say again let us bear them; but let us represent to His Majesty's Government in England that in view of our entire situation, in view of the large contribution we have already promised, in view of the deplorable poverty of our people, in view of the unfortunate fact that fresh taxes cannot easily be put upon the people, they should allow the cost of these new troops to be met out of our contribution of £100 million.....”

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shafi :—“ I rise to a point of order, my Lord. Apart from the generosity of the suggestion made by my learned friend, is he in order in proposing that these additional charges be debited against the free gift which has already been made by this country ?”

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His Excellency the President :—“ I do not think that is a point of order. I think the Hon'ble Member is quite in order in putting this forward. It is not put forward as an amendment but as an argument which can be considered by His Majesty's Government when they read the Hon'ble Member's speech.”

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—“ I thank you, my Lord. As I have said, I am not opposed to our country bearing the proposed further charges. I am only suggesting that, in the circumstances of the case, these should be met out of the contribution which we have promised. I sincerely wish, my Lord, that we were in a position to agree to a fresh larger contribution ; but, as I have submitted, we are really not in a position to do so. That is the belief of a large number of us, and by reason of this belief, I regret I find myself unable to support the Resolution as it stands. I do not wish, however, that it should be considered that we are unwilling to render all the support that it is in our power to give. In the telegram which your Excellency sent to the Secretary of State at the beginning of January 1917, you said that India should agree to bear all the charges which she could according to her circumstances and her position. I have not got that telegram with me, but that was what your Lordship pointed out in the telegram which you sent to His Majesty's Government and to the Secretary of State. All that I am urging now is that our help should be limited by a consideration of what we can bear. It has been said that the poor will not be taxed ; but, in my humble opinion, it will not be possible to meet all the extra charges which are likely to be thrown upon us by the Resolution by means of merely an excess profits tax. I fear that other taxes will have to be imposed, and I fear that it will be a misfortune if fresh taxes are levied.

“ One last word more, my Lord. We, the non-official Members are asked to decide the fate of this important Resolution by our exclusive votes. This means that we should take the responsibility of putting fresh burdens and fresh taxation upon the people. If the Government were to agree to leave the adjustment of these burdens, the decision as to what taxes should be levied in order to meet these burdens to us, the non-official Members, I should feel in a better position to vote than I do at present. As matters stand, my Lord, I submit with all humility that as the power of imposing taxes rests practically exclusively with the Government, I do not feel myself justified in undertaking the responsibility of assenting to that burden. I hope, my Lord, the matter will be looked at by His Majesty's Government and the Government of India in that light, and I do submit to your Lordship that you will find that there is a great volume of opinion in the country which will echo my request that the cost of the additional troops which we are to bear should be met out of the £100 million that we have already promised, and that only when that sum is exceeded should we be asked to make a further money contribution to the war.”

The Hon'ble Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda :—“ My Lord, I wish to make a free and voluntary confession to the Council. Yesterday when I read the text of the Resolution standing in the name of the Hon'ble the Finance Minister and of the amendment of which my Hon'ble friend Mr. Sarma gave notice, I felt that to be on the safe side it would be better following the precept of the ancient Hindu politician 'Chanakya' who said : ' Don't trust Government and another class of persons' to have the emendment embodied in the Resolution. But, my Lord, after hearing the speech of the Hon'ble the Finance Minister, and his luminous presentation of the matter, I felt that there was really not much need for anxiety. And when in addition to that my Hon'ble friend Mr. Sastri proposed that the speech of the Hon'ble the Finance Minister should form part of the Resolution, and the Hon'ble the Finance Minister himself offered to accept an amendment to the Resolution giving effect to the suggestion, I thought, my

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Lord, that all anxiety on the score was removed, and that there is not much reason to support the amendment of my Hon'ble friend Mr. Sarma. The anxiety which he felt has been met by the assurance that the Hon'ble Sir William Meyer has given. Honestly speaking, I do not think Government could go beyond the assurance which the Hon'ble the Finance Minister has seen his way to give. Therefore, my Lord, I do not wish to support the amendment of my friend Mr. Sarma. One word in connection with this matter. The Hon'ble Mr. Hogg thought that the amendment of the Hon'ble Mr. Sastri was unnecessary, and that the Government would be bound by the speech of the Hon'ble Sir William Meyer. But, my Lord, I am afraid the Hon'ble Mr. Hogg is not correct in this. The Courts in England and India have held repeatedly that it is not relevant to the interpretation of an Act to refer to the speech of the Member who introduced the Bill. Therefore, it was quite correct for my Hon'ble friend Mr. Sastri to have made that amendment, which I am glad to find the Hon'ble the Finance Minister has accepted. In speaking on the motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjea on Friday last on the Reforms Scheme, I ventured to suggest that a more real and substantial advance should forthwith be made towards responsible government. The principle on which I based that submission is the very principle which has prompted me to-day to give my humble support to the Resolution which was placed before the Council by the Hon'ble the Finance Minister. My Lord, when we ask for self-government, we must give proof of our appreciation of the responsibilities which participation in the administration carries with it. It will not do to evade that duty, and I think we shall not be true to ourselves if we do not show our readiness to bear the burden which will be laid on us.

