

INDIA IN PARLIAMENT
& ABROAD

INDIA IN PARLIAMENT AND ABROAD 1921-22

Being a Record of Proceedings on Indian Affairs in
both House of the British Parliament, and a
Symposium of all about India & Indians
in the Dominions & Abroad.

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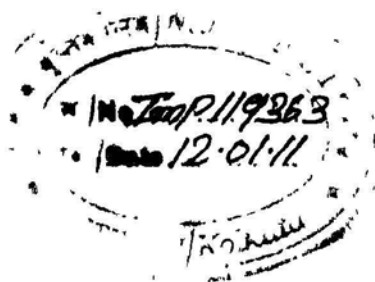


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India in Parliament 1921-22

Chronicle of Events

India in Parliament & Abroad 1921

January 1921

In England the Press was very active on Indian affairs, especially on the change of Viceroyalty and on the Nagpur Congress proceedings.

4th. Violent agitation in England led by the *Morning Post* and the *Daily Telegraph* to enforce repression in India in reply to the Nagpur Congress Resolutions. The *Post* led an agitation against the suggestion of Lord Reading as Viceroy recalling his connection with the notorious Marconi deal, and said that the I.C.S would revolt at such a standard of honesty. Tory papers followed suit.

8th Sir Michael O'Dwyer started a campaign in the British Press for immediate repression in India and a personal vendetta against Messrs Gandhi, Lajpat Rai, Ali Brothers and Chintamani. The *Globe* and the *Telegraph* opened their columns to Anglo-Indian pensioners of India who demanded all round repression in India.

9th. Appointment of Lord Reading as Viceroy of India announced.

25th The Prince of Wales unveiling a war memorial to the Indian Dead at Brighton said that they had given their lives in a quarrel of which it was enough for them to know that the enemy were the foes of their *Sahibs* and their King-Emperor !

February 1921

15th. Parliament opened by the King in State. In the Commons Mr. Davidson M. P. in moving an address in reply to the King's Speech said that the House shared His Majesty's hope that the new Reforms inaugurated by the Duke of Connaught would bring political peace to India. Similar references in the Lords.

17th. Tory Papers in England under the lead of the *Morning Post* denounced the appointment of Lala Harkishen Lal as a Minister.

23rd. In the H. of Coms. Mr. Montagu was exasperatingly heckled by several M. P.'s on the question of appointment of Lala Harkishen Lal, who was maliciously described as a rebel and a convict, as a Minister in the Punjab Govt. The Speaker had to intervene and to stop further questions.

Questions were also asked on the reduction of the British element in the Indian Army and expression was given to the fear that British strength was being dangerously reduced in India which was in the throes of a revolution.

24th. In the H. of Commons the anti-Indian die hards led by Viscount Curzon initiated a heated discussion over the Speaker's ruling of the last day *re* Lala Harkishan Lal's Case.

March 1921

1st. In the H. of Commons a point of order was raised on the question whether members of Parliament could not criticise the action of Indian Officers, such as Lala Harkishan Lal, in the House. The Speaker gave his ruling that members should not interfere in the case of the administration of Transferred Subjects in India.

2nd. In the H. of Commons questions were asked regarding the pay and pension of the I. C. S. and regarding their protection from the alleged hostile action of the new Indian Ministers and their Councils.

Before a meeting of Parliamentarians under the Duke of Northumberland a bogus report was presented which included a reference by the O'Dwyer gang to an Indian Society which was alleged to be promoting murder and rebellion in India !

In the H. of Lords Lord Sydenham gave an alarmist view of the Army reductions in India which if carried out, he said, would spell disaster to the Empire !

3rd. Lord Reading, entertained to Dinner by the Royal Colonial Institute with Mr. Montagu as president, said in reference to his new appointment as Viceroy : 'It was a great idea to ask him who sat in the mighty seat of British Justice to go to India for the reason that he represented Justice in Great Britain.'

Oxford University Union after a full dress debate passed by 88 votes to 76 : 'That this House would welcome the immediate grant of the status of self-governing Dominion to India.'

5th. Manchester Chamber of Commerce sent representation to Mr. Montagu condemning cotton import duties in India.

8th. In the H. of Lords, Lord Lytton moved the Second Reading of the Govt. of Burma Bill which was postponed on Lord Amptill's motion that the matter was premature. Lord Sydenham raised the question of Parliament's power to review the administration of Transferred Subjects in India and elicited an assurance from Lord Lytton, the Under Secretary, that they could.

10th. The *Morning Post* announced the formation of the India Emergency Committee composed of O'Dwyer, Dyer, Joynson-Hicks, Lords Sydenham & Amptill and other Die-hards, ostensibly to circulate informations about India but really to do anti-Indian propaganda work.

11th. Mr. Montagu received at the India Office the Indian Moslem Delegation to the Near East Conference.

12th. Lord Reading entertained at a farewell luncheon at Savoy Hotel by Indians in London. The Aga Khan presided Lord Reading declared that he was going to India determined to do his utmost and believing that Indians would try at the outset to give faith to him until they found that he was undeserving of it.

Mr. Lloyd George received at Downing Street the Indian Moslem Delegation who urged modification of the Treaty of Sevres.

17th. India Emergency Committee held a large inauguration meeting under Lord Amptill in Cannon Street Hotel to denounce Mr. Montagu and his Reforms in India.

23rd. Influential deputation of Lancashire M.P.'s and Cotton magnates waited upon Mr. Montagu to protest against Indian cotton duties and tried to influence him against fiscal autonomy being granted to India. Mr. Montagu declined to interfere.

April 1921

8th. Mr. Montagu replying to a deputation of pensioned officers of the uncovenanted service asking for an increase of pension said that he had gone a long way already but promised to reconsider.

12th. In the Commons the question of Kenya Indians was raised in interpellation when Col. Wedgwood declared that the Colonial Office was antagonistic to the Indian claim of equality in Kenya. Lord Winterton declared that the whole black population of Kenya was against giving further rights to Indians.

20th. Lord Lytton in the H. of Lords announced that the Burma Reform question had been left to the Joint Committee for report.

22nd. Sir Edward Grigg gave a lecture at the Royal Society of Arts on the "Common Services of British and Indian people to the world" and said that the time was not yet ripe when Indian unity and security could be maintained without the moral fibre of the British. Lord Chelmsford said that his experience of the Reformed Legislatures had been wonderful and he was confident that this great adventure was going to be a wonderful success.

29th. Mr. Montagu wrote to Mr. Chotani of the Khilafat Deputation expressing appreciation of its services and made a long statement of British policy towards the Turks.

May 1921

3rd. Nairobi Round Table Conference between members of the Indian community and the European Convention was opened under Governor Sir Edward Northey to arrive at a settlement on the claim of equality put forward by the Indian settlers.

4th. Lord Sydenham in the H. of Lords called attention to the dire peril to British Rule in India owing to reductions in the Indian Army. A long debate followed in which Lords Chelmsford and Lytton spoke against the motion which was withdrawn.

Nairobi Round Table Conference ended in a fiasco.

11th. At the annual dinner of the Newspaper Society of England, Field Marshall Wilson declared that India was a 'specifically British possession' which must be retained as such by force of arms.

13th. Mr. Montagu appointed a committee under Lord Lytton to report on the Indian Students question in the United Kingdom

24th. In reply to Colonel Wedgwood in the H. of Commons Mr. Montagu gave the amounts of large pensions that Sir Michael O'Dwyer, General Dyer and Mr. Smith still draw from India.

25th. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry delivered an address on the "present political situation in India" at the Indian Students' Hostel and was fusilladed by interruptions and cries from the Indian students as he spoke against non-co operation and supported Govt. action.

31st. In the H. of Commons Viscount Curzon put in an interpellation regarding Gandhi, using the insulting epithet "an individual called Gandhi" in this connection.

Debate in the H. of Lords raised by Lord Montagu of Beaulieu on defending the N. W. Frontier in India and preserving "our damaged prestige in our Eastern Empire." Lords Sydenham, Chelmsford, and Lytton made long speeches.

June 1921

1st. Parliamentary Joint Committee recommended the Govt of India Act to be extended to Burma at once.

7th. In the H. of Commons Mr. Montagu was heckled by questions re Gandhi Reading interview Col. Yate again raised the question of reduction in the Indian Army.

8th. Burma Reforms Bill as drafted by the Joint Committee came up before the Lords for the second reading and passed.

14th. Sir Frederick Hall suggested in the H. of Commons deportation of Mr. Andrews, whom he described as "the so-called gentleman", in connection with his activities re Chandpur Gurkha outrage.

20th. Imperial Conference of Premiers of British Empire opened at London by Mr. Lloyd George who referred to India in glowing terms and invited her representatives, the Maharao of Cutch and Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, to participate in the discussions on equal terms.

21st. Mr. Sastri addressed the Imperial Conference on behalf of India and put forth the plea of equality of status for Indians.

24th. At the Empire Parliamentary Dinner Lord Birkenhead announced that he had arranged to send a Parliamentary Delegation to greet the new Legislatures of India.

28th. Burma Reforms Bill passed by the Lords.

July 1921

7th. Debate in the H. of Lords on Indian unrest raised by Lord Sydenham who asked what steps Govt. was taking to protect lives and properties of Europeans. Lord Lytton made a long statement.

At a meeting of the Imperial Conference the status of Indians in the Dominions and Colonies was discussed fully. The Maharao of Cutch opened the discussion and Mr. Sastri took a leading part.

12th. Mr. Waddington asked in the House of Commons about the huge profits which he alleged the Indian Cotton Mills have earned; he wanted to deprecate the new imposition of Indian Cotton Duties.

In the H. of Commons Mr. Montagu was heckled by the Die-hards about the Indian Service Men and their dissatisfaction with the Montagu Reforms. Mr. Montagu promised to issue a communique on the subject shortly.

18th. Mr. Montagu in reply to enquiries made a statement in the H. of Commons regarding the Madras strikes which followed from the Buckingham and Karuatic Mills lock-out.

Col. Hurst drew attention in the H. of Commons to the huge loss sustained by India by the exchange muddle of 1920. Mr. Montagu made a statement on the sale of reserve councils.

19th. In reply to a question Mr. Montagu gave an account in the H. of Commons of the late Aligarh Riot of 1921

27th. The Maharao of Kutch and Mr. Sastri were presented with the Freedom of London; and held at a brilliant gathering and entertained to a luncheon at the Mansion House with the Lord Mayor in the Chair. Mr. Sastri made very eloquent speeches in his best style.

Augu 1921

1st. A committee of Leading Manufacturers in England sent circular to M. P's with a view to rally them in opposition to the

Indian custom duties and declared that Mr. Montagu was responsible from first to last for the tariff difficulties between England and India.

Tilak Anniversary Day held in London at Woburn Place with Mr. M. H. Kidwai in the Chair, and also to celebrate the inauguration of N C O in India.

2nd. Protest against Jt. Parliamentary Com. recommendations on Kenya Indians issued over the names of Lord Sydenham, Sir C. Townshend, and Sir Joynson-Hicks saying: "we cannot imagine that any British Govt. would give them equal franchise with the White men and in fact by so doing convert the Indian Colony into a British Dependency."

5th. Imperial Conference Resolution on the status of Indians in the Dominions and other parts of the Empire was issued officially and published in the Press.

Genl. Smuts opined to a Press correspondent that Indians should emigrate to Mesopotamia rather than to South Africa.

A European mass meeting at Nairobi passed strong resolutions against giving any civic rights to Indians in Kenya.

9th. Col. Hurst in the H. of Commons enquired why the reverse councils were sold privately during the last exchange muddle. Mr. Montagu explained the position.

Colonial Secretary received a private informal deputation of East Africa Indians consisting of Messrs. Jeevanjee and Varma of Kenya and Messrs. P. Thakurdas and Ramchandra Rao of India. Mr. Churchill declined to hear Mr. Jeevanjee in detail. Immediately after this Mr. Churchill interviewed the European deputation.

13th. Imperial Ind. Citizenship Assoc. wired to the Sec. of State and Govt. of India the frantic anti-Indian campaign started by the Kenya Europeans to force the hands of the Govt. to assign an inferior status to Indians.

17th. At a Savoy Hotel Luncheon Mr. Chotani said that he and his colleagues of the Khilafat Deputation were returning to India completely disappointed. They found that the Germans were not the only Europeans who treated treaties as scraps of paper.

18th. Mr. Montagu in reply to a question in the H. of Commons made a long statement on the military operations in the N. W. Frontier against the Waziris.

19th. Lancashire Deputation waited upon Lancashire M. P's. over the Indian Cotton Duties. Mr. Montagu who was present regretted that his arguments addressed to them months ago had not made an impression.

The Lytton Students Enquiry committee boycotted by the majority of London Indian students.

September 1921

5th. League of Nation's Assembly met at Geneva and was attended by the Maharao of Cutch and the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri as Indian Delegates.

20th. Foreign Office, United Kingdom, addressed protest to the Soviet Govt. alleging revolutionary intrigues against British interest in Asia, particularly helping Indian revolutionaries, in contravention of the Anglo Soviet Commercial Treaty.

October 1921

4th. Mr. Montagu wrote to Lord Lytton intimating the Indian Assembly's refusal to vote the grant on the students enquiry Committee.

6th. Lord Lytton as President of the students enquiry committee replied to Mr. Montagu giving an account of the work already done by his committee.

8th. Litvinoff of the Soviet Foreign Office in reply to British note of 20th. September denied all the charges categorically and complained of unfriendly attitude of the British.

10th. Sir Edward Northey, Kenya Governor, in opening the Kenya Council appealed to parties for truce on the Indian question.

17th. Governor of Kenya announced *interim* arrangement to nominate one Indian to the Executive Council and four to the Legislative Council.

25th. In reply to several questions in the H. of Commons Mr Montagu made a statement of the trouble arising from the Moplah Rebellion, promising to give fuller details later.

Lord Sydenham raised a debate in the H. of Lords on the political situation in India. Lord Curzon made a long reply deprecating the attitude of Sydenham in raising the question just on the eve of the 'Prince of Wales' departure for India. A long debate ensued in which Lords Amptill, Middleton, Chelmsford, Lytton and others took part.

The International Labour Conference of the League of Nations opened at Geneva under Lord Burnham as president.

26th. In the International Labour Conference Mr. Joshi, the Indian Labour delegate, spoke in support of a proposition to limit

the work of agricultural labourers and to protect them like industrial labourers.

November 1921

1st. In the H. of Commons Sir Charles Yate enquired the reasons for the repeal of the Indian Press Act and Repressive Acts. Mr. Montagu made a long statement on the subject. A day was demanded by the Die-hards for the discussion of Indian Unrest; this was refused by the Leader of the House.

3rd At the International Labour Conf. Mr. Joshi urged the necessity for tackling the question of primary education and literacy of wage-earners in all countries.

8th. In the H. of Commons Sir C Yate put a question regarding Trade Unions in India which he described merely as "Strike Committees" and therefore unlawful. In reply to further questions Mr. Montagu promised to supply further informations on the Moplah outbreak.

9th. Sir C. Yate asked in the H. of Commons whether Govt. servants in India were wearing Gandhi-caps and thus openly flouting Govt. Mr. Montagu in reply said that some of the Provincial Governments have taken steps in the matter.

In regard to a demand of the Die-hards for a day to discuss the affairs of India the Leader of the House refused to comply.

In the International Labour Conference Mr. Joshi, the Indian labour delegate, speaking on the Secretary General's report asked for an explanation as to how different nationalities are represented on the staff of its office and why agency offices are not opened in Asiatic countries.

December 1921

14th. Kenya Indian leaders summoned to trial for refusing to pay income tax following the passive resistance movement. Defence was that the tax was illegal being imposed without the peoples' consent.

15th. In the Commons Col Wedgwood enquired re the treatment of Indian leaders sent to jail. Mr. Montagu gave an evasive reply.

20th. In reply to Mr. Ben Spoor in the Commons Mr. Montagu declared that there was nothing in India which should be described as repression. It was merely keeping law and order.

21st. Genl. Smuts addressing the Natal S. A. Congress counselled Indians to avoid trying for settlement of the Indian question which might do them no good and might do the Empire harm, and advised them to be repatriated to India.

India in Parliament & Abroad 1922

January 1922

12th. Sir M. O'Dwyer once more hit out his jeremiads about India at the Overseas Club meeting where he pompously spoke on "Our Imperial Responsibilities in India" which was to save the Indian masses from the so-called intelligentsia !

27th. Speaking at the East African Dinner in London Mr. Churchill made a notorious reactionary pronouncement, denying that democratic institutions can grow in Eastern countries and emphasising that Kenya was characteristically a White colony.

February 1922

2nd Lord Birkenhead, Lord Chancellor, in the course of a speech said about 'formidable movements' in India. 'it is not inconceivable that we may have once again to prove that the British Empire retains the hard fibre which brought it that Empire.

7th Parliament opened by the King In the debate on the address Genl Page Croft said that Govt must make it clear that they intended to rule India. Lord Curzon referred to India as 'that great Dependency' and threatened whole-sale repression to check the Indian unrest.

9th. Mr. Montagu speaking at the 1920 liberal club threatened further repression in India but contested Mr Churchill's dictum that democracy was impossible in India and his anti-Indian foreign policy as regards the status of Indians Abroad.

10th Sir Joynson-Hicks' motion of censure on Mr Montagu drew forth a very lively debate in the Commons during which the die-hard party indulged in an inferno of abuse of Montagu and India.

21st. Sir M. O'Dwyer addressing a meeting under Sydenham gave a horrifying account of unrest in India ; he attributed all trouble to the weakness of the Govt. of India and explained how the rebellion in the Punjab under his regime had been put out by Genl Dyer in 4 days ! Gandhi, Montagu and the Govt. of India were equally responsible ; the former was a dangerous hypocrite whose continued immunity was a menace to public peace.

March 1922

4th Mr. Montagu in a speech at Lisbon said that the policy of granting self Govt. to India would be carried through inspite of difficulties.

9th. Mr. Montagu was suddenly forced to resign. In the Commons this news was received with prolonged cheers and unseemly hilarity by the die-hards and Unionists. Mr. Chamberlain explained that the resignation was due to a breach of cabinet discipline in Mr. Montagu's publishing a Govt. of India telegram on the Turkish question without cabinet authority.

11th. Speaking to his constituents at Cambridge Mr. Montagu exposed the tactics of the Premier and explained that in order to get the support of the conservatives to his tottering ministry, Mr. Lloyd George had presented the Die-hards with his head on a charger. A stormy controversy raged in England on this subject on this and the following days.

13th. In the Commons Mr. Montagu's resignation was the subject of another heated controversy.

14th. Lord Curzon made an impassioned speech in the Lords defending himself against Mr. Montagu's allegations.

17th. In a speech at Thetford Mr. Montagu gave his reply to Lord Curzon's statements in the Lords.

22nd. Replying to Sir C. Yate in the Commons Earl Winterton said that the question of disallowing the repeal of Indian Press Act would be considered when the measure was passed by the Indian assembly.

The *Times* thundered at the Indian Assembly for refusing certain grants and hinted that the Reforms may be withdrawn if such conduct was persisted in.

27th. In the Commons there was a long discussion on the Consolidated Fund Bill when Col. Wedgwood, and Mr. Ben Spoor strongly attacked the repressive policy of Govt. in India. Earl Winterton made his reply.

29th. Deputation of Lancashire M.P.'s waited upon Earl Winterton and made strong representation against Indian Cotton duties.

In the Commons Earl Winterton moved for power to raise £50 millions Indian Loan.

April 1922

6th. Third reading of the Indian Loan Bill in the Commons passed.

10th. White paper issued on the N-C-O movement.

11th. East India Loan Bill passed in the Lords.

In the Commons Sir C. Yate attempted to obtain a reconsideration of the case of the punished Punjab Officials of 1919. Mr.

Chamberlain replied sympathetically but refused to reopen the question.

13th. Indian Loans Act received Royal Assent.

May 1922

16th Joint Parliamentary Committee met in the Lords to hear and examine Viscount Peel on various Indian matters.

23rd. In the Commons replying to Colonel Yate Lord Winterton refused to consider more fully the I. C. S. Pension Rules.

24th. In the House of Lords, Lord Sydenham again raised the question of the punished Punjab Officials of 1919 and asked a reprieve. There was a long debate in which Lord Chelmsford made his first Parliamentary speech after retirement from India.

June 1922

12th. Burma Reform Rules passed in the House of Commons after a long debate lasting for five hours during which numerous amendments were proposed but all defeated.

15th. India Office Estimates introduced in the House Commons ; long debate on the Indian administration followed.

July 1922

4th. In the Commons during the Colonial office estimates debate the Colonial Secretary spoke on Kenya which he said was exclusively being retained for White settlers.

5th. New Civil Service Pension Rules issued by the Sec. of State.

19th. Second Report of the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Indian affairs issued.

26th. Indian Princes in England gave a friendly dinner to Mr. Montagu. Bikaner paid a tribute to Mr Montagu's services to and genuine affection for India.

August 1922

2nd. J.C.S. Debate in the House of Commons. Mr. Lloyd George made his notorious 'steel-frame' speech denouncing political movements in India and forecasting more repression.

4th. Sir Hamilton Grant addressing the Oxford Liberal League condemned the repressive policy in India.

8th. C. P. & Berar Civil Service Association memorialized the Sec. of State against the O'Donnell Circular.

10th. Press campaign in England, led by the *Morning Post*, started against the famous O'Donnell circular.

22nd. Annual Conference of United Kingdom Textile-workers at Blackpool passed resolution against Indian Textile Duties.

September 1922

8th. Speaking before the British Association at Hull Lord Meaton said that Imperial Citizenship should be extended to India at once.

9th. A meeting of the Executive Council of Kenya presided over by Sir Robert Coryndon discussed the final term of settlement of Indian question. Common franchise on education test was adopted and a small district in the Highlands was reserved for the Indians.

19th. H. H. Jamsaheb of Nawanagar speaking before the League of Nations' Assembly said that the great bulk of Indian population did not consider opium a harmful drug and spoke against the suppression of opium cultivation in India.

20th. At the League of Nations' Assembly Sir Sivaswami Iyer attacked General Smuts for the policy adopted by the South African Govt. in administering the mandated territory of the German South West Africa.

On the question of protecting Minorities, the Maharaja of Nawanagar speaking before the League of Nations' Assembly appealed to South African delegates to regularise the position of the Indian minority in South Africa.

28th. A Committee of the League of Nations passed resolution on apportioning the League's cost among its various members—India's share being 1,440,000 Gold Francs.

October 1922

9th. The *Morning Post* in a leading article emphasised the pension grievance of the I. C., S. and said that now that Mr. Montagu was gone they looked with some hope to the India office on this matter.

15th. Report of the Indian Students Committee presided over by Lord Lytton was published.

16th. Details of the scheme for the reconstitution of the Indian Army reserve of officers on the lines recommended by the Esher Committee was announced.

20th. Mr. Lloyd George and his cabinet resigned. Mr. Bonar Law became the new Premier.

India in Parliament 1921

Early in the year an agitation was carried on in England by the Tory Die-hards of the Sydenham party to discredit the operation of the Montagu reforms in India. The proceedings of the National Congress at Nagpur in 1920, especially its change of creed, were watched with anxiety, and an alarm was raised that India was fast turning bolshevist. The visit of the Duke of Connaught and the progress of the boycott movement that dogged his steps arrested universal attention in England. Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the martial law officers of the Punjab, since disgraced and retired, filled the Tory papers with malicious writings about India and indulged in a personal vendetta against Mr. Montagu and his Indian supporters. All trouble in India was fathered upon Mr. Montagu. Further, the conciliatory mood towards India which till then pervaded the British cabinet irritated these watch dogs of bureaucratic power beyond measure and when the name of Lord Reading was suggested for the viceroyalty, they almost lost their senses. The Jewish bogey was raised, and it was seriously suggested that British interests in the East was being bartered away to a Jewish clique. Mr. Montagu was a Jew, Sir William Meyer was a Jew, the Commander-in-Chief was a Jew, and then another Jew was to be installed at the Indian Pontificate ! So many Jews together to manage the affairs of India, especially in view of the Jewish gold and intrigue which was running the Russian Soviet, was looked upon with suspicion, and the Greek millionaire who pulled the legs of Mr. Lloyd George from behind the scenes was supposed to have a hand in this matter. Objection was also raised on the score of the well-known Moslem antipathy to the Jew that Lord Reading's appointment would do violence to Moslem feeling in India. In the Parliament itself all these jeremiads could not be carried but Mr. Montagu was continuously heckled in the most unseemly manner by the Tory Die-hards.

The Opening of Parliament.

Parliament opened on the 15th Feb. In the House of Commons Mr. Davison moving an address to the Throne said amongst other things : "Thanks of the country are due to the Duke of Connaught who on His Majesty's behalf has inaugurated the New Council in India. In undertaking this important task he has once again shown that unselfish devotion to duty of which the beloved Royal Family daily has given evidence. (Cheers.) The House of Commons would

share His Majesty's hope that these changes will bring progress and political peace in their train."

Sir Luke Fildes, seconding, declared that the whole House and the Empire would be delighted if success attended the efforts of the New Councils. He thought it would be well to remember the great services given to India and the Empire in the by-gone days by the body of men remarkable for their earnestness and efficiency, namely, the Indian Civil Service. They had fought pestilence and famine and had done great administrative work with one unselfish idea of doing their best for the great Indian Empire.

Mr. Asquith referring to India said he could only say without any distinction of party that Great Britain had looked with the greatest good-will and most sanguine expectations to the great new adventure there. For himself, and he was sure he was re-echoing everybody's opinion, he thought it of the very greatest advantage to the Empire that the early critical stages of that adventure should be presided over by a man of the sagacity, experience and popular sympathies of Lord Reading.

Mr. Lloyd George in reply to a suggestion for establishing a committee to co-ordinate the Army, Navy and the Air-forces of the Empire, said: When we were in trouble the Empire helped us. Over a million men came from India voluntarily and vast numbers from other parts but that was a spasmodic effort. The solidarity of the Empire was a guarantee against further shedding of blood since the sword would never have been drawn had the planners of the war known what the British Empire would do.

This was no occasion to express any but the sweetest sentiments. Soon however the House had a taste of the die hard attitude on India as given below.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—23 FEBRUARY 1921

Lala Harkishan Lal's Case.

Sir W. Davison asked the Sec of State whether he is aware that Mr. Harkishan Lal, who was convicted on a charge of conspiracy to wage war and of abetting the waging of war against the King, was sentenced to transportation for life and forfeiture of property and was subsequently pardoned as an act of clemency, has now been selected by the Governor of the Punjab as one of his two Indian Ministers who will be charged with the administration of public works, education, excise, commerce and industry, local Government, etc.; whether in the discharge of this office he will have control over large numbers of British and Indian officials, and will exercise great patronage with wide financial powers; whether the Sec. of State is aware of the bitter feeling which this appoint-

ment has caused among His Majesty's loyal subjects, both British and Indian; whether he has personally approved of the appointment of a recently convicted rebel to such a prominent position of trust under the Crown: and what steps he proposes to take in the matter?

Captain Viscount Curzon asked the Sec. of State for India whether Harkishan Lal, who was committed as a rebel in the rebellion of 1919, has been appointed as a minister in the Punjab; whether since his release he has continued to take part in rebel agitation; whether in his new appointment he will have a very large number of loyal subjects of the Crown, both British and Indian, under his jurisdiction; and whether, as such an appointment is an insult to all loyalists throughout the Empire, it can be reconsidered?

Mr. Montagu:—Under the Government of India Act Ministers are appointed by the Governors of Governors' provinces, hold office at the pleasure of the Governor, and are responsible to the Legislative Councils who vote their salaries. The Joint Select Committee advised that the Ministers selected by the Governors should be elected members of the Legislative Council enjoying its confidence and capable of leading it. In these circumstances I would submit to the House that the proper place to consider the title of Ministers to the confidence of the Legislature is the Provincial Councils.

Sir W. Davison:—Is the right hon. Gentleman aware, and is it not a fact, that the action of the Governor is subject to the superintendence, direction, and control of the Sec of State?

Mr. Montagu: No, that is not quite true. It is subject to the superintendence, direction, and control of the Secretary of State, except—I am quoting from memory—as provided in this Act, and under this Act the question of the appointment of Ministers is laid by Statute on the Governor.

Sir W. Davison: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that this action of showing favour to rebels is driving many loyal subjects into the hands of the extremists?

Viscount Curzon: Is it a fact that this man is a convicted rebel, and that he holds jurisdiction over a large number of Europeans?

Mr. Speaker: That does not seem to be a matter for this Parliament. It is a matter for the Legislative Council.

Viscount Curzon: Will the right hon. Gentleman exercise his influence with the leader of the House to secure the release of the hon. Member for East Leyton (Mr. Malone)?

Sir W. Davison: Is it not a matter for this House to know whether a man responsible for the Government of India who has been

appointed to high office by the Crown is a convicted rebel? I submit that we are entitled to that information.

Mr. Speaker: The House having given practically Home Rule, or something in the nature of Home Rule, to these Councils the less it interferes with the Councils the better.

Sir H. Craik: Was the nomination made by the Governor of the Punjab without any suggestion from Home or from the Government of India?

Mr. Montagu: Of course it was. The Governor is specially charged by Statute to make his own nominations. I never knew of the appointment until sometime after it was made.

Dr. Murray: Was not General Smuts a rebel at one time?

Sir W. Joynson Hicks: As your ruling, Sir, is important, may I ask if the question of law and order and India was handed over to the Councils, or were not only certain specified subjects handed over to them by this House? Is it not the case that this House retain control of every other subject other than those directly handed over?

Mr. Montagu: May I point out that this gentleman who has given rise to this discussion is a Minister who has charge of those very Transferred Subjects, and that if the Legislature does not think him a man worthy of his confidence it has its remedy, and if the Punjab does not think the Legislature worthy of its confidence it has its remedy.

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks: I was not discussing this case. I was asking as to the things that were reserved.

Mr. Speaker: This is the only case that I am discussing. This is not the time to deal with hypothetical cases. What I said arose entirely out of the answer given by the Sec. of State for India.