"My Lord, in addition to this, there is this much to be added. The Hon'ble Members of this Council, all of us, or most of us, as Members of the Delhi Imperial War Conference, have already committed ourselves to the principle of this Resolution. The Resolution which was adopted unanimously by the Conference pledged this country to give all help to the Empire in this matter to the utmost of our capacity, and this Resolution is only an application of the decision of the War Conference. Of course by accepting this Resolution, it is obvious that we do not commit ourselves to support any tax that will be proposed by the Hon'ble the Finance Minister, and we shall have full right to criticise any proposal of taxation which may be brought forward afterwards. It shows that we need not be at all anxious in accepting this Resolution which has been placed before this Council. I am one of those who really believe that the British connection with India is an act of direct Divine dispensation. We see in it the finger of God and believe that it is absolutely necessary for the good of both countries. Our allegiance to this connection is deep-rooted and we feel that everything ought to be done to strengthen and to cement it, everything ought to be done to make the people feel and realise that they are really an integral part of the Empire, that the Empire belongs to them as much as to anybody else, and that it is their duty to do everything to strengthen that bond, their organic relationship to the Empire. My Lord, we thus feel it is our moral duty to help the Empire in the hour of its need, to stand by it, to live for it, and, if need be, to die for it.

"It is quite true, my Lord, that we have done much in the past in discharging our duty in this matter. We have given freely of men, money and resources, which will all stand to our credit, and we may justly feel proud of it. But, my Lord, more is required. The work is not finished. The enemy is still knocking at the gate, and we cannot rest on our oars but must go on and win the war. Of course it is a very serious matter. We all feel it is a very terrible business. Fresh contributions coming

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on the top of the 100 million pounds direct contribution which we made the other day, in addition to millions we have given in the shape of men, services, stores and ammunition, will bleed the country white. For years to come there will be no money for the development of the country, for the industries, for sanitation, for education. People will be ruined, whole communities and interests will suffer, institutions may have to be closed down. All this is very appalling and painful to contemplate. But, my Lord, it is as nothing compared to the momentous issue before us, which is nothing less than a question of life and death. For what remains of life, my Lord, if serfdom comes which will be the case unless the Central Powers are crushed. I therefore think, my Lord, that all these considerations must be laid aside, and we must give all we can to the Empire. Your Lordship and the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India have pointed out that the war is not yet won, and that until the war is won there can be no realisation of India's aspirations. That is an obvious truth which we must lay to our hearts, and we must make every sacrifice to help the cause of the Empire. I shall conclude my remarks, my Lord, by quoting the gracious words of His Majesty, that 'the Empire's need is India's opportunity'."

The Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru :—"My Lord, it was on the 3rd of this month that I came to know, at an informal conference with the Hon'ble the Finance Member, of the terms of this Resolution; and ever since that date I have given it my most anxious consideration. Now, my Lord, so far as the Resolution itself is concerned, it embodies a principle and asks this Council to recognise that principle. It asks the Council to recognise that India owes a certain duty and an obligation to the Empire, and it also suggests the manner in which that obligation can be discharged. 11-46 AM.

"Now, my Lord, so far as that principle is concerned, I do not think there is one among us who has any the least hesitation in accepting it whole-heartedly. I do recognise without any reserve and without any qualification the obligation of India to stand by the Empire through thick and thin at this crisis; but I confess that the implication of this Resolution, namely, that it involves a certain amount of taxation, has given me considerable anxiety, and it was not until yesterday morning, when I heard the speech of the Hon'ble the Finance Member, that I was able to make up my mind definitely. Having heard the speech of the Hon'ble the Finance Minister, and having subsequently listened to the speech of my Hon'ble friend Mr. Sarma and the proposal which the Hon'ble the Finance Member has subsequently made by way of an amendment—which, unfortunately, from my point of view, was not accepted by the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma—I had no hesitation at that time in making up my mind.

"My Lord, one anxiety that was present in my mind was what the effect of this Resolution might be on the poorer classes; and I am glad to find from the speech of the Hon'ble the Finance Member that, so far as the poorer classes are concerned, they will not be unduly pressed. He has further given us the assurance that, in the event of any trouble arising on our own front, or in the event of the Government having to face an anxious agricultural situation or a famine on a large scale, this arrangement will have to be reconsidered and there will be no double taxation. My Lord, in view of these assurances, and in view of the clear statement made on that point, I have come to the conclusion that I must support this Resolution. But, my Lord, while I do support the Resolution, I desire it to be distinctly understood that I am not committing myself to any particular form of taxation. I reserve to myself the liberty of expressing my opinion with regard to any form of taxation when any scheme may be laid before the Council. It is from that point of view that I have no hesitation in supporting the Resolution as amended by my Hon'ble friend Mr. Sastri. I wish even now that it was possible for my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma to accept the suggestion made by the Hon'ble the Finance

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Member, because if it were accepted by him, I think it would meet the wishes of many of us."

11-60 A.K.