Sir H. Craik: Can the system which the Government have instituted in India be described as one of Home Rule? On the contrary, is it not a system which is described by the new-fangled word "diarchy," or divided rule, with common responsibility of this House and the Legislative Council?

The Speaker: The words "Home Rule" were used, not in a technical sense, but in a general sense. Certain subjects have been transferred wholly to these Legislative Councils, and it is with regard to those only that I used the expression.

Sir W. Davison: As this matter is one of great importance, may I ask whether the Members of this House cannot get information from the Sec. of State for India as to certain action which may have been taken by the Governor or some of his Ministers? Are we not entitled to ask that question?

Mr. Speaker: It depends on the information which is asked for. When the question appears on the Paper, I will consider it.

Next day, Feb. 24th. there was a long debate over the Speaker's ruling. Viscount Curzon led the attack. The following is the full text of the debate.

Viscount Curzon :—I desire to ask you, Sir (the Speaker), a question with regard to the ruling given yesterday on a question in reference to India. I asked a question with reference to a certain man in India, and whether certain statements made about him were correct. You replied that it did not seem to be a matter for Parliament but one for the Legislative Council. The Hon'ble Member for South Kensington (Sir W. Davidson) then asked :

'Is it not a matter for this House to know whether a man responsible for the Government of India, who has been appointed to high office under the Crown, is a convicted rebel? I submit that we are entitled to that information.'

You said that the House having practically given Home Rule, or something in the nature of Home Rule, to these councils, the less it interfered with the councils the better. When a country has been given Home Rule, are we to understand that no further questions may be asked about the details of administration in that country?

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks : May I call your attention to a section of the Act passed the year before last? Section 4 enacts that the Governor of a Governor's Province may, by notifications, appoint ministers, not being members of his executive, and so on. The Governor of this Province was an officer appointed by the Crown, and for the appointment of that officer the Secretary of State is clearly responsible. I submit that under the terms of that section, this minister having been appointed by the Governor of the Province who was appointed by the Secretary of State here, we are entitled to ask the question of the Secretary of State as to the conduct of his own appointment.

Mr. Ormsby Gore : Is it not also laid down that the Ministers so appointed are responsible to the Local Legislature and removable by the Provincial Council. If that be so, would not a deadlock be reached at once if Ministers were appointed to an Indian Province and had not the confidence of the Provincial Assembly of that province? Therefore, is it not impossible for two Legislative Chambers to attempt to share such responsibility, and will it not have to be made quite clear whether the Indian Ministers are responsible to the Provincial Councils or to this House? It must be one or the other: both cannot possibly exercise the responsibility.

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks : My hon'ble friend has not quoted the section, which goes on to say :

"Any Ministers so appointed shall hold office during his (the Governor's) pleasure."

Sir H. Craik : Might I, as a member of the Joint Committee, point out that the nomination of these Ministers is in the hands of the Governor, but we were repeatedly assured that the Governor would be responsible to the Secretary of State. That is quite independent of the methods that may be used by the Assembly for removing such Ministers. The original appointment of the Ministers is in the hands of the Governor, and the Governor is responsible to the Secretary of State who is answerable to this House.

Mr. Speaker. The noble Lord asked me a general question; and I said, in reply, the legal phrase, "*Dolus latet in generalibus*." I will not answer it in general terms. I will only say that it must depend in each case upon the events into which it is desired to enquire, and upon the questions which are put. We are now commencing a new era in India, and it appeared to me yesterday, and still appears to me to-day, that it would be extremely undesirable if this House were to attempt to undertake the function of controlling or criticising the Ministers who are responsible to the newly created legislative bodies. After all, the Ministers, however chosen, however selected, are the Ministers of those legislative bodies. They presumably have their confidence, their salaries are voted by them. Talk of dyarchy ! It would indeed be dyarchy if we supervised those Ministers as well as the legislative councils to whom they are responsible ! For that reason I think that we had far better begin to abstaining from asking questions and criticising the Ministers who have been duly selected by the Governor, under the statutory powers which this House has given him for that purpose.

Sir H. Craik : On the point of order, may I say, with great respect, that the question raised was not in regard to any criticism of the action of the Minister who is now responsible to the Assembly in India. A question was raised with regard to the action of the Governor who is subject to the Secretary of State. The question had relation not to the action of the Minister, but solely to the action of the Governor in appointing the Minister and we contend that the Governor, in so doing, was responsible to the Secretary of State, and, through him, to this House.

Mr. Speaker : The question was intended to hit the Minister through the body of the Governor.

Sir W. Davison : My question was : was it a fact that the Governor had appointed to a Ministry in the Punjab a gentleman who had been convicted of rebellion against the Crown ; and, as the Governor was appointed on the recommendation of the Prime

Minister, I thought that that was a question which might be asked in this House.

Viscount Curzon : The question that I asked the Minister was : was it a fact, as stated, that this man was a convicted rebel, and that he held jurisdiction over a large number of Europeans. The statement appeared in the Press that he was a convicted rebel and I wanted to know for information whether it was so or not. To that you replied that it did not seem to be a matter for this Parliament. May I now ask whether I was entitled to have the information for which I asked, without any reference to criticising the action of any one ?

Mr. Speaker : If you say that a man is a convicted rebel, I think you criticise him. You do not do him any good.

Mr. Devlin : Do I understand that a rebel is entitled to be a Minister if he is not convicted ?

Mr. Speaker : The hon. Member is leading me into deep waters.

The point was raised again on March 1st. when Sir H. Craik asked :—

I desire, with your permission, Mr. Speaker, to raise a point of order arising out of certain rulings which you gave on Wednesday and Thursday last, which rulings have given rise to anxiety in many quarters. This is due to an interpretation being placed upon them which I think they were not intended to bear. The point arose on Wednesday (23rd) with reference to a question as to the action of a Governor in appointing a certain Minister, and you said, Sir,

“That does not seem to be a matter for this Parliament.”

You further stated :

“The House having given practically Home Rule or something in the nature of Home Rule to these Councils, the less it interferes with these Councils the better.”

On Thursday in reply to a question of my own as to the responsibility of the Governor to this House through the Secretary of State, quite irrespective of any question of the Minister or the Council, you stated :

“The question was intended to hit the Minister through the body of the Governor.”

I desire to raise now no question in regard to the Minister of the Local Council, nor, so far as I understood, was either of these involved in the question of the responsibility of the Governor to this House through the Secretary of State for India. I venture to call your attention to the Preamble of the Act of 1919, wherein,

in reference to the progressive realisation of responsible Government in British India, it is stated :

"Progressive in giving effect to this policy can only be achieved by successive stages" and further :

"The time and manner of each advance can be determined only by Parliament upon whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples."

I would further call your attention to the fact that the appointment of the Minister rests solely with the Governor, and that under the Act and in accordance with the strong recommendation from the Joint Committee, responsibility to this House through the Secretary of State is strongly affirmed, and any rules restricting such responsibility must be approved by Parliament under Section 33 of the Act. I desire, therefore, to ask you whether we are right in assuming that nothing in your rulings of last week should be understood as limiting the power of Parliament to supervise the action of officers acting in India under the Secretary of State, or the right of members of this House to raise questions as to such action.

Mr. Speaker. I thank the right hon'ble gentleman for having been kind enough to postpone from yesterday to to-day the raising of this point of order. That has given me more time to look into the matter and refresh my memory by reading again the Preamble to the Act of 1919. The more I look at it the more I am convinced that I was right. The last paragraph says :

"And whereas concurrently with the gradual development of self-governing institutions in the Provinces of India it is expedient to give to those Provinces in provincial matters the largest measure of independence of the Government of India which is compatible with the due discharge by the latter of its own responsibilities..."

If, therefore, this House was of opinion that it was desirable to give the Provinces of India the largest possible measure of independence of the Government of India, 'a fortiori', it is desirable that those provinces should be given a large measure of independence of the Imperial Parliament. That was my reading and that is my reasoning upon the Preamble. I have also looked at the Act again. I have come to the conclusion that, having started upon this new departure of granting a measure of self government to the Provinces of India, it is highly undesirable that this House should interfere in any way with the control by those provincial legislatures of their own affairs. The Ministers who are selected by the Provincial Governors are selected under the Act of Parliament by the Governors, but the Ministers are responsible to the Legislative Councils of those Provinces, and even if this House were to pass some censure,

either direct or indirect, upon such a Minister, it would be futile. Therefore, it is very undesirable that it should be done or that any step should be taken which would lead up to it.

It seems, therefore, to me that, taking the broad view of the situation, Parliament intended to transfer to these Provinces of India complete control, subject, possibly, to the action of the Indian Legislature, of the transferred subjects and those are the only ones I am referring to. For that purpose the Governors of Provinces are empowered to select Ministers who will be responsible to the Provincial Legislative Council. Therefore, to permit criticism of the character or conduct of the Governors in the matter of transferred subjects appears to me to nullify the intentions of the Act. I have also come to the following conclusion. If it is desired to condemn the action of any Governor in a matter not transferred, it is open to a member to make a motion of a character similar to that which is made in the case of the Governor-General of India or the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. That, I think, replies to the last part of the hon member's point of order as to the power of this House to supervise the action of the officers acting under the Secretary of State.

Sir H. Craik : With all respect to your ruling, may I point out that I intended, and I thought I had conveyed my meaning, to confine my point solely to the question, not of the case of Ministers dealing with transferred subjects but of the action of the officers responsible through the Secretary of State to this House in their general administrative acts. I was not referring to the transferred subjects at all. The appointment of those Ministers is not a transferred subject. It is a matter for which the Governors are responsible, as I understand, to this House ; but I gather from the last words that fell from you that you leave to members the right to raise questions as to the action of such officers ?

Mr. Speaker : That is so I accept the view of the right hon. gentleman, but upon the question of transferred subjects I still hold that there is no right of interference by this House.

Lord Hugh Cecil : Of course we recognise that it is for the Chair to determine questions of order, but I do not quite understand how this is a question of order. It may or may not be desirable to interfere with transferred subjects, but it is for the House to consider the question ; it is not a matter for the Chair.

Mr. Speaker : The noble Lord, I think, was not here when questions were put last week which raised the point of order. That is why I was brought in.

Sir W. Joynson Hicks : May I ask, in view of the judgment which you have now delivered, that the action of the Governor may be criticised whether an appointment by a Governor of A or

B is not an act coming directly under your ruling, seeing that the Governor is responsible to the Secretary of State for his action? We do not want to ask the views of yourself or of any other member as to the acts of individual Ministers, but may we not, under your ruling, ask whether a Governor has appointed A or B as a Minister?

Mr. Speaker: I thought that I had answered that question. As a result of my construction of the Act it places him in the same position as the Governor General. If criticism be desired, a motion should be put down in the ordinary way and discussed in this House.

Sir J. D. Rees: Will not the difficulties of the Indian Governors, which are already sufficient, be immensely increased if the House is to discuss and criticise their appointments of Ministers?

Mr. Speaker: I am much obliged to the hon. Baronet for his support.

Mr Ronald McNeill: Are not the restrictions and rules with regard to the putting of questions in this House definitely laid down in the Manual of Procedure which is in the hands of all Members, and would it not be more desirable that the Standing Orders on which those rules are based should be altered to meet these growing requirements than that the existing rules should be extended, however desirable it may be, by the exercise and discretion of the Chair? It would give much more certain guidance to hon. members and, in view of the growing importance of the relations between the Imperial Parliament and subordinate Parliaments, this is a matter which may come up in the future in many respects.

Mr. Speaker: There are no Standing Orders applicable to the present case, but there is no reason, if the House thinks fit, why it should not introduce such a Standing Order as the hon. gentleman suggests.

Mr Oimaby Gore: Is it correct to use the words "subordinate Parliaments" for the Legislatures of Canada and the Commonwealth of Australia? Is not that one of the things most resented in the Commonwealth and is it not much more desirable, if we are going to frame a new Standing Order dealing with the powers of this House to question all these various Legislatures of the Empire, that the word "subordinate" should be carefully kept out in each case?

Lieut. Colonel Archer Shee: Is it not the fact that India is a self governing dominion?

Mr. Speaker: We are getting rather far from the point from which we started.

BURMA REFORMS IN THE LORDS**HOUSE OF LORDS—8TH MARCH 1921**

Early in March 1921 the Burma Reforms Bill came before Parliament. In the House of Lords, on March 8, 1921, Lord Lytton moved the second reading of the Government of Burma Bill which, he said, constituted Burma a Governor's Province within the meaning of the Government of India Act. The text of the Bill is given below :—

A Bill for applying to Burma the provisions of the Government of India Act with respect to Governor's provinces and for purposes connected therewith.

Be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled and by the authority of the same as follows :—

(1) Section 46 of the Government of India Act (which makes provision as to the mode of the Government in Governor's provinces) shall have effect as though Burma were included amongst the Provinces specified in subsection (1) thereof and all the provisions of that Act which relate to Governors' Provinces shall apply to the Province of Burma accordingly.

Provided that (A) Sub-Section (2) of Section 72 (A) of that Act which relates amongst other things to the proportion of elected members in the Governor's Legislative Councils shall, in its application to Burma, have effect as though 60 percent were substituted for 70 percent, and (B) the number of members of the Legislative Council of Burma shall be ninety-two and the first schedule of the Government of India Act shall have effect accordingly, and (C) the maximum annual salary of the Governor of Burma shall be Rs. 190,000 and the maximum annual salary of the members of the Executive Council of the Governor of Burma shall be Rs. 48,000 and the second schedule to the Government of India Act shall have effect accordingly

(2) Sub-Section (1) of Section 55 of the Government of India Act is hereby repealed

(3) (1) This Act may be cited as the Government of Burma Act 1921

(4) Sub Sections (2) and (5) of Section 47 of the Government of India Act 1919 (which relate respectively to the date of the commencement and the removal of certain difficulties) shall apply to this Act as they apply to that Act as though herein set out and expressly made applicable to the subject-matter of this Act.

If the Bill were enacted, a committee was to proceed to Burma to make enquiries locally and to issue recommendations with regard to the division of the functions of Government and the distribution of franchise in a similar manner to the case of India subject to the rules which might be based on the report of that committee. The Bill when enacted would establish the principle of Dyarchy, the number of elected members would be sixty instead of seventy per cent. because there was in Burma a large mixture of distinctive races which differentiated it to some extent from India, and in order to secure adequate representation for these without the necessity for establishing a community of franchise communities, they proposed to have a larger number of nominated members than in

India. In deference to very strong pressure from the Government of India a clause had been inserted in the first draft bill making the title of the Viceroy in future the Governor General of India and Burma in order to mark the fact that Burma was distinct from India, but on further consideration this clause was dropped. The Government however was very anxious to find if there was any possible way of meeting Burmese sentiments in this connection and, if the bill were referred to a Joint Committee, the committee would be asked to try to find means of making this distinction.

Lord Lytton pointed out that Burma could have been constituted a Governor's Province without an Act of Parliament merely by the authority already vested in the Sec of State under existing legislation, but unfortunately there was difference of opinion between the Government of India and Mr Montagu with regard to the Constitution which should be established in Burma, and Mr Montagu had decided to allow Parliament to decide. The Government of India had been invited to reconsider their proposals but could not agree to the proposal to apply the principle of Dyarchy to Burma or to make it a Governor's Province. In transmitting a resolution of the Legislative Council of Burma the Government of Burma had made significant admission. Lord Lytton said that as a result of the Joint Select Committee's recommendations in 1919 and Mr. Montagu's announcement in 1920 it was no longer possible to differentiate Burma very materially from the Indian Provinces. Although the opinion in Burma itself undoubtedly favoured the policy embodied in the Bill, the Government of India did not agree.

Lord Lytton emphasised that the bill, which two years ago represented the opinion of the advanced section in Burma, now represented the opinion of the Moderates. The Government could have over-ridden the Government of India and instructed them to apply the Act by notification, but instead Mr. Montagu properly decided to submit the whole case to Parliament. He asked the Lords to allow the bill to go before a standing joint committee on Indian affairs and to let the committee investigate the whole matter including the alternative proposals of the Government of India. The committee would have all relevant documents and would be able if they wished to hear evidence from the Government of India and from representatives of Burma, and after they had fully investigated the matter they would report to Parliament and the bill would return to the Lords with the recommendations of the committee.

Lord Sydenham moved the rejection of the bill declaring that it came to the House against the wishes of the Government of India, the Government of Burma and the opinion of the greatest experts

on Burma. We should wait to see, said he, how diarchy was going to work out in India.

Lord Ampthill declared that abrogation of the functions of Parliament to the committee would be the most dangerous constitutional innovation and moved an adjournment of the debate until the correspondence between the Government of Burma, the Government of India and Mr. Montagu had been laid on the table. He objected to diarchy and said that they should see what the Indians thought of dyarchy before applying it to Burma.

Lord Selbourne agreed that the question of Self-Government for Burma might usefully be threshed out by a joint committee but he pointed out that the bill committed them to the principle that Burma should remain part of the Indian System. That was extraordinarily important. When the joint committee considered the Government of India bill he had received a definite impression that Burma ought not to be part of the Indian System, but ought to be made a separate Government because the conditions in Burma were wholly different from those in India. He supported Lord Ampthill's motion because they ought to know why the question had been prejudged.

Lord Lytton replying said there was nothing in the bill with regard to Burma remaining a part of the Indian System. Nothing in the bill proposed to alter that. Possibly the select committee would recommend the separation of Burma from India, but whether Burma separated or not they must still deal with its Constitution. The whole question was what was the best machinery or form of Government to achieve the ultimate goal of Self Government. The House would be better able to decide when they had before them not only the despatches which would be published but all documents and evidence that would be submitted to the joint committee. He would be quite willing that papers should be published to enable them to form opinion on the issues between the Government of India and Mr. Montagu but he begged them not to delay in submitting the bill to the select committee because further delay was unsafe and unwise. The Government was convinced that the time had come when intention must be shown to fulfil the pledge of Self-Government for Burma.

Replying to Lord Sydenham Lord Lytton indicated that if the bill were rejected Mr. Montagu would have no alternative but to proceed under the Government of India Act with his policy in his own way. Lord Sydenham thereupon withdrew the motion of rejection. Lord Ampthill's motion was carried by 36 votes to 31.

THE EMERGENCY COMMITTEE

The India Emergency Committee

Other matters connected with India were also debated in the Lords on the same day. Lord Lytton, as the spokesman of the India Office, assured the House that Parliament had the right to review the administration of the transferred subjects by the Indian Minister, but toned down his remarks by saying that Parliament must exercise self-restraint in interfering with the administrative discretion of the local Government in India in regard to subjects that were not reserved. The Sydenham gang, however, went in for a considerable heckling of the Under-Secy, and question after question was put about the lot of British officials serving under Indian Ministers and their right to appeal from the Ministers' decision.

Not content with their obstructionist tactics in Parliament the Die-hard party, led by the redoubtable O'Dwyer and Lords Sydenham and Amptill, started a propagandist party of their own and named it the India Emergency Committee. In a manifesto that they issued they said .—

For some time past accurate information of the general position and trend of events in India has not been obtainable in this country. Occasional letters of warning from individuals with first-hand knowledge have appeared in the Press; but for the most part the real facts are ignored or misrepresented.

The Government of India having gradually lost control of the situation during the last three years has now ceased effectively to maintain law and order. Isolated groups of Europeans are being boycotted and assaulted, English girls are publicly insulted in the streets of the leading cities, serious faction fights between Indians take place unchecked and contribute to the growing disorder, continual strikes are fostered by Home Rules in railway workshops and among industrial and transport workers, the lower ranks of Government employees, and the menial urban population, threats are openly hurled against European commerce and trade enterprise. In several places a sinister combination for disorderly ends has been formed under the auspices of agitators between college and school students and the truculent riff-raffs of the Bazaars, and schools and colleges have in consequence been closed.

The Montagu reforms are spurned by the extremists who are frankly Bolshevik in their attitude towards the British Government, styling the latter "The Empire of Sin", while unity of the Provincial Governments is rendered impossible by the presence of an expensive galaxy of Indian Ministers, who, where they have not shown themselves definitely hostile, are wholly lukewarm in their support of the British administration.

The Public Services are disheartened by lack of support and by the paralysis of the Central Government, true Indian loyalists are openly harassed and boycotted by the revolutionary party and are denied protection: while, according to the latest ruling of the Speaker, Parliament is apparently debarred from imposing any effective check upon a general surrender to our enemies in India.

In order to draw attention to the danger of the present situation in India and to explain more fully its salient features, an Emergency Committee has been formed which will conduct an extensive campaign to draw attention to the grave peril that threaten our Eastern Empire. In this connection a public meeting is to be held at the Cannon-street Hotel, London, on

8 MAR. '21]

THE CANNON STREET MEETING

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Thursday, 17th March, at 2-15 p. m. Lord Ampthill will take the chair, and the speakers will include Lord Sydenham, Sir William Joynson-Hicks, Sir Charles McLeod, Colonel Applin and others.

Charles McLeod

Michael O'Dwyer

J. C. Shorroock

Sydenham

Ampthill

R. V. K. Applin

W Joynson-Hicks

Stanley Machin

The India Emergency Committee, 64 Victoria-Street, Westminster, March 8th.

Accordingly, on March 17th, 1921 a large meeting was held in the Cannon Street Hotel to protest against Mr. Montagu's policy in India. An overflow meeting was held in the adjoining Pillar Hall where Col. Applin took the Chair. Lord Ampthill, the president, and Lord Sydenham denounced Mr. Montagu and all those connected with his policy, in their usual bullying language; the policy of the Secretary of State was intelligible only if he were a member of a Bolshevik Govt. 'General Dyer had saved India! Mr. Mahomed Ali was the King's enemy! Gandhi had declared that he preferred Bolshevik to British rule! The agitators had followed the Duke of Connaught as he toured in India and had proclaimed that the King was powerless! Such were the burden of the speeches of these self-styled well-wishers of the Indian people!

The climax however was reached when that hero of the Punjab, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, rose to speak. He gave a lurid description of what was happening or what he thought was happening in India, the processions and hartals, the agitation set on foot by Gandhi, the way in which the Indian Govt. was licking the boots of the extremists, and it was amazing that a country which had defeated the Kaiser should have sunk so low! And so on. Finally, amidst wild scenes of exultation the following resolution was passed.

"This meeting desires to impress on His Majesty's Government the grave nature of the situation which has arisen in India, imperilling the lives and interests of His Majesty's loyal subjects, both British and Indian, owing to the failure of His Majesty's Government to deal promptly and effectively with seditious agitation, and asserts the right of Parliament and the British public to be kept fully informed of the facts and of the measures which are being adopted for the restoration of confidence and tranquility in India"

It is only necessary to add that the formation of this vigilant emergency committee was viewed with alarm by most Englishmen in India as being calculated further to make things difficult for them in India. The European elected members of the Legislative Assembly, Delhi, accordingly, sent a message of protest to which Lord Ampthill curtly replied: 'Mind your own business.'

Lancashire Deputation to Mr. Montagu

INDIA OFFICE—23RD MARCH 1921

By far the most important affair in England about India early in 1921 was the great agitation carried on against the fiscal autonomy which India was slowly going to secure for herself. A very strong and influential deputation of Capital and Labour of Lancashire interested in the Cotton trade waited on Mr. Montagu to press their opposition to the new Indian customs duties on cotton goods. They tried to argue, and then to threaten the Secretary of State, that the new fiscal arrangements in India must go as they meant loss to their trade. The tone in which the speeches were made, and their phraseology—especially those of the labour members, showed how very determined they were to regain their fiscal dictatorial powers over India. Very elaborate arrangements to receive the deputation were made in the Council Chamber at the India Office. It was headed by Sir William Barton, M. P., who introduced the deputation and consisted of more than 100 members representing the industrial, commercial and financial interests of Lancashire, Yorkshire and Cheshire—the wealthiest and the most influential countries of England.

Sir William Barton, who has the singular knack of saying hard things in a very pleasant way, accused Mr. Montagu of sacrificing Lancashire, which depends so much on Indian custom, to placate Indian politicians who favoured the cotton duties in order to benefit mill-owners in India. It had not been dictated by considerations of revenue, he said. It was protective. It was inequitable towards the Indian consumer.

Mr. Tom Garnett, the representative of the Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Association of Manchester, sketched the history of the cotton duties from 1895 to 1917, in order to make out that Lancashire had been wronged by the raising of the cotton duty without also raising the excise. He gave Mr. Montagu to understand that in 1917 an undertaking had been given to Lancashire that no further increase in cotton duties would be allowed in India without prior consultation with Lancashire. The new duty, Mr. Garnett declared, will not be paid by Lancashire, but will be passed on to the Indian consumer, who will suffer. India is Lancashire's greatest customer because Lancashire can supply cotton goods better than anybody else. Lancashire did not ask for any preference. But he immediately afterwards told Mr. Montagu and his

colleagues that if he wants more revenue he must raise the excise duty. The cotton industry in Lancashire was, he added, a great national and Imperial asset. The duties which he had sanctioned were dealing a blow to the revival of this trade, which was passing through the greatest crisis that he, with his 50 years' experience, could recall. If panic arises in Lancashire it will spread elsewhere, because the ramifications of the cotton trade extend very far. Lancashire, he said, was not greedy and indifferent. It was generous and public-spirited. Though the Civil War in America had hit it hard, yet so keen was it upon the abolition of slavery that it did not side with the Southern States. Presumably Mr Montagu was to infer from that passage that he was aiding and abetting Indians bent upon destroying this idealistic Lancashire !

Mr Garnett concluded by reminding the Secretary of State not to forget that so long as Parliament remain responsible, to any degree, for the administration of Indian affairs, Lancashire will not submit to India putting on protective duties to harm Lancashire trade.

Mr. Smethurst, representing the Master Cotton Spinners of Manchester, quoting figures, some of them compiled by Sir William Meyer, sought to prove that the Indian cotton industry was a thriving industry, and had been steadily driving Lancashire out of the Indian market. Bombay mill-owners, he contented, were rolling in wealth. The dividends had gone up from about 5 per cent in 1914 to almost 45 per cent in 1920. Such an industry needed no protection. He affected to laugh at public opinion in India, but confessed that sentiment in the Indian legislature favoured protection. Whenever India has the opportunity, he declared, she would go plump protectionist. And he called upon His Majesty's Government to protect Lancashire against that disaster. The note on which he concluded his speech was that Lancashire will give the Government no peace until its demand was conceded.

Mr. Grant, representing the Dyers, Bleachers and Finishers of Manchester, told Mr. Montagu and his colleagues that what disadvantageously affected Lancashire also disadvantageously affected the numerous industries not only in England but in the contiguous countries as well, because those industries depended upon the product of Lancashire's spindles and looms. Following the lead given by the previous speaker, he scoffed at public opinion in India, said that the franchise was very limited, and the demand for the new duties was not a demand from the people of India, but on the contrary was made at the behest of the Indian mill owners. Constitutionally, he informed Mr Montagu, His Majesty's Government had full control over Indian finances, and

he appealed to him to protect the export trade of England which was at the mercy of Indian protectionists.

Then came the first Labour speaker, Mr. Robinson, a rather short, square man who emphatically stated that in the matter of Indian cotton duties, the operatives were in entire agreement with the employers, and would work shoulder to shoulder with the masters. Over 200,000 operatives in Lancashire were without work and in receipt of doles. Since they had returned from the war they had not had an hour's work. India may have fought in the war, but what was her share compared with Lancashire's? If India needed more money, why could she not put an excess profits duty or raise the excise? As long as India was a part of the Empire, the Secretary of State should see that Lancashire got fair play from India.

Mr. Thomasson, another Workers' representative, informed Mr. Montagu that the workers were determined to see this thing through to the end. Justice must be done to Lancashire.

Mr. Cross, the third Labour representative, reminded the Secretary of State and his Councillors that it would not do for him to ignore the temper of the Lancashire worker. The duty hurt the employees even more than it did the employers, because the capitalists could take their capital and go elsewhere, whereas the labourer could not do so. The Indian people were given an open market in Britain, which refused to put a shilling's worth of protection on their goods. The inference was that Britain demanded like treatment from India. He asked if the work people of India wished to throw the workers of England out of employment. Evidently he must have realised that his words and attitude were quite threatening, for he himself admitted feeling "pretty warm" on the subject.

As soon as Mr. Cross sat down, Sir William Barton rose and told the Secretary of State that the Lancashire case had been made out. Thereupon Mr. Montagu made his reply.

Mr. Montagu's Reply

Mr. Montagu opened his reply by denying the impression that seemed to have got abroad that the Govt. of India had taken the first change of the newly found liberty to pay off an old score and impose a duty with the main object of protecting the Indian cotton goods and injuring the Lancashire trade. Admittedly, the duties are protective. Nevertheless, pending the final settlement of the future Indian fiscal policy, it was imperative to impose new taxation which happened to be protective in incidence. He quoted from the budget showing the unavoidable deficit mainly in consequence of the increase in salaries, fall in exchange, trade slump and heavy military charges. As regards the latter, Mr. Montagu pointed out that the figure for defence was the very lowest that the Government of India

could accept if they were to be in a position to fulfil the responsibilities to India and to Parliament for the peace and good Government of the country. Then he declared that the Government of India, during the past few years, had explored every source of revenue.

In reply to a question why they did not have excess profits duty, Mr. Montagu pointed out that India had such a tax, but the request for its removal, which was so vociferous in England, had triumphed a bit earlier in India. There was no money available from Provincial Governments, because their contributions were fixed by the Statute. A large tax had already been imposed on railways. Opium was a vanishing source of revenue, whilst the tax on salt, which touched the pockets of the very poorest, was unthinkable. Postal rates and income-tax had been greatly put up already, and, consequently, the customs remained the sole source for fresh revenue. Mr. Montagu emphasised in this connection that cotton had not been singled out but, on the contrary, the tax applied to the whole amount of exports. The best proof, he said, that we were seeking revenue and not protection, was the withdrawal of the concession which had hitherto been allowed on machinery for cotton mills.

Mr. Montagu did not desire to argue the case on economic grounds. Most of the deputation, like himself, were free traders, but he rarely met an Indian who believed in any doctrine except protection. Admittedly, it would be theoretically possible to forbid the introduction of the budget proposals, but actually it would be absolutely impossible, because he would have to veto the whole Bill, leaving the Government of India none of the increased revenue to meet the increased charges. On the other hand, supposing he had refused permission, the Government of India would have had to propose to the Legislative Assembly duties on cotton, coupled with the corresponding excise. Mr. Montagu was sure that the Assembly would overwhelmingly defeat such a Bill.