The Hon'ble Khan Zulfiqar Ali Khan:—"My Lord, the Hon'ble the Finance Member, in moving his Resolution, has fully explained the needs which are pressing on the Empire at the present moment. He has also explained by what methods he wants to raise the money which is absolutely necessary to maintain the Expeditionary Forces which India has sent out to the different fronts. He has fully explained that his new proposals are confined only to the tax on excess war profits, and that they do not mean the laying of any burden on the poor.

"After hearing some of the speeches, it seems to me that some of the non-official Members are hostile to the idea embodied in the Resolution. It seems to me, my Lord, that we in India, at a distance of six or seven thousand miles away from the theatres of this world wide war, do not fully realise the mighty issues involved. The fate of the world hangs in the balance. The liberties of nations are either to be crushed or they are to be maintained. The one point which has to be realised is this, that there is a conflict between two ideals. On the one side, there is the idea of liberty: on the other side, the idea of force. The British, the Americans, and the French, by their love of liberty, by their love of justice, have established a dominion over the human mind, and the Germans, by their cult of force, as inculcated by their Professors and as practised by the Junkers, have enjoyed the privilege of inspiring the most violent antipathy in the world. The ideals of the Allies have won for them the co-operation and alliance of practically all the world, while the ideals of the Germans have excited against them the bitterest hatred and fear. On the one side, there is the ideal of domination; on the other side, there is the ideal of championing the cause of a weak and helpless nation. We have to choose between these two ideals. A German victory would mean the extinction of all liberty of thought and action; the victory of the Allies would mean the maintenance of those liberties. I do not think that much reflection is required to choose between those two ideals. Once we choose, there is no sacrifice from which we should shrink. Some Hon'ble Members, by their speeches, have shown that whereas they are quite willing to make all sacrifices as regards men, as regards money, they are not quite prepared to make any sacrifice. There is a Persian saying, which says,

'If you ask for my life, I will not hesitate; but if you ask for money, I feel reluctant.'

Well, my Lord, seeing that the Germans have a design on the liberties of India, I must impress it on my non-official colleagues that this is no time for hesitation or for petty considerations. They must make up their minds that they have not only to maintain their own liberties, but have to help in maintaining the liberties of the world, without which I do not think that the world would be worth living in. My Lord, the Allies have cultivated the arts of peace, and the Germans have cultivated war as a fine art. How long will the world be tortured by the horrors and the miseries of this war? We must make every sacrifice that is possible for the successful conclusion of this war. Now, my Lord, when the Finance Minister has clearly laid it before the Council that his Resolution does not mean any extra taxation on the poor, I do not see why there is so much hesitation on the part of the non-officials to meet his demands; and I would once again impress it on their attention that at this juncture, when Great Britain wants our help, we must not lag behind. It would mean that we were not conscious of those great ideals for which we are fighting. My Hon'ble friend Mr. Sastri said yesterday that the Hon'ble the Finance Member's Resolution had put him on the horns of a cruel dilemma. My Lord, I think on the contrary that the Finance Member's Resolution has put us in a very proud position.

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It enables us to take advantage of the opportunities which it offers us for the manifestation of those personal responsibilities to the great events which are now happening in the world and which are the surest foundation of conscious citizenship. With these ideas and guided by this spirit, I beg to support the Resolution as amended by the Finance Minister."

The Hon'ble Mr. K. V. Rangaswamy Ayyangar:—"My Lord, while I can appreciate the need and the claims of His Majesty's Government, I cannot shut my eyes to the dangers that India is subject to and will be subject to in the near future. We should also not ignore the low recouping power of India overtaxed, backward, and without fiscal rights. The question to us should be, how far we can impose upon the country this new burden? By the decision of the Government of India to leave the matter in our hands, I take it that the matter is not of paramount importance. If this had been a matter of imperious necessity, the Government would have taken upon themselves the responsibility and made the arrangements themselves. Obviously the matter is such that can take the risk of being thrown out by the non-official element of the Council who are afraid of taxation, and who are of opinion that it is certain to prostrate Indian finances. I dismiss that appeal of some of my colleagues that if this is given the war will be won, and otherwise the whole thing will be against us, as a sentimental harangue. While this gift will be nothing to Great Britain, it is a great thing for India. No doubt a part of the pay of the soldiers would come to India as remittances for families, but this is out of proportion when we consider the strain we are to impose upon ourselves. So I think we must not go beyond the Parliamentary Resolution of November 1914, and thank ourselves that we did sacrifice to the unimaginable extent of making a gift of 100 millions last year. We do not know what taxation will be imposed and whose rights will be interfered with. The speech of the Finance Member in the Budgets of 1917 and 1918 and also in yesterday's Council, as well as some indications in the Reform proposals carrying the threat to the permanently settled estates, are ominous. Sir William Meyer says assenting to the Resolution is automatically assenting to taxation and that of the rich alone. We will have no voice in taxation and our hands will be tied when taxation proposals come. Unless we have the right to order extensive retrenchments in the civil administration and to resort to the imposition of necessary tariffs, it will be a disastrous financial policy to go on piling up our expenditure as proposed now, and the assent to this by us, non-official Members, would be like riding a horse when the bridle and whip are not in the rider's hands.