Answering to the argument that the taxes were imposed for the benefit of the Bombay millowners, Mr. Montagu pointed out that the proposal to increase the tax to 12 half per cent was supported by the Bombay members, perhaps, to some extent, as a counter-blast to the Manchester agitation, and was defeated mainly on account of the realisation that the interests of consumers should have the first consideration, and also because at the present time it was unjustifiable to engage in a measure of protection for other than revenue-producing purposes.

In regard to the constitutional issue, Mr. Montagu quoted the Selbourne Committee's recommendation in 1919 on the Government of India Bill to the effect that while no statutory change can be made

with regard to the Government of India's fiscal measures, while the Governor General remains responsible to Parliament, the conventions governing the matter may wisely be modified to meet the fresh circumstances caused by the creation of the Legislative Assembly with an elected majority. Only exceptional circumstances would justify the Secretary of State intervening in matters purely of Indian interest. Here the Government and the Legislature of India were in agreement. Mr. Montagu further said that the door for negotiation between India and the rest of the Empire was open, but negotiation without power to legislate was likely to remain ineffective. A satisfactory solution of the question could only be guaranteed by granting to the Government of India the liberty to devise tariff arrangements most suitable for India's needs as an integral portion of the British Empire. Whatever might be the right fiscal policy for India, she should have some liberty to consider her interests as Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa had. Mr. Montagu proceeded by saying that after that report by an authoritative Committee, coupled with Lord Curzon's promise in the House of Lords, it was absolutely impossible for him to interfere with the right which had been wisely given and which he was determined to maintain, namely, to give the Government of India the right to consider Indian interest just like Great Britain and the rest of the Empire. Mr. Montagu recalled that the Labour Members had given their valuable support to the passage of the Reforms Bill, although they had desired even greater liberty for India, and, consequently, he was astonished to hear the arguments of the Labour representatives in the present case. He was convinced that British trade could not prosper in India without the good-will of India, which was best secured by letting India have her own fiscal way. While he was sure that the Government of India's future fiscal policy would be protective, because Indians and Englishmen there were nearly wholly in favour of protection, he hoped that in the system ultimately adopted, India, of her own free will, after carefully exploring the methods by which it could best be accomplished, would take her stand in the system of Imperial preference which had been adopted by Australia, New Zealand, Canada, South Africa and Great Britain, if only to demonstrate to the world her solidarity within the British Empire. Nevertheless, it would be the most profound mistake to use the statutory powers to force Imperial preference upon her.

Mr. Montagu assured the deputation that India had only used her fiscal liberty which was promised her in 1919, in accordance with the principles in which she believes in order to obtain absolutely necessary revenues.

Referring to the Lancashire Commons' suggestion to send a deputation to India to discuss the matter with the Government of India and Members of the Assembly, Mr. Montagu opined that it would be a good thing to sit down and talk with the people in whose custody the matter rested, with a view to arriving at a mutual advantage based upon the recognition that India has power under the solemn pledge to devise her own tariffs when under the regrettable necessity of raising revenue for her own and imperial needs. Because the defence of India was co-incidental with the defence of the Empire, he was sorry that he was not in closer agreement with the deputation, but declared that they were acting in regard to India as much as they did in regard to other parts of the Empire. He believed that the principle of freedom, which was very dear to the hearts of the people of Lancashire, would not be denied to the people of India. Although the electorate of India was still very limited, it was vast compared with any previous electorate, and "having got the most Representative Assembly you can, you may trust the electorate which elects to the Assembly to see that its action is in harmony with the wishes of the electorate."

At Mr. Montagu's request, Sir Charles Stuart Bayley, ex-Lieut. Governor of Behar, and Vice president of the India Council, addressed the deputation, and explained the burning nature of the cotton goods question. In reply to the insinuation about public opinion in India which he deprecated, he pointed out that it was difficult accurately to ascertain the public opinion of any country, particularly of a huge population like that of India. One might question what public opinion in Britain was. Nevertheless, he was sure that the Europeans and also Indians, who were sufficiently educated to express an opinion, were unanimous on the matter and considered that India had been badly treated in the matter of cotton duties.

In the end Sir Barton and Mr. Tom Shaw thanked Mr. Montagu for his patient hearing of Lancashire's case, although they were not satisfied with the explanation. Mr. Tom Shaw urged Mr. Montagu to make friendly representations to India, pointing out that 200,000 unemployed in England were likely to be injured by the policy complained of. Mr. Montagu promised to convey to India the views that had been stated, but he could not recede from the position that India must be permitted to devise her own tariff in her own interests. The deputation then withdrew.

Interpellations in Parliament

Some of the more important interpellations in Parliament on Indian affairs early in 1921, showing the trend of British feeling on India, are reproduced below from Hansard.—

HOUSE OF COMMONS—23RD FEBRUARY 1921

Reductions in the Indian Army

Sir J. D. Rees asked the Secretary of State for India whether he can give the House any information regarding recent or prospective reductions in the Indian Army?

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks asked the Secretary of State for India whether he is aware of the anxiety caused in India by the proposal to reduce the Army below pre War limits, whether such proposals had the approval of the Commander in Chief; and when the decision was arrived at?

Sir C. Yate asked the Secretary of State for India how many regiments of cavalry and battalions of infantry are to be reduced in the Indian Army, what was the number of each in 1914, and what will be the number when the proposed reductions are carried out?

Mr. Montagu: There were in Aden and India in 1914:—39 Indian cavalry regiments, 132 battalions of Indian infantry and pioneers, and, in addition, 6 Indian infantry battalions in overseas garrisons. Arrangements are now being made to maintain in India: 21 Indian cavalry regiments, 132 battalions of Indian infantry and pioneers, with a somewhat reduced establishment. In addition there will remain the Indian cavalry and infantry units employed overseas. But the question of the final post-War strength of the Army in India is engaging the close attention of His Majesty's Government, and I hope to make a statement to day fortnight.

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks: I hope I am not pressing the right hon. Gentleman too far, but may I have the assurance that pending the statement no further reductions shall take place?

Mr. Montagu: Yes. Pending that statement no further reductions are contemplated.

Lieut. Colonel Croft: In view of the fact that the last answer seems to contradict the answer to a previous question, may I ask the right hon. Gentleman if the discrepancy in the number of cavalry regiments, between 39 and 21, is made up by cavalry regiments serving in other theatres, or is there a reduction?

Mr. Montagu: The previous questions referred to reductions already made. This refers to reductions that are to be made.

Lieut. Colonel Croft : Is it a fact that there is to be a very considerable reduction in Indian cavalry regiments ?

Mr. Montagu : Yes, there is to be a considerable reduction. I think I shall be able to explain it to the satisfaction of the hon. and gallant Member this day fortnight, when I hope to make a statement on the whole question.

Mr. Gwynne : Will the right hon. Gentleman answer the last part of the Question, whether such proposals had the approval of the Commander-in-Chief, and when the decision was arrived at ?

Mr. Montagu : I think the whole position will be made quite clear when I am in a position to make a statement. No reduction has yet been sanctioned on which there has been discussion of any sort or kind in the Government of India.

Sir C. Yate : How many regiments are serving abroad, and deducting these, to what number will it actually be reduced ?

Mr. Montagu : I should like to consult the War Office before I say how many cavalry regiments are serving abroad for very obvious reasons. If the hon. Member will put down a question I will discuss with the War Office whether it is possible to give the information without prejudice to the public interest.

Army (Strength).

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks asked the Secretary of State for India how many Indian cavalry regiments have been disbanded, whether they were pre-War regiments, how many men have been disbanded ; and what pensions are being given to them ?

Mr. Montagu : Three Indian Cavalry Regiments were disbanded on 10th January, 1919, and the fifth additional squadrons of four Indian Cavalry Regiments were disbanded during the year 1920. None of these regiments or squadrons were pre-War units. The establishment of the above units would amount to 2,160. Men serving on ordinary engagements get on disbandment certain special concessions in the way of pension or gratuity. I am sending my hon. Friend a copy of these rules.

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks : Will the Right Hon. Gentlemen take great care that these men do not go back to their homes and from the focus of discontent in India ?

Mr. Montagu : I think that is a very important consideration, and I will forward my hon. Friend's suggestion to the Government of India for consideration.

Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy : Is not the loss of these regiments compensated for by the development of flying squadrons in India, and can we not look for some further economies by aeroplanes taking the place of cavalry ?

Mr. Montagu : In determining the post-War Army in India all these facts will be taken into consideration.

Auxiliary Force

Sir C. Yate asked the Secretary of State for India the number of voluntary enrolments in India up to date under the Auxiliary Force Bill and how this number compares with the number that were enrolled under the Indian Defence Force Act ; and what is the date fixed as the time limit for volunteering under the new Act?

Mr. Montagu : A report, dated the 18th January, states that "the Auxiliary Force is making good progress, and the numbers already recruited have now reached some 20,000 out of a proposed 32,000 by the end of the financial year." In October, 1920, the numbers in the Indian Defence Force were 33,451.

Sir C. Yate : Then there is a deficit now of 12,000 men ?

Mr. Montagu : Yes, of course it will take some time to recreate a force whose number was temporarily created during the War. It is hoped that 32,000, which is approximately the number, will be recruited by the 31st March.

Sir C. Yate : Is the 31st March the date fixed on which the question is to be compulsory or voluntary enlistment ?

Mr. Montagu : No date has been fixed. As soon as the Government of India say they cannot raise the force they require voluntarily, a compulsory force will have to be instituted, but at the present moment they tell me that recruiting is very satisfactory.

Sir C. Yate : Will the right hon. Gentleman fix the date on which that can be brought forward ?

Mr. Montagu : I prefer to leave it to the Government of India, who are quite aware of what will give them the force which they require.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—2ND MARCH 1921

Government Motor Vehicles

Mr. Manville asked the Secretary of State for India whether an order for motor car chassis required by the Government of India has been placed in Italy ; and, if so, will he state the number of the chassis so ordered and their value ?

Mr. Montagu : Orders for 144 motor vehicles of various kinds have been placed in Italy on behalf of the Government of India at a total cost of approximately £79,000.

Mr. Manville : Does the right hon. Gentleman really think that in times such as these the Government of India ought to have ordered material of that sort from Italy, seeing what the position of the motor car industry is in this country ?

Sir Fortescue Flannery : Is it the policy of the Govt. of India to buy cheaply or to assist in the employment of British workers ?

Mr. Montagu : The Government of India have to have regard to the interests of the Indian taxpayers. They would naturally prefer to buy here rather than abroad. The circumstances connected with this particular purchase, which I understand were ambulance cars, were that there was ready a surplus stock belonging to the Italian Government, and they were required to meet an urgent demand. British firms are going to tender for the remainder of the supply.

Vizcount Curzon : Can the right hon. Gentleman say whether these chassis were new or cars which had been used during the War?

Mr. Montagu : I understand that they were surplus stock belonging to the Italian Government, as far as the majority of the cars are concerned. I am not sure whether they were new or had been used during the War.

Mr. Manville asked the Secretary of State for India whether he is aware that British manufacturers are preparing special designs for motor vehicles at the request of the India office and submitting vehicles for trial in April; and will he, under these circumstances, see that the requirements of the India Office for motor transport in India are satisfied through British manufacturers?

Mr. Montagu : Sample motor vehicles are being prepared by British manufacturers for trial in India. Provided that these samples prove to be satisfactory after trial, the High Commissioner will give the British manufacturers full opportunities of tendering for any supplies that may be required, and will give every attention to such tenders.

The Indian Civil Service.

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks asked the Secretary of State for India whether the Report of the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill, Clause 36, expressed the definite opinion that in the case of members of the Indian services who felt that they could not usefully take part in the new reform schemes they should be offered an equivalent career elsewhere or that they should be allowed to retire on proportionate pensions; whether in consequence of this recommendation, members of the Indian Civil Service memorialised the Secretary of State with a view to securing such pensions; whether the Secretary of State, in his despatch to the Viceroy of October 1920, stated that he would not consent to a scale of pensions which it would be open to any member of the service to claim as a matter of right on a mere statement that he found himself unable to serve under the new conditions; upon what grounds he has overridden the decision of the Joint Select Committee, and what is the present position with regard to members of the Indian Civil Service who desire to retire on proportionate pensions?

Mr. Montagu: The despatch to which my Hon. Friend refers does not in any way override the recommendation of the Joint Select Committee, which can be adopted without devising a scale of pension. I can assure the House that any case of the kind which comes before the Secretary of State in Council will be dealt with in strict accord with the recommendation of the Joint Select Committee and the pledges that I have given to the House.

Provincial Legislative Council

Sir William Davison asked the Secretary of State for India whether in the instructions issued to the Governors of Indian provinces or presidencies, they are directed to safeguard all members of His Majesty's services in the legitimate exercise of their functions and in the enjoyment of all recognised rights and privileges, and to see that no order of the Local Provincial Council or of the Local Legislative Council shall be so framed that any of the diverse interests of, or arising from race, religion, education, social condition, wealth, or any other circumstance may receive unfair advantage, or may unfairly deprive them of the privileges or advantages which they have heretofore enjoyed; and whether he is responsible to Parliament to see that Governors act in accordance with his instruction?

Mr. Montagu, I would refer the Hon'ble Member to the provision in Section 84 A of the amended Government of India Act for the appointment of the first Statutory Commission for the very purpose which he has in view. Parliament is, of course, fully entitled to seek information, but I trust it will not seek to intervene in matters specifically entrusted to Indian legislatures.

Sir W. Davison asked the Secretary of State for India whether, seeing that in the preamble of the Government of India Act it is expressly stated that the Imperial Parliament, in considering the gradual development of self governing institutions in India, must be guided by the co-operation received from those on whom new opportunities of service will be conferred and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility, he will inform the House whether Members of Parliament will be able to ascertain from the Secretary of State from time to time as to the manner in which the various Provincial Councils are dealing with matters committed to them, so that Parliament may be guided as to its future action regarding the conferring of further responsibilities on such Provincial Councils?

Mr. Montagu: The Hon. Member has correctly quoted parts of certain passages in the instructions issued over the Royal Sign Manual to the Governors of "Governors' provinces." The answer to the last part of this question is in the affirmative.

Sir W. Davison: I understand that this Parliament can ascertain facts which occur in these legislatures or with regard to the action of the Governors without interfering with what actually takes place?

Mr. Montagu: I always desire to place at the disposal of the House any information of this kind.

Lord Rawlinson (Council of State Speech)

On March 9, Sir W. Joynson-Hicks asked the Secretary of State for India whether he can state the nature of the proposals made to the Council of State on the 3rd instant by Sir William Vincent which were opposed by Lord Rawlinson?

Mr. Montagu: The Hon. Baronet's question is evidently based on a press message which appeared in newspapers, in which Lord Rawlinson is reported as having stated in the Council of State that the Government would be extremely lucky if the country escaped sporadic disorders in the next month, that he strongly objected to certain proposals of Sir William Vincent, and owing to attacks made upon them officers were already showing signs of losing their initiative. I felt sure, when I saw this message, that Lord Rawlinson must have been misreported, and I at once telegraphed to India for the facts. I am informed, in reply, that there is no truth in any of the allegations, that none of the subjects referred to were even mentioned in the Commander-in-Chief's speech and the Commander-in-Chief asks that a categorical denial should be made. Sir William Vincent in a speech in the course of the debate reported, alluded to possible sporadic disorders and to the possible effect on officers of such proposals as those put forward by Mr. Sastri, the mover of the resolution under discussion. I find that the Press report is correct that six out of the eight proposals made by Mr. Sastri were rejected by the Council, and I gather that the two that were accepted were not regarded by the Government of India as unreasonable. I would add that Reuters, to whom I think we are greatly indebted for the information sent from and conveyed to, India with general accuracy, have expressed to me their regrets for the unfortunate mistakes connected with this telegram.

Indian Immigration, New Zealand

Sir T. Bennett asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, whether he is aware that an Act to amend the Immigration Laws of the Dominion was enacted in 1920 by the New Zealand Legislature, and that among its other objects it was designed to prevent or place further restrictions upon the immigration into New Zealand of His Majesty's Indian subjects, if he will say whether representations on

the subject have been received by the Colonial Office ; and whether any assurances regarding the enforcement of the Act or the regulations framed under it have been received from the New Zealand Government by His Majesty's Government ?

Lieut.-Colonel Amery : The Immigration Restriction Amendment Act, 1920, of New Zealand makes no mention of Indians, but I have received a protest from an Indian Association in this country, the writer of which was referred to the Dominion Government. At the instance of the Government of India, the Government of New Zealand has given an assurance that there will be no alteration in the position as regards the entry of the wives and families of Indians already domiciled in New Zealand.

Sir T. Bennett asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, whether he has received representations relative to the enactment by the Natal Provincial Council of the Durban Corporation Extended Powers Ordinance, 1920, and the Durban Tramways Consolidated Laws, 1905 and 1920 ; whether in these representations the fear has been expressed that the Durban Corporation, in enforcing these enactments, will do so to the prejudice of the rights and interests of the Indian citizens and rate payers of Durban by the adoption of a policy of racial discrimination ; and whether, seeing that such a policy is opposed to the views of His Majesty's Government, as expressed on many occasions to the various administrations in South Africa, he will say what steps, if any, have been taken by His Majesty's Government to protect His Majesty's Indian subjects in Durban from the enforcement of such a policy of racial discrimination ?

Lieut.-Colonel Amery : The Secretary of State has not received representations from South Africa on the subject of these Ordinances, but the Governor-General of the Union received petitions regarding them from various Indian Associations in Durban. The Governor-General decided, after full consideration, to assent to the Ordinances.

War Expenditure.

On the 10th March, Colonel Wedgwood asked the Secretary of State for India the total amount of expenditure incurred by British India on her own account and on account of the British Exchequer, respectively, in connection with the War from the beginning of hostilities to the last year for which accounts are available ; whether any committee with Indian opinion adequately represented has investigated such expenditure ; what authority has adjusted and audited the proportion of expenditure recoverable from this country ; what compensation India is being, or will be, given for the delay in adjustment of account resulting in serious loss through exchange ; whether India will receive interest at a reasonable rate on long delayed

payments; and what facilities he proposes to give Indians to satisfy themselves that in the adjustment of the accounts, which run into large sums of money, Indian interests have been duly safeguarded?

Mr. Montagu: Including the contribution of £100,000,000 towards the cost of the War offered by the Indian Legislative Council in 1917, and the cost of the Afghan and Frontier operations in 1919-20, the War expenditure borne by India up to 31st March, 1920, was about £127,000,000. The expenditure incurred on behalf of the British Exchequer during the same period was about £301,600,000. The expenditure has been apportioned between Imperial and Indian revenues on the basis of the Parliamentary Resolutions of 1914; the arrangements for adjustment were devised by the Government of India and the India Office, in consultation with the Imperial Departments and the Comptroller and Auditor-General in India, and Indian audit has throughout been accepted by His Majesty's Government. In these circumstances no Committee such as that suggested seems called for. I am not aware of any loss through exchange in connection with the adjustment of the accounts. There has ordinarily been no delay whatever in payment, as the Imperial Government have advanced month by month, from the commencement of the War, the approximate sums estimated by the Government of India and this Office as likely to be disbursed each month on behalf of His Majesty's Government. It is the duty of the Comptroller and Auditor-General in India and of the Auditor of the Home Accounts in England to audit the adjustments with the Imperial Government, and I have no reason to think that Indian interests have not been duly safeguarded in the matter.

Cotton Mills

On the 17th March Sir W. Burton asked the Secretary of State for India what was the amount of the total capital employed and the amount of the profits made by Indian cotton mills for the year 1914 and each succeeding year to 1920; and what taxes were paid by them in each of such years other than Excise duties, and differentiating between Income Tax, Super-tax or any other form of taxation?

Mr. Montagu: The latest returns of paid-up capital employed in cotton mills in British India (including debentures), so far as known, were as follows, in lakhs of rupees:

| | | | |
|---------|-----|-----|-------|
| 1914—15 | ... | ... | 2,139 |
| 1915—16 | ... | ... | 2,119 |
| 1916—17 | ... | ... | 2,148 |
| 1917—18 | ... | ... | 2,248 |
| 1918—19 | ... | ... | 2,623 |

There are no official returns of the profits of cotton mills. Complete returns of the Income Tax paid during the above years by owners of cotton spinning and weaving mills are not available, but figures for 1916-17 show that 153 companies paid Rs. 10,93,579, and 381 other assesses Rs. 97,540. I have no returns showing the amounts of Super-tax or Excess Profits Duty that have been paid by cotton mills.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—23RD MARCH 1921

Sandhurst Cadets

Sir C. Yate asked the Secretary of State for India how many Sandhurst cadets have stated their wish to enter the Indian Army in their last term at the Royal Military College since the date of the Armistice: how many of these were King's India cadets; and how many Indian Army appointments were announced at the time of the entrance examinations?

Mr. Montagu: Since the date of the Armistice 98 Sandhurst Cadets have joined the Indian Army, excluding those who entered for Quetta, but were trained at Sandhurst. Sixteen of these were King's India Cadets. The entrance examinations at which these 98 Cadets entered were held in November 1917, March, July and November 1919, and at these four examinations 95 Indian Army appointments were offered. In the last passing out list, out of the first 17 in order of merit, 10 were candidates for the Indian Army of whom 4 were Quetta Cadets.

Dr. Kitchlew and Mr. Rambhuj Dutt

Colonel Wedgwood asked the Secretary of State for India whether, and if so, why, Dr. Kitchlew and Rambhuj Dutt Chaudry have been put in prison?

Mr. Montagu: In a telegram dated 7th March the Government of India informed me that, in consequence of violent speeches delivered at Lyallpur, Rupar and elsewhere, orders have been issued under the Defence of India Act, requiring Mr. Rambhuj Dutt and Dr. Kitchlew to abstain from attending or addressing any public meeting in the province. It is clear, therefore, that at that time these men were not in prison. I have no later information.

Prosecutions for Sedition.

Colonel Sir C. Yate asked how many persons had been prosecuted in India for seditious utterances in speeches or newspapers during the past three months and how many had been convicted and whether any prosecutions had been instituted for incitement to assault and riot. Mr. Montagu said that he had not the complete figures to enable him to reply fully.

Bolshevist Agents & Gandhi

Lieut.-Colonel Sir F. Hall asked Mr. Montagu whether the terms of the trading agreement which had been entered into with Russia had been officially communicated to the Indian Government, and if he would state what action had been taken by that Government to ensure the expulsion from India of known Soviet agents.

Mr. Montagu : The answer to the first part of the Question is in the affirmative. The Government of India instituted a special organisation to deal with Bolshevist activities in India and although it would not be advisable to state what had actually been done I can assure my hon. and gallant friend that every step necessary to checkmate them had been taken, I trust, successfully.

Sir C. Yate. Is it not the fact that M. Gandhi lately stated that he would prefer this rule to British rule, and under these circumstances ought he not to be the first deported as a Soviet agent?

Mr. Montagu. I prefer to leave the maintenance of order in India to the authorities there.

Bengal Police Grants.

Mr. Rupert Gwynne asked Mr. Montagu whether the Bengal Legislative Council have recently reduced the grant for police expenditure in the Province by 23 lakhs, or more than one eighth of the total grant demanded, and whether in view of the unrest throughout India steps can be taken to rectify this?

Mr. Montagu: I have no information beyond that which appeared in the Press on the 21st instant. I am inquiring as to the facts and action proposed by the Governor.

Sir C Yate. In view of the fact that Bengal has a population of 50,000,000 and only 3,000 or 4,000 troops, ought not the police of that province to be increased rather than decreased especially now that law and order are at such a discount.

Mr. Montagu: I do not think it is at a discount. I am perfectly prepared to repose the completest confidence in Lord Ronaldshay and the Government of India.

Mr. R. Gwynne. May we take it that the right hon. Gentleman will communicate with India on this matter?

Mr. Montagu: The hon. Gentleman knows that the restoration of this vote is within the power of the Governor of Bengal and I have no knowledge of the facts except what has appeared in the Press. I have, however, inquired and I will let the hon. Member know when I get the results of my communication. At the present time I prefer to leave the matter to the Governor of Bengal's discretion.

Mr. Gwynne: Are we to understand that the right hon. Gentleman gets this information of first-rate importance from the Press first and not direct from India?

Mr. Montagu: As soon as I saw the report in the paper I sent a telegram to India to ascertain the facts. That is the first step we have taken. I am perfectly convinced that there is no difference of opinion between any Member of this House and the Governor of Bengal as to the absolute necessity of maintaining a sufficient number of police in Bengal to restore order.

Mr. Gwynne: Will the right hon. Gentleman answer my question. Does he receive information of this kind first from the Press or does he get communications before those of the Press direct from India.

Mr. Montagu: The first knowledge which I had of this event which I think occurred only a day or two ago was from the Press. The matter lies within the discretion of the Governor of Bengal. I presume, in due course, I shall hear from him what action has been taken. As a matter of fact I have had no communication yet from the Government of India as to this matter and my first knowledge was derived from the Press.

Sir H. Craik: Is it not the duty of the Govt. of India to communicate to the Sec. of State for the information of this House any vital matters which ought not to be anticipated by Press reports.

Mr. Montagu: I wish my right hon. Friend would put himself in the place of the Governor of a Province. I cannot assume there is importance in a newspaper report which may relate to a perfectly simple matter. My right hon. Friend knows that the Governor has ample power under this Act. The report may relate to a matter which does not require a special communication to be made by telegram.

Nagpur Disturbance

Mr. Montagu replying to Mr. C. Yate said:—

I am circulating an account collected from a series of telegrams of the disturbance at Nagpur from which I am glad to think it will be seen that it was not so serious as my hon. and gallant Friend's question would indicate. It is not always I think the best way to give an accurate picture of events in India to publish each telegram relating to such matters as it is received. I recognise the importance of furnishing the public with regular information about India and have been considering the best way of achieving it. I hope that a new organisation with this object in view will shortly be working. My Noble Friend Lord Lytton is taking the matter under his charge.

Sir C. Yate : Is it not the fact that all the British population in Nagpur had to be collected in the Armoury and kept there all night for protection? Is it right that the public of this country should have to await letters like that printed in the Press this morning for information as to what is going on in India?

Mr. Montagu : The information I have circulated is collected from telegrams I have received and it does not contain an account of that kind.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—9TH MARCH 1921

Army Pay and Allowances

Sir C. Yate asked the Secretary of State for India if he can now state what steps have been taken to carry into effect the recommendations in Part V of the Esher Report in regard to the improvements in the conditions of service of the personnel of the Army in India, which are so long overdue.

Mr. Montagu : As a result of the recommendations in Part V of the Esher Committee Report the following measures have now been sanctioned :—

British officers, both of the British and Indian Services will receive free forage and saddlery, an allowance of Rs 15 per mensem for a syce, and will be able to buy chargers at concessional rates. British Service officers will cease to receive horse allowance. Indian Army officers on the introduction of the measures will be liable to have the number of authorised chargers reduced and the pay of cavalry assimilated to that of infantry as recommended in the Report. The sum of 19 lakhs has, in addition, been provided for pay concessions for British officers of the Indian Army, but it has not yet been decided how far the precise proposals in Section II of Part V of the Report will be followed.

As regards Indian officers, increases of pay, pension, family pension, and travelling allowances have been sanctioned and equipment will be issued free on promotion.

As regards Indian other ranks, improved scales of pay, good service, and good conduct pay have been approved.

The main proposals for improved family pensions have been accepted in principle, but the details are not yet settled. The same applies as regards disability pensions, both for Indian officers and other Indian ranks.

The pay of religious teachers will be raised as recommended.

A grant will be given in respect of Hindusthani clothing, but in what form has not yet been settled.

Charpoyes and kit boxes will be provided free, and also free lighting.

The contract allowance system in regimental offices will be abolished. An establishment of enlisted clerks has been sanctioned, and Government will supply stationery, etc.

Seven lakhs will be provided for the improvement of Indian Army schools.

Army Organisation

On the 23rd March Sir W. Joynson-Hicks asked the Secretary of State for India whether he can now make his promised statement on the position of the Army in India? (See p. 36)

Mr. Montagu: The Prime Minister has decided on my recommendation to submit the military requirements of India to a Sub-Committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence. While it is obviously desirable to secure reduction in military expenditure in India as in other parts of the world, they can only be achieved if compatible with the internal and external security of India. It, therefore, appears desirable that such an investigation should take into consideration improvements in equipment, mobility and general efficiency. The Government of India had announced that they are appointing a Committee of the Viceroy's Executive Council to prepare the material to lay before the Committee of Imperial Defence.

Sir W. Joynson Hicks. Arising out of this very important statement, may I ask the Right Hon'ble Gentleman whether the late Commander-in Chief (Sir Charles Monro) will be added to the Sub-Committee of Imperial Defence, and whether, pending the decision of the Committee of Imperial Defence, no further reductions will take place in the Indian Army?

Mr. Montagu: I can give an assurance that no further reductions will be made pending the inquiry. The first part of the question should, I think, be addressed to the Prime Minister who will appoint the Committee, but I cannot conceive that such an inquiry will proceed far with its investigation without availing itself of the opinions of the gallant soldier to whom the Hon'ble Member has referred and to whom also the Army in India owes so much.

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks: May I ask whether the Committee of Imperial Defence will have power to suggest to the Government of India—if it sees fit—that the alterations already made in the Indian Army should be cancelled?

Mr. Montagu: Certainly. What we want to arrive at is a scientific investigation of what is necessary in the present circumstances for the internal and external security of India. These are the only considerations which can govern the Indian Army.

Lieut.-Colonel Fremantle: Will the Sub Committee of Imperial Defence have anyone on it who is qualified and able to deal with the extremely difficult question of the health of the Indian Army?

Mr. Montagu : The inquiry will deal with the strength of the Army in India. Questions as to the composition of the Committee should be addressed to the Prime Minister.