"My Lord, I am sorry such expressions of opinion are being characterised as taking a 'sordidly selfish' view by Sir William Meyer. But that will not prevent me from expressing my mind on the occasion that I shrink from assenting to this Resolution."

The Hon'ble Mr. V. J. Patel:—"My Lord, I confess I find myself in a very difficult situation. I know on the one hand that the country is poor; I know that its resources are limited; I also know that its domestic needs are great and pressing; I further realise that its agriculture and industries need to be developed; I do not and cannot shut my eyes to the fact that disease and suffering, due to want of education and extreme poverty, require to be ameliorated without delay, and I also realise that a great many pressing problems of internal importance are staring us in the face. On the other hand, it is said that it is not wise to shut our eyes to the fact that our enemies in India and elsewhere will make a political capital out of our adverse attitude towards this Resolution. In this state of circumstances, I repeat, I find myself in a very, very difficult situation. If this question were really to be answered on the ability of India to pay this further contribution, I would and should unhesitatingly say 'No, I shall not support the Resolution.' But then this consideration

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of our enemies making a capital, a political-capital, out of our refusal to support this Resolution troubles me, and I am therefore not in a position to decide exactly what I should do in the peculiar circumstances of this Resolution. Your Excellency, I must say that the Government in choosing this procedure of asking the non-official Members to take the responsibility in regard to this Resolution has put them in a very awkward position. I do not know why Government should not have taken that responsibility themselves. Rights and responsibilities, my Lord, go together. You have got the power to get any supplies you like; you have got the power to get any legislation you like. And why, I pray, put the non-official Members in this awkward hole? There are one or two points which I should like to say in connection with this Resolution. We are told that we are not asked to give a blank cheque to the Government of India in this connection. I beg to differ from this view. If you carefully analyse the speech of the Hon'ble mover, you will find that we are not to stop at 45 millions. He clearly tells us that the estimates are only rough, and that there are several matters which are still indeterminate. If that is so, I do not really understand whether it is proposed to stop at 45 millions, or whether we are also asked to assent to any further contribution that may be found necessary as a result of these indeterminate factors.....

The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer:—"May I explain that the chief indeterminate factor to which I referred was the length and character of the war."

The Hon'ble Mr. V. J. Patel:—"I beg to point out that the factor, length and character of the war, is already separately mentioned. It is stated further on in the same paragraph that if the war lasts longer than anticipated, India's contribution will be proportionately increased. That is another factor which, in considering this proposal, we have to pay due attention to.

"Then, there is another difficulty, your Excellency. It is a question that this tax will fall merely on those who have derived profits owing to this war, because the Hon'ble Sir William Meyer is perfectly clear and frank when he says that so far as possible this amount will be realised by taxation on excess war profits, but that the hands of Government in this respect should not be fettered, and that they should be left perfectly free to tax any other class of people that they think necessary. That being so, it is perfectly clear, as my Hon'ble friend Pandit Malaviya has just pointed out, that as it will not be possible to meet this extra demand by taxation of war profits merely you shall have ultimately to resort to other taxation also. If, therefore, it is a question of consenting to the power to be given to the Government of India to tax the poor people, I for one am not prepared to support the Resolution in the form in which it stands. With these few observations I close my speech."

The Hon'ble Sir George Lowndes:—"My Lord, I beg at the outset to congratulate the majority of the Council on the tone of the speeches that we have heard during this debate. We have had this Resolution acclaimed, if I may say so, by representatives of almost all the great nations in India, Mussulman, Hindu, Sikh, and, I hope before the debate closes, of the Parsis. I could have wished that the Resolution might be carried unanimously. I think India will lose by the small minority who will vote against it, but that minority is, I venture to submit, negligible not only in numbers, but in argument. It is to them alone that I propose to address myself.

"We have heard much of the poverty of India, but the Council has been assured that there is no intention of laying a heavy burden upon the poor of this country in connection with any further contribution that we may make. But, my

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Lord, is India so poor when the balances we have with our bankers in England run to 83 millions upon which we shall assuredly be able to draw at the end of the war? It is upon this balance that it is suggested that we should indent now and upon nothing else. The ways and means question, the provision of the actual money for payments, as my Hon'ble colleague has pointed out, is one which will not be affected. These are payments that we shall make in any case. The only question is, whether these payments are to be debited to the Home Government and added on to our bankers balance, or whether India will bear the burden herself?

"To my Hon'ble friend Mr. Sarma 'the economic prosperity of the Indian people'—the words are his own—is dearer than anything else,—so dear that all he is prepared to agree to is a contribution of what we can comfortably spare in India. 'Leave us the rest of our wealth', he pleads 'in order that we may make more. India needs it.' But is it for India that individuals make their wealth? Is it to pay the cost of Sanitation and Education that fortunes are laid up in India? Is it out of these fortunes that sums are contributed for these purposes apart from taxation and what the Government provides for them. Is it for these purposes that fortunes are accumulated in India? I fear not.

"Then, again, my Hon'ble friend spoke of the 'remote connection of India with the causes of the war',—again his own words. My Lord, is that the sentiment of a grown up daughter of the Empire? 'Remote connection with the causes of the war'? The Hon'ble gentleman seems to forget that if India is of the Empire, then if the Empire is at war, India is at war. If the life of the Empire is the life of India, then the battles that are being fought for it, whether on the fields of France or in the deserts of Mesopotamia, are the battles of India and India must fight them.