Sir C. Yate : Is it not the fact that the first action of the Reformed Council in India was to pass a resolution entailing a heavy reduction of the Indian Army and police and a curtailment of propaganda ? Is this to be allowed to proceed ?

Mr. Montagu : I would prefer to answer that question on a specific reference to the particular resolution. I do not know what the hon'ble and gallant Member has in his mind. The Legislative Assembly of India has passed a resolution on the Esher Report, but the best evidence of its determination to provide for the defence of the country is to be found in the alacrity with which it has passed the heavy Budget provision necessary for the Army.

Sir C. Yate : May I—

Mr. Speaker. Notice had better be given of any further questions.

The Army Sub-Committee

Subsequently Sir W. Joynson-Hicks asked the Prime Minister to state the composition of the Sub-Committee of Imperial Defence to report upon the constitution and strength of the Army in India.

Mr. Chamberlain : A Sub-Committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence has not been specially appointed to consider the constitution and strength of the Army in India.

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks : Did we not have a pledge from the Secretary of State for India, and was I not asked to put this question to the Prime Minister ?

Mr. Chamberlain : I am afraid I am not in a position to make an explanation. This matter has not come under the consideration of the Imperial Defence Committee, and up to the present no Sub-Committee has been appointed, and I cannot definitely say whether a Sub-Committee will be appointed. It may be that a Committee of the Imperial Defence Committee will consider it.

Lieut. Colonel Croft : Will the Cabinet consider the whole question before proceeding to the disbandment of regiments of the Regular Army in this country and the great reduction of regiments in India ? Before any final steps are taken will they consider the question as a whole ?

Mr. Chamberlain : The Cabinet does consider the defence of the Empire as a whole.

Lieut. Colonel Croft : Has the question been before the Defence Committee ?

Mr. Chamberlain : I should not like to say without notice. I think not by the Defence Committee. I think it was considered by the Cabinet as a whole.

Lala Harkishan Lal Again

Mr. R. Gwynne asked the Secretary of State for India if Mr. Harkishan Lal and others, convicted of conspiracy to wage war and sentenced to transportation for life by three Judges, appealed against the convictions and sentences to the Privy Council; whether they were pardoned by the executive while their appeals were pending, though similar appeals from others had been dismissed by the Privy Council; and, if so, what was the special reason why these appeals should not have been allowed to run their course?

Mr. Montagu : The answer to the first two parts of the question is in the affirmative, though it is not the case, as the question implies, that the grant or refusal of pardons was determined by probabilities of the justice or legality of the convictions. As regards the last part, I do not know the reasons which have actuated appellants who have decided not to prosecute their appeals.

Mr. Gwynne : Will the Right Hon. Gentleman say why these cases were taken out of the usual course?

Mr. Montagu : I do not think they were taken out of the ordinary course. There was an appeal pending which the appellant did not choose to prosecute, and meanwhile the Viceroy granted a pardon to certain people.

Sir C. Yate : Was it not rather that an amnesty was granted before the appeal came on?

Mr. Montagu : Yes I think so. I surmise that this is what happened : One of these appeals founded on the question of the legality of the Courts which were set up in India was dismissed by the Privy Council—not on the question of what happened, but on the question of legality—and therefore I presume that the other appellants did not think it worth while to go on.

Mr. Gwynne : Is the Right Hon. Gentleman aware that when the new rules in regard to the Legislative Councils were before the House he told me that none of the persons who were convicted and sentenced would be eligible for them for five years, and yet, in spite of that, one of the convicted persons has been appointed a Minister?

Mr. Montagu : I think the Hon. Member will find that all the information I have given to the House is accurate.

Mr. Gwynne : But—

Mr. Speaker : Further questions must be put down.

Indian Emergency Committee, London

Sir Thomas Bennett had given notice of the following question to be put on the 23rd March, but as he could not present himself on that day, a point of order was raised by Sir W. Joynson-Hicks. —To ask the Secretary of State for India if he has received information from India concerning a resolution reported to have been passed by all the non-official European members of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly objecting to the formation in London of an Indian Emergency Committee as unnecessary and calculated to create prejudice and ill feeling; and if he will furnish the House with a copy of the resolution as well as with reports of the speeches lately delivered in India by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, in which appeals were made to all classes of the population to join in burying recent controversies?

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks: Arising out of this question, may I ask your guidance, Mr. Speaker, as to whether it is in order for an Hon. Member to put a question down reflecting, as it does, on a certain Committee, which consists of two Members of the other House, and one Member of this House, myself, and not appear in his place to ask it? I want to ask whether the question should not be deferred and not answered among the written answers until such time as the Hon. Member chooses to come to the House and put it personally, so that I may put a supplementary question, or give a personal explanation?

Mr. Speaker: The Hon. Member who put down the question may have been detained by an accident by flood or field.

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks: With great deference, Sir, and in answer to that, may I ask whether a written answer may be postponed until the Hon. Member who, of course, as you say, may have been detained by flood or field, can come down and put the question in open House so that it may be dealt with? As you, Sir, realise, the House adjourns to-morrow, and answers to unanswered questions—and I do not know what this answer may be—may be printed and contain reflection upon the Members of this Committee to which we have no possibility of replying?

Mr. Speaker: The Hon. Member is asking me to over-rule the Order of the House, which is to the effect that if a question is not asked the answer shall be circulated on the following day. Perhaps the best plan would be for the Hon. Gentleman to see the answer, and then, if he is not satisfied, he can make a personal explanation to-morrow, or he can put a question to-morrow. I would accept a question on the subject.

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks: Thank you, Sir.

Following is the answer to the question

Mr. Montagu: No, Sir, but I have seen a message from the non-official members of the Indian Legislature in the Press. I will place a copy of the proceedings at the opening of the Indian Legislature including His Royal Highness' speech in the Library.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—5—6TH APRIL 1921

Government Service (Contracts)

On 5th April Mr. T. Griffiths asked the Sec. of State for India whether under the new Reform Act now in force, whereby absolute control over finance and appointments over a wide area of Govt. is given to the various Indian Provincial Councils and their elective majorities, a British born subject can now sue for breach of contract for personal service in India; if so, whom he should sue and where, for a breach in India or for a breach in this country; whether such subject will now have the right to know the medical grounds, should the India Office Medical Board certify him incapacitated for further service in India; whether such contracts will be still deemed subject to the will and pleasure of the Crown; what authority or powers over such contract is it contemplated transferring to the independent high commissioners who will represent the various Indian Governments; and whether such actions as Dr. Denning recently attempted to bring will be outside the British Government?

Mr. Montagu: As regards the first part of the question, the new Act in no way affects the pre-existing right of a British born subject to sue for breach of contract for personal service in India. As regards the second part, contracts for service under the Government of India, are made with "the Secretary of State in Council." Such subject would presumably sue the Secretary of State in Council in respect of a breach either in India or in this country. The action could be brought in this country or in India according to circumstances. As regards the third part, the position will remain unaltered, in so far as an officer certified by the India Office Medical Board to be incapacitated for further service in India is not regarded as necessarily entitled to know the medical grounds on which such a certificate is given. As regards the fourth part such contracts are not subject to the will and pleasure of the Crown except that, the Crown has in law the right to dispense with the service of its officers, and it would not be in the power of the Secretary of State in Council or of a Government in India to alter the law in this respect or to limit this right of the Crown when entering into such contracts. As regards the fifth part, the Secretary of State in Council will remain the authority for the recruitment of those services which are now known as "All India Services"—such

as the Indian Civil Service, the superior Police Service, the Indian Educational service, and so forth, and consequently will remain the contracting party for these. Recruitment in this country of services, the members of which are now to be appointed and controlled by Provincial Governments, will probably be made over for the most part to the High Commissioner for India, and he would necessarily, subject to instructions, be receives from the authorities in India for whom he is acting, have power to contract on their behalf, but in the name of the Secretary of State in Council. The answer to the last part of the question, if I correctly understand the hon. Member's meaning, is therefore that it will still be open to officers like Dr. Denning to sue the Secretary of State in Council.

Army.

On April 6th the Esher recommendations were again the subject matter of an interpellation. Sir J. D. Rees asked the Secretary of State for India whether the main and fundamental recommendations of the Esher Committee have yet come before His Majesty's Government after consideration by himself in Council?

Mr. Montagu: The answer is in the negative.

Sir C. Yate asked the Secretary of State for India whether the Army in India has already been reduced by 6,000 British and 7,500 Indian troops under pre-War strength; and, if so, whether the safety of carrying out such large reductions in the Army in the face of the agitation and unrest now rampant in India has been considered?

Mr. Montagu: The present proposals of the Government of India, if they are eventually sanctioned, will have the effect of reducing the fighting units of the Army in India approximately to the extent mentioned by my hon. and gallant Friend. The proposals have been made by the Government of India on the recommendation of the Commander-in-Chief, after full consideration of all the factors in the situation, of which not the least important is the improved mobility and equipment of the Army in such matters, for instance, as the establishment of the Air Force and the provision of armoured cars, which to a large extent compensate for the reduction in personnel. As my hon. and gallant Friend is aware, the whole question is to be considered by a Sub-Committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence.

Sir C. Yate. Are we to understand that these reductions have already been carried out?

Mr. Montagu: It is not accurate to say that the reduction in the British force has been sanctioned; what has occurred is that a considerable number of British force in India left India for War purposes and have not yet returned.

Colonel Wedgwood : Can the right hon Gentleman say whether the agitation and unrest now rampant in India would not be more speedily reduced by cutting down expenditure rather than by the keeping up of unnecessary expenditure at a time of such great economic trouble in India ?

Mr. Montagu : I do not think that anyone wants unnecessary expenditure, but what we are determined to see is that the armed forces of the Crown in India are adequate for the protection of India.

Bolshevik Rouble Notes

Sir J. D. Rees asked the Sec. of State for India whether the possession of Bolshevik money has been made illegal in British India ?

Mr. Montagu : The possession of any rouble notes in India was made illegal by the ordinance in 1919 and 1920, and the operation of the ordinance was continued by Act No XXX of the latter year.

Sir J. D. Rees : Is the Hon. Gentleman in a position to recommend the Government at home to pass a like ordinance of law ?

Lieut. Commander Kenworthy : In view of the trading agreement which has been signed with Russia, will this Regulation be released in regard to *bona fide* merchants trading with Russia ?

Mr. Montagu : I think that would depend upon whether we have evidence of a cessation of Bolshevik propaganda in India.

Afghanistan Negotiations

Sir C. Yate asked the Secretary of State for India if he can give any information regarding the negotiations with Afghanistan now being carried on at Kabul.

Mr. Montagu : The negotiations, which have as their object the conclusion of a treaty of friendship, are proceeding. I am not at present in a position to make any further statement.

Wireless Telegraphy

Sir C. Yate asked the Secretary of State for India : Who is the present Director of Wireless Telegraphy in India ; whether the wireless expert to the Government of India originally sent out from home, has since resigned, on appointment as Director of the Marconi Company ; whether the wireless system in India required for military purposes is complete ; if not, what steps are being taken to make it so, and whether the complaints in the Indian Press as to the unsatisfactory conditions of commercial wireless are justified ?

Mr. Montagu : Colonel A. Simpson who was appointed Director of Wireless Telegraphy in India in 1919, resigned last year, and subsequently joined the Board of the Marconi Company. In his place I have appointed Commander R L Nicholson, D S. O. late R. N., who is leaving for India next week. So far as I am aware, the wireless system in India required for military purposes is com-

plete as regards internal communication. The complaint as to the unsatisfactory condition of commercial wireless, to which the hon. and gallant Member probably refers, is too vague for me to say whether it is justified.

Burma (Shikho.)

Colonel Wedgwood asked the Secretary of State for India whether he will call for a Report on the habit of shikho as performed in Burma, finding out what is thought of this custom both by British officials and educated Burmese, with a view to introducing into Burma methods less redolent of an oriental theocratic monarchy of the pre-Christian era?

Mr. Montagu: The custom of shikho, according to the best of my information, is an observance or mark of respect incidental to religion as well as to etiquette among Burmans. It would be contrary to the policy definitely laid down in 1858, and consistently followed since, for the Government to attempt to change the usage.

Colonel Wedgwood. Is the Right Hon Gentleman aware that there is a number of British officials in Burma who are so disgusted with the habit that they will not allow it to be done to them?

Mr. Montagu No. I am not aware of that.

Colonel Wedgwood Will the right hon. Gentleman make inquiries about this custom which is causing great unrest in Burma at the present time?

Mr. Montagu: I will bring my hon. and gallant Friend's question to the notice of the Government of India.

Riots and Casualties.

Captain Viscount Curzon asked the Secretary of State for India: How many riots and disturbances have occurred in India since the 1st of March, what number of casualties have resulted to the civil population and to the servants of the Crown, how many of such outbreaks have been due to the influence of Gandhi or his policy; in cases where the outbreaks were not due to his influence or action, if he will state what causes they were due to, and whether the rebels tried subsequently to take advantage of the situation?

Mr. Montagu I have received reports of ten riots and disturbances during March. In six of them, there were no casualties reported. In one tea garden riot some persons attacked were injured, not seriously; and in a faction fight in Southern India one person was killed. In the remaining two cases 13 rioters were killed and 25 wounded by police fire, and some police were injured, not seriously, the number not being given. It is very difficult to assign one definite cause, for there are usually contributing factors, but three of the disturbances were of the nature of labor troubles, and three of religion dispute; one arose from agrarian grievances,

and in one prisoners broke out from jail. The other two were brought on by a strong agitation against liquor-shops, which is ascribed in part to a genuine temperance movement and in part to the general Non co operation programme. I have no doubt that attempts were made by ill-disposed persons to take advantage of the situation.

Sir G. Yate: Is it not a fact that most of these riots were owing to political agitators and the agitation got up by them?

Mr. Montagu: I do not think that my hon. and gallant Friend would ascribe the disturbances to anything but agrarian causes.

Colonel Wedgwood: Will the right hon. Gentleman get, or has he got, any report on the shooting at Majpur that he can communicate to the House?

Mr. Montagu: I think—I speak from memory, because my hon. and gallant Friend has not given me notice of the question—that communiques, based on every telegram I have received, have already been published; but if there is anything further, I will communicate with the hon. Member.

Sir C. Yate: Were not the Rae Bareli riots primarily due to political agitators?

Mr. Montagu: I think I am right in saying that the Rae Bareli riots were due entirely to agrarian causes.

The Parliamentary Joint Committee.

The first Report of the Joint Committee on Indian Affairs was published in April. The members were mainly engaged up to that time in determining their procedure.

It was resolved by the Committee to examine and report upon any Bill or matter referred to them specifically by Parliament. Also to invite the Secretary of State for India to communicate to the Committee, as occasion may arise, any matter or information upon which he or they may think it desirable that they should make a Report to Parliament. They will also consider and report on any matter relating to Indian affairs brought to the notice of the Committee through the Chairman (Lord Islington) or by any of its members or by the Secretary of State. No subject may be brought forward, however, without previous notice having been given, and a Report will not be made to Parliament unless the matter was one of sufficient public importance to justify it, and provided that the consideration of such matter by the Committee was not opposed to the public interest—upon which point the Committee itself will be the judge. The Committee will call for such oral or documentary evidence as from time to time may be required, and will confidentially inform the Secretary of State for India, and the head of any other Government Department concerned, the subject matter proposed for discussion,

HOUSE OF COMMONS—MAY 1921.