"My Hon'ble friend Pandit Malaviya spoke of India 'helping England.' Is that again the sentiment in which we are going to vote on this Resolution to-day? 'Helping England!' What we are asking India to do to-day is to take her share in the great burden of the Empire and not to help England. We are not here as a Government to beg for England. We are merely to point out to India her opportunity.

"Then we have heard of sacrifices. I doubt if the gracious message of His Majesty the King-Emperor which spoke of 'the sacrifices without which no high object can be achieved' referred to the vicarious sacrifices which apparently a little India party would think sufficient—of others' lives, be paid for by the money of others again.

Has the pinch of the war touched any of the well-to-do classes in India? Yet the Council has been told that it is only on the wealth of these classes that there is any suggestion of laying the burden of further taxation. Have we in India felt the horrors of the war which other parts of this world have felt so unhappily? Has it been brought home to most of the well-to-do in India that we are at war at all? Have we forgotten the 'Emden' and what the freedom of the seas has meant to India? Without it where would India's prosperity and India's wealth be to-day? Is not the Navy fighting for India as much as for any other part of the Empire?

"And then there is that last egregious argument: 40 millions is so much to India and so little to England. Let us stand aside' the Hon'ble Member says, and give nothing in addition to what we have given already. We want the

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40 millions; England can do without it; let England pay the cost of the war. Let England achieve the peace for which we are all longing so much, and India will enjoy it. After all, what the Council has been asked to vote for to-day is only to turn what has always seemed to me to be the mercenary army of India into a real Indian Army. We are surely not going to say 'We will give the blood of our sons, but will not pay them. We will leave it to England to pay'.

"All that we are asking the Council to do is to say that India shall pay not only with her blood, but with her money. Which is the more precious thing to a country, her life blood or her money?"

"I pass on to other speeches that have been delivered. I remember the Hon'ble Mr. Khaparde's speech; he apparently welcomed the proposal, he told us that his heart was in this Resolution, that his heart dictated to him to vote for it. He will not be far wrong if he follows the dictates of his heart in this case; it is but a faint response to the pulsations of the great heart of India.

"Then, my Hon'ble friend the Pandit in a notable speech told us that when £100 millions were contributed by India it was not a free vote....."

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—"I did not say that, my Lord, I said we all agreed to it."

The Hon'ble Sir George Lowndes:—"I regret that my ears should have taken in a different sound to what the Hon'ble Pandit intended. At all events we have what I may call his posthumous association with the £100 millions.

He imputes to us a desire to bargain when we proposed a contribution of £100 millions. We did not bargain with His Majesty's Government. So far as the Government of India was concerned it was a free offer, and an offer which was endorsed by this Council. I used to think that the Hon'ble Pandit was a leader of men. If he has time to stay for a division to-day, we shall know of whom he is a leader in this Council. I fear there will be few to follow him....."

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—"I have never claimed to be a leader in this Council or elsewhere. I am a follower of my conscience, my Lord, and I hope I will continue to be so despite the fulminations of the Hon'ble the Law Member."

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shafi:—"My Lord, if a man follows conscience he should have the strength to vote in accordance with it."

His Excellency the President:—"Order, order, Mr. Shafi has already spoken."

The Hon'ble Sir George Lowndes:—"The Hon'ble Mr. Patel is also unable to support this Resolution. He gave us frankly the contents of his mind, the *pros* and *cons*. The '*pros*' were not a very high ideal. It was only a doubt whether it might not be a good political investment to make a further contribution to England. That again, I take it, is not the spirit in which most of the Members of this Council will vote for this Resolution. He shrank, it seemed to me, from this, almost the first touch of responsibility that has been laid on Hon'ble Members. He said, why put it upon us to decide this question? Let the Government decide. I am afraid the time is coming when the Hon'ble Mr. Patel will have to take more responsibilities than this.

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RAISED, IN INDIA.

[10TH SEPTEMBER, 1918.]

[*Sir George Lowndes; Mr. Surendra
Nath Banerjea.*]

My Hon'ble friend is a representative of the great Bombay Presidency which I know and love so well. He comes here, by the votes of 28 constituents, to vote against this Resolution. I doubt if his 28 constituents will support his vote to-day. I am sure that the great Presidency to which I have referred will not do so. There is no more loyal province in this country, and I shall be greatly surprised if they endorse his representation of it to-day.

"My Lord, if I have spoken warmly it is because I feel deeply. I am jealous for the future reputation of India. I want to see India do her part as a great daughter of this Empire. I want her to come up to the great expectations which have been entertained of her, and which I hope she will realise on an occasion like this."

The Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea :— "My Lord, there is one remark of the Hon'ble speaker who has just sat down (Hon'ble Sir George Lowndes) to which I take exception. He observed that there is no more loyal Presidency than the Presidency of Bombay. I venture to enter a respectful protest against that observation on behalf of the great Presidency which I have the honour to represent. I will say mine is the premier Presidency in loyalty and devotion, and we have maintained that position by our splendid contribution to the war loan of this year, and I hope we shall maintain that premier position by keeping the top place in the war loan this year. 12-24 AM.

"My Lord, I have given this matter the most anxious consideration that I could. When we came here we did not know that our votes would be wanted with regard to this grave problem. I have not had the opportunity of consulting my constituency; my Lord, the mandates of constituencies are helpful, but we are not only to follow them implicitly, I think it is our duty to lead our constituencies to what is proper, right, loyal, and patriotic. I remember the great dictum of Edmund Burke, addressed to the Sheriffs of Bristol, in connection with a memorable event and a memorable occasion. He laid down the dictum, and it is a universal truth binding upon us all, that we are bound to give to the mandates of our constituencies the greatest consideration, the most sympathetic consideration, but we are not to be guided by them, we are to be guided by our own consciences; we are to be guided by the deliberations that take place in the Legislative assemblies to which we may belong. However indulgent, however sympathetic we may be towards the mandates of our constituencies, we are to form our own judgments independently and try to lead and guide them.

"My Lord, I believe my duty in this matter is not only to act rightly, but to lead the conscience and judgment of the country to recognize that what we have done is right. I have no hesitation in supporting the Resolution which the Hon'ble the Finance Member has placed before us, coupled with the amendment of my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Sastri. The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has told us that we are in a difficult position. My Lord, the post of danger is the post of honour. I admit that we are in a difficult position, but we are also in a highly honourable position. For the first time in the history of this Council, the Finance Member has before taking action consulted us with regard to a financial matter of the greatest importance. Is not that a position of honour, is not that a position of responsibility? He might not have done so at all. He might have acted upon his own initiative. Parliament might have passed a Resolution in regard to this matter which would have been binding upon your Excellency's Government; but we are here called upon to say what we think of this proposal, and furthermore we have been told that if we disagree, it will be

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dropped. Therefore an added responsibility is imparted to our position, and it seems to me that we have not only a responsibility to our Motherland, but also to the Empire, and the responsibilities to the Motherland and the Empire are bound up together in the present case. I think, my Lord, that my friends here take too despondent a view of our resources. My Hon'ble friend Pandit Malaviya said the other day that I was an optimist. Yes, my Lord, I am an optimist to the marrow of my bones. I have great faith in the political capacity of my countrymen, and also an abundant measure of faith in the expansiveness of our industrial resources. And I do think that if our resources are properly organised, controlled and guided, as your Excellency has suggested in the Reform Proposals, the darkness and gloom which clouds our minds at the present moment will disappear, and all these pessimistic fears about the future financial catastrophe and the bankruptcy which awaits us, if we accept this Resolution, will dissolve themselves into thin air. I do not think the financial situation is so bad as my friend represents it to be. I think our revenues have proved elastic, and I trust that, in consequence of the industrial development which is bound to take place, if the Reforms Proposals are given effect to, our resources will expand, our wealth will increase and the proceeds of our taxation will be more fruitful.

“ My Lord, this Resolution which has been placed before us is merely the operative part of similar propositions to which the country stands pledged. My Lord, from the floor of this Council Chamber, from our public meetings, from our patriotic demonstrations, the cry has gone forth of a united people determined to stand by the Empire in this crisis, and we are pledged to do our utmost in the defence of the Empire. Is all this but a sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal? Are we to be profuse in our protestations of loyalty and devotion to the Empire, but when the time comes to translate words into deeds, are we to exercise a wise self-restraint in loosening our purse-strings? Let us see to it that our words bear fruit in deeds, and here is an opportunity for translating our words into real living acts of self-sacrifice which will redound to the credit of the Motherland and the glory of the Empire.

“ My Lord, my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Patel has referred to what our enemies will say if we do not accept this Resolution. We aspire to the privileges of the Empire, we ought to be in a position to participate in the burdens of the Empire. We aspire to be full-fledged citizens of the Empire, we ought to be in a position to participate in the self-sacrifice which that position entails. Therefore, I hope and trust that this Resolution, coupled with the amendment of my Hon'ble friend Mr. Sastri, will be accepted with practical unanimity by the non-official Members of this Council. I do not use the word 'practical' in the sense in which the Hon'ble the Home Member said the other day that he as a Judge of the High Court had used it. Practical unanimity here means real unanimity. May I hope that the voice of dissent will be withheld in the performance of what I deem to be a highly patriotic duty? My friend is afraid of the condemnation of a section of my countrymen if we accept this Resolution. My Lord, we ought to face unpopularity in the discharge of a patriotic duty to the Motherland and the Empire. Popularity is a very transitory thing. It comes and goes. A man may be popular and a demi-god to-day, he may be pulled down from his position the day after; but the voice of conscience and of duty prevails. What is our duty at the present moment? That is the question. I desire to put to the non-official Members of this Council what is our bounden duty and what is expedient in the interests of the country? The interests of the country and the interests of the Empire are one. If the Empire suffers this country will suffer, and if the British democracy were to feel that in this great crisis of the Empire we had not performed our obligations to the Empire, the prospects of our political

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William Meyer.*]

elevation would receive a shock and a check from which it would take years to recover. We are in view of the promised land, bright visions of political emancipation are about to open out to us. Are we going to darken those prospects by an act which is bound to tell against the best prospects of the Motherland and which would be a slur upon our loyalty and devotion to the Empire and the cause of freedom? I hope and trust—I repeat once again—that the vote of this Council will be practically a unanimous vote in support of the Resolution of my Hon'ble friend the Finance Minister."

The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer:—"I should like, my Lord, to ^{12-35 P.M.} make a few remarks before we proceed to the voting on this amendment. The procedure we have introduced in connection with this Resolution and by consequence in connection with the amendments is really a great step in a democratic direction. We could have introduced the Resolution simply after consultation in your Excellency's Cabinet; we could have carried it by the official vote. We have not done this; we have left the Resolution to the vote of the non-official Members. And my Hon'ble friend Sir George Lowndes and I, before the Resolution came on, asked some of the Members to meet us confidentially to discuss it. And yet I am surprised to find that this is objected to because it puts Hon'ble Members in an awkward position. My Hon'ble friend Sir George Lowndes has dealt with that argument. I will only add, with reference to the Hon'ble Pandit's remarks, that we acted in accordance with Parliamentary procedure even in democratic countries. We, the Government, are responsible for expressing our opinions as embodied in this Resolution, but we leave it to the non-official Members of the Council to accept or reject. Similarly, the responsibility, if the Resolution is carried, as I am sure it will be, of finding ways and means in connection with the carrying out of that Resolution must rest with the Executive Government as it would rest in the most democratic country in the world. But, as has been said by a previous speaker or two, when we come to formulate our proposals for taxation, they will involve legislation and will come before the Council. Moreover, we took another new departure in that I lifted part of the veil which must necessarily still shroud the coming year's Budget, and I gave certain undertakings as to the character of the future taxation, which my Hon'ble friend Mr. Sastri by his amendment practically embodies in the Resolution. I would remind the Council too that in moving this Resolution, we are really, as my friend the Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis pointed out yesterday, carrying out the spirit of Resolutions formerly passed in this Council. Sir Gangadhar himself shortly after the outbreak of war, moved, and carried with unanimity, in this Council, a Resolution to the effect that the people of India, in addition to the military assistance now being afforded by India to the Empire, would wish to share in the heavy financial burdens now imposed by the war on the United Kingdom, and requested the Government of India to take this view into consideration, and thus demonstrate the unity of India with the Empire. And on the 24th of February 1915, Mr. Madhu Sudan Dass moved a Resolution, which was also unanimously carried, setting out the unswerving resolution of Indians to support the honour, dignity and prestige of the Empire regardless of the sacrifice it may entail on them. Well, we might under the letter of those Resolutions have carried out a more extensive programme of contributions and taxation than we have as yet done; but we went slowly. The Government, and the Finance Member in particular, have been assailed with criticisms from various quarters for not doing enough in this connection. But we held to the interests of India first and foremost, and we adapted our financial policy so as not to press hardly on the people of India. We first of all took over a share of the expenditure in connection with the Expeditionary Forces by foregoing the normal charges; and then, in 1917, when our own financial situation justified us in doing more, we

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got to the 100 million contribution, of which I am glad to learn now that the Hon'ble Pandit approved. The Hon'ble Pandit suggests that that was regarded as a final measure. It was certainly regarded as a final measure at that time, because at that time we were all, unfortunately, unduly optimistic as to the end of the war. We thought that the 100 million pounds would be enough. But I have already pointed out in my speech in moving this Resolution how the war has been prolonged, and the additional dangers which beset India. In these circumstances, it is not in the least inconsistent with our previous grant of a hundred millions that we should now come forward and offer more. I may observe too, with reference to the Hon'ble Pandit's suggestion that we should meet the charges it is now proposed to bear, from the £100 millions, that, as another Hon'ble Member pointed out, that would be a mockery. The £100 million was a free and unconditional gift. As my Hon'ble Colleague Sir George Lowndes indicated just now, it was some acknowledgment of the way in which the British Fleet has kept the seas free for India's trade. It was also a set-off to the greatly increased war charges in India which were falling on His Majesty's Government. As I pointed out in my speech yesterday, although we are at present bearing the normal cost of an army of 160,000 men, the total army raised by India has been greatly increasing ; and now we come to a time at which we think that, owing to the unhappy prolongation of the war, the £100 millions requires to be supplemented by a further contribution.

" I do not quite understand the attitude of the Hon'ble Pandit, because he says ' I quite accept the desirability of India's bearing the charges the Finance Member puts forward, but let us bear them out of the £100 millions.' At the same time, he says he wants an excess profits tax. He criticised me, by the way, for not having brought in an excess profits tax before. That is a matter of opinion, but I do not remember any word from the Hon'ble Pandit asking me to bring in an excess profits tax in connection with previous Budgets. Well, apart from that, he says ' I want an excess profits tax.' Pray what for ? By his own argument we do not want it for the expenses of the war, because that is to come out of the £ 100 millions.....

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :—" Not to meet the expenditure, but to contribute towards the £100 millions. You have raised 60 millions. If you raise 40 millions more, you will meet the charges which you now propose to take up. "

The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer :—" The £100 millions was a capital contribution, the interest charges on which have to be met, and the principal of which we will gradually liquidate. The Hon'ble Pandit apparently wants to devote the excess profits tax to liquidating the principal more rapidly.

" One Hon'ble Member suggested that the matter of this Resolution was not of primary importance, or it would not have been left to the votes of the non-official Members. Well, there are cases, of course, which are of such primary necessity that the Government, under the present constitution, must take the responsibility : we cannot leave them to the votes of the non-official Members. But as I pointed out yesterday, if this contribution were not made, it would not affect the war. England would pay. For that reason we have left the decision to the non-official Members. And may I remind them that this money is largely an insurance for keeping the war off our borders. If we had a war on our borders, India would have to pay, and we could then not leave the matter to the votes of the non-official Members ; we should have to bring the whole strength of the Government to bear on meeting the military operations and their cost. But at present we are in a happier position, and we leave the matter to the votes of our non-official colleagues. I need not repeat what I said

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yesterday about this money that we are going to give. I accept the statement of the Hon'ble Member who said it was trifling compared with what England is paying for the war; but I say it is anything but trifling as an example of India's loyalty and devotion. That is the issue to-day. Are we going to give a further proof of our solidarity with Great Britain, of our love for the Empire, of our determination to do what we can to see this war through? Or are we going to stand aside and say, as one or two Hon'ble Members have said, 'Oh, well, the war is all right, because England has got to win it in any case and England has got to pay. Let us keep our hands in our pockets and get the benefits which the peace will bring.' I submit, my Lord, that that is an unworthy attitude, and I trust that the voting on this amendment will show that it is shared by a very small fraction of my non-official colleagues."

His Excellency the President :—" I will now read to Hon'ble Members the Resolution and the two amendments which have been moved. I shall then put the Hon'ble Mr. Sastri's amendment to the vote. The Resolution being moved by the Hon'ble Sir William Meyer is to the following effect :—

' That this Council recognises that the prolongation of the war justifies India's taking a larger share than she does at present in respect of the cost of the military forces raised or to be raised in this country.'

To this Resolution the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma has moved an amendment: that the following words be added at the end of the Resolution :—

' Provided that no further taxation is imposed except in respect of excess profits derived during the war.'

The Hon'ble Mr. Sastri has moved a further amendment that the following words be added at the end of the Resolution :—

' And recommends that such larger share be to the extent and under the conditions and safeguards indicated in the speech of the Hon'ble the Finance Member in moving this Resolution.'

" I shall put Mr. Sastri's amendment to the Resolution first."

The Hon'ble Mr. M. A. Jinnah :—" May I rise to a point of order? I understood the Hon'ble Mr. Sastri's amendment was not to the amendment, but to the Resolution."

His Excellency the President :—" If the Hon'ble Mr. Sastri's amendment is carried, it disposes of the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma's amendment altogether, because it is a direct negative to the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma's amendment, and will therefore abolish it. The Hon'ble Mr. Sarma's amendment finds no part in the Hon'ble the Finance Member's speech, and it would therefore be excluded by the Hon'ble Mr. Sastri's amendment being carried. I am now going to put the Hon'ble Mr. Sastri's amendment."

The motion was put and agreed to.

His Excellency the President :—" As I have already ruled to the Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah's point of order, the adoption of Mr. Sastri's amendment removes the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma's amendment from the paper. I am now going to put the Resolution as amended to the Council :—

' That this Council recognises that the prolongation of the war justifies India's taking a larger share than she does at present in respect of the cost of the military forces raised or to be raised in this country, and recommends that such larger share be to the extent and under the conditions and safeguards indicated in the speech of the Hon'ble the Finance Member in moving this Resolution'."

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[*The President.*]

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The motion was put and the Council divided as follows :—

Ayes.—18.

Noes.—5.

The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoy.
The Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis.
The Hon'ble Dr. T. B. Sapru.
The Hon'ble Raja Sir Rampal Singh.
The Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri.
The Hon'ble Mr. M. N. Hogg.
The Hon'ble Sir Dinshaw Wacha.
The Hon'ble Rai Sitanath Ray Bahadur.
The Hon'ble Mr. W. A. Ironside.
The Hon'ble Maharaja Sir M. C. Nandi of
Kasimbazar.
The Hon'ble Mr. S. N. Banerjia.
The Hon'ble Raja of Kanika.
The Hon'ble Khan Zulfikar Ali Khan.
The Hon'ble Mr. K. K. Chanda.
The Hon'ble Sardar Sundar Singh.
The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad
Shafi.
The Hon'ble Pundit B. D. Shukul.
The Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali, Khan Bahadur.

The Hon'ble Pandit M. M. Malaviya.
The Hon'ble Mr. G. S. Khaparde.
The Hon'ble Mr. V. J. Patel.
The Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma.
The Hon'ble Mr. R. Ayyangar.

The Resolution as amended was therefore adopted.

The Council then adjourned to Wednesday, the 11th September, 1918.

SIMLA ;

The 18th September, 1918. }

A. P. MUDDIMAN,

*Secretary to the Government of India,
Legislative Department.*