Mohammed Ali's Speech.

Colonel Sir Charles Yate asked the Secretary of State for India if his attention has been called to the speech delivered by the agitator Mohammed Ali at Madras reported in the Press of the 11th April in which he is stated to have said that he differed from Gandhi in that he favoured violence and that the English came to India like themselves and should be driven out like thieves, and what steps are being taken against the speaker, and also to prevent the repetition and dissemination of seditious utterances like those tending to foment insurrection in India.

Mr. Montagu in reply stated that he had been informed by telegram that the Government of India were giving their attention to the statement by Muhammad Ali at Madras that the Ali brothers would help Afghanistan if she came to India to fight the British Govt.

The Services.

On May 5th, replying to a question of Mr. Glyn, Mr. Montagu stated that on January 1st there were 767 permanently commissioned officers in the Indian Medical Service of whom 638 were British-born and 129 Indians compared with 722 British and 48 Indians in 1914. The position of British-born officers who joined the service before the war was in no way jeopardised by admission of officers "during the war. Every effort was being made to fill up vacancies available with Europeans. The condition with regard to pay, leave and pensions had recently been considerably improved but he was advised that in view of the great shortage of medical men owing to war, it would be a year before the medical schools in Britain would be able to turn out anything like the normal numbers of qualified men of the standard required for the Indian Medical Service.

On May 10th, replying to Col. Yate, Mr. Montagu stated that up to April 1st the Government of India had received one application for permission to retire on a proportionate pension under the recommendation made in clause 36 of the report of the Joint Committee on the Government of India Bill. The Government of India had informed the applicant that he could not support his request as it was evident that his desire to retire had been long standing and was based mainly upon reasons which were quite unconnected with those discussed by the Joint Committee.

Pensions to Punjab Heroes

On 24th May Colonel Wedgwood asked the Sec. of State for India how much is now contributed annually from the Indian Budget to each of the following: General Dyer, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Colonel Frank Johnson, and Mr. Bosworth-Smith; and will he

approach the Chancellor of the Exchequer with a view to getting these charges transferred from the Indian to the British Budget?

Mr. Montagu :—The figures are as follows—Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Mr. Bosworth Smith, £4,000 and 900 respectively, of which a considerable portion represents funds contributed by the officers themselves; General Dyer, £900, of which approximately one-twelfth will be debitable, on adjustment, to British revenues on account of a period of service out of India. Colonel Johnson draws no pension from Indian revenues. The answer to the last part of the question is in the negative.

Auxiliary Force

On May 31st, replying to Col. Yate, Mr. Montagu stated that 23,325 men had been attested in the Auxiliary force of India up to April 30th, excluding men who had been enrolled but had not yet been attested. The maximum strength attained by the Indian Defence Force was 33,451 in October 1920. He did not propose to take any steps to bring the Auxiliary Force up to the numbers of the Defence Force. The matter was entirely in the hands of the Government of India. If the Government of India at any moment thought that voluntary enlistment was insufficient they might make recommendations for an alternative.

An Individual Called Gandhi!

On May 31st Viscount Curzon asked the Sec. of State for India how many times the Viceroy of India has officially received an individual called Gandhi; and whether he can make any statement as to the result of the interviews?

Mr. Montagu :—The Viceroy has received Mr. Gandhi several times privately. The Viceroy will no doubt consider what statement, if any, could usefully be made in regard to these interviews.

On 7th June Captain Viscount Curzon again asked the Sec. of State for India whether an individual called Gandhi has stated publicly that the Viceroy of India is probably sympathetic to the Non-Co-operation movement, he can now give any account of the matter discussed at the recent interview with the individual alluded to?

Mr. Montagu :—I have seen no such statement. It is difficult to believe it was ever made and impossible to believe that anyone would believe it if made. The answer to the last part of the question is that I have nothing to add to the answer I gave last week.

Viscount Curzon :—In view of the fact that there is in most of the English Press accounts of these interviews, could the Right Hon. Gentleman not possibly give some authoritative account of the

discussions that actually took place so as to put an end to the rumours?

Mr. Montagu:—I do not think so. When the Governor-General accords an interview for informal discussion, it is not customary to keep a record or to publish an account of what takes place. As I have said, if His Excellency desires to publish any account of these discussions, he will do so.

Viscount Curzon:—Has the right hon. Gentleman not noticed that the man alluded to is now going about giving what purports to be an account of these interviews, and would it not be much better to state exactly what did take place than allow the account to be one-sided and come from unofficial sources?

Mr. Montagu: I do not know to what the Noble Lord refers. On the contrary I have heard that Mr. Gandhi is honourably fulfilling the conditions under which these private interviews took place.

Refusal to grant Govt. demand

On June 9th Sir Charles Yate asked what are the steps that have been taken by the Punjab and other Govts in India where the Council have refused to sanction the Budget grant for the Govt's. Publicity department?

Mr. Montagu: The only provinces in which the Councils have refused provision for publicity departments are Bengal and the Punjab. In Bengal, according to my information, the work was only in the experimental stage, in that province the Press is active and all shades of opinion are represented in it. I presume that the procedure as to communiques and information to the Press is now as it was before the experiment was started. In the Punjab the provision was disallowed only on the 12th March and a week later the Legislative Council voted a sum sufficient to wind up the Publicity Board with due notice to those employed in it. The Government was itself issuing communiques.

Deportation of Mr. C. F. Andrews

On June 14th Sir Frederick Hall, a typical coercionist, demanded the deportation and prosecution of the Rev. C. F. Andrews for alleged seditious speeches, presumably because of his strong utterances on the Chandpur Gurkha outrage. He wanted "this so-called gentleman" (referring to Mr. Andrews) to be brought over to England and tried for sedition. Mr. Montagu in reply pointed out that the proper authorities to look after sedition in India were in India.

Disturbances in Bengal, Assam, etc.

On June 27-28th. questions were asked about the Chandpur and Assam Coolies. Mr. Montagu laid on the table the Bengal Govt.

Communique. Mr. A. Shaw asked the Sec. of State for India whether he can give the House any information regarding the recent disturbances in Bengal and Assam?

Colonel Wedgwood:—Are any arrangements being made to facilitate the return of these coolies to their homes, or is it being left to chance?

Mr. Montagu:—My recollection is that the government have not felt it their duty to give free passages to the coolies. I will send a copy of the communique to my hon. and gallant Friend.

Colonel Wedgwood:—Are we to understand that the Government of India are to leave these people to die of cholera and starvation on the roadside?

Mr. Montagu:—Every conceivable step has been taken to safeguard the interests of these poor deluded coolies, but it would obviously be an unwise step to establish the precedent that when a cooly breaks his contract and leaves his work owing to gross misrepresentation of the state of affairs the liability should be put upon the Government of India.

Lieut. Commander Kenworthy:—What about the Government itself? Sir J. D. Rees:—Would it not be more useful to facilitate their return to their work rather than to their homes? Is any provision for that made by the Government?

Mr. Montagu:—If my hon. Friend reads the communique of the Government of Bengal he will see that the Government have acted with great humanity, and have done everything possible in the circumstances. If, after reading the communique, my hon. Friend desires to put any other questions, I should be only too happy to answer them.

Newspapers (Gwalior State)

On 21st June Sir C. Yate asked the Sec. of State for India whether his attention has been called to the statement in the "Leader" Newspaper, of Allahabad, that the Gwalior State has prohibited the sale and distribution within the Territory of His Highness the Maharaja of the following newspapers: the "Kesari", "Amrita Bazar Patrika", "Maharatta", "Bombay Chronicle", "Independent," "Pratap," "Rajasthan," and "Sabasa"; and, considering that these papers are published in British India, will he state what action has been taken by the Govt. of India against these newspapers in support of the loyal action of His Highness the Maharaja; whether the Govt. of India has accepted the resolution of the Legislative Assembly to appoint a Committee to examine the Indian Press Act of 1910 and to recommend modifications of the existing law in regard to liberty of speech and writing;

and, if so, will the Press Act Committee consider the views of Indian Princes in the matter of granting further freedom to the Press in India?

Mr. Montagu: I have seen a reference in the Indian Newspapers to the Gwalior prohibition. The Governments in British India have not, to my knowledge, taken any steps recently against the papers named. The Committee appointed to consider the Press laws finished its sittings, and is on the point of presenting its report. The Committee took into consideration the connection between the Press laws and the Native States.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—12 JULY 1921

Cotton Goods (Import Duties)

On 12th July Mr. Waddington again took up the question of the Cotton duties. He asked the Sec. of State for India whether he is aware of the dividends paid by Indian Cotton Mills as exemplified by Sholapore Company, 1000 per cent per annum, Lakshmi Company and Maneckji Company, each 500 per cent., Morarji Goculdas Company and Swadeshi Company, each 350 per cent., Kohinoor Company, 375 per cent., Madras United, 300 per cent., and many others from 100 per cent. to 300 per cent; whether, as these dividends were declared shortly before the Indian Budget was introduced, the Indian Govt. considered the large profits when forming schemes to raise revenue and, if so, what additional taxes have been imposed upon and what additional revenue is expected from Cotton Mills Coy.; and, if such revenue is not in fair proportion to the increases in import duties, will he represent to the Indian Govt. the need of reconsidering the import duties on Cotton goods in view of such large sources of internal revenue being available?

Mr. Montagu: I am aware that the Indian Cotton Mills have recently paid large dividends, but the figures given by my hon. Friend appear to be greatly in excess of those published in the press. The only additional tax specifically imposed on the Cotton Mills Companies in connection with the recent Indian Budget lay in the withdrawal of the concession under which Machinery and Stores imported for use in a Cotton Spinning or Weaving Mill were admitted free of duty. The additional revenue anticipated from the change is 10 lakhs. With regard to the last part of the question, I can only refer my hon. Friend to the reply I gave on the 23rd March to a deputation from Lancashire regarding the Indian Cotton duties.

Captain Gee: Can the right hon. Gentleman say whether the figures given by the hon. Member, though they may be in excess

of the figures published in the British Press, are correct from the official accounts of the companies concerned.

Mr. Montagu : I am informed that they are greatly in excess of any figures that we have.

Mr. Waddington : Is the right hon Gentleman aware that he can get confirmation of the figures from the "Times of India" in any issue for the last two months, and that these figures are published and are available for the information of anybody connected with the India office ; and if these figures are justified, and considering that the question of the Indian Import Duties was purely one of revenue and not of protection for India, is it not desirable that these duties should be considered and that the burden should be placed on the available revenues in India ?

Mr Montagu : I will investigate the figures further, but I do not think they affect the principle laid down, after discussion by a Committee of this House, that the Govt of India should have fiscal autonomy.

Mr. W Thorne : Is it not possible for the firms to pay these dividends in consequence of the low wages paid to textile workers and the long hours worked ?

Mr. Speaker : Any further questions must be put on the paper.

The Civil Service

Sir Charles Oman asked the Secretary of State for India whether he has received a memorial sent by telegram to him by the Indian Civil Service Central Association, representing a large majority of the officers of the Indian Civil Service now serving in British India ; whether the said memorial sets forth their profound dissatisfaction with the increasing difficulties of the public Services since the passing of the Govt of India Act ; and what reply he has given to the memorialists, in view of the personal responsibility to them under his pledges given at the time of the passing of that Act ?

Mr. Montagu : I have received the telegram referred to and will send a copy to the hon. Member. I think this will be a better plan than commenting on his description of it in the second part of the question. The Govt. of India are about to issue a comprehensive resolution dealing with the whole question of the pay of the all-India Services. The substance of my reply to the memorialists will be indicated in the Resolution, which I would ask the hon. Member to await.

(See page 129 for the last despatch on the subject by Mr. Montagu).

Sir C. Oman : Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that I have got a copy, and does he consider that the increasing difficulties of the public services set forth by the gentleman in question in this telegram do or do not exist ?

Mr. Montagu : I am anxious to avoid disputation as to the meaning of the telegram. The memorialists refer to a passage in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. I have nothing to withdraw from that.

Sir W. Pearse : Are the salaries and allowances sufficient to meet the increases in the cost of living, and is it not rather the financial question that causes dissatisfaction than the new situation in regard to the Govt. of India ?

Mr. Montagu : I think there is a good deal of economic dissatisfaction.

Sir C. Yate : Can the right hon. Gentleman say on what date he will be able to give us the Govt. of India Resolution ?

Mr. Montagu : I am afraid I cannot. It is a matter of practice and precedent that any communication must be made through the Government of India.

Public Services

The matter was not left to rest there. A good deal of ironical remarks was made as to the 'Montagu reforms', obviously to put the Secretary of State out of countenance. Sir W. Joynson-Hicks asked the Secretary of State for India whether he has had any report from India as to the growth of bureaucracy since the institution of Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms ; and whether he can give any estimate as to the additional cost of governing the country incurred in consequence of such increase in officials ?

Mr. Montagu :—I do not follow the first part of my hon. Friend's question. I do not understand how the scheme of Government instituted by the Government of India Act to which this House assented in 1919 could have led to a growth of bureaucracy. As to the cost of that scheme, I will certainly endeavour to furnish the House with a statement.

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks :—Does not the question say "since" and not "in consequence of" ?

Mr. Montagu : I find it difficult to understand how it is possible that a measure for the institution of a democratic form of government in India can possibly have led to a growth of bureaucracy.

The N-C-O. Movement

Captain Viscount Curzon asked the Sec. of State for India whether he can make any statement as to the activities of Gandhi and the Ali Brothers; and whether any disturbances have arisen owing to the direct or indirect activities of these individuals since they were received by the Viceroy?

Mr. Montagu: I do not think there is any detailed statement that I could make in reply to the first part of the question. The Government of India have not indicated to me that in their opinion the undertaking to refrain from encouragement to violence have been disregarded since it was given. As regards the last part of the question, disturbances have occurred since the Viceroy accorded an interview to Mr. Gandhi. The reports of these have been communicated to the Press immediately on receipt from India. There is nothing in the reports to show that the outbreaks were directly attributable to the three persons mentioned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—18TH JULY 1921

The Strikes in Madras.

The Madras Mile riots of June-July 1921 when the Karnatic and Buckingham Mills locked out their men to break their newly started Union and had the support of the Governor, Lord Willingdon, were the subject of a series of questions.

Colonel Wedgwood asked the Secretary of State for India whether he had any news of the Madras strikes: whether the Government have facilitated in any way the formation of an Adi-Dravidian trades union or assisted the Adi-Dravidians to break away from their comrades; whether the strike leaders have been threatened with internment; and whether, in view of the serious position, he will recommend the immediate calling together of the Legislative Council of Madras?

Mr. Parker replied in the place of Mr. Montagu who was absent:—My right hon. friend will circulate in the Official Report an account of the Madras strikes to supplement from his latest information the details which have already appeared in the Press. As regards the second and third parts of the question, my right hon. friend has no information but is making inquiries. As regards the last part, my right hon. friend understands that Lord Willingdon is himself dealing with the case, and he thinks that my hon. and gallant Friend will share his confidence that His Excellency will take whatever action is likely to prove helpful.

The following is the information referred to: