

Indian Franchise Committee

Volume II

MEMORANDA

submitted by the

Local Governments

and the

Provincial Franchise Committees

in reply to the

Indian Franchise Committee's Questionnaires

(Madras, Bombay, Bengal and the United Provinces)

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*Volume III contains the replies of the following local Governments and the Provincial Franchise Committees :—

Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, Central Provinces, Assam and the North-West Frontier Province ;

And also the replies of the Chief Commissioner, Coorg, the Coorg Provincial Franchise Committee, and the Agent to the Governor General in Rajputana (Ajmer Merwara).

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E R R A T A.

(VOLUME II.)

Page 33, paragraph 3, line 1.—Omit the dash before the last three words.

Page 34, line 2.—Omit the word in after the first three words.

Page 35, paragraph 2 for sub-paragraph "(c)" *read* "(b)".

Page 36, paragraph 11, line 1.—For "(b), (i)," *read* "(b) (i)".

Page 64, Table of Contents, line 1.—For "(See IV on page 87)" *read* "(See IV on page 116)"

Page 148, foot-note no. 3.—For "*vide* page 3 of the Report" *read* "*vide* page 171".

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INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE.

QUESTIONNAIRE.

(11TH FEBRUARY 1932.)

Preliminary heads of inquiry.

Having regard to the wide range of inquiries which it is necessary for the Franchise Committee to undertake before it can frame detailed plan for the constitution of several legislatures the Chairman is of opinion that it is very improbable, if not impossible, that the Committee will be able to cover the whole field during the first stage of their inquiry. In order to provide a practical programme it will therefore be necessary to concentrate attention in the first instance on the fundamental question of the franchise to be adopted in the constituencies which will elect the various legislatures.

It may therefore be necessary to postpone inquiries relating to the representation of special interests, the advisability of creating bicameral legislatures in Provinces, the qualification and disqualification of candidates and other subsidiary though important questions until a later stage of the Committee's investigations. A further questionnaire relating to these matters will be issued in due course. The following questionnaire deals with the franchise to be adopted for the Provincial and Central Legislatures. Questions relating to the representation of women, labour and depressed classes have been included because the solution of these problems depends largely on the extent to which the basis of suffrage can be widened in general constituencies.

I.—PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES.

1. Extension of the franchise.

Having regard to the fact that the principle of a responsible Federal Government, subject to certain reservations and safeguards, has been accepted by His Majesty's Government and that the Governor's provinces are to become responsibly governed units, enjoying the greatest possible measure of freedom from outside interference and dictation in carrying out their own policies in their own sphere, it is obviously necessary so to widen the electorates that the legislatures to which responsibility is to be entrusted should be representative of the general mass of the population, and that no important section of the community may lack the means of expressing its needs and its opinion. The Franchise Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference considered that adult suffrage was the goal which should ultimately be attained, but the majority thought that it was not practicable to reach that goal immediately and recommended " the immediate increase of the electorate so as to enfranchise not less than 10 per cent. of the population, and indeed a larger

number—but not more than 25 per cent. of the total population—if that should on full investigation, be found practicable and desirable".

(*a*) What means can you suggest by which the existing franchise for the Provincial Legislature could be extended so as to include 10 per cent. of the population in the electoral roll?

(*b*) Do you consider that such an electorate will be capable of casting an intelligent vote?

(*c*) Do you consider that such an electorate would be administratively manageable having regard to the arrangements likely to be feasible for the preparation, maintenance and revision of the electoral rolls, and for the recording and counting of votes?

(*d*) If the answer to (*b*) and (*c*) is in the negative, what alternative qualifications for the electorate would you propose?

(*e*) If the answer to (*b*) and (*c*) is in the affirmative, do you consider that it would be practicable and desirable, having regard to the same considerations, to enlarge the electoral roll still further and, if so, what means would you suggest for the purpose?

(*f*) It has been suggested that, assuming adult suffrage to be impracticable at present, all adults not entitled to a direct vote should be grouped together in primary groups of about 20 or in some other suitable manner for the election of one or more representative members from each group, who would be entitled to vote in the provincial elections either in the same constituencies as the directly qualified voters or in separate constituencies to be framed for them. The suggestion has been discussed mainly with reference to rural villages, but might be made applicable to towns also.

Do you consider that any such system would be feasible and advantageous in the areas with which you are acquainted, and, if so, would you advise that the group electors should vote in the same constituencies as the directly qualified electors, or in separate constituencies composed of group electors only?

(*g*) It has been proposed that in the event of separate constituencies being framed for group electors, only group electors should be qualified to stand as candidates for such constituencies?

Are you in favour of this course?

(*h*) Do you consider that it would be feasible and advantageous to abolish all the existing qualifications for voters and to extend a system of the nature described in (*f*), and to confine the electorate for all constituencies to secondaries chosen by groups of primary voters?

(*i*) In the event of your answer to (*f*) or (*h*) being in the affirmative, what do you consider would be a suitable size for the groups referred to above? On what basis would you constitute them, and whom would you charge with the duties of framing them?

(*j*) Would you require any special qualification, whether property, educational or other, in the persons chosen by such groups to vote on their behalf for the election of members? If so, what?

2. Franchise qualifications.

(*a*) Do you consider that in the areas with which you are acquainted ıere is any marked disparity in the operation of the franchise qualificaons in urban as compared with rural areas? If so, what measures ould you suggest in order to rectify such disparities?

(*b*) It has been suggested that each community should be given a ›ting strength proportionate to its numbers, and that the franchise stem should be so contrived as to secure this result, in so far as it ay be practicable.

Are you in agreement with this suggestion, and, if so, what measures ›uld you suggest for giving effect to it in your province on the assumpn (*i*) that separate electorates are retained, (*ii*) of joint electorates th reservation of seats, and (*iii*) of joint electorates without resertion of seats?

(*c*) Is the possession of property of some kind in your opinion a table test of fitness for the franchise? (The term "property" should understood in its widest sense as including not only the ownership landed property but also the occupation of land or house property or › receipt of income or wages whether in cash or kind.) If so, do you ısider the existing property qualifications suitable? If you do not, at modification do you suggest?

(*d*) Are you in favour of introducing a qualification based on educa›, independently of property? If so, what educational qualification ıld you suggest?

(*e*) Are you in favour of retaining the existing military service lification and extending it so as to include service in the Auxiliary . Territorial Forces?

3. Women's suffrage.

(*a*) At present women are admitted to the suffrage on the same ıs as men, but as the existing qualifications are mainly based on ›erty and the payment of taxes, the number of women on the ›incial electoral rolls is only a little over a quarter of a million as com›d with 6½ million men. The Statutory Commission proposed that wives and widows (if over 25 years of age) of men entitled to vote ›r the property qualification, should be enfranchised, and that in addian educational qualification should apply to women over 21 as well

as to men. In the Franchise Sub-Committee of the Round Table Co ference it was suggested that the age-limit should be 21 for women as w as for men.

Are you in favour of increasing the women's electorate in the wa suggested or would you prefer any other method ? If so, what method To what extent would you favour an increase in women's electorate ?

(*b*) In the event of a system of group representation being esta lished as proposed in paragraph 1 (*f*), do you consider that women shou be formed into groups, and, if so, should separate groups be form for women or should groups contain both men and women ?

(*c*) The suggestion has been made that at any rate as a tempora measure the legislature should co-opt women members to an extent r exceeding 5 per cent. by a system of proportional representation so as ensure some representation of women in the legislature. What are yc views on this suggestion ?

4. Representation of the depressed classes.

It is evident from the discussions which have occurred in vari connections in the Round Table Conference, that it is generally felt t provision should be made in the new constitution for better represen tion of the depressed classes, and that the method of representation nomination is no longer regarded as appropriate.

What communities would you include as belonging to depre classes ? Would you include classes other than untouchables, and if which ?

Do you consider that the depressed classes are likely, through s general extension of the franchise as you favour, to secure represe tives of their own choice in the general electorates, and if so, to w extent ? If your answer is in the negative, what specific proposals w you make to secure their representation in the legislatures ? possible application of the group system of representation to the dep ed classes should be specially considered.

5. Representation of labour.

Assuming that such widening of the basis of suffrage in ge constituencies as is found practicable does not provide adequate r sentation of labour what special measures would you recommen representation of labour (*a*) where it is or can be organized as in ir trial areas, (*b*) where it is unorganized as in the case of agricultura plantation labour ? On what basis would you allot representatic labour in each case ?

5-A. Representation of special interests.

What are your views as to the retention of the representatio special interests (Universities, Commerce, European and Indian, Mi Planting, Labour, Landholders, etc.) in the legislatures ? If you fa its retention, do you consider that the existing methods of election t to are satisfactory ? If not, what suggestions would you make ?

II.—THE FEDERAL LEGISLATURE.

6. Allocation of seats to British Indian Provinces.

In the third report of the Federal Structure Committee the following allocation of seats to provinces of British India in the two chambers of the Federal Legislature was tentatively suggested :—

Names of provinces.	Upper Chamber.	Lower Chamber.
Madras	17	32
Bombay	17	26
Bengal	17	32
United Provinces	17	32
Punjab	17	26
Bihar and Orissa	17	26
Central Provinces (if Berar is included)	7	12
Assam	5	7
North-West Frontier Province	2	3
Delhi	1	1
Ajmer-Merwara	1	1
Coorg	1	1
British Baluchistan	1	1
	120	200

As a working hypothesis for the purpose of arithmetical calculation at the present stage it may be assumed that the Federal Legislature will be approximately of the size indicated in the report of the Federal Structure Committee.

(*a*) The Federal Structure Committee proposed that the representatives of British Indian Provinces in the Upper Chamber should be elected by the Provincial Legislatures by a single transferable vote. Do you agree with this proposal or have you any alternative to suggest ?

(*b*) Do you consider that the franchise qualifications ought to be different for the Federal and Provincial Legislatures ? If so, what do you consider it ought to be in the case of the Federal Legislature ?

(*c*) The majority of members of the Federal Structure Committee considered that election to the Lower Chamber of the Federal Legislature

should be by territorial constituencies consisting of qualified voters who would cast their vote directly for the candidates of their choice. Under a scheme of this nature there would be more than a million inhabitants on an average in each constituency. The constituency would in some cases be of enormous size, especially if communal electorates were introduced. In view of the obvious difficulties which must confront a candidate in canvassing and maintaining contact with such large constituencies the Committee recommended that the alternatives of direct and indirect elections should be fully explored and suggested that while it might be possible without difficulty to adopt direct election in certain areas some form of indirect election might prove desirable in rural areas.

The Franchise Committee would be glad to have your views on this difficult question. In the event of your favouring some system of direct election it would be very useful if you would indicate the nature of the constituency that you would form having regard to the number of seats which you consider ought to be allotted to your province.

7. Representation of women, labour and depressed classes.

Please add any further suggestions which you desire to make regarding the representation of women, labour and the depressed classes and other interests at present specially represented in the Federal Legislature.

8. General.

It will be of great assistance to the Franchise Committee if you will favour them with any observations on the working of the existing franchise and electoral rules which will throw light on the problems now under consideration. The Committee will of course require information later on many other questions but it is not necessary to deal at present with matters outside the scope of this questionnaire.

It is not the function of the Franchise Committee to consider the maintenance, modification or abolition of the existing system of separate communal electorates, though it is clear that this question must be decided before a final scheme can be drawn up for the composition of the various legislatures and the arrangement of the constituencies upon which they are to be based. His Majesty's Government have instructed the Franchise Committee to proceed, in so far as they may find that the absence of such an assumption may preclude them from arriving at conclusions, on the assumption that separate communal electorates will continue to form a feature of the new constitution. It is hoped, however, that it will be possible to offer answers to the questions asked in this paper, without entering upon a discussion of the communal problem.

Points for local Governments.

(1) The Franchise Committee are anxious to save local Governments unnecessary labour as far as possible. A great deal of information which will be of great value in connection with their inquiries must already be available in reports on the working of the present constitution prepared for the Statutory Commission or for other purposes.

In dealing with the questions now raised it will suffice to refer to such reports or to send copies corrected up to date where such a course is found convenient.

(2) The Franchise Committee desire, if possible, during their visit to each provincial headquarters, to spend a day or part of a day in a conveniently situated village, where they would meet typical bodies of villagers and discuss with them questions arising out of this inquiry. The Committee would like to have an opportunity of talking to a group of existing voters, a group of those who would become entitled to a vote if the franchise were extended in the manner considered possible by the local Government, and a group of those to whom the vote could not be granted within the limits of any practicable system of franchise. In the last case, the Committee would like to consider, on the spot, the possibility of adopting some system of group representation. The Committee would be grateful if one or two officers could be deputed to accompany them as interpreters, who are well acquainted with the village selected for a visit or with village life in general.



APPENDIX TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE.

I

TELEGRAM XX, FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA, LONDON, TO THE VICEROY (REFORMS DEPARTMENT), NEW DELHI, No. 168, DATED THE 13TH (RECEIVED 14TH) JANUARY 1932.

Chairman who is anxious to expedite work of Franchise Committee as far as possible would be glad if this was practicable to ascertain in general terms during first stage of enquiry any preliminary views which Provincial Governments and Committees may feel able to express on

(*a*) size of Provincial Legislatures,

(*b*) representation of special interests

(*c*) qualification of candidates,

(*d*) if possible on question of Bicameral Legislatures in Provinces.

It would be unnecessary of course to go into details at present stage but written statement would be of much value. If time permits it might be possible to arrange for brief general discussion of such statements after franchise questionnaire had been disposed of. Chairman recognises difficulties of expressing any save provisional views on (*a*) and (*b*) above in absence of communal agreement but as hypothetical basis of discussion provisional working hypothesis referred to in paragraph 7 of Prime Minister's letter of 29th December may be adopted as a basis in this connection.

Please inform local Governments accordingly and ask them to take such steps as they consider feasible to prepare the ground. In the light of experience in first two Provinces visited Committee will probably be able to decide definitely whether or not any extension of field to be explored beyond that covered by questionnaire already issued will in fact be feasible at this stage having regard to very short time at their disposal.

II

TELEGRAM FROM THE JOINT SECRETARIES, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, TO ALL LOCAL GOVERNMENTS (EXCEPT BIHAR AND ORISSA AND BURMA), No. S.-570, DATED THE 13TH FEBRUARY 1932.

As stated in paragraph 2 of Questionnaire question of bicameral legislatures will probably have to await final decision till a later stage, though Chairman will be glad to receive written statement of local Governments' views asked for in January through Government of India. Point has however now been taken in United Provinces and Bihar and Orissa that wider extension of franchise could be contemplated if Provincial Legislatures contained second chamber which would at once serve as stabilizing influence and as source from which persons with administrative experience could be drawn to serve as Ministers etc. Chairman would be glad if local Governments and committees could consider, and be prepared to discuss question of second chamber as affecting extension of franchise.

Replies

of the

Government of Madras

and the

Madras Provincial Franchise Committee

to the

Indian Franchise Committee's Questionnaires.

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MADRAS.

Memorandum by the Government of Madras.

I

VIEWS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS ON THE QUESTIONNAIRE OF THE INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE.

LETTER FROM THE ADDITIONAL SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS, TO THE SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, CAMP INDIA, No. 298, DATED FORT ST. GEORGE, THE 22ND FEBRUARY 1932.

[*Franchise Committee Questionnaire—Views of the Government of Madras.*]

I am directed to forward to you a copy of the Madras Provincial Franchise Committee's replies to the questionnaire issued by the Franchise Committee together with the views of the Government of Madras on extension of the franchise, women's suffrage and other matters referred to in the questionnaire and also on the question as to whether there should be a second chamber in the provincial legislature.

2. I am to state that the questionnaire and the recommendations of the Provincial Committee have been considered by His Excellency the Governor with his Executive Council and Ministers sitting together and that the views expressed in this letter are the views of the Government as a whole.

3. *Question 1 (c)—Administrative possibility of an electorate comprising 10 per cent. of the population.*—The Madras Government consider that such an electorate and all the arrangements for the preparation, maintenance, and revision of the rolls, and for polling and counting of votes in this Province are administratively possible.

4. *Question 1 (b)—Capacity of such an electorate to cast an intelligent vote.*—The Government consider that a large portion of the electorate that will result from the franchise necessary to give the vote to 10 per cent. of the population will not at present be able to cast an intelligent vote, but as electoral rolls for the district municipalities and local boards have already been prepared which will enfranchise roughly 10 per cent. of the population it is administratively convenient to adopt the same roll for the Legislative Council. The reduction in the size of constituencies made possible through an increase in the number of elected members of the Council, and the local board and municipal elections being held on a wider franchise than has hitherto existed, are expected to quicken up the political education of the electors.

5. *Question 1 (e)—Desirability and feasibility of further extension.*—The Government are emphatically of the opinion that at present no further extension beyond such additions as may be made by lowering the franchise for Madras City as proposed by the Provincial Committee, and by providing an independent literacy qualification for men and women, is either feasible or desirable.

6. *Franchise suggested to bring 10 per cent. of the population on the electoral roll.*—The franchise provided by the Madras District Municipalities and Local Boards Acts as last amended will as stated by the Provincial Committee give the result apparently aimed at. Extracts from those Acts to show the qualifications of electors under this proposal are appended.* Short of adult suffrage it is the widest possible so long as a property qualification is retained. Briefly, the qualification is occupation of land as pattadar, inamdar, landholder, landholder's tenant, or lessee on a written lease, or assessment to any tax however small, or being an *ex*-officer or *ex*-soldier of His Majesty's regular forces. In the Madras City the limit of exemption from the property tax is high compared with mufassal municipalities while the profession tax is as low as Rs. 1-4-0 a year. In order therefore to extend the franchise in the Madras City to the same extent as is proposed in the district and rural areas the Government agree with the Provincial Committee that the occupancy franchise should be altered from occupation as tenant of a house of not less than Rs. 60 annual rental value to occupation as owner or tenant of a house of not less than Rs. 18 annual value. With the addition of the independent literacy qualification which this Government is disposed to adopt it is anticipated that the total number of persons enfranchised would be 5·38 millions or 11·5 per cent. of the population. The Government agree with the Provincial Committee in thinking that the provision in the Local Boards Act by which lessees of land on a written lease are included in the electoral roll requires more precise definition with a view to prevent the manufacture of bogus leases and votes. A minimum period of three years, a minimum rent of Rs. 2 or its equivalent in kind and a minimum area of 1 acre would probably be a suitable modification.

7. *Question 1 (f) to (j)—Group representation.*—The Madras Government do not consider that the system of group representation suggested by the Franchise Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference and in the questionnaire or as described in the literature on the subject which the Franchise Committee have been good enough to circulate in advance, is suitable for this province, and are in general agreement with the views expressed on this subject by the Provincial Committee.

8. *Question 2 (a)—Disparity in operation of franchise.*—The franchise now proposed will rectify such disparity as there is. The population of the urban areas including Madras is just under 8 per cent. of the whole; the urban electors are at present 13·6 of the total electorate and under the new franchise will be about 8·4 per cent.

9. *Question 2 (c)—Property qualification.*—The Government consider that the property qualification laid down in the District Municipalities and Local Boards Acts which is based on assessment to a direct tax of some kind or occupation of property in the shape of building or land is the most suitable definition and evidence of a property qualification.

10. *Question 2 (d)—Literacy qualification.*—The Madras Government had already recommended the introduction of an independent literacy qualification in paragraph 24 of its letter No. 978, Public Department,

* *Vide* Appendices I—III, pages 16—18.

dated the 11th August 1930, to the Government of India on the recommendations of the Statutory Commission. At that time it contemplated only a comparatively small extension of the franchise on a property qualification and suggested a fairly low literacy qualification. In view however of the wide extension of the franchise now agreed to, and the fact that generally speaking the vote given by the individual is representative of the family opinion, it considers that the independent literacy qualification for men at least, should be fairly high, and accordingly accepts the recommendation of the Provincial Committee that it should be the possession of a completed Secondary School-Leaving Certificate or its equivalent. As regards women the case is different. Some means has to be found other than the ordinary property qualification to increase to some extent the number of women on the electoral roll since the property laws of the country operate against their coming on the roll in sufficient numbers as compared with men, and the Government agree that in their case the literacy qualification may be ability to read and write, the qualification of women claiming to be registered on this qualification to be certified to by some such method as the certificate of a village magistrate or other magistrate as to her ability to read and write or her own written application to be included on the roll.

11. *Question 2 (e)—Military qualification.*—The Madras Government consider that an extension of the present military qualification to include service in the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces is unnecessary.

12. *Question 3 (a)—Women's suffrage.*—The Government agree with the view of the Provincial Committee that it is not desirable to give the vote to the wives or widows (not otherwise qualified) of male electors qualified by property. The reduced property qualification and the low literacy qualification proposed will bring on to the electoral roll in the neighbourhood of 900,000 women as compared with the present 128,000, and it should be seen how far these will exercise their electoral rights before proposals for further increasing the proportion of women on the roll are accepted.

13. *Question 3 (b)—Group system for women.*—The Government have expressed their opinion on the suggested group system in paragraph 7 of this letter.

14. *Question 3 (c)—Representation of women on the Legislative Council.*—The Government are opposed to the suggestion that women members should be co-opted by the Legislative Council, but are not in favour of the Provincial Committee's proposals for reserved seats in urban areas. They agree that representation should be secured but consider that a simpler and better method than reservation of seats would be as follows. A fixed number of seats should be reserved in the Council for women: women should be allowed as at present in this Province to stand for any constituency for which they are qualified to stand and unsuccessful women candidates up to the number so reserved obtaining the highest percentage of votes to the number of electors on the electoral roll in the constituency for which they stand, should be declared elected to the seats reserved for women, provided that they have obtained sufficient votes not to forfeit their deposits. Women who top the poll in any constituency

and win a seat outright would come into the Council as ordinary members and would be additional to those filling the seats reserved for women. If on the other hand the number of women candidates was insufficient to fill the quota of reserved seats, no further step to fill the quota should be taken, whether by nomination or otherwise.

15. *Question 4—Representation of depressed classes.*—The Government adhere to the views already expressed by them previously in paragraph 20 of their Memorandum to the Statutory Commission and in paragraph 12 of their letter No. 978, dated the 11th August 1930, to the Government of India on the recommendations of the Commission. They agree with the Provincial Committee that without separate electorates the depressed classes cannot get representatives of their own choice.

As regards the definition of depressed classes the Government consider that the definition of the term Adi-Dravidas as given in clause 3 (1) of the Madras Local Boards Act, 1920, would be suitable. Under this section a supplementary list of communities has been notified by the Government in G. O. No. 1541, L. & M., dated the 7th May 1931,* of which a copy is appended together with an extract from the Act. The Government propose that a similar list should be issued in respect of the separate electorates for the Legislative Council. This would cover all those known or hitherto regarded as 'untouchables' and the Government consider that only such communities should be included in the category of 'Depressed classes' for special treatment. The Government do not consider it desirable to apply the group system to the depressed classes. It is estimated that the lower franchise will bring on to the rolls about 300,000 depressed class electors which will be about 8·4 per cent. of their total adult population.

16. *Question 5—Representation of labour.*—Subject to the proviso that the qualifying period should be not less than one year's continuous employment the Government accept the recommendation of the Provincial Franchise Committee for the formation of special labour constituencies to bring the voice of labour into the Council in preference to making registered unions the constituency or constituencies as was proposed by the Whitley Commission. The ground for their opinion is the backward state of labour organization in the province and the way the unions are organized for the employees of particular firms or corporations.

17. *Question 5-A—Representation of special interests.*—The Government are of opinion that as at present Landholders, European Trade and Commerce, Planting, Indian Trade and Commerce and the Universities should have representation secured to them and that Labour be added as a special interest. They agree with the Provincial Committee's suggestion that the Madras Trades Association should be merged with the Chamber of Commerce for the purpose of forming a European Trade and Commerce constituency.

18. *Question 6 (a)—Method of election to the Upper Chamber—Federal Legislature.*—The majority of the Government are not in favour of the proposal of the Federal Structure Committee. They prefer direct election by a limited electorate of qualifications calculated to ensure the

* *Vide* Appendix IV, page 18.

inclusion therein of persons of wealth, education and administrative experience not only in local bodies and the legislatures, but in the public services of the country, such as *ex*-judges, *ex*-collectors and retired officials of similar standing, and the method of election should be by proportional representation by the single transferable vote as is at present the practice for the Council of State. With the increased representation proposed to be given to Madras the province can be divided up into plural constituencies of more manageable area than at present. With a limited electorate and canvassing mainly done by post, and candidates generally men of standing known to the public, the size of the constituencies is not of such importance as in the case, say, of the Provincial Legislative Council.

19. *Question 6 (b)—Franchise qualifications for Federal Legislature.*—The suggestion of the Provincial Franchise Committee that for the Lower Chamber of Federal Legislature the franchise qualification should be lowered so as to double the number of electors at present on the rolls for the Legislative Assembly is acceptable to Government. So also their proposal that the electorate for the Upper Chamber should be one similar to that at present existing for the Council of State supplemented by a provision for the inclusion of *ex*-officials of fairly high standing.

20. *Question 6 (c)—Election to Federal Lower Chamber.*—The majority of the Government agree with the majority of the members of the Federal Structure Committee that election to the Lower Chamber of the Federal Legislature should be by territorial constituencies consisting of qualified voters who would cast their vote directly for the candidates of their choice, which is also the view of the Provincial Franchise Committee.

21. *Question 7—Representation of women, etc., in the Federal Legislature.*—Disagreeing with the Provincial Committee the Government do not consider that there is any proper ground or necessity for securing specially the representation of women in the Upper Chamber. Only representation of Muslims and Europeans needs to be secured. In the Lower Chamber the interests which should be secured representation are Landholders, Indian Commerce, Women and Labour, and the communities for whom special provision is required to secure adequate representation are Muslims, depressed classes, Europeans and Indian Christians. No special provision for the representation of European Commerce is suggested as it is considered that the proposed representation of Europeans as a community will cover their commercial interests.

22. The provisional views of the Madras Government as to the size of the Legislative Council and the qualifications of candidates which have been asked for by the Chairman of the Franchise Committee will be forwarded shortly.* As regards the question of a Second Chamber in the Provincial Legislature, the Government as at present constituted are of opinion that, in view of the fact that the franchise for the Council is proposed to be very greatly extended, there should be a Second Chamber which would act as an effective check on ill-considered and hasty legislation ; the ideas of Government as to the details of the composition of the Second Chamber will be forwarded later.

* Page 20.

APPENDIX.

I

Present Qualifications for Madras City Electorate—Legislative Council.

Extract from the Madras Electoral Rules.

4. *Urban Madras City constituency.*—A person shall be qualified as an elector for a Madras City constituency who—

(*a*) was assessed in the previous year to property-tax or tax on companies or —profession tax; or

(*b*) occupied for not less than six months in the previous year a house in the City, not being a house in any military or police lines, of an annual value of not less than Rs. 60; or

(*c*) was assessed in the previous year to income-tax; or

(*d*) is a retired, pensioned or discharged officer, non-commissioned officer or soldier of His Majesty's regular forces.

Explanation.—No person shall be deemed to occupy a house within the meaning of clause (*b*) unless he is paying or is liable to pay to the owner the rent thereof, or is exempt from the payment of rent by virtue of any office, service or employment; nor shall more than one person be qualified as an elector in respect of the same house.

II

Extract from the Madras District Municipalities Act, 1920.

45. (1) *Qualifications for voting.*—No person shall be included in the electoral roll as qualified to vote unless—

(*a*) he is a British subject or a subject of a State in India:

Provided that the Local Government may exclude from the scope of this restriction any alien or class of aliens;

(*b*) he has attained the age of twenty-one years in the year preceding that in which the electoral roll is published;

(*c*) he has been assessed in such preceding year to any tax payable to the Government of India or to the Local Government or to any local authority in the Presidency of Madras or is a retired, pensioned or discharged officer non-commissioned officer or soldier of His Majesty's regular forces; and

(*d*) he has resided in the municipality for one hundred and twenty days in the aggregate in such preceding year.

(2) If a company or association or the members of a family jointly or joint pattadars has or have been assessed to any tax, the company or association or the family or joint pattadars shall be treated as possessing the qualification, and the person entitled to be registered in the electoral roll shall be the secretary of the company or association or some other person duly authorized in that behalf or the member authorized by a majority of the family or of the joint pattadars, or, in the case of a joint Hindu family, either a member so authorized or in default of such authorization, the manager thereof.

(3) A person may be qualified either in his personal capacity or in the capacity of a representative of a company or association or of a joint family or of joint pattadars, but not in both capacities.

(4) Save as provided in sub-section (2), no person shall be qualified as an elector unless he possesses the necessary qualifications in his personal capacity.

46. (Omitted).

47. *Disqualifications of voter.*—Notwithstanding anything contained in sub-section (5) of section 44, a person who is of unsound mind, a deaf-mute or a leper shall not be entitled to vote at any election to a municipal council.

III

Extract from the Madras Local Boards Act, 1920.

52. *General qualifications for registration.*—No person shall be included in the electoral roll (of a local board) as qualified to vote unless—

(*a*) he is a British subject or a subject of a State in India :

Provided that the Local Government may exclude from the scope of this restriction any alien or class of aliens ;

(*b*) he has attained the age of twenty-one years in the year preceding that in which the electoral roll is published ;

(*c*) he possesses one or more of the qualifications described in Schedule III (annexed) ;

(*d*) in the case of a district or taluk board, he has resided for one hundred and twenty days in the aggregate in such preceding year in the district or taluk or in a municipality (including the City of Madras) or cantonment, situated within three miles of the district or taluk :

Provided that in the case of persons whose sole residential qualification consists in their residence in any such municipality or cantonment, their being assessed to a tax payable to a municipal or cantonment authority shall not be deemed to be a qualification within the meaning of this clause ; and

(*e*) in the case of a panchayat, he has resided in the village for one hundred and twenty days in aggregate in such preceding year.

53. *Disqualifications of voter.*—Notwithstanding anything contained in sub-section (5) of section 51, a person who is of unsound mind, a deaf-mute or a leper, shall not be entitled to vote at any election to a local board.

SCHEDULE III.

Electoral Qualifications.

[See section 52 (*c*).]

Local Board Electors.

1. A person shall be qualified as an elector of a district board, taluk board or panchayat who—

(*a*) was in the previous year assessed to any tax payable to the Government of India or to the Local Government or to any local authority in the Presidency of Madras ; or

(*b*) is registered as a ryotwari pattadar, or as an inamdar, of land in the district, taluk or village, as the case may be ; or

(*c*) holds land in the district, taluk or village on a written lease or demise under a ryotwari pattadar or an inamdar or any tenant under such pattadar or inamdar ; or

(*d*) is registered jointly with the proprietor undersection 14 of the Malabar Land Registration Act, 1895, as the occupant of land in the district, taluk or village ; or

(*e*) holds an estate in the district, taluk or village as a landholder as defined in the Madras Estates Land Act, 1908 ; or

(*f*) holds land in the district, taluk or village as ryot or as tenant under a landholder, as defined in the Madras Estates Land Act, 1908 ; or

(*g*) is a retired, pensioned, or discharged officer, non-commissioned officer or soldier of His Majesty's regular forces.

2. (Omitted.)

General.

3. If property is held by, or tax is assessed upon, a company or association, or the members of a family jointly, or joint pattadars, the company or association or the family or joint pattadars shall be treated as possessing the qualification, and the person entitled to be registered in the electoral roll shall be the secretary of the company or association or some person duly authorized in that behalf or the member authorized by a majority of the family or of the joint pattadars, or, in the case of a joint Hindu family, either a member so authorized or, in default of such authorization, the manager thereof.

4. A person may be qualified either in his personal capacity or in the capacity of a representative of a company or association or of a joint family or of joint pattadars, but not in both capacities.

5. Save as provided in rule 3, no person shall be qualified as an elector unless he possesses the prescribed qualifications in his personal capacity.

IV

G. O. No. 1541-L. & M., dated 7th May 1931.

[Rule—Madras Local Boards and Madras District Municipalities Acts, 1920—Definition of the term 'Adi-Dravida'—Confirmed.]

* * * * * * * * * *

The appended notifications will be published in English in the *Fort St. George Gazette* and in all District Gazettes in English and in the vernacular language or languages of the district concerned.

NOTIFICATIONS.

(i)

In exercise of the powers conferred by clause (1) of section 3 and clause (*a*) of sub-section (2) of section 199 of the Madras Local Boards Act, 1920 (Madras Act XIV of 1920), the Governor acting with Ministers is hereby pleased to make the following rule prescribing the communities which in addition to those mentioned in clause (1) of section 3 of the said Act shall be included in the 'Adi-Dravida' community for the purposes of the said Act :—

Rule.

Any person professing the Hindu religion and belonging to any of the communities mentioned in the schedule annexed hereto shall be an Adi-Dravida within the meaning of clause (1) of section 3 of the Madras Local Boards Act, 1920.

Schedule.

Bairas.	Kanakkans.	Pambadas.
Bakudas.	Koragas.	Paravans (Parawans)
Bavuris.	Madaris.	Raneyars.
Bellaras.	Mailas.	Rellis.
Chalavadis.	Mogers (Mera or Kaipudas or Mogeras).	Semmans.
Goddas.	Mundalas.	
	Nalkedayas.	
Haddis.	Nayadis.	Vettuvans.

(ii)

In exercise of the powers conferred by clause (1) of section 3 and clause *(a)* of sub-section (2) of section 303 of the Madras District Municipalities Act, 1920 (Madras Act V of 1920), the Governor acting with Ministers is hereby pleased to make the following rule prescribing the communities which in addition to those mentioned in clause (1) of section 3 of the said Act shall be included in the 'Adi-Dravida' community for the purposes of the said Act :—

Rule.

Any person professing the Hindu religion and belonging to any of the communities mentioned in the schedule annexed hereto shall be an Adi-Dravida within the meaning of clause (1) of section 3 of the Madras District Municipalities Act, 1920.

Schedule.

Bairas.	Kanakkans.	Pambadas.
Bakudas.	Koragas.	Paravans (Parawans).
Bavuris.	Madaris.	Raneyars.
Bellaras.	Mailas.	Rellis.
Chalavadis.	Mogers (Mera or Kaipudas or Mogeras).	Semmans.
Goddas.	Mundalas.	
	Nalkedayas.	
Haddis.	Nayadis.	Vettuvans.

V

Extract from the Madras Local Boards Act, 1920.

PART I.

Chapter I—Preliminary.

* * * * * * * * * *

3. In this Act unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context—

(1) 'Adi-Dravida' means any person professing the Hindu religion and belonging to any of the following communities, namely, the Paraiyans, Pallans, Valluvans, Malas, Madigas, Chakkiliyans, Tottiyans, Cherumans and Holeyas, or to any other community that may be prescribed.

* * * * * * * * * *

II

Supplementary memorandum by the Government of Madras on the Franchise Committee's Questionnaire and connected points.

LETTER FROM ADDITIONAL SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS, TO THE SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, CAMP INDIA, No. 298-A., DATED FORT ST. GEORGE, THE 23RD FEBRUARY 1932.

[*Reference.*—Continuation of my letter No. 298, Public, dated the 22nd February 1932.]*

I am directed to communicate to you the views of the Madras Government on the following subjects.

2. *Question 2 (b)—Methods of adjusting the franchise so that voting strength of communities is proportional to population strength.*—If separate electorates are retained, differences of proportion of voting strength on the electoral rolls to population in the various communities are in the opinion of the Government immaterial. If separate electorates are not retained, and if joint electorates with or without reservation of seats are adopted with a general electorate of about 10 per cent. of the population the voting strength of the minority communities would still be so small in most constituencies that nothing short of adult suffrage in favour of the minority communities only would so strengthen their position as to enable them to get candidates of their own choice elected if their election was seriously opposed by the Hindu majority community. It is believed that in the case of Muhammadans and Indian Christians the franchise proposed will result in the numbers of electors from these communities being nearly proportional to their population strength. In the case of the depressed classes the Government have recommended separate electorates for them and agree with the recommendation of the Provincial Franchise Committee that they should also have a vote in the general non-Muhammadan constituencies in order to prevent a permanent gulf being fixed between the communities and to provide a starting point for the eventual abolition of separate electorates for depressed classes. This proposal will tend to equalize their voting strength in proportion to population with that of other communities. It has already been stated in the previous letter that about 300,000 of the depressed classes will come on to the electoral roll if the low franchise for the local boards and district municipalities is adopted. Their population is 7·1 millions and the proposal is tantamount to giving them 600,000 votes or a little over 8 per cent. of their population strength.

3. The Government are of the opinion that the size of the Provincial Legislative Council should be 210 with the following composition :—

Communities—	
Non-Muhammadans	126
Muhammadans	21
Indian Christians	9
Depressed classes	18
Europeans	3
Anglo-Indians	2

* Page 11

Special Interests—

Women	8
Landholders	12
Universities	1
Labour	2
Planting	2
European Trade and Commerce..	3
Indian Trade and Commerce	3

Indian Trade and Commerce includes two seats for the South Indian Chamber of Commerce and one for the Nattukottai Nagarathars Association.

It will be seen that their proposals differ in some respects from those of the Provincial Committee. They consider that a strength of 25 members for depressed classes is too large having regard to the difficulties of getting suitable candidates and the fact that it is proposed to give them votes in the non-Muhammadan general electorates. It may be mentioned that in connection with the reservation of seats for the depressed classes in the municipalities and local boards the number adopted was a minimum of one per local body and a total membership roughly proportionate to half their population strength. The 25 seats proposed by the Provincial Committee in a House of 220 amounts to giving them representation according to full population strength. The Muhammadans on population strength should only have about 12 members but have had, since the introduction of the reformed Council, considerable weightage allowed. In the present Council they have 13 out of a total of 132 members and the strength now proposed to be given to them is one-tenth of the total strength of 210. As regards the representation of Indian Christians the eleven seats proposed by the Provincial Committee is excessive and much higher than their present five members out of 132 would warrant. As regards Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Landholders, Universities, Planting, Trade and Commerce, both European and Indian, Government have accepted the Committee's proposals. Europeans have been given one more than they would proportionately be entitled to in view of the effect on the European element in the Council by the abolition of the official "bloc." The non-Muhammadan seats have been fixed having regard to the desirability of making the revenue division, or where the population is very heavy, a portion thereof, a single member constituency.

4. *Qualifications of candidates for Legislative Council.*—Government are of the opinion that for general constituencies there need be no change in the present electoral rules.

The Universities constituency.—They consider that the candidate should be a member or *ex*-member of the Senate of one of the Universities in the Province.

The Landholders' constituencies.—They accept the Provincial Committee's proposal that the candidate should be registered as an elector in *any* landholders' constituency within the Province. At present he has to be registered in the constituency he is standing for.

For Labour constituencies Government are unable to accept the Provincial Committee's proposal which will allow too much scope for the "carpet bagger" and professional labour politician. They consider that candidates should be registered on the electoral roll of any labour constituency within the Province.

As regards women's seats the Provincial Committee's proposal goes hand in hand with their idea of reserved seats in urban areas, not necessarily the whole of the constituency, and the electors of all general electorates within that area forming the electorate for women. The Government have proposed an entirely different system for securing the representation of women in the Council and consider that women should be under the same rules for candidature as men in the general constituencies.

5. *Qualifications of candidates for the Federal Lower Chamber.*—The Government agree with the Provincial Committee's recommendation that the present rules for the Legislative Assembly may be adopted with the modification that a candidate for a general constituency may be on the roll of *any* general constituency within the Province for the Federal Lower Chamber. At present the rule is rather a peculiar one. The candidate must either be registered on the roll of the constituency he is contesting or on that of any constituency for the Provincial Legislative Council.

6. *Qualifications for candidates for the Federal Upper Chamber.*—The Government agree with the Provincial Committee's proposal to adopt the rules at present in force for candidates for the Council of State but modified so that there shall be no sex disqualification.

7. *Disqualifications of candidates.*—The Provincial Committee's proposal to adopt the disqualification of conviction for offences as laid down in the Local Boards Act is not acceptable to Government. Government are of opinion that there need be no change in the present rules.

8. *Constitution of the Provincial Second Chamber.*—The Government consider that the strength of the Provincial Second or Upper Chamber should be about a quarter of the strength of the Provincial Lower Chamber. Some Members of the Government consider all the members of the Upper House should be elected by a limited electorate on a high franchise qualification; others favour the nomination by the Governor of a certain number of persons possessing administrative experience, the number of nominated members to be less than the number elected.

III

Memorandum by the Madras Provincial Franchise Committee.

VIEWS OF THE MADRAS PROVINCIAL FRANCHISE COMMITTEE ON THE QUESTIONNAIRE OF THE INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE.

I.—PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES.

1. Extension of Franchise.

Q. 1 (a).—According to figures supplied by the Inspector of Municipal Councils and Local Boards, the franchise under the recently amended District Municipalities Act and Local Boards Act will bring to the electoral rolls a total of 4,928,657* voters. This is approximately 10·5 per cent. of the population and is the nearest approach to adult suffrage so long as some property or tax qualification is adopted. A literacy qualification for men and women not otherwise qualified, if the qualifications suggested by this Committee in the answers to 2 (*d*) and 3 (*a*) are accepted, it is estimated will produce approximately another 390,000 voters † who are not otherwise qualified. There are at present 26,248 voters on the Madras City non-Muhammadan and Muhammadan rolls and it is anticipated the Committee's proposals in reply to 2 (*a*) will raise this to approximately 60,000. The percentage of the whole roll (5·37 million) to the population would be 11·5 or 23 per cent. of the adult population. This franchise will allow of an automatic and gradual expansion as village panchayats are formed.

Q. 1 (b).—The Committee thinks that a considerable portion of this electorate may not at present be able to cast an intelligent vote: doubt has been expressed even about the capacity of the present electorate. It is hoped however that as the franchise is the same as that for the municipal councils and local boards, the electorate will be gradually educated by experience. Some of the members of the Committee, both non-official and official, feel that the Statutory Commission's proposed expansion of the electorate to 10 per cent. of the population endorsed by the Franchise Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference is too great having regard to the low standard of education, political or otherwise, in this Province.

Q. 1 (c).—The Committee considers that such an electorate will be administratively manageable, though much larger expenditure than has been incurred in the past will be necessary. So far in this Presidency the preparation, maintenance and revision of the electoral rolls for the Legislative Council and the arrangements for conducting elections have been carried out by the Revenue Department with, for the polling of votes, some assistance from officials of other departments in the districts and a very small non-official assistance. There has been employed under the Inspector of Municipal Councils and Local Boards for the past one year a special staff for the preparation of the new electoral rolls for the Local Boards and District Municipalities and by the end of March of the

* 396,625 urban voters. 4,532,030 rural voters.

† Women 250,000 out of 355,000. Men 140,000 out of 269,400.

present year these rolls will be final and ready for taking over for maintenance and revision. In the beginning some additional special staff will be required to prepare the final rolls for the Legislative Council on the new franchise in view of the inclusion of a large number of women and men on a literacy franchise ; and the additions in Madras City due to a lower occupancy qualification. The Committee is inclined to consider that subsequently instead of the present system of triennial revision by the Revenue authorities with the employment of the special staff, that maintenance might be continuous and that it might in respect of the rural areas be made part of jamabandi or the annual settlement of the revenue accounts village by village, which is a feature of this Province, when the village officers should report all changes and corrections to the Jamabandi Officer and anybody desiring to have his name entered on the roll could come forward with a petition for the same and orders would be passed there and then. Some addition to the permanent revenue staff in the districts might be required for the maintenance of the rolls. As regards polling an examination of the number of Government servants in three typical districts *(Guntur, Tanjore and Malabar) suggests that from 160 to 250 polling stations can be adequately manned. It is anticipated there will be greater necessity for employing non-officials in connection with the elections and about such employment some of the members of the Committee share the views of the Government of India expressed in paragraph 9 of their fifth Despatch on the Reforms, dated 23rd April 1919, and also those of the Simon Commission to be found in paragraph 105, Vol. II of the Report. Still they consider that risks must be taken if any large expansion of the electorate is to take place. The elections under the new franchise of the amended Local Boards Act have not yet been held but it is expected there will not be any serious breakdown.

Q. 1 (d).—No answer is required.

Q. 1 (e).—The Committee does not consider it to be either practicable or desirable at present to enlarge the electoral roll still further. It considers that until education of the electors is further advanced and the administrative machine tested out for the proposed increase from 1·47 millions to 5·37 millions it would be a great mistake to enlarge the electoral roll any further either by direct franchise or by the method suggested in question 1 (*f*).

Q. 1 (f).—The Committee has perused the information furnished regarding the electoral system of groups and the representation of primary voters by secondary electors adopted in some of the Near Eastern countries and is of opinion that it is not suitable for this Province in its present stage of development. The people of this Province have become accustomed to

* Number of public servants including Local Board employees available.

	Drawing Rs. 35 and over (1).	Number in (1) drawing Rs. 50 and over.	Number in (1) drawing Rs. 100 and over.
Guntur	1,119	469	241
Tanjore	1,822	787	343
Malabar	2,237	831	389

the procedure and machinery of direct elections. Since 1870 there have been direct elections for the Municipal Councils and for Local Boards from 1884. Up to 1930 election to the District Board was indirect and by and from the members of the Taluk Board and the system was not satisfactory. Direct election to the District Board on a territorial basis was one of the chief amendments to the Local Boards Act in 1930. The history of the Legislatures is also one of development from indirect to direct election. Local Boards and municipal elections are all based on an individual exercise of the franchise and as it is proposed to introduce the same franchise so as to include 23 per cent. of the adult population it is not considered advisable further to burden the administration with the working of a complicated system of indirect adult suffrage. The great majority of the members of the public and associations who have sent in replies to the questionnaire are also against this system. If election to the Council should be indirect through secondaries, the unit for primaries should be not an artificial group but the village. Faction over Local Board elections is already rife in villages in many parts of the country and it is anticipated that election even by the village as a whole of secondary voters would stir up still more trouble in the villages. The Committee considers that the difficulties of forming satisfactory groups in villages, bringing them together to elect their secondaries or deputies, of deciding disputes as regards such elections and of finding the machinery for all these purposes would more than counterbalance any supposed advantage of the system. If elections for secondaries are not held more or less simultaneously and objections decided promptly, the final roll of secondary electors may be held up indefinitely. It is felt that however carefully the group elections may be conducted there will always be some doubt as to the genuineness of the elections. The group system, complicated as it is even when applied to a homogeneous population, will become greatly more complicated on account of the fact that the population in our villages is almost everywhere divided into different communities each with its own caste and communal hierarchy and discipline and also on account of the fact that it is proposed to have different communal electorates. What, however, the Committee considers the gravest objection of all is that the group system would greatly facilitate manipulation and corrupt practices both in forming the groups of primary electors and in the election of the secondaries. The comparative fewness of the number of secondaries would also expose them to corruption.

Q. 1 (*g*).—Please see reply to (*f*).

Q. 1 (*h*).—The Committee considers that it will be a retrograde step to go back to indirect voting through secondaries for all constituencies. As already pointed out in the answer to clause (*f*) the people have become accustomed to direct voting and an indirect suffrage such as this system proposes will not be appreciated.

Q. 1 (*i*) and (*j*).—In view
necessary.

2. Franchise Qualifications.

Q. 2 (a).—The examination of the figures under the present franchise does not show any marked disparity in the operation of the franchise qualification in urban as compared with rural areas. The population of the urban areas including Madras City is just under 8 per cent. of the whole, while the electors in these areas are 13·6 per cent. of the total on the present roll. Although the franchise minimum property qualification of Rs. 3 taxation in municipalities and Rs. 6 in Madras City appears to be less than the Rs. 10 rural qualification, actually it normally represents a higher standard, especially if it represents profession tax. The Committee's proposals for the lowering of the qualification will it is considered rectify any disparity. Urban voters will be 8·4 of the whole electoral roll with some addition for literates which is not readily calculable.

Q. 2 (b).—The Committee is not in favour of having different qualification for different communities in this Province. The minority communities are relatively so small, that no differentiation in franchise qualification short of adult suffrage within the communities only would benefit them materially in joint electorates and in principle differentiation seems to be undesirable. The Committee believes that as regards Muhammadans and Christians the extension of the franchise proposed will give them approximately proportionally equal voting strength with the majority community. As regards Muhammadans the Local Board electorate rolls show a voting strength of 3·6 as against a population strength of 3·8. As regards depressed classes, the figures for three districts of voters on the new local board rolls show that there will be a very considerable increase in their numbers; according to figures furnished to the Simon Commission there are only 56,800 voters on the present Legislative Council rolls who belong to the depressed classes whereas for the three average districts referred the total as per proposed franchise is 36,641. There are 25 districts in the Province *plus* Madras City and it is anticipated there will be about 300,000 depressed classes electors in all.

Q. 2 (c).—The possession or occupation of property of some kind or the assessment to a tax as evidence of property or income is in the opinion of the Committee a suitable test of fitness for the franchise. It does not consider that a claim to be in receipt of any particular wages or income incapable of easy verification unless evidenced by assessment to some tax or payment of land revenue or cesses and therefore acceptable as a franchise qualification. The Committee has in reply to the question regarding labour representation recommended the formation of special electorates of certain classes of workers drawing Rs. 15 per month in wages or more, but in this particular case the claim to income can, it is believed, be checked by employers' returns under the Factory Act. The Committee has recommended the adoption of the Municipal and Local Boards property qualifications for the franchise, which are wider in scope as regards the meaning of property than the existing qualifications for the Legislative Council franchise, but is of opinion that the provision in the Local Boards Act by which lessees are included in the electoral roll requires more precise definition with a view to prevent the manufacture of bogus leases for the purpose of procuring the registration of electors not really qualified.

Q. 2 (d).—The majority of the Committee is in favour of introducing a qualification based on education independently of property and suggests for men as a standard the possession of a completed Secondary School Leaving Certificate and for women ability to read and write in any language. The Committee does not consider it desirable to flood the electorate with males of a low standard of general education who have no property or taxation qualification, but as regards women it considers a low literacy standard a better method of bringing a considerably increased number of women on the rolls than dragging them on as wives or widows of male voters.

Q. 2 (e).—All the Committee are in favour of retaining the existing military service qualification and do not think it necessary to include service in the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces in view of their other proposals for the extension of the electorate.

3. Women's Suffrage.

Q. 3 (a).—Though for the whole of India, the proportion of female to male voters is 1 to 26, in Madras it is 1 to 10 already. The Committee is not in favour of increasing the number of women voters by enfranchising women merely because they are wives or widows of men who are or have been entitled to vote under the property qualification, but a majority of the Committee is in favour of a low educational qualification for women aged 21 and over, in addition to and independent of the ordinary property qualifications. It is expected that if their proposals for widening the franchise are accepted the probable number of women to be enfranchised will be at least 900,000. The Committee consider that to bring wives of male electors on to the roll would at present in the majority of cases merely mean increasing the husband's vote and also that a very large number of the women would not use their vote at all and the rolls would merely be swollen to the embarrassment of the Government and of candidates for election without any practical benefit. The advance now proposed coupled with provisions to ensure the representation of women by women in the Legislative Council is considered sufficient for the present. It is estimated on the basis of the number of girls in schools reading up to the V class that for some considerable time the literacy qualification for women will add at least 25,000 electors a year.

Q. 3 (b).—The Committee is entirely against the proposed system of group representation for reasons already given and does not think it will be any more suitable for women than for men.

Q. 3 (c).—The Committee is definitely against co-option by the Legislative Council. It prefers the setting apart for women of seats in selected urban areas, the electorate for the purpose in each such area being the electors belonging to that area on the rolls of all the general constituencies.

4. Representation of the Depressed Classes.

Q. 4.—It is anticipated that the proposed widening of the franchise would bring on to the rolls about 300,000 voters of the depressed classes as against the present 58,000. The Committee is unanimously of opinion

that even with the increased number of voters the depressed classes will not be able to secure election without special protection. If this special protection takes the form of reservation of seats in joint electorates the majority of the Committee is of opinion that they will not be able to secure representatives of their own choice. The majority of the Committee therefore think that the depressed classes should be formed into a separate electorate and elect their own representatives, and in addition is also inclined to suggest as a special case in order to prevent perpetuation of a communal separation that they should have a vote in the general electorate as well so that as their present disabilities disappear their special representation may be reduced and eventually disappear altogether. As the depressed classes are generally resident in *cheris* apart from the rest of the villagers, the group system of representation if tried at all could be most easily applied to them, but the Committee prefer the method of direct choice by an electorate which has the same qualifications as the rest of the electors in the country. The definition of Adi-Dravida in the Local Boards Act as supplemented by the notification in G. O. No. 1541-L. & M., dated 7th May 1931*, sufficiently covers, in the opinion of the Committee, those who are the depressed classes. It covers all the sections and subsections of the untouchables.

5. Representation of Labour.

Q. 5.—The Committee considers that as employers are represented in special interest constituencies, such as the Chambers of Commerce, it is desirable that labour should also have an opportunity to make its voice heard and should be treated as a special interest. Though the idea of making registered labour unions the constituency is tempting, the Committee consider that in Madras Province at least the unions so far organized and registered are too much based on individual works or factories to be really representative of industrial labour as a whole, and further that their development at present is such that the railway unions would swamp the others and monopolise the representation. It is further doubted whether prospective candidates would be really representatives of labour. The Committee prefers to give representation to Labour by forming labour constituencies in special selected centres of industrial population, the qualification for franchise being the receipt of a minimum monthly wage of Rs. 15 and being a worker in a factory coming within the purview of the Indian Factories Act in the selected areas. The Committee consider that as certain returns have to be made under the Factories Act by the employers the preparation of an electoral roll of this kind would not be difficult. In the case of unorganized labour such as agriculture and plantation, the Committee considers that no special representation is required *qua* labour. A great bulk of the agricultural labour is part-time and the labourers have themselves small interests in land and on the lower franchise now proposed would come on to the electoral roll. Their interests are not generally dissimilar from those of their employers. The depressed classes form perhaps the biggest section of agricultural labour and adequate measures for their representation are already suggested. Plantation labour also is

* Quoted in *extenso* on pages 18-19.

practically entirely drawn from the depressed classes and as much of it floats back and from the villages its organization as a special interest would be difficult.

5-A. Representation of Special Interests.

Q. 5 (a).—The Committee is in favour of the retention of representation of the following special interests :—

Universities, European Trade and Commerce, Indian Trade and Commerce, Planting, Landholders, Nattukottai Nagarathars. There is no specially important mining interest within the Province requiring special representation.

The Committee is of opinion that the Madras Trades' Association, a special constituency, should be merged into a European Trade and Commerce constituency in which members of both the Chamber of Commerce and the Trades' Association would have a right to be electors.

II.—THE FEDERAL LEGISLATURE.

6. Allocation of Seats to British Indian Provinces.

Q. 6 (a).—The Committee does not agree with the proposal of the Federal Structure Committee, but considers that the provincial representatives to the upper chamber should be directly elected by a limited electorate of qualifications calculated to ensure the inclusion therein of persons of wealth, education, administrative experience, etc., and that the method of election should be by proportional representation by the single transferable vote. The Committee, two dissenting, was further of opinion that Muslims should be elected by a separate Muslim electorate of the same kind and that no other minority community need be specially provided for.

Q. 6 (b).—The Committee considers that the franchise qualifications for the federal and provincial legislatures should be different. For the federal lower chamber it is suggested that the present franchise qualification may be reduced so as to double the number of electors and that for the federal upper chamber an electorate similar to the one at present existing for the Council of State supplemented by provision for the inclusion of persons with administrative ex erience referred to in the answer to Q. 6 (*a*), such as *ex*-Judges, *ex*-Collectors and officers of similar standing.

Q. 6 (c).—The Committee is of opinion that election to the lower chamber of the federal legislature should continue to be by territorial constituencies consisting of qualified voters who would cast their vote directly for the candidate of their choice. With the increased number of seats proposed for Madras it is considered that at any rate for the non-Muhammadan seats, constituencies of one or at the most two districts may be formed. Muhammadans and Indian Christians with their separate electorates, if maintained, would be no worse off than they are at present and so far as the Committee can ascertain general opinion is in favour of direct choice of the candidate with all its attendant difficulties rather than indirect election.

7. Representation of Women, Labour and Depressed Classes.

Q. 7.—As regards the upper chamber, the Committee is of opinion that the only community whose representation should be safeguarded is the Muslims, and the only interest requiring special provision for its representation is that of women. As for the lower chamber, the Committee is of opinion that representation should be secured to women, labour, depressed classes, Indian commerce, landholders and also to Muslims, Europeans and Indian Christians.



IV

Supplementary memorandum by the Madras Provincial Franchise Committee.

LETTER FROM THE ADDITIONAL SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS, TO THE SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, No. 283-1, DATED FORT ST. GEORGE, THE 22ND FEBRUARY 1932.

In addition to the subjects specifically referred to in the Franchise Committee's questionnaire the Provincial Franchise Committee has also discussed—

(1) whether there should be a Second Chamber or not in the Provincial Legislature,

(2) the qualifications for candidates for the Provincial and Federal Legislatures,

(3) the size of the Provincial Legislative Council, the Chairman of your Committee having intimated that these matters will probably be discussed with it and the Provincial Government.

2. In regard to the Second Chamber the majority of the Committee were against a Second Chamber for the Provincial Legislature.

3. In regard to qualifications for candidates the recommendations of the Committee are as follows :—

General electorate, Planting, South Indian Chamber of Commerce, Nattukottai Nagarathars' Association—No change in present rules.

For Universities seat, candidates to be on the roll of any electorate, general or special.

For landholders' constituencies, candidates to be registered in the electoral roll of *any* landholders' constituency within the Province.

For Labour constituencies, candidates to be registered on the roll of *any* electorate within the Province.

For women's seats, any women registered on *any* electorate within the Province may be a candidate.

For European Trade and Commerce, no change except that the present separate rolls of the Madras Chamber of Commerce and Madras Trades' Association should be combined into one electoral roll and the candidates shall be registered as an elector on that roll.

Federal Lower Chamber.—No change is recommended in the present rules for the Legislative Assembly elections except that a candidate should be on the electoral roll of any general constituency within the province of the Federal Lower Chamber.

Federal Upper Chamber.—No change in the present rules for the Council of State except that there should be no sex disqualification. The candidate to be on the electoral roll of any constituency of the Upper Chamber within the province if more than one constituency is formed.

4. *Disqualifications of candidates.*—The Committee recommends that in place of the present disqualification on account of conviction for offence in the Electoral Rules, the wording of section 55 (1) of the Madras Local Boards Act should be substituted. The section runs as follows :—

"A person who has been sentenced by a criminal court to transportation or to imprisonment for a period of more than six months for any offence other than an offence of a political character or an offence not involving moral delinquency (such sentence not having been reversed or the offence pardoned) shall be disqualified for election while undergoing sentence and for five years from the date of the expiration of the sentence."

5. The Committee's proposal for the size of the Provincial Legislative Council is 220 members, with a composition as follows :—

General.	
Non-Muhammadans	124
Muslims	21
Indian Christians	11
Depressed classes	25
Europeans	3
Anglo-Indians	2
Special interest.	
Women	10
Landholders	12
Labour	3
Universities	1
European Trade and Commerce	3
Indian Trade and Commerce	*3
Planting	2

* South Indian Chamber of Commerce 2
Nattukottai Nagarathars' Association 1

V

Note on Depressed Class representation by Rao Bahadur N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar and Mr. K. P. Raman Menon of the Madras Provincial Franchise Committee.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM RAO BAHADUR N. GOPALASWAMI AYYANGAR AND MR. K. P. RAMAN MENON, DATED THE 19TH FEBRUARY, 1932, TO THE ADDITIONAL SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS, FRANCHISE DEPARTMENT.

Section 4 of the questionnaire of the Indian Franchise Committee asks for specific proposals to secure the representation of the depressed classes in the legislature. The Madras Franchise Committee of which we are members has, by a majority, decided in favour of separate electorates for these classes. We do not accept this decision which, we feel strongly, is not in the lasting interests either of the depressed classes or of the Hindu community as a whole. The political segregation of the depressed classes involved in separate electorates will create a division in the ranks of Hindus and is certainly not calculated to help in the early disappearance of the age-long social segregation and economic dependence from which the community has already begun to emerge. Therefore, while we believe that these classes need special and adequate protection as regards representation in the legislatures, we are of the opinion that that protection should take the form of reservation of seats in joint electorates.

The committee of which we are members, having first taken a decision by a majority in favour of separate electorates could not—in consequence of a ruling of the Chair against re-opening the original decision—hear in detail or discuss the scheme suggested for the purpose of getting over the only really serious objection urged against reservation of seats in joint electorates. The scheme, however, is in our opinion deserving of consideration and we attach a copy of a note* briefly outlining it. It is in principle applicable to the representation of other minority communities as well but the questionnaire does not specifically raise the method of representation of these. We have therefore contented ourselves in this letter with the representation of the depressed classes.

As the Madras Franchise Committee has ruled—against notes by individual members being appended to its answers to the questionnaire, we have decided to send this communication independently and request that the Madras Government may be pleased to take it into their own consideration and, if they see no objection, to place it before the Indian Franchise Committee.

A NOTE ON THE METHOD OF DEPRESSED CLASS REPRESENTATION.

It is common ground—

(*a*) that protection should be given to important minority communities as regards representation in the legislature,

**Vide* below.

(*b*) that among the communities which deserve such protection should be included in the depressed classes, and

(*c*) that the method of giving such protection should be the earmarking of a definite number of seats in the legislature for which only persons belonging to the depressed classes shall be treated as eligible.

2. It is also agreed generally that the members of the depressed classes should no longer be chosen by the method of nomination and that they should come in—through some form of election.

3. The real point of dispute is as regards the method of election. The opposed views are :—

I. Separate electorates.

II. Joint electorates with reservation of seats.

4. The objections to I are both obvious and strong. They are :—

(1) the depressed class representatives elected by separate electorates to the Legislative Council will be dominated by a communal outlook. It would be difficult for them to fit in with parties on political lines which it is the object of the coming changes to develop ;

(2) in this province, we have discarded separate electorates for the depressed classes in local authorities. It would be anomalous therefore to have joint electorates with reservation for local self-government and communal electorates for the province and the centre ;

(3) if a minority community all over the province has to be segregated into a small number of electorates of its own, the territorial area of each such constituency will be unduly large, in some cases difficult to manage ;

(4) the non-communal elector will have no voice in the election to the communal seats ; and

(5) what perhaps is more important from the standpoint of the community protected, every voter belonging to the segregated community will be disabled from exercising any influence on the election to any one of the non-communal seats in the legislature. It has to be remembered that the non-communal seats will be in a majority. The Committee has no doubt proposed that, in addition to separate electorates for the depressed classes, they should continue on the non-communal electorate also and participate in the elections to the non-communal seats. But, unless the number of seats allotted to separate communal electorates is very small, this giving of a double vote to the depressed class elector will be difficult to justify, especially in view of the fact that other communal electors, like the Muhammadan and the Indian Christian, will not get the same privilege.

The above reasons are conclusive against the acceptance of separate electorates if the object is that the province should progress towards real national unity.

5. The alternative left is joint electorates with reservation of seats.

6. The only really serious objection to this alternative is that the candidate of the community protected who is elected by a joint electorate may not represent any substantial volume of opinion in the community which he is supposed to belong to ; in other words, that the men elected will be those who are acceptable to the caste majority but who are not thereby necessarily acceptable to the community to which by birth they belong. By suitable devices, this objection is, however, capable of being eliminated altogether.

7. Reservation in joint electorates may be—

(*a*) reservation of specific single-member constituencies for the community, or

(*b*) reservation of seats for the community in multiple member constituencies.

(*c*) itself may provide for two alternative systems, *viz.*,

(*i*) system where there is no restraint placed on the voter's choice among all candidates, and

(*ii*) system where a voter is prevented from voting for more non-communal candidates than there are non-communal seats.

8. (*b*) (*i*) is the system now in vogue as regards non-Brahmins in the Legislative Council constituencies, and as regards women and all minority communities including the depressed classes in local authorities. But there is the danger in this case of the majority of electors—who will be non-communal—ignoring at the time of poll the communal candidates altogether.

9. (*b*) (*ii*), though a less advanced stage in the progress towards national unity than (*b*) (*i*), deserves to be preferred at present as it will have the effect of educating the non-communal elector to exercise his vote in favour of one or other of the communal candidates. As regards (*b*) (*ii*), the possible criticism from the narrow communal point of view is that communal candidates will seek alliances with non-communal ones and the communal candidate elected might be one who is a hanger-on of the most powerful non-communal candidate. The fear underlying this criticism will be removed under the scheme described in paragraph 11 below.

10. Though a less advanced stage in the direction of national unity than even (*b*) (*ii*), (*a*) will, in view of the very large number of illiterate

voters, be perhaps the most suitable for the depressed classes as a first step. It will have the following advantages :—

(1) compactness of constituency;

(2) candidature will be confined to the community. There will be no complications of having to stand along with candidates of other communities for the same constituency;

(3) elimination of complicated methods of election like plural voting, etc.; and

(4) simplicity in every respect.

The specific constituency for the depressed classes might be selected, if necessary, by rotation.

11. Whichever of the system (*a*), (*b*), (*i*) or (*b*) (*ii*) is adopted, arrangements have to be made for ensuring that the successful candidate is one who, in addition to being acceptable to the electorate in general, is also one in whom the community has confidence. These arrangements may take one of the two following forms.

(A) Communal candidates should be required to secure a prescribed quota of *the* communal votes. Among such candidates, the one who has secured the largest number of total votes should be declared elected. The quota of communal votes should be obtained by dividing the total number of communal votes polled by the number of communal candidates who have been validly nominated, have not withdrawn and have secured votes not less than 1/8th or such other proportion as may be fixed for avoiding forfeiture of deposits.

(B) Communal candidates should secure a prescribed quota of the total number of *all* votes. Among such candidates, the one who has secured the largest number of communal votes should be declared elected. The quota in this case should be obtained

(1) in system (*b*) (*i*) or alternative (*a*)—by dividing the total number of all votes polled by the number of all candidates who have been validly nominated, have not withdrawn and have secured votes not less than the proportion fixed for avoiding forfeiture of deposits—multiplied by the number of seats;

(2) in system (*b*) (*ii*)—by dividing the total number of *all* votes polled for the communal candidates by the number of such candidates who have secured not less than the proportion fixed for avoiding forfeiture of deposits.

12. (A) or (B) can thus with equal ease be applied to either multiple or single-member constituencies. In the latter case, the quota will be easier to ascertain. (A) will perhaps be the better system.

13. It may also be laid down that if no candidate whether under (A) or (B) obtains the prescribed quota, the person to be declared

elected shall be the one who has secured the largest number of the communal votes.

14. It will not be difficult administratively to work this system. The community of each voter could easily be entered on the roll and the voting paper issued to the voter belonging to the particular community for which a seat is reserved may be given a distinctive colour or mark.

15. A system on these lines could be worked also for all the minority communities other than the depressed classes as well as for women.



VI

Supplementary Questionnaire addressed by the Indian Franchise Committee to the Government of Madras and the Madras Provincial Franchise Committee, dated 6th March 1932.

1. Please state your final views as to the qualifications for the franchise, and how you would meet the objections which have been raised against some of them on the ground that they would lead to an extension of the electorate by party manipulation, and not merely by the spread of education, etc., as you contemplated. Please give a complete list of the local taxes or licenses which would qualify for the franchise in the system you propose.

2. (A) What is the maximum number of voters who could be accurately polled in the Province, using the total number of officers and maximum accommodation possible—

(*i*) if the election is spread over—

(*a*) one day ;

(*b*) two days ;

(*ii*) taking 750 as the number of voters with whom a presiding officer could deal in a day—

(*a*) if 40 per cent. of the voters are women ;

(*b*) if 10 per cent. of the voters are women.

(B) What percentage would this number represent of (*a*) the total, and (*b*) the adult population ?

(C) Do you consider that a longer polling period than that suggested above would be practicable or desirable ?

In answering the above, please state—

(*a*) whether you propose to use the coloured boxes system, and also whether your existing system can be simplified in the light of the evidence from Ceylon ;

(*b*) whether you consider it feasible and advisable for polling clerks in twos to issue ballot papers to voters under the general supervision of the presiding officer, or whether the ballot papers should be issued by the presiding officer himself ;

(*c*) whether on the average you consider that 1,000 voters can be polled per day by each polling unit ;

(*d*) what polling hours you propose ?

Polling Machinery.

3. What is the maximum personnel which could be used as presiding or polling officers ? The Committee would be glad to have this information under the following heads :—

(*i*) Total number of Government officers, gazetted, non-gazetted and ministerial ;

(*ii*) Total number of pensioned Government officers;

(*iii*) Total number of Court of Wards officers (superior and ministerial);

(*iv*) Total number of members of local bodies (Municipal Commissioners, Members of District and Local Boards), Presidents and Members of Union Bench Courts, Honorary Magistrates, and any other category of honorary workers who could be employed. To what extent could these figures be supplemented by the use of non-officials (school-masters, etc.). Is any objection likely to be raised to their use for this purpose?

(*v*) To what extent could provision be made for—

(*a*) separate polling booths for women, and for women presiding officers and clerks;

(*b*) separate entrances and compartments for women voters?

4. What franchise qualifications would you propose in order to enfranchise the maximum number of voters you consider administratively possible in Question 2 above? What proportion of women would be enfranchised under these qualifications?

5. Do you recommend such a maximum extension or such franchise qualifications; and if not, why not?

6. Are you still of opinion that (*a*) the universal indirect system, or (*b*) a combination of direct voting and a group system for the unenfranchised section of the population, is undesirable in your Province?

7. Please give an analysis of the elements of the population which will not be enfranchised under your final proposals. In the event of the Mukhi system being adopted for the unenfranchised elements would you want to modify your proposals for direct electorate?

8. Do you propose that the same electoral system should be applied to town and country. Have you considered the possibility of universal direct franchise in the towns?

9. Do you consider that town and country should have representation in the Council proportionate to their numbers, or do you consider that the towns should have some weightage; and if so, to what extent. Would you advise the grouping of municipalities and urban areas into constituencies apart from the rural areas, as has been suggested in another Province?

Women's Suffrage.

10. What are your final views as to the method by which a small number of women are to be specially elected to the Council?

11. The suggestion was made in the discussions which have taken place that women managing the property of minors should be given the vote. What are your views on this point?

Depressed Classes.

12. The Committee note from paragraph 4 of the Provincial Committee's report that it is anticipated that the proposed widening of the franchise will bring on to the rolls about 300,000 voters of the depressed classes. They understand that this is an approximate estimate. They realise the administrative difficulties involved, but would be glad of as close an estimate as practicable of the actual number likely to be enfranchised.

Labour.

13. In the light of the discussions which have taken place, do you prefer that the special representatives of Labour in the Council should be returned—

(*a*) by the trade unions;

(*b*) by special constituencies of industrial voters?

If you decide in favour of the trade unions, how would you propose that they should return the Labour representatives?

A proposal has been made in one province that labour should be represented by members elected by an electoral college which shall be formed by registered trade unions composed of manual workers throughout the province "electing delegates in the proportion of one per every 20 members of each trade union. A candidate must be an honorary or ordinary member of not less than one year's standing of a registered trade union which is itself of not less than one year's standing. Provision should be made in the electoral rules that trade unions which send delegates to the electoral college should require adequate standards of paying membership. The Registrar of Trade Unions should also be given adequate powers of scrutiny for the purpose". What would be your views on this system in the case of Madras?

If you decide in favour of industrial constituencies as opposed to representation through trade unions, at what rate of wage would you fix the qualification for the vote—

(*a*) for men;

(*b*) for women?

Do you think that any qualifying period, such as one year's continuous employment, is necessary for the acquisition of the right to vote in a labour constituency?

14. Do you think that wages should be made an additional qualification for the vote in general constituencies; and if so, how?

15. Could you give the Committee a report on the average wage of industrial workers—

(*a*) in Madras City;

(*b*) in the Presidency as a whole; separate figures being given if possible for men and women?

Second Chamber.

16. Are you in favour of a Second Chamber in the Provincial Legislature. If so, what should be its numbers, and on what basis should it be elected ?

17. Would you modify your proposals about the franchise, or the representation of special interests, if there were a Second Chamber. If so, in what respects ?

Federal Government.

18. What is your final view as between electing to the Senate by direct election, or by the Provincial Legislatures voting through the single transferable vote ?

19. What are your final views as to the extent to which the franchise for the Federal Assembly should be enlarged ?

20. Do you still propose that Indian Commerce should be represented in the Federal Assembly, but not European Commerce ; and if so, what is your reason for making the distinction ?

21. What form of constituency do you propose for electing members representing special interests to the Federal Legislature, *e.g.*, women, depressed classes, commerce, etc.

22. Generally, state any other respects in which you would modify your original proposals, which have not been covered by the above questions.

23. Please send copy of regulations for election of members representing Chamber of Commerce.

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VII

Memorandum by the Government of Madras in reply to the Supplementary Questionnaire of the Indian Franchise Committee.*

LETTER FROM THE ADDITIONAL SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS, PUBLIC (FRANCHISE) DEPARTMENT, TO THE SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, CAMP INDIA, No. 449-P., DATED FORT ST. GEORGE, MADRAS, THE 20TH MARCH 1932.

I am directed to forward to you a copy of the Madras Provincial Committee's replies† to the further questionnaire* issued by the Indian Franchise Committee together with the views of the Government of Madras. It should be stated that this questionnaire and the recommendations of the Provincial Committee have as before been considered by His Excellency the Governor and his Executive Council and Ministers sitting together and the views expressed are those of the Government as a whole.

Q. 1.—The Government, after considering the points raised in discussion with the Franchise Committee and the reply of the Provincial Committee to this question, have come to the conclusion that some modification of their original proposals is desirable and that possibly too much stress can be laid on the administrative convenience of adopting the ready-made rolls of the municipalities and local boards. On further consideration the majority of the Government also feel that, as a check on manipulation in regard to municipal and local board taxation, payment of the tax rather than mere assessment should create the franchise qualification. The original proposals though enfranchising persons from all classes and layers of the population probably left out a considerable number of partially educated people living in rural areas who were not subject to house tax or profession tax because they did not reside in a panchayat village which levied such taxes or because their income was below Rs. 25 a month and had no direct connexion with the land. They also left out a number of people who cultivate land from year to year on oral agreements on the crop-sharing system which is common in parts of this Presidency, many of them quite substantial cultivators. Except in Madras City they left out householders living as sole tenants in rented houses who were not subject to profession tax. In devising the present proposals an attempt has been made to include as far as possible all people with a substantial interest in the land and all householders of any substance in the urban areas, while the reduction of the independent literacy qualification for men to the same as for women, that is ability to read and write some language, besides bringing in all persons not otherwise qualified who may be presumed to be fit to exercise the vote, provides a method of steady expansion of the electorate amongst all classes of the people. The following in detail are the qualifications for the franchise which the Government now recommend for general electorates :—

(1) Assessment to income-tax ; or

*Printed on page 38 †Printed on page 54.

(2) Payment of tax under the Madras Motor Vehicles Taxation Act for the whole official year immediately before the electoral roll is prepared or revised ; or

(3) Being a registered landholder, inamdar, ryotwari pattadar, or occupancy ryot under the Madras Estates Land Act ; or

(4) Assessment to ground-rent payable to Government ; or

(5) Payment of property tax for the two half-years immediately prior to the preparation or revision of the roll under the Madras City Act or the Madras District Municipalities Act or the Madras Local Boards Act ; or

(6) Payment of profession tax for the two half-years immediately prior to the preparation or revision of the roll under the Madras City Act or the Madras District Municipalities Act or the Madras Local Boards Act ; or

(7) Being during the whole of the previous fasli a kanamdar or kuzhikanamdar or the holder of a kudiyiruppu or a verum-pattadar having fixity of tenure, each of these terms bearing the meaning defined in the Malabar Tenancy Act, 1929 ; or

(8) Being for the whole of the fasli immediately preceding the preparation or revision of the electoral roll a mortgagee with possession, lessee or tenant of immoveable property (other than a house property) of an annual value of Rs. 100 in Madras City or a municipality and Rs. 50 elsewhere in the Presidency ; or

(9) Being a guardian of a minor possessing one of the above property qualifications ; or

(10) Occupying during the whole of the previous year as sole tenant house property on which property tax or house tax has been duly paid for the year ; or

(11) Being a retired or pensioned officer, non-commissioned officer or soldier of His Majesty's armed forces ; or

(12) Being able to read and write in any language ; or

(13) Being a registered joint landholder, inamdar, pattadar, or occupancy ryot entitled to an additional vote on an application signed by a majority of the registered joint holders, votes being allowed to joint holders on the following scale :—

For landholders and holders of whole inam villages of Rs. 1,000 and above annual rental—one vote for every complete Rs. 500 of annual rental, and

for joint holders of minor inams, ryotwari pattas and estate pattas of Rs. 100 and over—one vote for every complete Rs. 50 of assessment, rent or kist.

The additional votes will only be given to persons included amongst the registered joint holders and the registration should have been made

not later than the fasli previous to the one in which the rolls are under preparation or revision. Persons qualified under items (1), (2), (3), (4), (5) and (6) will be entered on the preliminary rolls by the Registration Officers from the accounts of the Government and the estate holders and from the municipal registers. Those qualified under items (7) to (13) will only be entered on the list on application to the officer preparing the electoral roll. Applications under items (7), (8), (9), (12) and (13) will be made through village officers and tahsildars, when the village officers will add a certificate that they have satisfied themselves that the statements in the application are correct to the best of their knowledge and belief. With regard to applicants under item (12) it is proposed that the applicant should in the presence of the village officer sign an application which will be in a printed form showing place of education and highest standard attained, form or class in which applicant has been educated and containing a certificate to be signed by the village officers to the effect that the applicant signed in their presence without assistance and that they have satisfied themselves that the applicant can read and write the language specified. In the case of items (1), (4), (5) and (6) the assessment should have been made in and for the year, official or fasli as the case may be, immediately preceding the preparation or revision of the electoral roll. Payments under (5) and (6) need not necessarily have been made within the year but should have been made before the date fixed for the completion of the final electoral roll. This means that late payers omitted from the preliminary roll can apply to be included in the final roll.

It is believed that these qualifications will not allow much scope for manipulation. It takes time and trouble to get a transfer of patta or sub-division of patta or the addition of names to a joint patta and these transactions have to be carried out by the revenue officers in the ordinary course of their duties. The insistence on payment as opposed to mere assessment to taxes of local authorities is a further safeguard, while in regard to leases, oral or written, the comparatively high value adopted will bring in only substantial under-tenants the fact of whose tenancy will be common knowledge in the village and the village officers who have to certify to the correctness of the claim are liable to departmental discipline and even prosecution if they sign false certificates.

The taxes or payments to Government or local authorities which will qualify for the franchise in general electorates under the system now proposed are as follows :—

In rural areas—

(1) Income-tax.
(2) Motor vehicles tax.
(3) House tax.
(4) Profession tax.
(5) Ground-rent.
(6) Land revenue.

Madras City and municipalities—

(1) Income-tax.
(2) Motor vehicles tax.
(3) Property tax.
(4) Profession or companies tax.
(5) Ground-rent.
(6) Land revenue.

Ground-rent is levied on house-sites assigned by Government in recent years in urban areas and also in rural areas when land is acquired

by local bodies for the purpose of providing house-sites. No payment is made to Government for the occupation of house-sites in the nattam (or village sites) of villages or of long standing in urban areas ; land revenue is levied on all occupied agricultural land and also, but rarely, on house-sites which previously have been occupied agricultural land.

Q. 2.—The Government agree with the Provincial Committee* in thinking that the percentage of women voters will not affect the speed of polling in this Province. They agree to the adoption of the system of coloured boxes and the issue of ballot papers by polling clerks sitting in pairs under the general supervision of the Presiding Officer and his assistants, but consider that at least one of each pair of clerks should be in the permanent service of the Government. They consider, moreover, that it is desirable to have provision for the identification of voters in cases of dispute. In the separate constituencies for Muhammadans, Indian Christians and depressed classes, each of which may extend over more than one district, it is doubtful whether candidates will always be able to have agents at every polling station. Government prefer to have the poll completed in one day, even if it means employing non-officials as Presiding or assistant Presiding Officers. They consider that the polling hours may remain as at present, namely, from 7 A.M. to 6 P.M., with one hour's interval for rest and refreshment. Assuming 750 as the number of actual voters with whom a Presiding Officer can deal in a day, the number of voters that can be polled in one day without recourse to non-official assistance is 3,750,000 and in two days 7,500,000. They are inclined, however, to think that in polling stations where the number of voters is likely to be more than 750, the Presiding Officer, provided he has an adequate number of polling clerks, could control the voting of 1,000 persons and would put the number of voters that can be polled in one day in this Province using the new system with possibly some recourse to non-officials as assistant Presiding Officers under gazetted officers of Government as Presiding Officers at something like five millions. So far in this Province gazetted officers, of whom there are 2,000, have not been much used for polling duties. The tendency has been to have a number of small polling areas and small polling stations. With the large increase in the electorate now agreed to Government realise that it may be necessary in thickly populated areas to concentrate the polling in order to make the most effective use of the staff available. If 750 voters per day is the capacity of the Presiding or assistant Presiding Officer and a 75 per cent. poll of the electorate is assumed, the total electorate on a one-day poll using only officials will be (*a*) 5,000,000 and for a two-day poll, (*b*) 10,000,000. (*a*) is 10·7 per cent. of the total and 21·4 of the adult population, (*b*) is 21·4 of the total population and 42·9 of the adult population. Government, however, have already stated that they can probably poll about 5 millions in a day, representing approximately an electorate of 6,700,000 which is 14·3 per cent. of the total population and 28·7 of the total adult population. Government are strongly against a longer polling period than two days both on administrative and public grounds and would prefer to use every means possible to ensure the poll being carried out in one day.

*Page 56.

The Government agree with the Provincial Committee that members of local boards and municipalities and honorary magistrates should not be regarded as officials for polling duties, but consider that there is probably a considerable body of non-officials who will take no active part in party politics and could be drawn on to work as assistant Presiding Officers under senior Presiding Officers of gazetted rank. Wives of gazetted officers of Government could also be appointed Presiding Officers in certain cases for polling stations for women only.

Q. 3.—Information as to the total number of Government officers has already been furnished to the Committee during its sittings in Madras and is repeated as Appendix I* to this letter. The total number of Government officers, gazetted and non-gazetted, considered suitable for appointment as Presiding or assistant Presiding Officers is 6,597. Of these 1,361 are stationed in Madras and will not be normally available for duty except in Madras City and its neighbourhood.

(1) Of the officers in the districts 4,000 is the maximum which it is considered feasible to employ without dislocation of the work of Government and another 1,000 may be found from pensioned Government officers, local board and municipal officials and the officers stationed in Madras.

(2) The total number of pensioned Government officers on pension over Rs. 35 is 3,891, of whom 1,036 are in Madras.

(3) The establishment lent for service under the Court of Wards is included in (1).

(4) The total number of members of local bodies and honorary magistrates is as follows :—

Municipalities	1,938
District boards	1,024
Taluk boards	2,539
Honorary magistrates	1,565

It is not considered desirable to use village schoolmasters, but lecturers and masters in secondary schools and colleges will be amongst those drawn upon by the Collector for his list of non-officials to be employed.

(5) Complete figures for officials employed under district boards and municipalities have not yet been received. Information so far gathered is as follows :—

——	Those drawing Rs. 35 and over. (1)	Number in (1) drawing Rs. 50 and over. (2)	Number in (1) drawing Rs. 100 and over. (3)
District boards (20 out of 25) ..	3,480	1,448	547
Madras City—			
Men	1,712	820	221
Women	554	151	17
Municipalities (54 out of 81) ..	2,309	953	320

**Vide* page 52.

Separate compartments and booths can be provided for female voters where necessary. Government agree with the Provincial Committee that as a general rule such provision is not necessary in rural tracts and it is only for Muslim women and possibly for urban areas, where the poll of women voters may be fairly heavy, that any separate arrangements are really necessary.

Qs. 4 and 5.—The franchise qualifications stated in the reply to question 1 will enfranchise the maximum number of electors which the Government consider it administratively possible to poll satisfactorily. It is not possible to state with any exactitude what proportion of women will be enfranchised under these qualifications, but the Government believe that the modifications of their previous proposals now recommended will not reduce the number of women previously estimated to be enfranchised, and if anything may increase it owing to the provision for their acquiring a vote as guardians of minors and as sole tenants of houses on which property tax has been paid. The number will be in the neighbourhood of 900,000 or 8·88 of the adult female population. With the lowering of the literacy qualification for men the proportion of women voters to the total electorate will be somewhat reduced but still will be substantially higher than it is at present.

Q. 6.—The Government are in entire agreement with the Provincial Committee in its opinion that either a universal indirect system of adult suffrage or a combination of direct voting and a group system is undesirable in this Province.

Q. 7.—The Government are strongly against any proposal to introduce the group system of election and on the possibility of its being imposed on them are unable to state in what way they would have to modify their proposals for the direct electorate without knowing details as regards number of primaries, method of election of secondaries, etc., that would be proposed. It is anticipated that this Government's final proposals for the franchise will give the right to vote to at least 6½ million people. The estimate is worked out as follows :—

(1) Income-tax	35,000
(2) Motor-tax	19,000
(3) Ryots	4,916,000
(4) Ground-rent	—
(5) and (6) Urban property and profession tax	326,000
(7) Special tenures	300,000
(8) Leases, etc.	—
(9) Guardians	—
(10) Tenants of houses	2,000
(Madras City only available.)	
(11) Military	—
(12) Literacy—	
Men	1,616,000
Women	250,000
(13) Joint pattadars, etc.	30,000
Total ..	6,494,000

The previous figures given for municipal qualifications have been reduced on account of probable non-payment and the removal of vehicle and animal taxes from the list of qualifying taxes. Income-tax and motor-tax payees are probably mostly covered by other qualifications. About 900,000 of the 6,500,000 voters will be women. The number of male voters will therefore be 5,600,000. The number of adult males is 11,932,000 and the number of males without votes will therefore be 6,332,000. Of these, however, a considerable number will be members of families or households, the head of which has a vote, and Government are inclined to think that the statement made by the Provincial Committee in its answer to question 7 that in this Province Muhammadans and Indian Christians very largely follow the Hindu custom, and enjoy the family property in common and have landed property registered in the name of one only, is in the main correct. We may therefore assume that out of the 6,332,000 voteless males 5,600,000 $\times \frac{2}{3} \times \frac{1}{2}$ or 4,200,000 will have representation through the heads of the families. This leaves a balance of 2,132,000 illiterates of castes and communities entirely unrepresented and of these about 1·14 million will be Adi-Dravidas (depressed classes) to whom, if the system of separate electorates proposed by Government and the Provincial Committee is accepted, fairly adequate representation as a community will be secured. The remaining million *illiterates* will be—

(*a*) *In Madras City.*—Illiterates who neither own nor occupy as sole tenants houses of Rs. 36 and more annual value, nor have incomes of Rs. 100 a month and are not hotel-keepers, eating-house-keepers or shop-keepers paying the special tax on such nor possess any of the other of the property qualifications. It should be stated here that under the Madras City Act the Corporation can tax houses of Rs. 18 annual value and above, but does not at present impose property tax on houses below Rs. 36 annual value.

(*b*) *In district municipalities.*— Illiterates who neither own nor occupy as sole tenants houses of Rs. 12 and more annual value, nor have incomes of Rs. 25 a month nor possess any other of the property qualifications.

(*c*) *In rural areas.*—(1) Illiterate persons who live in panchayat villages in which house tax or profession tax is levied, but pay neither of these taxes nor any tax to Government and are landless or are small cultivators on the crop-sharing system or on leases of less than Rs. 50 annual value.

(2) Illiterate persons who live in other villages but pay no tax to Government or are either landless or are small cultivators on the crop-sharing system or on leases of less than Rs. 50 annual value.

It is not possible to particularize further, and in general it may be said that the residue who are not members of the depressed classes will be illiterate landless labourers and illiterate petty cultivators of others' land and beggars.

Qs. 8 and 9.—The Government are in agreement with the views of the Provincial Committee.

Q. 10.—The Government adhere to the method for the election of a quota of women members to the Legislative Council already suggested by them.

Q. 11.—The Government accept the suggestion that women managing the property of minors should be given the vote and have included it in their proposed franchise qualifications, item (9).

Q. 12.—It has been possible in the time available to get information as to the number of Adi-Dravida or depressed class voters on the local boards and municipal rolls for six districts in all. The estimated number of depressed class voters on the original franchise proposal is now 366,000 for the whole Presidency assuming that the number of electors of the depressed classes bears the same proportion to the total depressed classes population in the whole Presidency as in these six districts. It is anticipated that the lowering of the literacy qualification will make up for any decrease in the number of such electors caused by cutting out animal and vehicle taxes as a qualification and by raising the limit for leases, written or oral, to qualify. As a check on the estimate of 366,000 it may be stated that the total number of Adi-Dravida ryotwari single pattadars paying Re. 1 or more is 219,000 out of a total of 2,984,000 single ryotwari pattadars paying Re. 1 or more of all classes, and the number of Adi-Dravidas in municipalities paying Re. 1 or more taxation is 9,000. Out of the 703,000 pattadars paying less than one rupee each probably at least 54,000 are Adi-Dravidas. To these figures should be added something which is difficult to estimate for depressed class ryots in proprietary estates which cover an extent equal to about one-third of the ryotwari land in the Presidency.

Q. 13.—Government adhere to their previous proposal for special labour constituencies, but with the following modifications :—

(1) Minimum monthly wage earnings to be Rs. 12 for men and Rs. 8 for women.

(2) Qualifying period of employment to be six months within the year preceding the preparation or revision of the electoral roll.

(3) An elector to be registered only on application.

(4) Candidates for the special labour constituencies must either be on the electoral roll of any of these constituencies in the Presidency or have been a member for two years preceding his nomination of a registered permanent trade union of industrial workers in the Presidency with a strength of not less than 500 members.

Q. 14.—Government agree with the Provincial Committee that wages unsupported by taxation evidence should not be made a qualification for the vote in general constituencies.

Q. 15.—The average daily rates of wages of factory workers for the Presidency and for Madras City are exhibited in the following table :—

Main class of labour.	Average daily rate of wages in Madras City factories.	Average daily rate of wages paid in all factories in the Presidency.	
		1929.	1930.
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Skilled labour—			
Engine driver	1 12 11	1 5 4	1 5 1
Fireman	1 0 9	0 11 4	0 11 4
Oilman	0 14 10	0 9 0	0 9 3
Fitter	1 7 3	1 4 4	1 4 5
Turner	1 8 6	1 2 5	1 2 0
Rivetter	1 2 0	0 14 2	0 13 4
Boilersmith	1 8 9	1 4 10	1 4 5
Blacksmith	1 5 11	1 2 2	1 1 7
Moulder	1 4 5	1 2 5	1 0 6
Carpenter	1 4 3	1 0 9	1 0 8
Bricklayer	1 6 1	1 0 6	0 15 11
Compositor (printer)	1 0 2	0 15 7	0 14 4
Mechanist	1 1 3	1 0 4	1 0 6
Weaver (cotton), man	1 10 5	0 10 8	1 0 10
Do. boy	0 11 7	—	0 7 11
Spinner (cotton), man	1 9 7	0 9 10	0 12 7
Do. boy	0 9 4	0 5 4	0 5 11
Weaver (jute), man	—	0 10 0	0 9 4
Do. boy	—	0 3 2	0 6 6
Spinner (jute), man	—	0 9 4	0 9 5
Do. boy	—	0 4 8	0 4 1
Unskilled labour—			
Female coolie (gin) ..	—	0 4 11	0 5 2
Male do. ..	—	0 7 9	0 8 3
Female coolie (press) ..	—	0 6 0	0 5 6
Male do. ..	—	0 10 7	0 9 1
Female coolie (rice mill) ..	—	0 4 6	0 4 8
Male do. ..	—	0 8 0	0 7 8
Female coolie in fields ..	—	0 4 10	0 5 2
Male do. ..	—	0 7 9	0 8 0
Female coolie (tile press) ..	—	—	—
Male do. ..	—	—	—

Before the Whitley Commission the Employers' Federation of Southern India gave as the wages of industrial labourers, unskilled young adults at Rs. 13 to Rs. 14 per month, unskilled adults, Rs. 18 to Rs. 20 per month, semi-skilled adults, men, Rs. 23 to Rs. 25 per month, skilled adults men, Rs. 35 to Rs. 60 per month, piece-workers, men, Rs. 30 to Rs. 40 per month, unskilled workers, women, Rs. 14 to Rs. 18 per month. The

Labour Union, Coimbatore, gave the wages obtaining in Coimbatore Mills as from Rs. 12 a month up to Rs. 30 a month, while women on the average drew Rs. 12 a month. In the Government Press wages range from Rs. 15 up to Rs. 40 a month. The Madras Government Press Labour Union stated that the average wage was something less than Rs. 25 a month. The Buckingham and Carnatic Mills Employees' Union gave as minimum wages, 1929, females Rs. 11-11-6 per month and adult males from Rs. 16 to Rs. 33-6-0.

Q. 16.—Government have nothing to add to what was stated in paragraph 8 of their letter No. 298-A., dated 23rd February 1932.*

Q. 17.—The reply is in the negative. It is mainly on account of the proposed very large extension of the electorate that the Government are now in favour of a second chamber.

Qs. 18 and 19.—The views of the Government remain the same as those already expressed in the replies to questions 6 (*a*), (*b*) and (*c*) of the original questionnaire given in paragraphs 18, 19 and 20 of their letter No. 298, dated 22nd February 1932.†

Q. 20.—The Government are of the opinion that both Indian and European Commerce of the Madras Province should be specially represented by one member each in the Federal Lower Chamber. But if it should be decided that out of the number of seats allotted to the Province it is not possible to give both a communal seat to Europeans and a special interest seat for European Commerce, the communal seat is to be preferred. Indian Commerce in any circumstances should have a seat.

Q. 21.—Government are in agreement with the views expressed by the Provincial Committee.

Q. 22.—Government consider that no further modification of their original proposals is necessary.

Q. 23.—The regulations for the preparation of electoral rolls for Commerce and Industry constituencies will be found on pages 61 to 63 of the Madras Legislative Council Manual, 1930, Volume II, of which a copy has already been supplied to you and regulations for the conduct of elections will be found on pages 65 to 67, 73 to 78 and 86 to 88. Copies of the Memorandum and Articles of Association of the Southern India Chamber of Commerce, the Rules and Regulations of the Madras Chamber of Commerce and Memorandum and Articles of Association of the Nattukottai Nagarathars' Association, Madras, are enclosed.‡ An explanation of some of the land tenure and other terms used will be found in Appendix II.§

* Page 22. † Pages 14 and 15. ‡ Not printed. § Page 53.

APPENDIX I.

Name of the district.	Total number of non-Gazetted officers.			Total number of Gazetted officers.
	Number of persons drawing Rs. 35 and over. (1)	Number in (1) who are drawing Rs. 50 and over. (2)	Number in (1) who are drawing Rs. 100 and over. (3)	(4)
1. Anantapur	605	244	128	27
2. North Arcot	911	309	149	44
3. South Arcot	762	388	134	50
4. Bellary	629	241	125	41
5. Chingleput	695	271	147	69
6. Chittoor	580	217	111	31
7. Coimbatore	1,178	366	178	118
8. Cuddapah	648	249	114	27
9. Ganjam	819	311	141	49
10. East Godavari	1,107	404	195	91
11. West Godavari	615	224	100	45
12. Guntur	850	301	148	51
13. South Kanara	657	246	122	45
14. Kistna	1,019	306	118	61
15. Kurnool	611	232	139	32
16. Madura	919	288	151	64
17. Malabar	1,907	491	266	121
18. Nellore	693	210	139	38
19. Nilgiris, the	317	155	136	48
20. Ramnad	659	201	102	45
21. Salem	1,023	322	168	77
22. Tanjore	1,360	457	212	134
23. Tinnevelly	938	271	141	60
24. Trichinopoly	894	313	141	56
25. Vizagapatam	991	429	194	113
26. Madras	2,942	1,894	796	565
Total ..	24,329	9,340	4,495	2,102

APPENDIX II.

1. *Registered landholder* means a person owning an estate or part thereof and includes every person entitled to collect the rents of the whole or any portion of the estate by virtue of any transfer from the owner or his predecessor-in-title or of any order of a competent court or any provision of the law and who has been registered as such by the Collector. *Estate* means (*a*) any permanently settled estate or temporarily settled zamindari or any portion of such which is separately registered in the office of the Collector, (*b*) any unsettled palaiyam or jaghir, (*c*) any village of which the land revenue alone has been granted in *inam* (as gift) to a person not owning the *kudivaram* (occupancy right) thereof, provided that the grant has been made, confirmed or recognized by the British Government, or any separate part of such villages are generally known as *whole inam* villages, (*d*) any portion consisting of one or more villages of any of the estates above in (*a*) and (*b*) which is held on a permanent under-tenure. The essential condition in all estates is that the Government has assigned to or recognized the right of the landholder to collect land revenue or rent from the cultivating tenants. The landholder has generally to make certain payments to Government. Some of the zamindaris are very large estates and as big as many of the smaller states in other parts of India.

2. *Land Revenue* is the commuted value of the Government share of the produce of the surface cultivation on all occupied land.

3. *Inamdar.*—(1) The proprietor of a whole inam village, or (2) a person who holds a *minor inam* in a village. A *minor inam* is a small grant of land within a village which if not an inam would be subject to ordinary land revenue ; it is subject to payment of local-fund cesses calculated on its nominal land revenue assessment and generally also to a small quit-rent.

4. *Ryotwari pattadar.*—The owner of land not being inam in a Government as distinguished from a proprietary village. He has full title in his holding subject to the payment of the land revenue assessed thereon.

5. *Patta.*—A signed and sealed extract from the Government land revenue accounts showing the extent of a ryot's holding, wet and dry and the assessment or land revenue payable thereon. Every Government ryot is entitled to this document. The holder of the patta is termed the pattadar.

6. *Occupancy ryot* means a ryot in an estate having a permanent right of occupancy in his holding.

7. *Fasli* is the revenue year from 1st July to 30th June.

8. *Kanamdar, kuzhikanamdar, kudiyiruppu holder and verumpattadar* are persons in Malabar district holding various rights in land as intermediaries or tenants under the janmi who is, so far as the payment of land revenue is concerned, the pattadar. The land is nominally ordinary ryotwari land, but owing to the growth of these sub-rights by custom confirmed by legislation, the janmi is treated as a landholder and all paying land revenue of Rs. 500 or over are entitled to be registered in the electoral roll for the special landholders' constituency. The various rights and tenures are governed and defined by the Malabar Tenancy Act, 1929.

9. *Registered* means registered in the Government land revenue accounts or records.

10. *Tahsildar* is the officer in charge of a taluk. There are ordinarily seven to nine taluks in a district. He is a non-gazetted officer on pay of Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 per month.

11. *Gazetted officers* are officers whose appointments and transfers are notified in the *Fort St. George Gazette*. Their pay is from Rs. 300 per month upwards.

12. *Village officers* are the headman and karnam (accountant) of a revenue village or group of villages. Every municipality forms one or more revenue villages and has its village officers in the same way as any rural village.

VIII

Memorandum by the Madras Provincial Franchise Committee in reply to the Supplementary Questionnaire of the Indian Franchise Committee.*

Q. 1.—The Committee decided by a majority to adhere to its original proposals with a rider that if possible the Municipal and Local Boards Acts may be so amended as to reduce the possibilities of manipulation of vehicle and animal taxes for vote-creating purposes or the election rules may be so framed as to give the registration officer power to refuse registration where it is proved there has been such manipulation. The Committee recognize that manipulation is possible but considers that the probabilities of such manipulation in large constituencies can be exaggerated and would point out that in the maximum scales laid down for municipal taxation, the lowest profession tax, *viz.*, 8 annas for half-year, is the same as the lowest animal tax while the lowest vehicle tax, namely, that on a bicycle, is Rs. 2 per half-year. The minimum income on which profession tax can be levied is Rs. 150 in the half-year. Profession tax, especially since it is merely a question of assessment and not of payment, could be equally manipulated but profession tax must be retained as a property qualification since it is our one method of bringing on to the roll the man with a small professional income or substantial wages, who is not a house-tax assessee, nor connected with land in some form of proprietorship or as a lessee. It may be mentioned that in the old Acts payment of tax was the qualification and this was altered to "assessment to" in the amending Bills to prevent tax-payers being excluded from the electoral rolls of the municipality or taluk boards because the tax was not collected from them before the end of the year, sometimes deliberately, sometimes owing to the dilatory methods of local bodies. So far as is known there has been very little, if any, manipulation except in the case of written leases for land in view of the preparation of the present local boards and municipal rolls, and the temptation to do so will be less with large constituencies of 25,000 to 40,000 voters than it was in small municipal wards of perhaps 200 voters each. The Committee desire again to emphasize the administrative convenience of adopting a ready-made roll to which only additions on application have to be made on account of the literacy qualification.

The taxes that will qualify under the Committee's proposals are:—

Municipal areas.

(1) Income-tax.

(2) Motor vehicles tax.

(3) Property tax.

(4) Profession tax.

(5) Vehicle and animal taxes.

(6) Tax on carts.

* Page 38.

Rural areas.

(1) Income tax.

(2) Motor vehicles tax.

(3) House tax in panchayat villages.

(4) Profession tax.

(5) Land-cess.

(6) Direct panchayat taxes recommended to and sanctioned by the Local Government as convenient and suitable to the village. Vehicle and animal taxes are included in these.

In both municipal and rural areas, licence fees such as those for carrying on dangerous and objectionable trades, market stalls, temporary stalls, sun-shades and the like do not confer the franchise.

In both municipal and rural areas, registration as pattadar or landholder, tenant or inamdar and holding land by written lease and military service qualify.

Q. 2.—The Committee approves of the adoption of the coloured box system with blank but numbered ballot cards or papers for all voters, but considers that there should be provision for identification in case of disputes by the village officers. Identification cards with the voter's number on the roll may be given to the voters either by candidates or their agents or, failing them, by a person specially deputed for the purpose by the presiding officer. One of the members of the Committee suggests that if possible one colour should be allotted to all candidates of a particular party. The Committee consider it both feasible and advisable to have the ballot papers issued by polling clerks sitting in two's and under the general supervision of the presiding or assistant presiding officer. One of the two should always be a Government servant. The Committee as a whole are of opinion that allowing for a 60 per cent. to 75 per cent. poll, a group of 1,000 *electors* can be polled per day by each polling unit, by polling unit being understood a presiding or assistant presiding officer and at least two polling clerks. Some of the members consider that if the Ceylon system is adopted a single presiding officer can control the polling of two units, provided he has sufficient polling clerks. On the other hand, some members point out that polling stations should not cover a radius of more than three miles and this will limit the possibilities of large polling stations in rural areas. As regards polling hours those at present in force in this Province, *viz.*, 7 A.M. to 6 P.M. with an interval of one hour for rest, seem suitable.

The Committee has had access to the figures prepared for Government of the personnel available and finds that if presiding officers may be drawn from non-gazetted ranks on Rs. 100 a month and upwards as well as from gazetted officers, the Government officers, gazetted local board officers and civil pensioners available number about 5,000. There will be no

difficulty about polling clerks. To supplement these there is an indeterminable number of non officials if required. The Committee does not consider that the proportion of women voters will affect the speed of polling in this Province, and on the basis of 750 voters per presiding or assistant presiding officer, finds that for one day's poll the maximum poll administratively possible without using non-officials is 3,750,000, and with a two days' poll 7,500,000. If the opinion referred to above, that the capacity of a presiding officer is more than 1,000 electors is correct, these figures can be substantially raised. Allowing for a 75 per cent. poll which at any rate for the first two elections is possibly a high estimate, the total electorate under each possibility is (*a*) 5,000,000 and (*b*) 10,000,000. (*a*) is 10·7 per cent. of the total and 21·4 of the adult population. (*b*) is 21·4 per cent. of the total population and 42·9 of the adult population. (*a*) is somewhat less than the electorate already proposed by the Committee and if polling is all to be on one day it may be necessary to employ non officials as presiding officers. Polling on more than two days is practicable but undesirable on administrative grounds as well as on the general ground that it is desirable that an election should be finished expeditiously in order that the excitement inevitably engendered by an election should be ended as soon as possible. The Committee prefers a one day poll, but if the electorate should be further extended it is almost certain a two days' poll will be required. The polling in any constituency ought preferably to be on one day, but with our system of separate electorates for certain communities, once the poll extends beyond one day, the polling in such constituencies will necessarily extend over more than one day. The Committee also does not like the idea of portions of a district being polled on different days, and it is doubtful whether it would be administratively convenient to transfer polling staff from one district to another.

Q. 3.—The information that will be furnished by the Government in reply to this question has been communicated to the Committee. It is of opinion that members of municipalities and local boards as well as honorary magistrates, though they are public servants in respect of their duties as members of the councils or boards or as magistrates cannot be considered as necessarily suitable for employment on polling duties, merely in virtue of their positions. They are perhaps more liable than other non-officials to have political interests. The Committee prefers that the District Collector should for the polling staff in the district draw first on all available Government officers, then on gazetted officers of local fund services, then on civil pensioners and lastly on non-officials. A system somewhat similar to that employed in selecting assessors and special jurors may be adopted and the list of non-officials selected may be published each year to allow of objections. No non-official should be employed against his will. The Committee is of opinion that in this Province non-gazetted officers on Rs. 100 and over may be employed as presiding or assistant presiding officers. Where other than Government officials are employed as polling clerks one of each pair should always be a Government servant.

Separate compartments or booths can be provided for female voters where necessary. In rural tracts as a general rule special provision is not necessary. It is only for Muslim women, and possibly for urban areas where the poll of women electors may be fairly heavy, that any special arrangements are really necessary.

Qs. 4 and 5.—The majority of the Committee consider that if a system of one day's polling is retained, the maximum possible electorate is that already proposed, and admits of no extension. All agree that if a system of two days' polling is adopted an extension on the following lines is possible, and a substantial number of members consider that this extension should be made irrespective of whether one or two days' polling is required :—

(1) The literacy qualification for men may be the same as that already suggested for women. It is estimated that this at present will make possible an addition of 1·4 millions not otherwise qualified to the rolls, and will provide for a wider representation of all categories of the population and a natural and gradual extension of the electorate. Persons claiming to be so qualified will have to apply to the registration officer.

(2) Tenants by written lease or demise of estate ryots should have the franchise on the same terms as tenants by written lease of ryotwari pattadars and inamdars. The provision in the Local Boards Act was originally included to enfranchise a special class of sub-tenants on the Malabar coast, and it seems to have been an omission in drafting that provision was not made for tenants of estate ryots also. This proposal is put forward subject to the recommendation already made that a more precise definition of these lease-holders is necessary to prevent creation of bogus leases and votes. Only a very rough estimate is possible of the probable addition to the electorate on this account. Putting it at one-third of the ryotwari lessees so far on the rolls the number would be 100,000. The total electorate would then be in the neighbourhood of 7 millions and short of complete adult suffrage for males which the Committee is not in favour of and which would make the electorate more than can be administratively managed without undue prolongation of the poll, is unable to suggest any other suitable qualifications for the general franchise. In the Committee's first proposals the women voters were estimated as very close to one million. These two proposals will practically not affect them and in a 7-million electorate they would be approximately one-seventh of the electorate. The proportion of women electors to the adult female population will be in the neighbourhood of 9 per cent.

Q. 6.—The Committee unanimously remains of the opinion that (*a*) the universal indirect system of adult suffrage and (*b*) a combination of direct voting and a group system is undesirable for this Province.

Q. 7.—The number of males left without representation of any kind on the Committee's proposals was 4,537,305 as exhibited in the note prepared by Mr. Rutherford for the Franchise Committee. If the literacy qualification for men is made the same as for women and tenants of

estate ryots on written leases are enfranchised there will be an increase of $1\frac{1}{2}$ million voters, mostly males.

The figures will then be—

Total adult males	.. 11,932,000
Total male electors	.. 5,932,000
Total males without the vote	.. 6,000,000

Probable number of Hindu joint family members who will have representation through the head of the family.

$5{,}932{,}000 \times \frac{4}{4}\frac{1}{6} \times \frac{3}{2} \times \frac{1}{2} = 3{,}748{,}000.$

6,000,000 voteless males.

3,748,000 joint family members.

2,252,000 completely unrepresented adult males.

Of these about 1,161,750 will be Adi-Dravidas. It is anticipated that the lowering of the educational qualification will very substantially increase the number of Muhammadan electors. Most Christians, it is believed, will be literate. In this Province Muhammadans and Indian Christians very largely continue as members of the family enjoying the family property in common and having landed property registered in the name of one only. The figures of 3,748,000 for joint family members may therefore have to be increased to very nearly 4,449,000 which would leave 1,551,000 unrepresented adult males of whom 1,161,750 will be Adi-Dravidas and a balance of 389,250 illiterates, all other castes and communities, comprised in the following categories :—

In municipalities—

(*a*) those who own houses of less than Rs. 12 annual value and whose income is less than Rs. 300 a year, and pay no vehicle or animal tax,

(*b*) similar persons living in rented houses.

In rural areas—

(*a*) Cultivators who cultivate the land of others on oral leases or agreements and have no land in their own names and pay no panchayat tax.

(*b*) Landless persons and labourers in non-panchayat villages, and in panchayat villages which do not levy house tax or profession tax.

(*c*) All landless persons in panchayat villages which do levy house tax and profession tax but whose houses are less than Rs. 240 capital value, or whose incomes are below Rs. 300 a year.

Q. 8.—The Committee considers that the same electoral system should be applied to town and country. It has considered the possibility of direct adult suffrage in the towns and sees no reason why it should be adopted in urban areas when not adopted in the country. Such a system

would give undue weightage to the town populations in the separate communal electorates and also in the general non-Muhammadan electorates if urban and rural areas are included in the same constituency.

Q. 9.—A substantial majority of the Committee are against any weightage to the urban areas and consider they should have representation proportionate to their population. The Committee is unanimous in agreeing that municipalities (not necessarily all) which are the urban areas for this Province may be grouped into separate constituencies for non-Muhammadan seats, due regard being had to the urban character of their population, number of voters and district conditions.

Q. 10.—The great majority of the Committee are in favour of the method originally suggested by it, and prefer it to that suggested by the Madras Government. Candidature to the women's constituencies should be open to women on any electoral roll in the Province.

Q. 11.—The Committee agree that women who are the guardians of minors possessing a property qualification may be enrolled as electors on application.

Q. 12.—The answer to this question is left to Government. The Committee's proposal to reduce the literacy qualification for men may bring a few more on the rolls and with the spread of elementary education among the depressed classes provides the easiest method for their proportional voting strength rising to that of other communities. It is understood that further information gathered makes the probable number of Adi-Dravida electors about $3\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs on the Committee's original franchise proposals.

Q. 13.—The Committee in its preliminary discussions decided in favour of Trade Unions being the electorate for special interest labour seats, but found the objections involved so great that it eventually adopted the proposal for special constituencies of factory workers as a means of giving labour as a special interest a voice in the legislature. It fully recognizes that if employers' organizations are given special representation, labour organizations can claim the same. Trade Unions, however, in this Province are not well organized and there are also a number of unions organized for people who can hardly be termed industrial workers. The majority of the Committee on further consideration recommends that the special labour constituencies should be formed from all in the selected areas who are usually employed as factory workers, mechanical transport workers and dockyard or port workers, and who are not employed on clerical duties or the like, and who have been members of a permanent registered union for a period of one year and have paid their union subscription. Recognizing that it may be difficult for employed workers to get away for sessions of the Council without losing their employment the Committee adheres to its former opinion that persons on any electoral roll for the Legislative Council shall be eligible as candidates for these labour constituencies. The Committee realize that at first these constituencies may have a comparatively small number of electors. On these proposals the rate of wage of the elector does not matter. Some members of the Committee consider that this proposal would lead to manipulation and

would seriously restrict the franchise among labourers and therefore would prefer the original proposals of the Committee.

Q. 14.—The Committee already fully considered whether wages could be made a property qualification for the vote in general constituencies, and came to the conclusion that the criterion or proof must be taxation. There is nothing to prevent the legislature so amending the Acts as to reduce the half-yearly taxable income below the present minimum of Rs. 150. The Committee see no reason to revise their previous conclusion.

Q. 15.—The answer to this question is left to Government.

Q. 16.—The Committee previously expressed its opinion against a Second Chamber*. This was a majority decision and by a majority decision opinion is now in favour of a Second Chamber. It seems but right to state that certain members who previously voted against a Second Chamber were absent from the meeting at which the reply to be given to this question was discussed. The Committee, it may be said, are more or less evenly divided on the question. If there is to be a Second Chamber it was agreed that the strength should be about one-fourth of that of the Lower House. A majority are in favour of a proportion of nominated members, but there was no agreement as to the proportion. Some members are in favour of one-eighth, others of one-fourth, and one only—an official member—in favour of two-fifths. For the elected portion it was agreed that the electorate should correspond to that proposed for the Upper Chamber of the Federal Legislature. A substantial majority of the Committee are against communal representation and representation of special interests in the Provincial Second Chamber.

Q. 17.—A large majority of the Committee are against any modification of their franchise proposals or the proposals for representation of special interests in the Lower House, merely because of the existence of a Second Chamber.

Q. 18.—The Committee adheres to its original views on this matter.

Q. 19.—The Committee remains of the same opinion as before and believes that a reduction of the franchise to Rs. 10 for urban qualifications and Rs. 25 for rural land qualifications will approximately double the electorate.

Q. 20.—On reconsideration the Committee is of opinion that there is no need to secure special representation for Commerce in the Federal Lower House, but if representation is secured for Indian Commerce, then it should also be secured for European Commerce.

Q. 21.—With regard to seats for communities in the Federal Legislature, without knowing the number of seats allotted the Committee find it difficult to frame more detailed proposals than that election to them should be from territorial constituencies. Some members, however consider that, in the case of depressed classes, such constituencies, where the number of voters is very large, would be difficult to work satisfactorily. For landholders, a territorial constituency with an electorate of those on

* Page 31.

the electoral rolls for the landholders constituencies of the Madras Legislative Council with postal voting. It should be mentioned here that the Committee decided that the landholders franchise qualification should be reduced to Rs. 1,000. For labour the same constituency for the Assembly as is proposed in the Committee's revised reply for the Legislative Council. For women, the members of the Legislative Council should form the constituency though the candidate herself need not be a member of that body. If Indian Commerce is to be represented in the Federal Lower Chamber the existing electorate for the Assembly should remain. If European Commerce is to be represented, the constituency should be the proposed electoral roll for European Trade and Commerce for the Legislative Council.

Q. 22.—(*a*) This Committee in framing its proposals assumed single-member constituencies, but did not expressly state this in its original memorandum. As there was a discussion about the relative advantages and disadvantages of the multiple-member and the single-member constituencies the Committee takes this opportunity of stating that it decidedly prefers single-member constituencies and is against multiple-member constituencies.

(*b*) Some of the members of the Committee among whom is included the depressed class member who was responsible for moving for reconsideration of the original recommendation, think that it is undesirable to give the depressed classes a vote in the general electorate in addition to their separate electorates. The grounds given are that it may be made an excuse for giving them less than they consider is their due representation in the Legislatures through separate electorates and also that the general electorate candidates may interfere with the free choice of the depressed class communal candidates.

Q. 23.—This is for Government.

FORT ST. GEORGE, S. MUTHIAH,

The 15th March 1932. *Chairman.*

Miscellaneous correspondence with the local Government and the Provincial Franchise Committee on matters arising out of replies to the questionnaire.

APPENDIX I.

Suggestion for enfranchisement of wives of council voters.

TELEGRAM FROM THE JOINT SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, TO THE REFORMS OFFICER, MADRAS, DATED THE 15TH APRIL 1932.

E-683. Suggestion has been made that in order to increase number of women on electoral roll wives of existing Council voters should in all provinces be enfranchised for future provincial legislature. Please wire whether Government would agree to this course in case of Madras in event of its commending itself to Franchise Committee. Allowing for overlapping maximum addition to women's electorate proposed by Madras Government will apparently be less than one million.

TELEGRAM FROM THE REFORMS OFFICER, MADRAS, TO THE JOINT SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, DATED THE 26TH APRIL 1932.

4/0-1. Your telegram 683 of 15th April. Suggesting enfranchisement of wives of existing Council voters. Madras Government consider proposal both undesirable and unnecessary and are opposed to its adoption in this Presidency and would be prepared to acquiesce only if uniformity of franchise qualifications is considered vitally essential for all Provinces and the measure is found necessary in other provinces. Presumably there would be the usual age limitation and some restriction on the number of wives entitled to vote on account of husband.

APPENDIX II.

Position of Village Menials.

TELEGRAM FROM THE INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS, DATED THE 21ST APRIL 1932.

E-715-Mad. Please wire urgently whether village menials recognised by Government either as public servants or under Government control all belong to the depressed classes. Please wire also approximate numbers of such menials.

TELEGRAM FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS, REVENUE DEPARTMENT, TO THE INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, SIMLA, DATED THE 22ND APRIL 1932.

All village menials are under Government control. *Talayaries* number about thirty-two thousand and *vetties* and *nirgantis* about thirty-one thousand most latter and some former belong to Depressed Classes.

Replies
of the
Government of Bombay
and the
Bombay Provincial Franchise Committee
to the
Indian Franchise Committee's Questionnaires.

सत्यमेव जयते

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APPENDIX.

I. Enfranchisement of wives of electors with double minimum property qualification — Telegram No. N.-431 (Bom.), dated 25th March 1932, from the Indian Franchise Committee—Telegram No. 122, dated 30th March 1932 from the Reforms Officer, Bombay—Letter No. 122, dated 31st March 1932, from the Reforms Officer, Bombay 179

BOMBAY.

I

Memorandum by the Government of Bombay.

[*See* IV on page 116.]

II

Memorandum by the Bombay Provincial Franchise Committee.

VIEWS OF THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL FRANCHISE COMMITTEE ON THE QUESTIONNAIRE OF THE INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE.

I.—PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES.

Q. 1—

(*a*) The existing franchise for the Provincial Legislatures can be extended to 10 per cent. by reducing the property qualification.

Carried *nem con.*

(*b*) The electorate so enfranchised would be as capable of casting an intelligent vote as the present electorate.

(*c*) Such an electorate, *i.e.*, if extended to 10 per cent. under the property qualification, would be administratively manageable.

(*d*) Does not arise.

(*e*) The Committee considers that it would only be practicable and desirable to enlarge the electoral roll still further by the addition of the educational qualification proposed under Question 2 (*d*); the military qualification proposed under Question 2 (*e*) and the enfranchisement of officiating "village servants useful to Government" proposed under Question 4 (*c*); to which some of the members of the Committee would add the group system for men and women outside Bombay and Karachi Cities, as explained under Question 1 (*f*) and Question 3 (*a*) (*ii*).

Note.—Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh considers that in addition to the above, in Sind all persons paying any direct tax (other than local fund cess) to local boards should be enfranchised. The rest of the Committee were not prepared to endorse this proposal.

A proposal by Mr. Koreishi that all persons paying an annual grazing fee to Government or to a contractor on behalf of Government to the extent of Rs. 8 should be enfranchised, was rejected by 8 to 2, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh and Mr. Koreishi alone supporting it.

(*f*) There is a marked difference of opinion among the Committee about the group system:—

(1) (*i*) A section consisting of Mr. Petit and Sardar Mutalik thinks the group system undesirable and wrong in principle; and Mr. Wadia though not present at the final discussion agrees with the above.

(*ii*) A section consisting of Rao Bahadur Kale, Rao Bahadur Angadi, Rao Bahadur Asavale, and Messrs. Koreishi, D'Souza and Mrs. Premchand considers that the group system would be feasible and advantageous in order to give some voice to minorities and women who cannot otherwise be enfranchised, and in order to give all the unenfranchised some voice, even though indirect, in the selection of members of Council, and to pave the way to the eventual attainment of adult suffrage.

(*iii*) A third section consisting of Dr. Solanki, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh and Messrs. Haji, Winterbotham and Prater thinks that the group system is not desirable for general application, but it may be desirable as a special device for particular classes.

(*iv*) Sardar Mutalik and Mr. Rajadhyaksha think that it is administratively impracticable but consider that if the experiment is to be made at all, the system should be applied generally.

(2) As regards the areas in which the group system would be feasible, four members, *viz.*, Rao Bahadurs Angadi, Asavale and Kale and Mr. Koreishi, think that the group system is feasible everywhere except in Bombay and Karachi cities. Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh thinks it impracticable in all parts of Sind. The other members preferred not to express any opinion on this point.

(3) The majority of the Committee, *viz.*, Messrs. Koreishi, Haji, Solanki, Prater and Winterbotham, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh and Rao Bahadurs Asavale and Angadi consider that if the group system is adopted the group voters should vote in the general constituencies along with the direct voters and not in a separate constituency composed of group voters only. Rao Bahadur Kale considers that the group voters should vote in a separate electorate of their own composed of all communities.

(*g*) Does not arise.

(*h*) The answer of the majority of the Committee is in the negative. But Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, while not thinking the group system possible for all general application at all, is of opinion that if it were applied generally, it should be to the exclusion of all other methods of enfranchisement. Mr. Jadhav who was absent at the Assembly has sent a separate note favouring the suggestion that the group system should be applied to the exclusion of all other methods of enfranchisement.

(*i*) The majority of the Committee consider that the groups should be of 21 persons; they should be formed by numbering each house *seriatim* for each separate electorate, and then putting on the register the names of persons not already enfranchised by other methods in groups of 21 in serial number from house to house; each group would

elect a spokesman who would vote in the separate electorate to which he belongs. If at the end of the village a fraction below 21 remains, then if it is 10 or more it would count as a group ; if less than 10 it would be neglected unless it could be added to some neighbouring village in close proximity. The groups should be formed and arranged by the Government Officer responsible aided by a small committee drawn from the primary voters of the village. The Committee should include a representative of the Mahomedan and Depressed Classes where these classes exist in the village.

Rao Bahadur Kale and Sardar Mutalik think that a clause should be added in the rules providing that in areas where it is found more suitable, the Returning Officer should be empowered to apply the collective method of grouping in place of the rigid house to house groups. The majority, however, think that this suggestion would result in embittering factions in the villages.

(*j*) No special qualifications should be fixed for the spokesman voter.

Q. 2—(a) It is agreed that disparity exists in the percentage of voting strength to population between urban and rural areas. A majority of the Committee, *viz.*, Messrs. Wadia, Koreishi, Haji, and Prater and Sardar Mutalik and Rao Bahadur Kale consider that the disparity cannot be removed without depriving the labouring classes in the towns of their franchise. Four members, *viz.*, Rao Bahadurs Asavale and Angadi, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh and Dr. Solanki held that in order to remove this disparity it is desirable that the house rental qualification in purely urban constituencies only should be lowered to half the present qualification, in addition to applying the group system, but in municipal and cantonment areas situated in rural constituencies the house rental qualification should remain as it is at present, *i.e.*, at Rs. 36. This suggestion did not meet with the approval of the other members.

(*b*) Assuming separate electorates, the Committee does not consider that the principle that each community should be given a voting strength proportionate to its numbers is of any importance.

Assuming joint electorates with reservation of seats, the Committee considers that the principle is not practicable in the case of all communities.

Assuming joint electorates without reservation of seats, the Committee considers that the principle would be essential, but cannot possibly be attained except either by adult suffrage or by adoption of the group system to the exclusion of all other qualifications.

(*c*) (*i*) The Committee considers that property is a suitable basis of franchise qualification.

(*ii*) "Property" includes occupation as well as ownership of land, and of houses also in urban areas : but the suggestion that wages or income below the limit of income tax assessment, should be made a basis of franchise qualification is unworkable.

(*iii*) The Committee considers that in addition to the income tax qualification the property qualification limit in urban areas based on the rental value of houses should be halved: and the qualification based on assessment should be quartered so as to bring it to the level of the present taluka local board qualification.

(*iv*) In Sind the Sind Haris should be enfranchised by the omission of the word "permanent" from rule 3 (*a*) (1) of Schedule II of the Bombay Electoral Rules.

(*d*) *Educational qualification* :—

The Committee is by a majority of 9 to 5 in favour of introducing a qualification based on education.

It should be the possession of a certificate of having passed the promotion examination from the 4th Vernacular Standard in approved Vernacular Schools or from the equivalent Standard in approved English Teaching Schools.

Messrs. Wadia, Rajadhyaksha, Koreishi, Sardar Mutalik, Rao Bahadur Kale, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Mr. Petit and Dr. D'Souza form the majority. Messrs. Syed Munawar, Haji, Dr. Solanki, Rao Bahadurs Asavale and Angadi oppose the proposal on the ground that it will accentuate the disparity in voting strength and political power between the educationally advanced and educationally backward classes. They think that no such educational qualification should be introduced till compulsory primary education is generally in force. Messrs. Winterbotham and Jadhav who were absent agree with the minority.

(*e*) *Military Qualification* :—

Yes. It should be retained.

It should be extended to all persons who at the time of the preparation of the electoral roll are borne on the strength of the A. F. I. or the I. T. F. and to those members of the U. T. C. who produce a certificate that they have completed 2 years' approved training and to those *ex*-members of both forces who held the Long Service Medal or the Volunteer Decoration.

Q. 3—

Women's Suffrage :—

(*a*) (*i*) The age limit should be 21 for both men and women. Mr. Jadhav thinks the limit should be 20.

(*ii*) As regards areas outside Bombay and Karachi Cities, the only practical method of giving an independent vote to women is by means of the group system.

This was agreed, subject to the various conflicting opinions expressed on the group system in dealing with Question 1 (*f*). Mr. Winterbotham, who was absent, is opposed to any special qualification for women and thinks the difficulties of applying the group system to big cities rule it out for rural areas also. He would leave the question of

a special franchise for women to be settled by the Councils under the new constitution.

Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh and Mrs. Maneklal were of opinion that if the group system be not adopted generally in rural areas, the vote should be given to all women who can read and write. But the majority did not agree with this, as they thought that it would benefit some classes more than others and it would be difficult or impossible to devise a satisfactory test.

(*iii*) As regards Bombay and Karachi Cities where the group system is believed to be unworkable various schemes for giving women a special qualification were discussed; but all were rejected. They were as follows :—

(1) Mr. Haji's proposal that all adult wives and widows whose husbands are or were voters should be enfranchised.

This was rejected by 6 to 8 firstly because it was opposed by Women's Associations and Mrs. Maneklal; and secondly because it was thought to give a double vote to husbands and thus to accentuate the disparity in voting strength between classes.

(2) Rao Bahadur Angadi suggested that the group system be applied to women only in Bombay and Karachi Cities without any other special qualification for women.

This was rejected by 8 to 4, Syed Munawar, Rao Bahadur Asavale, Rao Bahadur Angadi and Dr. Solanki supporting it, because the majority thought it would be even more difficult to form groups for women in those centres than for men.

(3) Rao Bahadur Kale proposed that in Bombay and Karachi Cities all women members of registered Women's Associations or Societies whose object is the social or political advancement of women should have the vote.

This was rejected by 8 to 6, Mrs. Maneklal, Messrs. Prater and Petit, Rao Bahadur Kale, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh and Dr. D'Souza supporting it, because the majority did not think that the scheme was workable and thought that it would probably not help the women of the backward classes.

(4) Rao Bahadur Kale also proposed that all widows in Bombay and Karachi Cities, whose husbands were enfranchised at the time of their death should be enfranchised.

This was rejected by 10 to 2, Rao Bahadur Kale and Dr. D'Souza alone supporting it.

(5) Dr. D'Souza proposed that all adult women in Bombay and Karachi Cities who can read and write should be enfranchised.

This was lost by 8 to 2, Dr. D'Souza and Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh supporting it.

The majority thought it impossible to devise a workable test by which a Returning Officer could decide whether a woman voter could read and write and also that such a proposal would unduly favour the educationally advanced classes.

(*b*) The proposal that there should be common mixed groups for men and women was carried by a majority of 6 to 5.

The majority consisted of Mrs. Maneklal, Rao Bahadur Kale, Sardar Mutalik, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Messrs. Prater and Petit; the minority in favour of separate groups for women were Messrs. Koreishi, Syed Munawar, Dr. Solanki, Rao Bahadur Asavale and Angadi. Mr. Jadhav who was absent agrees with the majority.

(*c*) No seats for women should be reserved; but if in the elections women do not secure at least 3 seats, the deficiency should be made up by co-option by the members of the Legislative Council, voting on the system of proportionate representation and the single transferable vote.

This was carried, Mrs. Maneklal alone dissenting on the ground that co-option is bad in principle.

Mr. Winterbotham who was absent thinks that provision should be made for co-option by the Council up to 5 per cent.

Q. 4—

Depressed Classes :—

(*a*) The term "Depressed Classes" should be confined to the Untouchable Classes as shown in Schedule I of Appendix II of the Starte Committee's report.

(*b*) The group system should be applied to the unenfranchised adults of the Depressed Classes in both rural and urban areas.

This was agreed to, subject to the diversity of opinion given on the group system in the reply to Question 1 (*f*).

(*c*) All officiating village servants "useful to Government" should be enfranchised as direct voters.

(*d*) The Committee considers that the Depressed Classes in the extension of franchise proposed will not be able to secure candidates of their own choice in the general electorate.

(*e*) The Depressed Classes should be given separate electorates for 20 years.

Carried by a majority of 8 to 6. The majority consisted of Rao Bahadur Asavale, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Messrs. Syed Munawar, Haji, Prater, Koreishi, Winterbotham and Dr. Solanki. The minority consisted of Rao Bahadurs Angadi and Kale, Sardar Mutalik, Mrs. Maneklal, Messrs. Rajadhyaksha and Wadia; most of these were understood to favour reserved seats in the general electorate.

Q. 5—

Labour :—

(1) The Committee agrees that there is no practical way of enfranchising unorganised labour in rural areas unless it be possible through the group system.

(2) The Committee considered various ways of enfranchising labour in urban areas. It was decided that organised labour interests should be represented by members elected by an electoral college, which shall be formed by registered Trade Unions composed of manual workers throughout the Presidency, electing delegates in the proportion of 1 for every 20 members of such unions ; the candidate must be an ordinary or honorary member of at least one year's standing of a registered Trade Union which is itself of at least 1 year's standing. The electoral rules should require from the Trade Unions which will send delegates to the electoral college adequate standard of paying membership ; the Committee also considers that the Registrar of Trade Unions should be given adequate powers of scrutiny for this purpose.

Two other additional proposals were considered and rejected. The first proposed by Rao Bahadur Asavale that in industrial towns to provide for un-organised labour, there should be a separate electoral roll of all industrial manual labourers in factories and docks who are not members of registered Trade Unions and they should have a separate electorate, electing their own representatives ; and some of the seats allocated to labour should be assigned to them. This was rejected by 6 to 4 the supporters being Rao Bahadur Asavale, Syed Munawar, Rao Bahadur Angadi and Dr. Solanki. The majority thought that this arrangement would be difficult to work in practice and being based on an entirely different system from that adopted for organised labour, could not well be combined with that ; also that it would cut across the lines of communal representation.

The second, proposed by Mr. Haji instead of the proposal adopted above with regard to Trade Unions, that all labour should be represented by special members with reserved seats elected separately by the votes of the general Mahomedan and Non-Mahomedan constituencies of Bombay, Karachi, Ahmedabad and Sholapur Cities, was rejected, Mr. Haji alone supporting it.

Q. 5-A—

Special interests :—

It was agreed that special interests should continue to be represented in Council.

(*i*) A majority of the Committee are of opinion that all the special interests at present represented by election or nomination should continue to receive representation.

Carried by 10 to 1, Rao Bahadur Angadi being the dissentient.

Rao Bahadur Angadi made two proposals, which were rejected :—

(*a*) That there should be no special representation for the University and he argued that the ordinary members of the Council are all fully alive to the interests of the University.

This was rejected by 11 votes to 1.

(*b*) That there should be no special representation for the great landholders. He argued that the landholders are certain to be sufficiently represented by election in the ordinary constituencies.

This was lost by 8 to 4, Rao Bahadur Angadi, Rao Bahadur Asavale, Dr. Solanki and Syed Munawar forming the minority.

(*ii*) Any graduate of the University, irrespective of his standing, should be enfranchised for the University Constituency.

Agreed *nem con.*

(*iii*) A majority of the Committee consider that there should be no change in the present electoral franchise for the Sardars and Inamdars of the Deccan and Gujarat and for the Sind Jagirdars and Zemindars constituencies.

This was carried by 6 to 3. Mr. Rajadhyaksha, Sardar Mutalik, Rao Bahadur Kale, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Dr. D'Souza and Mr. Petit voting in the majority, and Rao Bahadur Angadi, Dr. Solanki and Rao Bahadur Asavale in the minority.

Rao Bahadur Angadi proposed that in addition to the existing franchise to the landholders' constituencies, all officiating Watandar Patels and Kulkarnis should be enfranchised. This was rejected by 5 to 3, Rao Bahadur Asavale, Rao Bahadur Angadi and Dr. Solanki supporting it ; and Messrs. Rajadhyaksha, Petit, Rao Bahadur Kale, Dr. D'Souza and Sardar Mutalik being against it.

(*iv*) No change should be made in the method of election of the Commerce and Industries constituencies, subject to any suggestions in memoranda that may hereafter be received regarding the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau constituency.

(*v*) One seat should be filled by election from the cotton trade in place of the nominated seat by which the trade is now represented ; but the Committee has not sufficient material before it to enable it to propose the exact method of election. It considers that the representation of the cotton trade should include both cotton growers and cotton dealers.

(*vi*) The Committee considered the number of seats to be given to special interests. It decided by a majority of 7 to 4 that until the allocation of seats for each community in general constituencies is fixed, the number of seats for each special interests cannot be fixed. Rao Bahadur Angadi, Rao Bahadur Asavale, Dr. Solanki and Syed Munawar formed the minority.

Note.—Rao Bahadur Angadi proposed that no increase should be made in the number of seats assigned for special interests, irrespective of what the size of the Council may be. He argued that all that is needed

is that each special interest should have a voice in the Council and that there is no object in giving more than one seat to any such interest. This was rejected by 6 votes to 5. Rao Bahadur Angadi, Rao Bahadur Asavale, Dr. Solanki, Syed Munawar and Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh supporting it, and Mr. Rajadhyaksha, Mr. Koreishi, Sardar Mutalik, Rao Bahadur Kale, Dr. D'Souza and Mr. Petit being opposed to it.

II.—THE FEDERAL LEGISLATURE.

Q. 6—

(*Prelude*) : *Number of Seats allotted to Bombay*

Having regard to the commercial and industrial importance of the Bombay Presidency and to the fact that Bombay city is the main port of India, and that there is a second important port in the Presidency, *viz.*, Karachi, the Committee hopes that the weightage allowed to the Bombay Presidency in the allocation of seats for the Assembly may be increased by 4 more seats.

Note.—This was agreed, Rao Bahadur Angadi alone dissenting.

(*a*) *Federal Upper Chamber*—

(*i*) The Committee agrees that representatives of British Indian Provinces in the Upper Chamber should be elected in the Provincial Legislature by a single transferable vote.

Note.- Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh and Sardar Mutalik favour direct election and propose that the existing method of election to the Council of State be retained for the Federal Upper House. This was rejected by 9 to 2. Mr. Winterbotham who was absent favours direct election for the Upper House.

(*ii*) Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh also proposed a rider to the resolution adopted above in favour of indirect election as follows :—" provided that the proportion of Musalman representation in the Federal Upper House which may be laid down in the future Indian Constitution, is secured."

This was agreed to.

(*b*) *Franchise Qualification for the Assembly*—

A majority of the Committee consider that the present franchise qualification for the Legislative Assembly should be retained unchanged except for the addition of all holders of a recognised University degree, British or Indian.

Carried by 7 to 4. Messrs. Wadia, Rajadhyaksha, Koreishi, Sardar Mutalik, Rao Bahadur Kale, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh and Mr. Petit voted for and Rao Bahadur Angadi, Rao Bahadur Asavale and Dr. Solanki and Syed Munawar opposed it.

Note.—The following other proposals were considered and rejected :—

(1) Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh proposed that the members of the Federal Assembly should be elected by the members of the Provincial Legislature, each community voting separately.

This was lost by 6 to 1, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh being its sole supporter.

(2) Rao Bahadur Asavale proposed that the franchise for the Assembly should be the same as is at present in force for the Provincial Council. He argued that the franchise adopted above by the Committee is too narrow and as the Provincial franchise is being reduced, so also should be that of the Assembly.

This was rejected by 7 to 3, Rao Bahadur Asavale, Syed Munawar and Dr. Solanki alone supporting it.

(3) Rao Bahadur Angadi suggested that the present Assembly franchise should be retained unchanged without the addition of the University graduates.

This was rejected by 6 to 4, Rao Bahadur Angadi, Rao Bahadur Asavale, Dr. Solanki and Syed Munawar supporting it and Messrs. Wadia, Rajadhyaksha, Koreishi, Sardar Mutalik, Rao Bahadur Kale and Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh opposing it.

(*c*) *Election to Lower Federal House*—

(*i*) Election to the Lower Federal House should be by territorial constituencies of direct qualified voters and not by any indirect method.

(Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh and Mr. Winterbotham favour indirect election.)

(*ii*) A narrow majority of the Committee consider that there should be single seated constituencies for election to the Lower Federal House ; and that in combining districts where necessary, regard should be had to convenience, and as far as possible to language.

Rao Bahadur Angadi, Rao Bahadur Asavale, Dr. Solanki, Syed Munawar, and Messrs. Koreishi and Haji favoured this proposal, on the ground that single seated constituencies would be smaller in size and more manageable and convenient for candidates and for election purposes.

The alternative proposal that the constituencies should as far as possible be multiple-seated with cumulative voting was supported by Messrs. Wadia, Rajadhyaksha and Petit and Rao Bahadur Kale and Sardar Mutalik on the ground that such constituencies gave minorities of all kinds a better chance of securing a candidate of their own choice.

Q. 7.—

Representation of Women, Labour, Depressed Classes and Special Interests—

(*a*) *Labour.*—Labour should be represented in the Federal Lower House by a member or members elected by the registered trade unions of the Bombay Presidency.

(*b*) *Women.*—Women representatives in the Federal Lower House should be co-opted by that body by means of single transferable vote, provided that a minimum of 3 be not elected in the ordinary course.

(*c*) *Depressed Classes.*—A majority of the Committee consider that the Depressed classes should have special representation in the Federal

Assembly. The representative or representatives of the Depressed classes should be elected to the Federal Lower House from among the members of the Depressed classes by the vote of all the members of local bodies and the members of the Provincial Legislative Council.

Carried by 6 to 2. Messrs. Syed Munawar, Petit, Rao Bahadur Angadi, Rao Bahadur Asavale, Rao Bahadur Kale and Sardar Mutalik supported this; Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh and Mr. Haji alone opposed it.

The Committee considered and rejected 3 other proposals as follows:—

(1) Dr. Solanki's proposal:—If the principle of separate electorates for Depressed classes is agreed to, then the representatives of those classes in the Lower Federal House should be chosen by direct election from the Depressed classes themselves. Their qualification as voters should be the same as the present franchise qualification for the Provincial Councils. This was rejected by 6 to 4. Rao Bahadur Asavale, Syed Munawar, Dr. Solanki and Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh supported it and Rao Bahadur Angadi, Rao Bahadur Kale, Messrs. Koreishi, Haji, Petit and Sardar Mutalik opposed it.

(2) A similar proposal by Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh providing for a franchise qualification for the Depressed classes similar to that proposed for future Provincial Councils was rejected by 8 to 1.

(3) The proposal of Mr. Haji that the representatives of the Depressed classes on the Assembly should be elected by the Depressed class members of the local bodies and Legislative Council was rejected by 7 to 3; Messrs. Haji, Koreishi, and Dr. Solanki alone favouring it. The majority considered that it would give much too small a body of electors.

(*d*) *Special Interests*—

A majority of the Committee consider that the number of seats at present assigned in the Assembly to special interests (excluding labour) should not be increased.

Carried by 5 to 2. *For*: Rao Bahadur Asavale, Rao Bahadur Angadi, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Dr. Solanki and Mr. Koreishi. *Against*: Sardar Mutalik and Mr. Petit.

Mr. Winterbotham, who was absent, disagrees with the majority.

Note.—Sardar Mutalik's proposal that the landholders and mill-owners constituency should have 2 continuous seats each in the Assembly was rejected by 5 to 3. Sardar Mutalik, Mr. Petit and Rao Bahadur Kale voted *for* and Rao Bahadur Angadi and Rao Bahadur Asavale, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Dr. Solanki and Mr. Koreishi were *against*.

Q. 8—

General—

(*i*) The Committee is of opinion that the life of the Provincial Legislatures should be five years, instead of 3 as at present.

(*ii*) The Committee thinks that the Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans should be formed into a separate electorate, *i.e.*, separate from the Europeans. Their electoral roll should include all persons of European descent in the male line who being British subjects resident in British India, are domiciled in British India, or were born of parents habitually resident in British India and not established for temporary purposes.

(*iii*) Indian Christians should be represented in the Council by reserved seats in the general Non-Mahomedan electorate for a period of 20 years.

(*iv*) A majority of the Committee hold that the reserved seats for Mahrattas, with a right to contest additional seats, should be continued in those constituencies where they will not have a percentage of voting strength equal to the percentage of their population.

Carried by 5 to 4.

Those who favour this proposal are Rao Bahadur Asavale, Rao Bahadur Angadi, Dr. Solanki, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh and Mr. Koreishi.

Note.—The minority consisting of Rao Bahadur Kale, Sardar Mutalik and Messrs. Wadia and Petit were of opinion that no seats be reserved for Mahrattas anywhere.

(*v*) The Committee considered Mr. Koreishi's proposal that in view of the fact that 52 per cent. of the Musalmans of the Presidency proper reside in urban and suburban areas and notified areas, such areas should as far as possible in the future Muslim constitution be grouped with cities instead of with purely rural villages as at present.

The proposal was rejected by 4 to 3. Messrs. Haji, Koreishi and Syed Munawar supported the proposal. Rao Bahadurs Angadi and Kale, Dr. Solanki and Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh opposed it; the others were neutral.

Bicameral Legislature :—

(*i*) The Committee by a majority of 8 to 4 considers that for the first few years at least a second chamber would be necessary for the provincial legislature, the powers of that chamber being broadly those of the present Council of State.

Note.—The majority consisted of Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Rao Bahadur Kale, Sardar Mutalik, Dr. D'Souza, and Messrs. Wadia, Koreishi, Prater and Petit. Rao Bahadur Kale supported the proposal subject to the opinion that if a second chamber was established, there would be no need for representation of special interests in the Lower Chamber.

The majority considered that a second Chamber is needed to act as a brake on the Lower House and to relieve the Governor of the necessity of constantly falling back on his emergency powers with reference to ill-considered legislation, and to supply the lack of the official block as a moderating influence.

The minority consisting of Rao Bahadur Asavale, Rao Bahadur Angadi, Dr. Solanki and Mr. Haji argued that the house elected by the people ought to be the final voice ; that any Upper House would be undemocratic and unduly, almost certainly conservative ; and that its constitution would entail a heavy and useless expense out of all proportion to its utility. Also an Upper House would weaken the Lower House's sense of responsibility.

(*ii*) A majority of the Committee adopted Mr. Petit's proposal that the second Chamber should be elected on a franchise of higher qualifications than the lower Chamber, and those qualifications should be based on property and education. A certain proportion of the seats should be filled by nomination by the Governor to represent special interests and minorities.

Carried by 8 to 3. The majority consisted of Rao Bahadur Kale, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Sardar Mutalik and Messrs. Wadia, Koreishi, Petit, Prater and Winterbotham. The minority consisted of Rao Bahadur Angadi, Rao Bahadur Asavale and Dr. Solanki.

Note 1.—Mr. Winterbotham agrees with the majority on the first part of the Resolution but is opposed to nomination to the second Chamber, considering that special interests and minorities should secure representation through special constituencies.

Note 2.—The following rival proposals were considered and rejected :—

(1)—of *Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh*, that half the Upper House should be composed of elected members and half of nominated.

5 were in favour of this, Messrs. Wadia, Koreishi and Prater, Dr. Solanki and Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh.

5 were against : *viz.*, Rao Bahadur Kale, Rao Bahadur Asavale, Rao Bahadur Angadi, Sardar Mutalik and Mr. Petit.

The Chairman gave his casting vote against the proposal.

(2)—of *Rao Bahadur Asavale*, that the second Chamber should be elected by the members of the Lower House from among themselves by a single transferable vote.

Rejected by 5 to 1, Rao Bahadur Asavale alone supporting.

(3)—of *Rao Bahadur Angadi*, that the second Chamber should be a body elected by the same electorate as the Lower House.

This failed by the adoption of Mr. Petit's proposal.

The majority considered that such a Lower House would not be sufficiently different in composition from the Upper House.

(*iii*) The Committee agrees that in the event of a difference of opinion between the 2 chambers the matter should be referred to a joint session.

(*iv*) The Committee agrees that the life of the second Chamber should be 7 years, half the members vacating their seats after $3\frac{1}{2}$ years.

Size of the Provincial Council.

A majority of the Committee hold that the size of the Provincial Lower House should not be more than 200 nor less than 150.

Carried by 7 to 4. The supporters were Rao Bahadur Kale, Sardar Mutalik, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, and Messrs. Haji, Petit, Koreishi and Winterbotham. The minority consisted of Rao Bahadur Asavale, Rao Bahadur Angadi, Dr. Solanki and Dr. Prater.

Note.—The following several proposals were rejected :—

(1)—*Rao Bahadur Angadi's* proposal that the number of seats should be 220, *i.e.*, one seat for every hundred thousand of the population.

Lost by 9 to 3, its supporters being Rao Bahadur Angadi, Rao Bahadur Asavale and Dr. Solanki.

(2)—*Rao Bahadur Asavale's* proposal that the size should not be less than 200.

Lost by 7 to 6 ; its supporters were Rao Bahadur Asavale, Rao Bahadur Angadi, and Messrs. Wadia, Rajadhyaksha, Prater and Dr. Solanki. Its opponents were Rao Bahadur Kale, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Sardar Mutalik, and Messrs. Haji, Prater, Koreishi, Petit and Winterbotham.

Qualification of Candidates.

The Committee agrees that the present rules regarding the qualification of candidates for the Legislative Council should be retained, subject to the following modification :—

(*i*) The Committee recommends that only subjects of such States should be qualified to stand as candidates, in which British subjects are eligible as members of the State Legislatures, if any.

(*ii*) Members of other legislative bodies should not be disqualified from standing as candidates for Provincial Councils, provided that if elected, they resign their seats on that other body before taking their seats on the Council.

(*iii*) The residential qualification for a candidate for the Council should be abolished.

(*iv*) Persons holding contracts from the Provincial Government should be debarred from standing as candidates for Council by a rule framed on the general lines of those contained in the Bombay Municipal Acts.

(*v*) There should be no disqualification of a candidate on the ground that he has been convicted of a criminal offence, provided that he is not undergoing a sentence of imprisonment at the time of his nomination, and provided that if elected he will be able to take his seat within 3 months from the date of election or at the first session of the Legislative Council, whichever is later.

(*vi*) The word " permanent " in rule 3 (*a*) (*i*) of Schedule II of the Bombay Electoral Rules should be omitted before the word " tenant ".

Note.—This is in pursuance of the decision of the Committee regarding the enfranchisement of Sind Haris recorded under Question 2 (*c*) (*iv*) above.

(a) Note on Franchise by Mr. B. V. Jadhav, M.L.A.

Under the Montague-Chelmsford Scheme elections to the Provincial Legislatures were made direct and about 3 per cent. of the population of the Presidency of Bombay was enfranchised. All over India the proportion was almost the same.

The question of widening the franchise was considered by a Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference. The Committee came to the following conclusions :—

1. That adult suffrage was the goal which should ultimately be attained.
2. That the Special Expert Committee should consider the immediate increase of the electorate so as to enfranchise not less than 10 per cent. of the population ; and indeed a larger number ; but not more than 25 per cent. of the population—if that should on full investigation be found practicable and desirable.
3. That in any given area the franchise qualifications should be the same for all communities.
4. That the ideal system would as nearly as possible give each community a voting strength proportional to its numbers and that the franchise system should be so contrived as to secure this result in so far as it may be practicable.
5. That the Sub-Committee supported the property qualification and recommended to understand the word " property " in its widest sense.
6. That educational qualification should also be considered.
7. That special franchise qualification should also be examined.
8. That the Franchise Committee should endeavour so to adjust the franchise qualifications as to remove in those areas where it may exist any marked disparity in the operation of the franchise qualifications in urban as compared with rual areas.

The goal has been clearly stated as being that of adult suffrage. It is not the intention of the Sub-Committee to give up the property qualification altogether. But the Committee has kept an open mind and has asked the present Committee to examine the Mukhi or the Group system also.

In former times persons in possession of real property were considered to have some stake in the country and were enfranchised to the exclusion of others. The meaning of the word was subsequently widened and more and more people were given the vote, as it was realised that they too had some stake in the country.

Before the Montford Reforms the vote was enjoyed by those only who possessed real property. Under the franchise scheme sanctioned by the Reforms the connotation of the term property was extended ; and

tenants both of land and tenements were given the vote. The time has now come to widen the franchise still further.

At present in England every adult person is invested with the vote. The ancient principle of the necessity of having some tangible or intangible property is discarded and every citizen now enjoy the vote. It is noteworthy that when the Franchise Sub-Committee of the R. T. C. accepted the goal of adult suffrage they also expressed their readiness to discard the old idea that the possession of property was necessary to claim the privilege to vote. They have recognised the right of every citizen to enjoy the right of having some voice in the affairs of his country. They do not favour the introduction of adult suffrage at once, as they fear that it will be almost impracticable to hold such elections.

They have therefore recommended that at least 10 per cent. of the total population should be given the vote under the new scheme. They would like to widen the franchise still further, up to 25 per cent. if possible.

Now let the suggested schemes be examined to see how far they satisfy the conditions laid down in the conclusions of the Sub-Committee.

(*a*) That the present franchise for a rural voter be reduced to a quarter of what it is at present. This will no doubt increase the number of voters to some extent. But it does not help the agricultural or factory labourer, nor does it give any vote to the large body of artisans and craftsmen. If the definition of the word property be widened so as to bring in the wage-earner also it will give the labouring classes and others a chance. But one has to bear in mind the practical difficulties of an enquiry in each case and the total expenditure that will have to be incurred at each election. One has to take account of the apathy of an average subordinate revenue officer who will be more ready to reject as many names as possible. This way of enlarging the roll is contrary to recommendation no. 4 on page 79.

(*b*) That those possessing a certain amount of education be enfranchised. This qualification will give a great advantage to the advanced communities over the backward. The few that are literate among the latter will not be able to prove that they once completed a prescribed course. The trouble, expense and difficulty of ascertaining the fact of having completed a certain standard has been shown in the letter of the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay. The strong objection against this qualification is that it violates the conditions 4 and 8 laid own by the Sub-Committee as stated on page 79.

(*c*) That widows of deceased voters and wives of voters should be brought on the register of voters. This amounts to give two or more votes to a man : his own vote and those of his wife and widowed mother. This gives an unfair advantage to the propertied classes over the labouring or the artisan classes. It offends conditions 4 and 8 on page 79.

(*d*) That the village servants be given the right to vote. This gives an unfair advantage to a particular small body of servants over others. This will break conditions 3 and 4 on page 79.

It will thus be seen that any new scheme of widening the franchise on the old principle of qualification based upon property will be unjust to those who have not been enfranchised so far. It may benefit those communities who are enjoying the vote now to a greater extent than at present. The agricultural labourers and the factory labourers who are not organised will not derive any benefit from them. Even the lowering of the rental qualification in a city like Bombay will not materially change the situation ; as only a few of the labouring classes can afford to hire a whole room.

The goal is clearly stated to be adult suffrage. It is an accepted principle that direct elections are to be preferred to the indirect. But as adult suffrage at the present time is considered impracticable, the indirect method may be taken advantage of if it helps us to secure a better and juster way of enfranchising the people. We have also the experience of new nations who have adopted a democratic form of government.

Egypt, Turkey, Mesopotamia and other Asiatic countries are starting popular assemblies, and they have done well in beginning at once with adult suffrage. They have imbibed the democratic principle that it is unjust to make difference between man and man simply because one is richer and the other is poorer. They have started with the idea that every citizen has equal rights and responsibilities. So all adults must have an equal voice. They know that their present machinery is inadequate to cope with the work of taking a poll of all the adults of the nation. They have, therefore, adopted for a time the expedient of indirect voting. The election is divided into two parts. All the adult males are divided into convenient groups and each group elects a secondary voter. These secondary voters vote in different constituencies for the members or deputies.

It will be right to adopt such system for elections in India. The old doctrine of property qualification is now discarded even in England. It should be abandoned in India also ; and the group system should be adopted throughout. The work of preparing a roll will be very simple. The only thing to be determined is whether an individual is over a prescribed age. This the headman of a village can very easily determine. The case with other qualifications is quite different. Detailed enquiries are to be made, and State documents have to be examined. Then there is the right to appeal and an opponent has an opportunity to ask that a particular name should be removed from the voting roll. All this bother and expenditure is saved when the Mukhi or the group system is adopted. Its practicability is proved by the experience of other countries not so much advanced as India. This system is suited to the genius of the people.

But the adoption of the system should be declared to be as a step towards direct adult suffrage. The present idea is to enfranchise between 10 and 25 per cent. of the population. It ought to satisfy the people if only $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. are enfranchised ; that is $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. are chosen as group leaders or spokesmen. This amounts to about 25 per cent. of the adults being chosen as Mukhis. It follows that each group should consist of four adults only. This system if adopted will no doubt deprive some

of those who now enjoy the vote of their privilege to vote. Some may object to this. If this objection is to be allowed, then it will suffice to keep all those who are now already on the roll to remain on the roll, and not to add any further names to that roll. There is no necessity to consider how to extend the electorate. The further widening of the franchise should be wholly by the group system. If the Franchise Committee decides to extend franchise by ten per cent. then each group should consist of five adults only. This will provide the necessary extension and ought to satisfy all. It will easily lead to adult suffrage. On the next occasion the group need be made of three adults only and from there the passage to direct adult voting is easy. It will give us the desired percentage of increase as required by condition 2 on page 1 of this note. It will satisfy the third condition also as the franchise qualification will be the same for all communities. The fourth condition which is really impossible under any property qualification will be fully satisfied by this method. It will give each community a voting strength proportional to its numbers. It will satisfy the 8th condition also. The disparity in the operation of the franchise qualifications in urban as compared with rual areas will also be removed. The labouring classes, the depressed classes and all the minorities will have representation in proportion of their numbers and nobody will have any cause to complain.

(b) Observations by Mr. B. V. Jadhav M.L.A., on some of the decisions taken by the Bombay Provincial Franchise Committee on the Questionnaire.

I.—PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURE.

Extension of the Franchise, f, g, h, i.

In recommending the Group system the Committee seem to have accepted it as an unavoidable evil. Properly speaking the group system is the only logical system leading the country to the goal of adult suffrage. The Committee is of opinion that in the case of males the group should consist of 21 and in that of females of 11 only. The odd numbers seem to be adopted to avoid ties. But one has to bear in mind that when the register of adults will be written up the groups will be formed ; and when the officer will go to the village to settle who are to be the spokesmen it will be found that all the 21 men or 11 women of the group will not be present and there will be cases of ties which the Committee is anxious to avoid. I submit that no special care need be taken to make a group of odd numbers only. Ties there will be ; but their number will always be small in any case and a simple device of casting lots will be acceptable to all. By making the groups consist of 21 males only 1% of the total population will get the vote and in the case of women the proportion will be only 2 %. I think that there ought not to be any such difference in the numbers constituting a group. The number should be the same for both the sexes. The labour and trouble for smaller and larger group is the same and the distinction is invidious.

Q. 2. (*a*), (*b*) —Paragraph 11 of the report of the Franchise Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference runs thus :—

" *Urban and rural enfranchisement.*—We are of opinion that the Franchise Commission should endeavour so to adjust the

franchise qualifications as to remove in those areas where it may exist any marked disparity in the operations of the franchise qualifications in urban as compared with rural areas. Under the existing franchise 12·8% of the population in urban areas is enfranchised ; as against only 3% of the rural. The new franchise that is suggested raises the urban percentage to 20·7 while that of the rural is raised to 7·9 only. In the case of the urban areas there is to be an increase of about 8 per cent. while in the rural the increase proposed is only 4·9 per cent. So the direction of the Round Table Conference Franchise Committee is not only not paid attention to, but the proposals are to show more favour to the urban as opposed to the rural. But this undue favour to the urban does not matter so much as the constituencies are separate. There need be no heart-burning on that account. But what is objectionable is the utter disregard to the conditions of the rural as opposed to the urban population in those constituencies where the people within municipal areas and rural areas vote for the same candidates. The percentage of population enfranchised in municipal towns excluding urban constituencies is at present 7·7, while that of the purely rural areas is only 2·2%. The new proposals will raise the former percentage to 13·2 while the utmost to which the franchise committee goes is to enfranchise only 7·2%. The increase within the municipal areas is 5·5% while that in the rural areas is less than 5%. This probably is due to the large representation of the urban interests in the committee. The result has been that the Committee have come to the conclusion that it is not necessary to remedy the disparity. The result will be that a candidate may canvass the few municipal areas and neglect the vast masses of the people. Such a representative will naturally be more careful of the urban as opposed to rural interests. The urban qualifications ought not to have been halved, but reduced to the rental of Rs. 24, or the rural qualification ought to have been still further reduced. That is in place of adopting the present Taluka Local Board qualification a lower qualification should have been proposed. The present proposal is obviously prejudicial to the rural areas. The real remedy obviously was to adopt the group system for all further expansion in franchise. It would have helped in some way correcting the inequalities introduced at the time of the Montague Reforms. The best course is to clean the slate and to adopt the group system. It will be fair to all the people, backward as well as the more advanced, the Musalmans as the Hindus and Sikhs and the Depressed. It is the ideal adult suffrage indirectly in place of a direct election, till the condition of the country improves to such an extent as to make direct adult suffrage

election practical. Question 2 (*d*).—" The Committee is by a majority of 9 to 5 in favour of introducing a qualification based on education. It should be the possession of a certificate of having passed the promotion examination from the fourth vernacular standard in approved vernacular schools or from the equivalent standard in approved English Teaching Schools."

To oppose the educational qualification is rather hard, and unpopular. It is therefore noteworthy that no less than 5 members of the committee saw it necessary to oppose it. The cause of the masses may be called the cause of the plebians as opposed to that of the patricians. The latter have been enjoying political power and wish to keep it in their hands. Under the former regime they took advantage of the educational facilities, and the masses remained illiterate. The adoption of this qualification will enfranchise the whole of the adult population of the advanced communities ; while the addition to the roll of persons from the backward communities will be infinitessimally small. The few literates will be already enjoying the vote in virtue of the property qualification. The Director of Public Instruction has shown how difficult it will be for those whose education has not gone beyond the prescribed limit of promotion to the fifth standard. Past registers will not be easily available and the trouble and expense involved will deter the ignorant rayat from getting his name on the electoral roll. But in the advanced communities no one steps at the prescribed standard. After completing the vernacular fourth standard he either goes to an English School or studies for the vernacular final examination. He is thus able to show that he has completed the fourth standard, and he can without much difficulty get a vote. This qualification if adopted will give an immense advantage to the plebians. It is very unjust also to the depressed classes. No wonder that five were bold enough to raise their voice in opposition. I would have done the same had I been present.

Question 3 (*c*).—I agree with Mrs. Maneklal in condemning co-option on principle.

Question 4 (*c*).—*The Depressed Classes.*—All officiating village servants useful to Government should be enfranchised is the proposal approved by the Committee. The servants that will come under this are the Patil or the village headman, the Kulkarni or the village accountant and the Mahars. Now the officiating Patils are at most two in a village and in most cases only one it is common to find a large number of names on the register of Watandar representatives. Are all these to be enfranchised or only the officiating one for the time being ? In the case of the village accountant his service has been commuted and a paid Talati does the work. Are the nominally Watandar Kulkarnis to be brought on the electoral roll or they are not to be given the benefit of this qualification ? Now almost all the Patils hold land as also the Kulkarnis. They will with a few exceptions be already on the roll. The Kulkarnis whether serving or not will be enfranchised in virtue of the literacy qualification.

In this case the qualification may be of some advantage to the village Mahar. But the practical difficulties have not been taken into consideration. The Mahars as village servants work in rotation and the personnel is usually changed every year. Under these circumstances the names will have to be changed at every election and it will be a bother to keep up the roll as far as the village servants are concerned. Another consideration is that the depressed classes do not form one homogeneous community. There are several communities none of whom except the Mahars will get a single vote under their village service franchise. The Mahars thus get an unfair advantage and the other depressed communities will be the sufferers. The distinction thus made will be invidious and will be resented. It will be better to give the depressed class people adult suffrage than take to such unfair expedients to swell their numbers on the election rolls.

Question 5—Labour.—The Committee agreed that there is no practical way of enfranchising unorganised labour in rural areas unless it be possible through the group system. This big class of labourers will be without a vote under any scheme of property qualification. This shows the necessity of adopting the group system if injustice to a large class is to be removed.

Question 5 (a)—Special Interests.—When every graduate is to get a vote in a general constituency there was no necessity of keeping the University constituency. There is really no necessity to keep a seat for the cotton interest. Among the merchants should be included all trades. The interests of the cotton trade will be protected by the trade representatives: European and Indian.

Federal Legislature.

Question 6 (b)—It is very strange that the Committee has not realised the necessity of lowering the franchise for the Assembly. They are very partial to the advanced classes and have no regard to the rayat who is the real backbone of the State. I urge that the qualification for the Assembly should be lowered and the present council qualification, *viz.*, holding or renting of land assessed at Rs. 32 should be adopted for election to the Assembly. When the Franchise Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference recommended that the franchise for the provincial councils was to be lowered and at least 10 per cent. of the population was to be enfranchised and that adult suffrage was the goal to be reached later on it is strange that this committee sees no necessity of lowering the franchise.

Question 6 (d) (i) and (ii).—I am against multiple seat constituencies. Such constituencies are very extensive and a candidate cannot educate it. Cumulative voting is very bad as it tempts people to impersonate illeed or absent voters and leads to other abuses. The opinion in the committee was evenly divided and the first was carried by the casting vote of the Chairman only. I submit that it should be considered.

Question 8—General (*ii*).—The Committee has recommended that the " Indian Christians should be represented in the Council (Assembly ?) by reserved seats in the general non-Mohammedan electorate for a period of 20 years. I regret to observe that the Committee have not thought of the numbers of seats that will have to be so reserved. The population of the Indian Christians is scattered and I must admit that I am unable to see how the seats could be reserved in the general con tituency to make the scheme a practical one.

Question 11 (*i*).—The Committee recommends that only subjects of such states should be qualified to stand as candidates in which British Subjects are eligible as members of the state legislature if any. This rule is almost meaningless. Very few Indian States have legislatures where a substantial proportion of members are elected. It will be better to say that all state subjects are to be considered as British Indian subjects. The principle of reciprocity is very subtle and elusive.

B. V. JADHAV,

Office of the Provincial Franchise Committee, Bombay,
3rd March 1932.

Copy forwarded for information to the Secretary, Indian Franchise Committee.

Mr. Jadhav is a member of the Bombay Provincial Franchise Committee who has been absent at Delhi, through most of the meetings of the Committee and therefore has sent in his own comments on the Committee's provisional decisions.

(Sd.) , *Secretary,*
Provincial Franchise Committee.

सत्यमेव जयते

(c) Note by Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale, M.L.C. and Member of the Provincial Franchise Committee.

Extension of the Franchise.

Bearing in mind the introductory remarks of the Questionnaire it is clear that the widening of the Franchise is closely interlinked with the form which the widened electorate is to take. Being of the opinion that the franchise should be broadened even up to the full limit of 25 per cent of the population, I have during the course of the proceedings of the Committee supported and initiated proposals tending in this direction The objective aimed at being the attainment of the true responsibl Government, it is necessary to explore the different avenues which th broadening of the franchise would afford for reducing to a minimum, not altogether doing away with, the need for special or separate electorate The system of special or separate representation has its origin in th practice of nomination by Government when it was not responsible t the people, and when a foreign Government considered the need of som

method by which it could govern an alien population. When this nomination was partly replaced by election the same practice was continued as the form of Government was still not wholly responsible. But as observed by the Government of India itself in their Memorandum submitted to the Simon Commission, the acceptance of separate electorates by Government requires to be read in the closest possible relation to the nature of the Reforms which were being introduced at the time (the Morley-Minto Reforms 1909). The limited extent of those reforms was thus expressed in Lord Morley's well-known disclaimer :—" If it could be said that this Chapter of reforms led directly or indirectly to the establishment of a Parliamentary system in India, I for one would have nothing to do with it." Now that we are on the eve of the Parliamentary system of full responsible government, we ought not to make a fetish of the fact that separate electorates are existing in the present system ; not only ought we to devise a formula by which any addition to the separate electorate system would be avoided, but a different method of representation would be substituted for some of the existing systems. In this connection I would refer to the Memorandum submitted to the Franchise and Constituencies Committee by the Proportional Representation Society for their consideration in framing their proposals regarding Franchise and Electorates.

The Group System.

As mentioned in the Preamble to Question No. 1, though adult suffrage is the goal, it being not considered practicable at present to reach it, we have to suggest a scheme by which the extension of the franchise would include all adults and afford them representation, indirect as it may be. The adoption of indirect election would, to a large extent, meet the various problems which confront us in dealing with the question of franchise. This system would afford representation to rural areas, labourers, women and the Depressed Classes and ease the difficulties of the communal problem to a certain extent, and will give effect to a recommendation contained in paragraph 5 of the Round Table Conference Sub-Committee (Franchise) Report and which forms part of Question No. 2 (*b*).

The group idea is more or less indigenous to this country, since the institution of Village Councils of elders or spokesmen of the villagers is an ancient one and though latterly it has lost its original significance, yet it has partially survived in the shape of Village Panchayats. It will be a revival of the old village council in a modern form with the potentiality of performing various functions pertaining to the village. The Joint family, the caste system, and the village community have already in them the germs of the group system. The Indian is not so much an individual citizen as a member of a group and there is a pre-existing natural disposition and capacity for such local grouping. In the East the group spirit has been always visible and there is historical evidence to show that even the untouchables have taken part in the decisions of the village assembly and have had a customary and recognised place in the concerns of the village. The group system will thus serve the purpose of an electorate of primary voters who will elect their spokesmen

and these with the direct voters in the village can form amongst themselves a sort of standing Committee which will act as a unit of village self-Government and to which the various old functions may be entrusted. A sense of civic responsibility with a spirit of co-operation and harmony will be engendered and Government will have thus contributed to the training of the villagers in a system of popular self-Government. I understand that some kind of group system is in existence in agricultural Denmark and in an agricultural country like India where local affairs of the various inhabitants differ from each other but very little, this scheme will afford an opportunity of giving trial to the method of Joint electorate for Mahomedans and the Depressed classes in rural areas, which represent 70 per cent. of the population, leaving the urban areas to indulge in separate Communal electorates if the Mahomedans insist upon their retention for a time.

The principal reason why the Mahomedans and now following their example, the Depressed Classes claim Separate Electorates is that their voting strength is not at present proportionate to their population. If adult suffrage were to be granted, each community's voting strength would approximate to its population strength. The decisions arrived at in the deliberations of the All Parties Conference and which are embodied in the Nehru Report include the giving of adult suffrage, the indirect method of enfranchising all and sundry in certain groups will meet the case and the advantages of adult suffrage will be indirectly enjoyed equally by all people belonging to different communities. In an electorate thus formed, the principle of separate electorates may not be allowed to enter. If there is a separate Constituency established for all those who will be enfranchised as Secondary Voters, we may provide for a system of Joint voting. There will thus be brought into existence joint electorates side by side with separate electorates based upon property and other qualifications. This scheme will afford an opportunity to the Mahomedans to see their way to agree to Joint Electorates since, as stated by Mr. Zaaffarullah Khan in the course of the proceedings of the Franchise Sub-committee of the R. T. C., it will induce the Mahomedans to give up separate electorates when they find that in the general electorate owing to their number having been brought up to correspond to their proportion of the population they are able to exercise the same influence on the Legislature as was the case with separate electorates, etc. (*vide* bottom of page 81 of the Report—Volume VI, R. T. C.). In this separate constituency the depressed classes and Mahomedans will be able to contest a seat and it will be necessary for candidates from the advanced classes to approach the depressed class voters and the Mohamedan candidates to approach the Non-Mahomedan ones and *vice versa*—thus giving an opportunity to the candidates to understand the needs of each other. Thus the depressed classes or the Mahomedans will have the certainty of getting the fixed number of seats reserved for them in case separate electorates are to be constituted and in addition may secure as many other seats as they can in the general constituencies. This double vote will be only for a specified period of 10 years (or 3 elections) at the end of which period the position should be reviewed and if it is

found that the Depressed classes or the Mahomedans are able to get the required seats in such general electorates formed by the group system, the reserved seats may be gradually reduced; and they will disappear when adult franchise is adopted throughout. A provision in the constitution should be made for enabling the Indian Legislatures to pass enfranchising laws in the years to come so as to reach the goal of adult suffrage. This scheme of separate constituencies framed for group electors will meet the contentions of both the advocates of special electorates and joint electorates; and hence it is that I advocate a separate constituency composed of group electors only and whenever possible a plural-member constituency.

Feasibility of the Group System.

It is said that there will be administrative difficulties in the practical working of the system. Replies received from the various collectors, however, show that the system is workable. The only difficulty pointed out is the necessity of having an additional staff and establishment, but this is by no means insuperable as any new scheme must involve some trouble and expense. Out of the 19 collectors only 4 seem to be against it, and two others are opposed on the ground that the Revenue Department would be over-burdened as their establishments have been already cut down for retrenchment purposes, the principle underlying the system being generally approved and favoured as a good beginning. Now as to the method of election some are in favour of the collective voting, while others prefer forming of groups. Lanes, streets, or other geographical divisions in villages and wards in Municipal areas should be taken as units, proportion of spokesmen to direct or primary electors being one in about 20, but in no case should the number of spokesmen be more than five for each unit; if a ward or lane is found too large, it must be cut up. Election of spokesmen could be made by show of hands. This last process is already in operation in the Village Panchayat elections which take place in villages under the Village Panchayat Act under the supervision of the Mamlatdar, and has been recently adopted by the Government in the newly passed legislation. Any Revenue Officer assisted by committees of intelligent and literate electors may be associated with him as in Turkey or Egypt should be entrusted with the work of holding an election which should be made by a majority of votes, the voters in each areas or ward or lane being entitled to elect their spokesmen at the rate of 5 secondary electors by a majority of votes. To me the collective method seems to be the simplest and less formal as should be the case in the beginning. In the mofussil areas in the Presidency proper the population of Mahomedans is small and it is also spread over different areas and this also of the agriculturists or the labouring or the working classes whose interests are common and in no way different from those of the other communities. Hence a separate common electorate in the group system would be most suitable from every point of view.

Women's franchise and their representation in Legislatures.

Both Begum Shah Nawaz and Mrs. Naidu, Members of the R. T. C. have stated that women were not prepared to accept any special qualification or allocation of seats. Mrs. Subbarayan, however, urged that

some method should be devised to ensure the representation of women in the Legislatures. The attitude of Mrs. Tarabai Maneklal Premchand, the lady member of our Provincial Committee, was indeed commendable. She looked at the problem from a broad nationalistic point of view and unlike the claim put forward by the other minorities representatives she did not ask for any special treatment to women either in the matter of franchise or seats in the legislature. The arguments put forward by the advocates of separate electorates that their communities have not got sufficient franchise nor representation and therefore they need special treatment, have not appealed to their Lady colleague, because she knows that they are unsound in principle and detrimental to the real interest of the country. The Depressed Classes complain of social tyranny and inferiority of status in society and on that account claim special treatment; but they forget that women are also treated by the Shastras in a similar manner and are even forbidden from worshipping with vedic rites and high caste Hindu widows are regarded as untouchable even in their own homes in respect of certain matters such as cooking or taking water at their hands. But this state of things is passing away; and fully realising the far-reaching evil effects of separatist tendencies in Hindu society, they are prepared not to claim separate treatment out of national and patriotic considerations. Their example of unselfishness and broad outlook deserves to be followed by others. On a full consideration of the subject therefore, I have finally come to the conclusion that the proposal of giving franchise to all wives, whose husbands are voters is not acceptable to me, nor was it approved by our Lady Member—Mrs. Tarabai Premchand. I, therefore, agree with the proposal of giving independent vote to women outside Bombay City by the group system, in Bombay City if groups are not feasible, the proposal of Mrs. Maneklal—that all women members of non-communal organisations registered under the Society's Registration Act paying an annual subscription of Rs. 2 and would further give the vote to the widows of persons who would have been entitled to the franchise under the property qualification at the time of their death. My reason for this last suggestion is that under the Hindu Law widows in undivided families and with male issue in divided families, labour under the peculiar disability of not inheriting the property of their husbands as heirs. This privilege will be discontinued when the Reform of Hindu Law in this direction takes place. As regards seats for women, the proposal of the Committee of providing for women at least 3 seats, which if they do not secure in the general elections, should be made up by co-option by the Members of the Legislative Council voting on the system of proportional representation with the single transferable vote, is acceptable to me.

Representation of the Depressed Classes.

As regards the Depressed Classes my sympathies are entirely with them. I belong to no communal organisation, but to the theistic School of the Brahmo or Prarthana Samaj which does not recognise any orthodox dogmas or caste or communal religion. The disabilities from which the Depressed Classes are suffering are being gradually removed, though it must be admitted that their treatment at the hands of Orthodox Hindus

in certain social and religious matters is such as to exasperate them. But because of such exasperation, they should not be driven to the other extremity and insist upon separate electorates. It will neither be patriotic for them nor will it be to their real interest ultimately. We have already adopted the group system of representation, lowered the franchise to $\frac{1}{4}$ in Rural and $\frac{1}{2}$ in Urban areas and have given such of them as are Watandar Village servants a franchise. By these methods a large number of these classes are likely to be enfranchised and by the indirect method of Group Voting every one of them will have a voice, small as it may be, in the Legislature.

The next question that arises relates to their representation on the Legislative Council. We have already provided for special representation to Labour by which means they will get their proper share in it as many of them will be included in the category of Labour. Any further representation to be given to them must depend on various considerations such as the number of people qualified for the task, the number of seats available, the areas over which their population is spread, etc. The subject was considered by the Statutory Commission in paragraphs 78, 79 and 80 of their Report (at pp. 64 to 67, Vol. II). As stated therein "a separate electorate for Depressed Classes means stigmatising each individual voter in the list and militates against the process which is already beginning and which needs to be in every way encouraged—that of helping those who are depressed to rise in the social and economic scale", the Commission have not recommended the allocation of seats to them on the basis of their full population ratio. "The poverty and want of education which so widely prevail amongst them", the Commission goes on to state, "makes it extremely doubtful whether a large number of adequately equipped members could be at once provided, and it is far better that they should be represented by qualified spokesmen rather than by a larger number of ineffectives" (born in their own Community). By the larger enfranchisement, the Depressed Class voters will be enabled to cast their votes not only for those who are Members of their class but for others who have by their past history shown special interest in their welfare. In the future democracy candidates of wide outlook and without communal bias will have a better chance of securing the votes of depressed classes who themselves will benefit by being represented by such men. It will thus be seen that Joint Electorates, with some seats reserved for the Depressed Classes, if necessary for a transitory period, will be the proper solution of the representation of these classes. The Indian Central Committee of the Statutory Commission recommended such reservation of seats for the Depressed Classes in Joint electorates. In fact, that recommended the abolition of Communal electorates for Mahomedans also. "We are convinced", the Committee says, "that until Muslims and Hindus are brought together in common electorates there is little prospect of the evolution of a spirit of common citizenship, without which the system of responsible Government cannot be satisfactorily developed..... In these Provinces (which includes Bombay) the majority of us are of the opinion that separate electorates for the Muslims should now be abolished".

Coming to the Provincial Committees, appointed to confer with the Indian Statutory Commission, the Bombay Committee have not proposed separate electorates for them but have recommended reservation of seats for them in certain constituencies where their numbers are sufficiently large both in population and on the electoral roll. Dr. Ambedkar who was a member of that Committee has appended a separate report of his own which is published as Appendix D in Volume III of the Indian Statutory Commission. In this elaborate document he has torn to pieces the case for separate electorates for the Mahomedans based on what is called the Lucknow Pact. He has conclusively shown that for the error of separate Communal Constituencies, which have been condemned as vicious and unsound from time to time in several documents both official and non-official, "the Lucknow *Pact* should not and cannot be quoted as any justification for the continuance thereof nor is it correct to say that India itself has deliberately chosen this road to responsible Government, for it is the British Authorities who are primarily responsible for pointing out this wrong road in 1909". A short history of separate Mahomedan representation from 1892 to the time of the passing of the Government of India Act, 1919, will be found in a Note attached as Appendix V to the Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, Volume I, pp. 183 to 189. Lord Morley, Secretary of State for India in 1908 while accepting the principle of adequate Mahomedan representation expressed great doubts as to the suggestion for separate electorates. The following quotation from that Note will be found very helpful at this time when we are on the eve of a full responsible Government in India. "In considering the Morley-Minto reforms as they affect the question of communal representation, three points must be borne in mind. Firstly, the scheme was merely a further application of the principle of representation by classes and interests, the previous arrangements (of nomination) not having been satisfactory. Secondly, the political importance of the Community carried greater weight than its numerical strength in fixing the extent of the representation to be granted. And, thirdly, the reconstruction of the Councils was not intended as a step in the direction of the establishment of parliamentary Government in India." In Lord Morley's famous phrase—already quoted in another connection—"If it could be said that this chapter of Reforms led directly or indirectly to the establishment of a Parliamentary System in India, I for one, would have nothing to do with it". The Government of Bombay stated in 1918 in paragraph 11 of their letter No. 1416, dated 21st February 1918, that communal representation was not acceptable to them. The Montford Report says that Communal Electorates are opposed to the teaching of history, they perpetuate Class divisions teaching men to think as partisans and not as citizens and they stereotype existing relations and they conclude by saying "We regard any system of communal electorates therefore as a very serious hindrance to the development of the self-governing principle. *The evils of any extension of the system are plain*". The views of the Government of India on the recommendations of the Southborough Committee with regard to Communal electorates are given in paragraphs 18 to 24 of their fifth despatch on Indian Constitutional Reforms. They state:—"We feel the objections of principle to the

communal system as strongly as the authors of the Reforms Report, but see no advantage at this stage in reiterating them. India is not prepared to take the first steps forward towards responsible Government upon any other road. The road does not lead directly to that goal and we can only echo the hope expressed by the Committee that it will be possible at no distant date to merge all communities in one general electorate."

At the meeting of the Congress in Madras in December 1927, joint electorates with reservation of seats was resolved upon. In the same month a section of the Muslim League at Calcutta under the Presidentship of Moulvi Mahammad Yakub practically accepted the resolution of the Madras Congress. The Hindu Maha Sabha has all along insisted on the abolition of separate electorates. The All Parties Conference, at which no less than 24 organisations both non-communal and communal representing Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Parsis, were represented appointed a Committee and their Report embodied in what is called the Nehru Report also rejected separate electorates and advocated joint mixed electorates throughout India. The All-India Liberal Federation, in August 1931, also passed a resolution advocating the abolition of separate electorates while stressing the necessity of all suitable measures for meeting the legitimate aspirations of the Depressed Classes. Only in this month a resolution was passed at Delhi by the All-India Shradhananda Dalitudhar Sabha advocating common electorates for Depressed classes and a Committee of 32 members was appointed to take steps to press this point before the Franchise Committee. Mr. M. C. Raja, M.L.A., the veteran Depressed Classes leader of Madras who was a member of the auxiliary Committee of Madras that co-operated with the Simon Commission, in a statement to the Press has made it clear that joint electorates would do good to them if the number of their voters is increased and that since the depressed classes have already agreed to reserve seats in Joint electorates in the Madras Presidency for Village Panchayat Taluka and District Boards and Municipal Councils, it would be very helpful to the candidates for the Indian Legislatures.

On this side Dr. Ambedkar in the Report already referred to while dealing with the case of his own class has made suggestions for the recasting of the electoral system (*vide* paragraphs 66 to 68 of the Report), and has wound up by saying that though he is for securing the special representation of certain classes, he is against their representation by separate electorates. "Territorial electorates and separate electorates", he goes on to say, "are the two extremes which must be avoided in any scheme of representation that may be devised for the introduction of a democratic form of Government in this most undemocratic country. The golden mean is the system of joint electorates with reserved seats. Less than that will be insufficient, more than that will defeat the ends of good Government". The whole discussion to which he has devoted no less than some 44 paragraphs will convert any advocate of separate electorates to the view of Joint electorates.

There are several castes among the Depressed occupying a low position in the scale of Hindu society. It is difficult to determine where

un-touchability ends and touchability begins. There are castes un-touchable in respect of each other and each regarding the other as inferior or superior and *vice versa*. Efforts have been made and are being made for the removing of un-touchability and coalescing the various sections into a homogeneous community. Un-touchability is a diminishing quantity which cannot be computed in fixed numbers and would vanish in course of time. Is it therefore wise to perpetuate it by conferring on it a separate inferiority complex ? Nothing can be more suicidal than such a false step. But it is said that you cannot force joint electorates on any community. Is there any guarantee, however, that there are not sections in the community who hold different views ? In any case, what about the other large community which does not want separate electorates ? Are you going to force them on such ? In short, not only out of a consideration for what is right but I think it is a moral obligation upon those who profess themselves to be trustees of the interests of others to do what is in the true interest of their CETE QUE TRUST, notwithstanding that the latter is unwilling to agree to it, for, after all, he does not understand what is for his real benefit and what is not.

In the motion welcoming the declaration made by the Prime Minister of England at the end of the 1st Round Table Conference, of the policy of the then Government (which was re-affirmed as the policy of the present Government), which was carried by the Bombay Legislative Council on 6th March 1931, it was stated that the future constitution for India should be such as will command a wide measure of general assent. Though a large section of the politically minded people is at present keeping out of the work of implementing the conclusions arrived at in the two Round Table Conferences, it cannot and ought not to be forgotten that on the shape which will be finally given to the structure of the constitution, will depend the future contentment of the people in general. It becomes therefore the more necessary for us to take count of the views and opinions expressed by this section. The view generally accepted by this class of people is that in any rational system of representation separate electorates must be discarded. It may be noted that the Ceylon Reforms Inquiry Committee very recently recommended the abolition of separate electorates throughout the island ; and the first general election, which took place on the basis of a common electorate, has dispelled the fears of the champions of separate electorates and is found to be working very well.

Experience has shown that separate electorates have but tended to emphasise the differences and increase the tension between the communities. The Government of Bombay have admitted in the Memorandum issued in 1928 that communal dissensions are worse now than they were in 1919. The Reforms Inquiry Committee of 1924 were entirely opposed to the extension of the principle of separate electorates any further. It cannot be denied that reservation of seats for communities is as bad in principle as communal electorates. But for various reasons of expediency reservation may be accepted for a time to serve as a transitional stage between separate electorates and general mixed electorates without any restrictions. The idea is that during the interval the dis-

trust of one community or the other would be very much lessened, if not altogether removed. This very idea was at the bottom of the Lucknow Pact, but it having failed to achieve the desired result by the experience of the last 14 years, should we not at least give a trial to another experiment calculated to pave the way to a better understanding between the communities. The true solution to secure representation for minorities is the system of proportional representation if it is practicable. In conclusion, reference may be made to the Nehru Report for reasons which weighed with them for not making any special provision for the representation of the Depressed Classes in the Legislature. "We are not prepared," so the Report says "to extend this (special electorates and reservation of seats) unsound and harmful principle, if we can help it, nor do we think that we will do any good to these classes by ensuring some seats for them in this way."

In order to give the feeling of security, some method of safeguarding the rights of the Depressed Classes ought to be provided. The clumsy and objectionable method of separate electorates is not calculated to do this, but on the contrary it may emphasise the differences. The creation of communal councils to protect the interests of a considerable community, say over 10 lacs, may be suggested. Members of the community representing it for certain purposes might help the cause of the community. The manner in which members of such councils can be elected by the respective communities may be determined by the Provincial Council. The functions of the Communal Council may be on some such lines as the supervision of Primary Education Schools, orphanages, public wells, temples, dharmashalas, etc., also recommendation of grants to institutions or for scholarships.

Second Chamber and Special Representation.

The Committee was at first of the opinion that there should be no Second Chamber in the Provincial Legislature, but on the last date of its sitting decided in favour of a Bi-Cameral Provincial legislature. The arguments used by several Members of the Committee advocating a second Chamber were that Members representing special interests would present to the House their various problems and act as a brake on the Lower House and in certain matters give a lead to it. These very arguments were put forward by them, when they supported the retention of special constituencies in the Provincial Legislature. Any special representation would have been perhaps justified in the absence of a second chamber. In view, however, of the Committee's final decision on the desirability of a second chamber constituted by an electorate with special qualifications, I think there is no need of continuing any separate or special representation since the special interests and minorities would be represented in the second chamber. The representation of special interests by separate constituencies is a relic of the system adopted in the past, when Government used to nominate Members belonging to different Bodies to the Legislature and it was continued when the legislature came to be partially elected. In the Dyarchical form of the constitution, when the Government was not yet fully and really made responsible,

the system was allowed to operate as before. However, now that we are having a full responsible Government, the separate representation of special interests cannot really fit in with the reformed constitution. I have already touched upon the genesis of these separate or special electorates in a previous part of this note and pointed out how they are inconsistent with the establishment of a Parliamentary system in India.

General.

Reservation of seats for Communities is as bad in principle as separate electorates. The Marathas form an overwhelming majority in the Bombay Presidency and they need no special protection in the matter of representation in the Legislature, as will be seen by a scrutiny of the election figures in the elections held in recent times. At the time of the Montford Reforms, it was feared that they might not get elected in adequate numbers and for reasons of expediency they were allowed reservation of seats in certain Districts as a transitional stage. After the experience of the last 12 years, however, in the elections to the different local bodies in the Presidency as also the Legislative Council, it is not at all necessary to make any reservation for the Marathas, who have proved themselves more than a match for their rivals and it is feared that they will with the extended franchise which will benefit them most, completely swamp the other sections of the Hindu Community. Reservation for a majority is absolutely indefensible. It is an artificial restriction on the growth both of the majority and the minority and must necessarily retard the national progress. It is injurious to the majority itself as it makes it rely on legislative protection to keep up its position and not on its own merit. The majority reservation of seats is inconsistent with real responsible Government and it unnecessarily interferes with the right of the electors to choose whom they like. It comes in the way of other small and natural minorities within the Hindu Community and will give a longer lease of life to communalism which must be expelled from the body politic.* The voting on this and some other questions partook of the nature of a pact-voting that proceeded upon communal lines. In fact, one Member expressly mentioned that they were there to support the minorities pact, which was brought about in London in November last. It is, therefore, submitted that the decisions carried by a majority of the Committee on certain matters, need to be taken with some reservation and a great deal of caution. In conclusion, I have deemed it necessary to record a separate note in regard to certain fundamental questions which vitally affect the soundness of the constitution which is to be built up for the Government of the country. A good deal of criticism has already been levelled at the scope of the work and the composition of the Committees set up to continue the work of the R. T. C. in India. It is said, among other things, in the current number of the Modern Review, whether the representatives of the separatist Moslems, Depressed Classes and other minority groups with which the

* *Vide* Memorandum of the Bombay Government submitted to the Statutory, Committee in 1928, pp. 419 and 420. Report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee, paragraph 69.

Committees are packed are going to evolve a constitution which will really be satisfactory even to those nationally-minded few, who are helping in framing the same, not to speak of that great politically-minded section which is keeping out at present.

(d) Note by Sardar V. N. Mutalik.

I am putting forth my views about the formation of the future Legislatures, both Provincial and Federal.

Conceding that it has been decided, that separate electorates are to continue for the Muslims, and fully agreeing with the views expressed by Rao Bahadur Kale with that portion in his note on this question, and with the views of Dr. Ambedkar expressed in his very able and lucid minute of dissent attached to the Report of the Provincial Committee, co-operating with the Simon Commission, I hold the view that a beginning should and ought to now be made to do away with the separate electorate of the Muslims. The best course to follow is to allow to the Muslim Community three-fourth the number of seats they are entitled to have on *population* basis to be filled by separate electorates, and allow them to stand for election in all the non-Mahomedan constituencies and capture any number of additional seats. I am totally opposed to allow any weightage to Muslims in the Provincial or Federal Legislatures. We have to evolve a form of Legislature for India which will be truly national and not be only a bee-hive of separate communities. The proportion of separate electorates mentioned above should be reduced every third or fourth election, in the light of the experience gained, *without any detriment to the representation of the Muslims on the Legislatures.*

I fully concur with the views of Rao Bahadur Kale about the representation of the Depressed Classes. It is in the interest of the Communities themselves and in the interest of the nation that this separatist tendency be checked. The temptation will be there, and cannot be ever overcome, once it is conceded. The evils of separate communal electorates have been put forth and discussed threadbare by abler hands.

The majority of the Committee have opposed an increase in the seats of the Landholders and the Millowners, on the Federal Lower House. It is not surprising in the present Committee and shows what treatment this special interest is going to have in future Councils. I have to draw special attention to the remarks in paragraph 29 of the Federal Structure Committee about the representation of these interests. If the Landholders and Mill industry are to be represented they must have *continuous representation*. By no stretch of imagination, I can see any justification for this day and night representation in the case of special interests recognised as fit for special representation. I had the honour to bring forward this point in 1925, as a member representing the Bombay Presidency Landholders in the Assembly by a special memorial to His Excellency the Viceroy. I was then apprised in a personal interview by His Excellency as well as by the Honourable the Home Member that the question will be fully considered at the next Inquiry Commission or Committee. I may quote the words of the late Sir Alexander Muddiman, the then Home Member :—"I fully understand and appreciate the

force of the argument of your claim, and I agree that if representation of the Landholders is to be kept up in future Legislatures, it should be a continuous one". He only said the question could not be reopened before the Inquiry Committee sits, as it required Parliamentary Act.

In this connection I have further to point out that the Assembly is to be a Federal Chamber. The peculiar landed tenures of this Presidency and the questions affecting the rights of Inams between Indian Government and Indian States and Inamdars involved on account of the vast territorial exchange with the Indian Princes, will be highly subtle and technical and there are weighty reasons which will lead any one to believe that the Provincial Government stands to gain substantially in reclaimed revenues, if the questions are raised in Federal Chambers in the light of the treaties. It is to be advantageous both to individual Inamdars concerned as well as to the Provincial Government if the questions are raised. For obvious reasons the questions could not be ventilated uptil now on the floor of any legislature. I am confident that their representative will fully explain the questions if he appears before the Committee. It is only a representative of Bombay who can speak on the question of the rights of a citizen in British India, who held property in Indian States with guarantees from British Government. I urge for seats to the Landholders as demanded in their memorandum.

As regards the representation of Millowners, I have to draw attention to the remarks in paragraph 23 of the Federal Structure Committee's Report. Bombay is conceded a representation over and above its population ratio only on account of its commercial and industrial importance and it is obviously illogical and unjust to deny the just right to the Millowners and absorb the seats for the general electorates, to which surely they are not entitled according to the formula of the Committee.

In conclusion I state my considered opinion that in any scheme of the formation of the Legislatures, the majority community should not be deprived of its claim to the representation proportionate to its population and turned into a minority in the Legislature. The special seats for Depressed Classes by whatever way they are given should be sliced out from the weightage at present given to Muslims in this Presidency.

The time has come when in the best interest of the nation, and in the interest of all communities and particularly of the Muslim and Depressed Class communities, we have to face the situation boldly and in the spirit of true statesmanship while keeping the mutual goodwill between all communities. I look personally to the British statesmanship to solve the problems and satisfy all.

(e) Note by Rao Bahadur S. N. Angadi, M.L.C.

(1) Group System.
(2) Second Chamber.
(3) Depressed Classes (separate electorate).
(4) Mixed or Separate Groups for Women.

(1) Group System.

In the questionnaire submitted to this Provincial Franchise Committee, we are asked to assume that communal electorates of some sort will be

retained and further we are asked to contrive such a franchise system as should give a voting strength proportionate to its numbers to each community. The assumption of communal electorate, particularly for one of the communities of the Hindus, *viz.*, the Depressed Classes, makes the question of framing the Franchise System very complicated. The further ideal of giving a community a voting strength proportionate to its numbers as far as may be practicable makes it still more baffling. Add to these, the women's suffrage, the representation of labour (organised, unorganised and also agricultural) it would be obvious that the task of devising the Franchise System so as to give adequate representation to all these separate and different interests is a stupendous task bristling with all kinds of difficulties. If property qualifications were adopted as has been done by us, it would be next to impossible to reach logical and harmonious conclusions. The reason is not far to seek. The economic condition and the social status, especially of the Depressed Classes, differs from that of rest of the Hindus so widely that by no conceivable method can we secure to the depressed classes a voting strength proportionate to its numbers except it be by Lord Zetland's " Group System ". I am one of those who are very much enamoured of this group system despite the fact that it may lead to certain difficulties. If adult franchise were the goal to be reached (and we have agreed that it is the goal to be reached not immediately but by going from stage to stage), it is impossible to conceive any other device except the grouping of primary voters. This system, I take it, is the best solvent of the various difficult problems which confront one at every step in grappling with the question of franchise. No doubt, in the initial stages, it would give to all adults except spokesmen indirect voice. But that is a necessary evil not likely to be avoided in the beginning. Taking Bombay Presidency, we have a population of 220 lacs approximately (22,000,000). The adult population must be taken to be somewhere in the neighbourhood of 11,000,000. Out of this adult population, we can easily form groups of proper sizes, the moment we determine what percentage of the total population we want to enfranchise.

Supposing it is intended to enfranchise in the beginning 10 per cent. of the total population, that means we must have 2,250,000 of voters. This result could be arrived at by forming groups of five (5). Each community irrespective of its economic condition and irrespective of its political or social status would be getting a voting strength proportionate to its numbers. The goal of adult franchise could be reached within 20 years. And all that is required to bring it about, is to go on, reducing the size of the group of 5, by one (make it a group of 4, 3 and so on), at the end of every 5 years. This should not be difficult of attainment, if it were provided in the constitution, that the franchise would be liable to be broadened in the proportion mentioned. Most of the Collectors of the Presidency appear to favour this system. The difficulty pointed out by some of them is one of expense and extra staff. But, this certainly is not an insuperable difficulty. On the other hand the advantages of the system are obvious, we do not need to have bother our brains, as to how labour should be represented, how to enfranchise women and how to

remove the stigma of the depressed classes and how to give the last effective voice in the franchise.

(2) Second Chamber.

I am considering the question of a Second Chamber purely from the point view of our Presidency. I am opposed to our Presidency being burdened with a Second Chamber. I am fully aware of its advantages. Its advocates point out that it is dangerous to have the Government of a single omnipotent democratic Chamber ; that it is necessary in the work of legislation, to secure a due amount of caution, that the bicameral system is of almost universal prevalence, that it works as a break on the hasty legislation of a lower house and finally that it would be the best guardian of the interests of minorities. All this is granted. But I am afraid, it would be a body always out of harmony with public opinion. Apart from this, in view of the limited franchise, we are recommending, I do not see a ghost of chance for any member of communistic views to get an entry into the lower house. The House of Commons which we are going to have, in future, under the proposed franchise, would be a House of Commons, only in name. The poor man, the man of the communistic views, who would want reform root and branch, does not stand the smallest degree of a chance to get into the house. The demand for a Second Chamber, it seems to me, has its origin in the groundless fears of capitalists and landed aristocracy, who think that they will be swamped by those opposed to their interests. This is not going to happen at all. During the Mont-Ford reforms period, there was not one occasion on which, legislation opposed to the interests of these classes is said to have been attempted. But it is contended, that the official block has been a safety-valve ; I do not see how this agreement could be advanced, with a show of reason, inasmuch as all non-official members were opposed to nomination block. The extraordinary powers proposed to be vested in the Governor, would quite suffice, to safeguard the interests of the minorities. It is no use creating vested interests, free from Legislative interference.

The Second Chamber would be regarded as an un-democratic institution. Its creation might result in unnecessary friction between the two houses besides saddling the Presidency with enormous unnecessary expenditure.

(3) Depressed Classes.

It would be idle to deny that the treatment meted out to the depressed classes by the caste-Hindus is most inhuman. Even now their touch is pollution, and their shadow, unsacred to the orthodox Hindus. But it would be equally idle to controvert the fact that the educated caste-Hindus have begun to realise, that the depressed classes are an inseparable part of the Hindus and that they are as much human-beings as themselves. The sentiment o the latter would be irreparably wounded, if the depressed classes were segregated from them. The signs of a tendency to help the depressed classes to rise in the social and economic scale are not wanting, and it is my firm belief that with a sufficient spread of education among the masses, untouchability would be a thing of the past. Is it worth while then to concede to them a separate electorate ? Apart

from general objections to a separate electorate, there are special reasons, why a separate electorate should not be created for the depressed classes. Those who advocate separate electorates for them, do so on the ground, that the interests of the depressed classes would not be safe through joint electorates, without reservation of seats and also through joint electorates with reservation of seats, I personally recommend joint electorates, with reservation of seats. In the assignment of seats, I would not be guided by the economic, social or political status of a community. I would give representation on population basis. Any other basis of representation has no value or sense for me. Holding, as I do these views, I do not think the interests of the depressed classes would be in jeopardy in joint electorates with reservation of seats. What are the interests of the depressed classes, so far as the provincial council is concerned ? I think, education and service would fairly sum up their interests. Could it be contended that if adequate representation were accorded to them, those interests would not be safeguarded ? In my eight years' experience of the Provincial Council, no section of the House appeared to be opposed to granting special facilities and concessions in the matter of education and service, to the depressed classes. The danger of joint electorates, it is pointed out, is that the nominees of the caste-Hindus from among the depressed classes would come in, granting that it will be so held, would such nominees be opposed to the interests of their own community ? I do not think, any nominee could be so great a fool as to oppose the interests of his own community. Why then fight shy of joint electorates ? Mr. M. C. Raja, M.L.A., is in favour of joint electorates. He is further of opinion, that the depressed classes should not be called " the untouchables " but should change that name to " Adi-Dravids ". I would welcome this suggestion of his for the simple reason that it is not suggestive of any inherent inferiority.

(4) Mixed or Separate Groups for Women.

I would only point out that those who demand mixed groups for women, do so through ignorance of the conditions of women in the rural areas and also in small towns. If we do not have separate groups for women, no woman spokesman is likely to be elected. This apart, very many women, in the present condition of things, would not go with men, to elect a spokesman. This might sound strange and may not appeal to both men and women of cities like Bombay, Poona and Karachi. But I am stating a fact and not dogmatising.

(f) Joint Memorandum submitted by (1) Rao Bahadur R. S. Asavale, M.L.C., (2) Dr. P. G. Solanki, M.L.C., (3) Mr. Syed Munawar, M.L.C., and (4) Rao Bahadur S. N. Angadi, M.L.C., Members of the Bombay Provincial Franchise Committee.

Extension of Franchise.

We think that it is essential to widen the franchise to such an extent as to enfranchise a fairly large proportion of the population and that the percentage to be enfranchised should not be less than 20 per cent.

In order to secure enfranchisement of an adequate proportion of the population we suggest that the franchise in the city of Bombay should be lowered from its present Rs. 10 rental basis to Rs. 4 rental. As regards urban areas, excluding Bombay City, franchise under property qualification should be lowered to half of what it is at present. In the case of rural areas, franchise should be lowered to one-fourth of what it is now, and in addition the group-system of primary voters should be introduced in the proportion of 1 to 21 in the case of male adults and 1 to 11 in the case of female adults of 21 years of age. We suggest this as there is a great disparity in the voting strength, because a smaller percentage of the rural population has been enfranchised as compared to the urban population.

Representation of Special Interests.

As regards separate constituencies we are of the opinion that all special interests except Sardars, Inamdars and big landholders in the Presidency, should be retained, as they can easily secure adequate representation through the general constituency to safeguard their interests. Experience shows that during the last eleven years of constitutional progress they have secured more representation than they were entitled to.

Labour.

Organised manual labour should have a separate electorate in the form of Registered Trade Union Constituency similar to the one in vogue in the Bombay Municipal Corporation, but to have a sufficiently large electorate the ratio of delegate to membership should be 1 to 21.

As regards unorganised labour we think it necessary to enfranchise manual labour in industries, factories and docks by the group-system of one spokesman to every 21, and a separate roll of such spokesmen should be maintained and they should elect candidates to the seats that may be allocated for such labour. Seats for Labour should be allocated with due regard to the number of voters in organised and unorganised labour constituencies.

Reserved Seats.

We urge that Reserved Seats should be provided for the Marathas and Indian Christians. The Reserved Seats for Marathas with a right to contest additional seats should be continued in those constituencies where they are not likely to have a percentage of voting strength equal to the percentage of their population.

Women Suffrage.

We are in favour of enfranchising women on their property qualification like men in the urban areas ; and as regards women's franchise in rural areas we suggest that the group-system should be applied in addition to the property qualification. The method of the group-system for them should be to give one spokeswoman for every 11.

We are opposed to any other qualification than what we have suggested for both men and women. We are strongly opposed to the educational qualification as this will be tantamount to giving adult suffrage to advanced communities and will put the educationally backward communities at a very serious disadvantage ; and furthermore the disparity existing at present between the advanced and educationally backward communities will by this qualification be accentuated.

Depressed Classes.

The Depressed Classes be should given full, adequate representation in proportion to their population. Even by lowering of the franchise and enlargement of the electorate, as suggested by the Committee, we are afraid they will not be able to secure representatives of their own choice in the general electorates, until and unless they are given separate electorates like the Muhammadans at least for some years.

To enfranchise the Depressed Classes who have no qualifications the only possible method would be the one of the group-system, as we have mentioned above in the case of men and women.

Provincial Legislature.

We are not in favour of the bi-cameral system for the provincial legislature as it will only serve as a spoke in the wheel of smooth working and of the progress of the Legislature. Further it will entail unnecessary extra expenditure, labour and great delay. We think it also unnecessary because we assume that the Governor of the Province is to be invested with certain special powers in order to safeguard the interests and rights of the minorities and other interests. It will also enable him to remove deadlock, if any, in the working of the Provincial Council.

We are of opinion that the size of the Council should be enlarged and it is should not be less than 200.

Federal Legislature.

The franchise for the Lower Chamber of the Federal Legislature should be the one that at present exists for the Provincial Legislature.

We are in favour of single-seated constituencies with a view to minimize the trouble and expenditure of the candidates contesting elections.

Labour in the Federal Lower Chamber should be represented by members elected by the Registered Trade Unions in the Bombay Presidency.

Separate Note by Rao Bahadur S. N. Angadi, M.L.C.

I am glad to associate myself with all that has been said by my friends, Rao Bahadur Asavale, Dr. Solanki and Mr. Munawar except with regard to the depressed classes about whom my detailed view will be found in the separate note submitted by me.

(g) Note of Mr. A. O. Koreishi, Member of the Bombay Provincial Franchise Committee, on the proposal to group Municipal, Suburban, Cantonment, Notified and such other allied areas, and Towns with cities in future, instead of with rural areas as at present, in the rural Muslim Constituencies of the Presidency Proper.

It seems unnecessary for me to enter into the question of separate constituencies for urban and rural areas in general and for Muslims of the Presidency Proper in particular, as obviously the principle of separate representation for rural and even small municipal urban areas has been conceded and accepted by the Southborough Committee in their Report for many provinces in India such as the Central Provinces, Bihar and Orissa, the Punjab, Madras and even Assam.

Under that Committee's Report, 2 cities and a town in the adjoining Presidency of Madras with a total Muslim male population of 13,000 souls and 500 electors only, or on an average of 4,300 Muslims and 170 electors to each town have been given an urban representation of one seat. Out of these three, one includes the lowest Muslim population of 57 souls out of a total of 23,000 persons in Srirangam (according to the census of 1921). In Assam, one urban seat is given to a town with a total population of 17,000 persons of whom 1,000 are Muslims (according to the Southborough Report). In Bihar and Orissa where the percentage of Muslims is only about a couple of per cent. higher than the Muslims of the Bombay Presidency Proper, the Muslim municipal town-dwellers of three different Divisions comprising respectively 15, 14 and 12 towns of varying sizes have each been given an urban seat. Thus, according to the Southborough Report, this combination of 15 towns in the Patna Division have a total male Muslim population of 51,000 and an electorate of 6,000 only ; in other words, an average population of less than 3,500, with 400 electors to a town. It may be informing that in this Division, according to the census of 1921, 7 towns have a total population of less than 10,000 souls each and the smallest township is that of 4,800 souls, of whom only 1,000 are Muslims. In the Tirhoot Division, 14 towns with a total Muslim population of 35,000 persons and 3,500 electors have been given an urban seat ; or, in other words, an average of about 2,500 persons and 250 electors have been assigned an urban seat. Of these according to the census of 1921, 7 towns have so low a total population of less than 15,000 souls and 5 towns less than 2,000 Muslims each. Similarly, a total male Muslim population of 27,000 persons and 3,000 electors have, according to the Southborough Report, been separately constituted with 12 municipal towns and an exclusive urban seat in the Bhagalpur Division. This works out an average of 2,250 persons and 250 electors per town. These 12 municipal towns (according to the last census of 1921) comprise 5 townships of less than 10,000 souls of which one has less than 5,000.

Again, in the adjoining Province of the Central Provinces, each of the Divisions of Jubbulpore, Nerbudda and Nagpur and the Districts of Akola and Buldana jointly, have urban seats assigned to non-Mahomedan constituencies and in a good many of these townships the total population does not exceed 10,000 souls in each. It is very significant that the

town Muslims of the whole of Berar comprising about 14 municipal towns with a total male Muslim population of 21,000 souls and 2,000 electors (according to the Southborough Report, which works out at an average of 1,500 persons and about 100 electors to each municipal town) have an urban seat assigned to them. In the Punjab also most of the Divisional Muslims living in towns have been constituted into urban-seated areas. For instance, in the Multan Division, an urban seat is allocated to about 22 towns aggregating total male Muslim population of 78,000 (according to the Southborough Report). This figure works out at an average population of 3,500 males only per town. In this connection, it may be useful to mention that even according to the census report of 1921, most of the towns have a total population of less than 10,000 souls and some of the Municipal towns in this constituency have a total male Muslim population of less than 1,500 souls.

The figures in the above paragraphs have been either culled from the Southborough Report or the Census Reports of 1921 for the different Provinces, giving the names and populations of the town, cantonments and civil areas, in each Divisional constituencies. As I have not been able to get at the Electoral Rules and Regulations of the different Provinces, there may be slight differences one way or the other in the number of towns allocated in each constituency, but I presume they are substantially correct. After these facts, as elicited mainly from the Southborough Committee Report, I hardly think that it is necessary for me to quote any further figures from other Provinces to substantiate the impropriety of merging wholesale the small municipal areas of the Presidency Proper into rural areas, and especially so when the towns of the Presidency Proper are much larger in size than in some of the other Provinces. I may, therefore, pass to the facts, figures, and circumstances of the Muslims of the town areas of the Bombay Presidency Proper.

As against the arrangements indicated above in some of the other provinces, the town-dwellers of the three Divisions of the Presidency which are mostly municipal towns have been grouped in multiple-seated constituencies to vote with rural voters. This arrangement has been made in spite of the salient fact that nearly 52 per cent. of the total Muslim population of the Presidency Proper live in towns most of which are municipal areas, under the Bombay District Municipal Act III of 1904, and no less than about 20 of which are designated as City Municipalities under the Bombay City Municipalities Act XVIII of 1925. The total population affected in some of these City and Town municipalities generally ranges from (according to the census figures of 1931) over 5,000 souls to about 90,000 of which 25,000 are Muslims (such as Hubli in the Dharwar District). I give below, according to the census of 1931, the figures of Muslim dwellers in towns and villages separately in each of the Divisions of the Presidency Proper in round numbers :—

Division.	Muslim population in Cities and Towns.	Muslim population in Rural areas.	Total.
N. D.	213,000	190,000	403,000
C. D.	220,000	224,000	444,000
S. D.	146,000	360,000	505,600

Thus, roughly the urban identity of over 36 per cent. of the actual town-dwellers (after deducting the population of 2 urban constituencies) of the Presidency Proper is sunk in that of villages.

Such a proposal as I have indicated above was made by me before the Bombay Provincial Franchise Committee, and was put forward as one affecting the interests and convenience of the Muslims of the Presidency Proper only, but I am sorry to say that owing, perhaps, to lack of adequate appreciation it was lost by a narrow majority of 1. I say lack of adequate appreciation as, some of the members who voted against it have subsequently mentioned this to me and have come round to the view, advocated. It is, however, gratifying to mention that a majority of the Non-Muslim members of the Bombay Franchise Committee very wisely remained neutral. Of the 4 Muslim members of the Committee, 3 who belonged to the Presidency Proper and who are, to a certain extent, conversant with the prevailing conditions were unanimous in supporting the proposal as conducive to the best interests of a large number of town-dwellers as well as the village people of the Presidency Proper. On the other hand, 3 non-Muslims whose interests were not at all affected by the proposal joined hands with the only Sind Muslim member and thus helped to defeat the proposal. I should have thought that as Sind was deliberately excluded from the operation of the proposal, the Muslim member from Sind would be found amenable to the proposal. But, I am afraid, he has perhaps failed to grasp the situation of the Presidency Proper Muslims in its true perspective. I can, to a certain extent, understand his point of view on this question so far as Sind is concerned, inasmuch as firstly, the Muslim population of Sind is essentially agricultural and a great Zemindar's interest naturally lies in the villages, to say nothing of the fact that only 10 per cent. of the Muslim population of Sind reside in cities and towns thus reversing the position *vis-à-vis* the Muslims of the Presidency Proper. Secondly, in the multiple-seated constituencies of limited areas in Sind, the problem of convenience, etc., does not at all become acute. In Sind, however, the position of Hindus with slight differences is nearly analogous to that of the Muslim town-dwellers of the Presidency Proper. I have advisedly said " nearly " as, after all, the Hindu Sowcar usually needs to reside in some cases in a village in proximity with his clientele. His money-lending profession has also turned him into a Zemindar who has to reside in the villages for the better cultivation of his lands and the prompt realisations of his income. In this connection, it would also be important to mention that no less than 7 out of 11 Muslim members of the present Legislative Council from the rural and urban areas of the Presidency Proper who have run elections and whom I have consulted are in full agreement and sympathy with the proposal.

It cannot be denied that the present arrangement of relegating Municipal cities and towns, some of which are so far advanced as to possess City Municipalities and others are subject to the Bombay District Municipal Act (Acts XVIII of 1925 and III of 1904) and grouping them with rural areas in the Presidency Proper is improper and unsatisfactory, since interests and problems of municipal towns, etc., differ widely from

rural ones, and especially so in the Muslim constituencies of the Presidency Proper. Under the Minto-Morley scheme even most of these Municipal towns were grouped with cities in the same Electoral Colleges. As has already been mentioned above, 52 per cent. of the Muslim population of the Presidency Proper are dwellers in cities and towns and generally follow avocations and pursuits which are essentially different from those pursued by village Muslims ; most of the towns-people are shopkeepers, small traders, contractors, private and Government servants, etc., where as the rural Muslims are essentially agriculturists. To relegate this high percentage of town Muslims to the position of rural Muslims is hardly correct and fair, and especially so, when under the Southborough scheme their confreres in some other Indian provinces, in some cases with lesser population, are differently treated and are separately grouped with urban constituencies by the formation of single-seated constituencies comprising areas even as large as Divisions which means a group of 4 or 6 Districts. The town-dwellers mostly speak Urdu, are better educated and can better understand the value of a vote than a villager. Immediately affected as the former is by the Municipal laws and regulations, his interests and problems differ from those of the villages whose immediate concern is that of land and the Local Board Act which affect him.

From the fact that even in the present rural areas it is the dweller of the city mostly who gets elected, I would not be surprised if the present candidates for these nominal rural areas largely concentrate their energies and attentions on the towns, and try and muster strong the votes of the electors of the smaller urban areas to the possible neglect of the real rural elector as such. I may also definitely mention that by this separation of rural and urban seats, it is not intended to take away any representation which the rural areas proper as such enjoy at present, or would be entitled to on the population basis in the separate Muslim urban and rural electorates of the future. Complaints have repeatedly been made in the past in various addresses presented to Governors that the sizes of the multiple-seated Divisional Muslim electorates of the Presidency Proper comprising urban and rural areas were far too big and unmanageable and a breaking up of them to single-seated ones of manageable sizes was an urgent and crying necessity. Even with the present number of limited seats in each Division of the Presidency Proper, it is possible to distribute the seats more or less equitably between the rural and urban areas. With enlarged councils and increased number of seats, this should be much more possible. I, therefore, beg to suggest that like other provinces the smaller urban areas of the Presidency Proper be grouped separately from rural ones with enlarged councils. This grouping of small towns, even if they are spread over 2 or 3 Districts, would afford a better, more correct and more effective representation of Muslim rural as well as urban interests.

Bombay, 3rd March 1932.

III

Supplementary questionnaire addressed by the Indian Franchise Committee to the Government of Bombay and the Bombay Provincial Franchise Committee, dated 12th March 1932.

1. The Franchise Committee would be glad of the final views of the Local Government/Provincial Committee as to the qualifications for the franchise. They would be glad if, in reaching their decision, the Local Government/Provincial Committee would consider—

(*i*) To what extent the criticism that a large section of the agricultural population and of the poorer classes will be excluded under the proposals originally put forward to the Franchise Committee by the local Government could be met by reduction of the qualifying minimum revenue assessment for the franchise to Rs. 4 ?

(*ii*) Whether a more truly representative electorate results would be likely to be secured by the adoption in preference to the scheme originally put forward either—

(*a*) of the scheme suggested in the note of Khan Bahadur Aziz-ul-Huque *, or

(*b*) of the suggestion of the Chamber of Commerce that payment of any form of tax to Government or a local body should qualify for a vote ;

(*c*) that assessment of land revenue or land revenue cess of any amount, however small, should qualify for a vote ?

Statistics should be given as far as possible in each case.

(*iii*) The percentage of the population which it is desirable or administratively practical to enfranchise.

2. Could an analysis be furnished showing the distribution of voting power between the various classes and categories of the population under the proposals finally adopted by the Local Government/Provincial Committee and indicating how the unenfranchised residuum is composed ? In the event of the Mukhi system being adopted for the unenfranchised elements, would you wish to modify your proposals for direct electorates ?

In this connection the Franchise Committee would be glad to be informed, if possible—

(*i*) How many joint families will secure representation and to what extent under the Local Government's/Provincial Committee's proposals ?

(*ii*) The extent to which the marked disproportion between the number of Agricultural tenant and of landholder voters evidenced by the statements on pages 3 and 75 of the volume of statistics would be remedied by the Local Government's/Provincial Committee's proposals.

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*Printed on page 113.

(*iii*) The extent to which sub-tenants (*i.e.*, lodgers, etc., in towns) would be enfranchised under the Local Government's/Provincial Committee's proposals.

3. (*a*) What is the maximum number of voters who could be accurately polled in the Province, using the total number of officers and maximum accommodation possible—

(*i*) if the election is spread over—

(*a*) two days,

(*b*) four days;

(*ii*) taking 750 as the number of voters with whom a presiding officer could deal in a day—

(*a*) if 40 per cent. of the voters are women,

(*b*) if 10 per cent. of the voters are women ?

(*b*) What percentage would this number represent of—

(*i*) the total, and

(*ii*) the adult population ?

(*c*) Do you consider that a longer polling period than that suggested above would be practicable or desirable ? If so, what would you suggest ?

(*d*) In answering the above, please state—

(*i*) Whether you propose to use the coloured boxes system, and also whether your existing polling machinery can be simplified, and if so, in what respects ?

(*ii*) Whether you consider it feasible and advisable for polling clerks in twos to issue ballot papers to voters under the general supervision of the presiding officer, or whether the ballot papers should be issued by the presiding officer himself ?

(*iii*) Whether on the average you consider that 1,000 voters can be polled per day by each polling unit ?

(*iv*) What polling hours you propose ?

Polling Machinery.

4. What is the maximum personnel which could be used as presiding or polling officers ? The Committee would be glad to have this information under the following heads :—

(*i*) Total number of Government officers, gazetted, non-gazetted and ministerial,

(*ii*) Total number of pensioned Government officers;

(*iii*) Total number of Court of Wards Officers (superior and ministerial);

(*iv*) Total number of members of local bodies (Municipal Commissioners), Members of District and Union Bench Courts, Honorary Magistrates and any other category of honorary workers who could be employed. To what extent could these figures be supplemented by the use of non-officials (schoolmasters, etc.) ? Is any objection likely to be raised to their use for this purpose ?

(*v*) To what extent could provision be made for—

(*a*) separate polling booths for women, and for women presiding officers and clerks;

(*b*) separate entrances and compartments for women voters?

5. What franchise qualifications would you propose in order to enfranchise the maximum number of voters you consider administratively possible in reply to question 3 above? What proportion of women would be enfranchised under those qualifications?

6. Do you recommend such a maximum extension or such franchise qualifications, and if not, why not?

7. What is the approximate cost (including preparation of the electoral roll) of a general election on the present basis? What would be approximately its probable cost on the basis of the franchise finally recommended by the local Government?

8. Are the local Government still of opinion that (*a*) the universal indirect system or (*b*) a combination of direct voting and a group system for the unenfranchised residuum of the population is undesirable in Bombay?

8-A. Do you propose to retain multi-member constituencies, and if so, how many and with what system of voting and for what communities (other than Moslems and depressed classes)?

Women.

9. How many will be enfranchised under the franchise finally recommended by the Local Government/Provincial Committee?

10. The Franchise Committee would be glad if the local Government would reconsider the arguments for the introduction of a literacy qualification for women (ability to read and write in any language, a certificate of such ability signed by a responsible person to be accepted as proof).

11. *Methods for securing the presence of women in the Legislatures.*—A memorandum containing various alternative suggestions which have been put forward (together with the views thereon of the Bombay Provincial Franchise Committee)* is attached for consideration. The Franchise Committee would be glad of the final views of the local Government as to the method by which a small number of women should be specially elected to the Council.

Depressed Classes.

12. Please give an estimate of the number of depressed class voters who will be enfranchised under the local Government's final proposals.

13. * * * * * * * *

* Pages 114-115.

14. The Government of Madras proposed to deal with the problem of the depressed classes in the following way :—

> Under the franchise recommended by them the number of depressed class voters in Madras will be increased from approximately 58,000 to approximately 300,000 (out of a total depressed classes population of 7·1 millions). As however the local Government and the Provincial Committee are satisfied that it will not be possible even with this enlarged electorate for the depressed classes to secure a representative of their own choice in the Legislatures it is proposed to give them separate electorates (the local Government recommend 18 seats in a total House of 210 and the Provincial Committee 25 seats in a total House of 220). In addition, they propose to give the depressed class electors a second vote in the general non-Mahommedan constituencies with the object firstly of giving further weightage to the depressed classes to compensate for the smallness of their electorate as compared with their population, and secondly of accustoming them to vote in the general electorate so that as the present disabilities of the depressed classes disappear their special representation may be reduced and eventually disappear altogether. What are the views of the Government of Bombay/Provincial Committee as to the desirability and practicability of such a system in the case of Bombay ?

15. What are the views of the Government of Bombay/Provincial Committee on the suggestion that male adult franchise should be introduced in the event of separate electorates being created for the depressed classes in Bombay ?

Disparity between Rural and Urban Electorates.

16. The disparity between rural and urban voting strength which under the existing enfranchisement is very great will still be substantial under the franchise proposals originally put forward by the Local Government/Provincial Committee. The Franchise Committee would be grateful if this point could be considered further with a view to some further reduction in the disparity.

17. Do you propose that the same electoral system should be applied to town and country ? Do the Provincial Committee/Local Government consider that universal direct adult suffrage would be desirable and administratively feasible in—

(*a*) Bombay City,

(*b*) Other towns of the Presidency ?

If so, how many days would it take to poll the adult population, and could any approximate estimate be given of the expenditure involved ?

18. Do you consider that town and country should have representation in the Council proportionate to their numbers, or do you consider

that the towns should have some weightage ; and if so, to what extent ? Would you advise the grouping of municipalities and urban areas into constituencies apart from the rural areas, as has been suggested in another Province ?

Labour.

19. *Representation of agricultural labour.*—The suggestion has been made that seats should be reserved for representatives of agricultural labour in certain multi-member constituencies in rural areas containing more than a fixed minimum percentage of landless labourers. What are the views of the Government of Bombay/Provincial Committee as to the practicability and desirability of such a proposal ?

19-A. Do you consider that the representation of labour as a special interest corresponding to capital should be secured (*a*) by making the Trades Unions the electing bodies, or (*b*) by creating a special labour electorate of the factory population receiving wages above a certain minimum ?

Provincial Legislature.

20. What are the final views of the Government of Bombay/Provincial Committee as to the size of the Provincial Legislature and the number of seats to be reserved in it for each of the special interests they consider should be represented in it ?

Second Chamber.

21. Are the Local Government/Provincial Committee in favour of a Second Chamber in the Provincial Legislature ? If so, what should be its numbers, and on what basis should it be constituted ?

22. Would you modify your proposals about the franchise, or the representation of special interests, in the Lower House if there were a Second Chamber ? If so, in what respects ?

Federal Legislature.

23. What are the final views of the Provincial Committee as to the basis of the franchise for the Federal Assembly and the extent to which it should be enlarged ?

24. In paragraph 24 of the local Government's reply to the Franchise Committee's questionnaire the Government of Bombay state that they agree with the Provincial Committee that in view of the commercial and industrial importance of the Presidency the number of seats allotted to it in the Lower House of the Federal Legislature should be increased by 4. They subsequently state, however, that they also agree with the Provincial Committee that the number of seats at present assigned in the Legislative Assembly to special interests excluding labour should not be increased. The Franchise Committee, having regard to the reasons given by the local Government for pressing for an increase in the number of seats allotted to Bombay in the Federal Assembly, would be glad to know whether their views as to an increase in the number of seats to be reserved for special interests are to be regarded as final.

25. The Committee would be glad of an analysis of the distribution of seats desired by the local Government in the Lower House of the Federal Legislature—how much will go to commercial and other special interests and how much to general constituencies ?

26. The Franchise Committee would be glad if the local Government would further consider and express their final view on the representation of women in the Federal Assembly.

27. Would you require a literacy qualification for members of (*a*) the Provincial Council, (*b*) the Federal Assembly ?

28. The Franchise Committee would be glad if the local Government would state any other respects, not covered by the above questions, in which they would modify their original proposals.

Note by Khan Bahadur Aziz-ul-Huque on the proposal of the Government of Bombay for extending the franchise.

The Bombay proposal takes up the minimum of the Prime Minister's quota of enfranchisement as the maximum and it enfranchises only those who are comparatively in comfortable conditions of life. It leaves out agricultural labourers and agricultural tenants and landless labourers. The depressed classes, though represented, are not adequately enfranchised. To obviate all these difficulties and to get representation of all sections and grades of society the following scheme is suggested.

For urban areas.—The house-rent qualifications to be halved in urban constituencies as per the Bombay proposal and qualifications in other urban areas may be so reduced that the total strength of the voters in urban areas may be 20 per cent. of the population. This is very easy to work out on getting the total number of rate-payers and tax-payers in the municipalities and urban areas of the Presidency. The total number on the 20 per cent. basis of the entire urban areas will be 876,749 out of a population of 4,383,748.

For rural areas.—Every family may be taken as a unit group and every family may be given a vote. " Family ", according to the census, means a number of persons living together and eating together in a common mess together with their dependents and is known as commensal family in the census and is shortly called occupied house.

It shall be open to every family to elect its own representative voter if it chooses, but in the absence of any such indication of its wishes the registering officer shall put in the name of the house-owner, tax-payer or the head of the family, often combined in the same person.

The number of such houses being 3,815,076, the total number of voters will be 3,815,076 and this will actually be the group system with representation for everybody.

The present voting qualifications may also be retained as additional qualification so that nobody enfranchised to-day may be disenfranchised.

To introduce the literate elements in the voting strength, a degree of literary qualifications may be prescribed for purposes of enfranchising a voter, higher for males and lower for females.

The total number of voters will thus be 876,749 in urban areas, 3,815,076 in rural area, and to this may be added a further number of 308,175—total 5 million of voters, the last number to be brought in primarily by the literary qualifications.

It is estimated that every presiding officer ought to be able to poll 1,000 votes a day and on this basis 900 to 1,000 officers will be necessary for the urban areas in this Presidency and about 4,000 for rural areas. There are 27 districts in this Presidency and an average district will thus require about 150 Presiding Officers for its rural areas. This is not a very high figure as the classes from which the Presiding Officers are recruited in the Presidency are not merely officers of high rank but also school teachers and Local Board employees.

Note for consideration in connection with Question 3 of Franchise Committee's Questionnaire.

There are two questions to be considered in regard to women :—

(*a*) franchise,

(*b*) representation.

(*a*) On the present basis of the franchise the number of women electors in Bombay Presidency is less than $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the population while the number of men is 5 per cent. It is important that the disparity should be reduced because so long as the women's voting strength is negligible in comparison with that of men the candidate need not trouble to pay any attention to their needs.

(*b*) Even though women's voting strength may be increased, it is not improbable that no woman candidate will be returned to the Council contesting general constituencies with a mixed electorate of men and women.

In this case the following methods have been suggested to secure a small percentage of women in the Council for the first two or three periods :—

(1) Co-option by the elected members of the Council.

(2) Election by a special electorate of educated women voting by post.

(3) That a few (say 8 or 10 or less) of the unsuccessful women candidates who, not having forfeited their deposits, had polled the highest proportion of votes should be declared elected *in addition* to any who had been elected in the ordinary way.

(4) That seats should be set apart for women in certain selected urban areas, the electorate for the purpose in each such area being the electors—men and women—belonging to that area on the rolls of all the general constituencies, who would have two votes, one of which must be cast for the woman candidate.

It should be clearly understood that all these suggestions are only temporary methods of securing representation of women during the time when it may be anticipated that they are unlikely to be successful in open competition. They would none of them preclude women from making the attempt and No. 3 obliges them to make it.

Would your Committee consider these alternative suggestions, as 2, 3 and 4 are free from some of the objections which are raised against co-option ?

Resolution of the Provincial Franchise Committee arrived at on 9th March 1932 on the additional questions put by the All-India Franchise Committee in connection with Question 3 of the Questionnaire.

1. The Committee does not approve of the proposed method of election by a special electorate of educated women voting by post, because firstly it appears undesirable to create a special electorate for women, and secondly because the proposal would enfranchise in that electorate only a very small proportion of women to the exclusion of the rest.

2. The Committee feels that reservation of seats or special representation for women is not desirable, if it is possible to enfranchise a sufficient number of women to afford them an effective voice in the election. But if this is impossible, the Committee considers that the 4th proposal suggested is the best. It suggests that it be re-worded as follows :—

> " In selected areas, from the allotted seats, seats should be set apart for women, the electorate for the purpose in each such area being the electors—men and women—belonging to that area on the rolls of all the general constituencies."

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IV

Memorandum by the Government of Bombay.

Final memorandum by the Government of Bombay in reply to the original and supplementary questionnaires of the Indian Franchise Committee.

LETTER FROM THE REFORMS OFFICER, GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY, TO THE SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, CAMP INDIA, No. 117, DATED BOMBAY CASTLE, THE 21ST MARCH 1932.

SUBJECT :—*Questionnaire issued by the Franchise Committee.*

With reference to the Questionnaire issued by the Indian Franchise Committee, I am directed to forward herewith the views of the Government of Bombay for the consideration of the Committee except as regards the size of the Legislative Council and the creation of a Second Chamber on which Government have not yet come to a final decision. The decisions of Government on matters contained in the supplementary questionnaire* issued by you have been embodied, wherever practicable, among the remarks made with reference to cognate questions in the main questionnaire.

Extension of the Franchise.

2. *Franchise qualifications.*—The population of this Presidency according to the census of 1931 is 21,803,388 ; the number of electors on the electoral roll for the present Provincial Legislative Council in the general constituencies (Muhammadan and Non-Muhammadan) is 869,566 ; in other words, about 3·9 per cent. of the population is enfranchised on the existing franchise qualifications. The total number of electors in all the constituencies is 888,801, of whom about 820,000 persons are qualified as electors by virtue of the property qualification ; the rest are qualified either as income-tax assessees or under the military service qualification or the qualification prescribed for the European or special constituencies. Of the total electorate of 869,566 in Muhammadan and Non-Muhammadan constituencies, about 275,863 voters are in urban constituencies and 593,703 are in rural constituencies. The Provincial Franchise Committee has suggested that in order to include 10 per cent. of the total population in the electoral roll the property qualification should be reduced. Briefly stated, the existing property qualification is the holding of land assessed at or of the assessable value of not less than Rs. 32 (or in certain areas Rs. 16) land revenue, or occupation of a house or building of the annual rental of Rs. 120 in Bombay City, of Rs. 60 in Karachi and of Rs. 36 in other urban areas. It has been roughly calculated that if the land assessment qualification is reduced from Rs. 32 to Rs. 8 (or, as the case may be, from Rs. 16 to Rs. 4) and the house rental qualification is reduced from Rs. 120 to Rs. 60 in Bombay City, from Rs. 60 to Rs. 30 in Karachi and from Rs. 36 to Rs. 18 in other urban areas, the number of voters would increase to 1,348,373 in rural areas and the electorate in urban areas would be about 895,309. The total electorate would thus be about 2,243,682, which gives an electorate

* Page 108.

of about 10·23 per cent. of the population. It would, therefore, appear that as a means of securing an enfranchisement of 10 per cent. of the total population of this Presidency the existing property qualification should be reduced in the manner and to the extent explained above. The Government of Bombay realise that an electorate so secured would not be as representative as might be desirable but they do not consider that any of the alternative schemes put forward, such as the suggestion in the note of Khan Bahadur Aziz-ul-Huque that all heads of families should be enfranchised,* or the one suggested by the Chamber of Commerce that payment of any form of tax to Government or a local body should qualify for a vote, or that assessment of land revenue or land revenue cess of any amount, however small, should qualify for a vote is feasible or desirable or would give a more representative electorate. The Government of Bombay, therefore, recommend that the existing franchise should be extended as follows :—

(*i*) the land revenue qualification should be holding in one's own right or as a tenant or a lessee from Government of land assessed at or of the assessable value of not less than Rs. 8 land revenue in the case of men, and of Rs. 4 land revenue in the case of women ;

(*ii*) the house rental qualification should be occupation as an owner or a tenant or sub-tenant of a house or building of the annual rental value of Rs. 60 in Bombay City, of Rs. 30 in Karachi and of Rs. 18 in other urban areas ;

(*iii*) the Sind Haris should be enfranchised by the omission of the word " permanent " from rule 3 (*a*) (*i*) of Schedule II to the Bombay Electoral Rules ;

(*iv*) the existing income-tax qualification should be retained ; and

(*v*) the military service qualification should be extended as hereinbelow mentioned.

It is believed that an electorate secured by thus extending the franchise would include a larger percentage of representation than at present of the classes and communities which are not adequately represented in the existing electorate. A statement showing the distribution of voting power under the proposals of the Local Government is appended (*vide* Appendix A).†

It is regretted that it is not possible to furnish, without undertaking a house to house inquiry at an enormous cost, information regarding—

(*i*) the number of joint families which will secure representation and the extent of such representation under the recommendations made in this report, and

(*ii*) the extent to which sub-tenants (*i.e.*, lodgers, etc., in towns) would be enfranchised thereby.

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* Page 113. † Pages 142-143.

Electorate.—The Government of Bombay accept the view of the Provincial Franchise Committee—a view which is also shared by the Returning Officers for the constituencies of the Provincial Legislative Council who are in charge of the preparation of the electoral rolls and of the conduct of elections—that an electorate enfranchised in the manner and to the extent recommended by them would be as capable of casting an intelligent vote as the present electorate. It will largely be drawn from the same classes of people as the present electorate and will already have had some training in the exercise of the vote in the taluka local board and municipal elections.

Manageability of the electorate.—They are also of the opinion that such an electorate would be administratively manageable. Under the existing Electoral Regulations, the Collectors are charged with the duty of preparing, maintaining and revising the electoral rolls for general constituencies and of conducting the elections. The work is done by the revenue officers with the co-operation, where necessary, of the local bodies. The statistics required in accordance with the existing franchise qualifications are available in revenue, municipal and income-tax records. All the Collectors who were consulted on this point are of the opinion that, though the proposed increase in the electorate would involve the employment of additional staff and entail considerable additional expenditure, it would not be unmanageable. Preparation of the roll would not be more difficult than the preparation of the existing taluka local board and municipal election rolls. This view is shared by the Provincial Franchise Committee also.

Enlargement of the electorate.—Having regard to the economic condition and low educational standard of the bulk of the population, the Government of Bombay are not in favour of any further lowering of the franchise. Prior to the report of the Franchise Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference no recognised body except the Nehru Committee had seriously suggested an extension of the franchise so as to extend the vote to more than 10 per cent. of the population. Even the Franchise Sub-Committee recommended an extension of franchise to between 10 and 25 per cent. " if that was found practicable and desirable ". The Indian Central Committee which was appointed to co-operate with the Indian Statutory Commission recommended that the electorate should be doubled immediately; this would enfranchise only about 8 to 9 per cent. of the population; the Bombay Provincial Committee appointed to co-operate with the Indian Statutory Commission reported that steps should be taken to widen the electorate and recommended that the existing franchise qualifications should remain except that the land revenue qualification for the rural constituencies should be reduced to half. They estimated that as a result of this recommendation the electorate would be 1,141,000, *i.e.*, that about 6 per cent. of the total population would be enfranchised. The Indian Statutory Commission recommended enlargement of the electorate to the extent of 10 per cent. of the total population—a recommendation which was adopted as the minimum by the Franchise Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference and this proposal still holds the field.

Another point against any further lowering of the franchise is that even in local bodies which are charged with the administration of less complex affairs and of smaller areas than those of the province the extent of enfranchisement is still very limited. In Bombay City the number of voters for the Municipality is about 10 per cent. of the total population of the City. The percentage of voters to the total population in all other Municipalities is about 18, while in the local boards the franchise has been extended to only about 8 per cent. of the population subject to the jurisdiction of the local boards. That it is undesirable to extend the vote to more than the percentage of population recommended by the Local Goverment is further evidenced by the fact that even in Bombay City which claims nearly 15 per cent. of the total electorate of the Presidency and in which owing to the higher literacy, higher intelligence, better economic condition and wider political experience of the people, the conditions for broadening the franchise are more favourable than in other places, a motion for further reduction of the municipal franchise was recently rejected by the Municipal Corporation and a Bill to the same effect introduced in the Bombay Legislative Council met with the same fate. But there is also another and a much stronger objection which indicates the risk attaching to any sudden lowering of the franchise beyond that proposed. Enlargement of the electorate by any further lowering of the property qualification for franchise, or other methods in the same direction, would only result in enfranchising persons most of whom would be wholly illiterate and wholly ignorant of the elementary principles of democracy. The Returning Officers for the various constituencies of the Provincial Legislative Council who were consulted in the matter are almost unanimous in their opinion that any extensive lowering of the existing franchise is undesirable. On these grounds, among others, the Government of Bombay have come to the conclusion that it is not desirable at present to enlarge the electorate beyond 13·25 per cent. of the total population by further lowering of the existing property qualification.

Group System.—The Local Government have given the most careful consideration to the proposed system of grouping together in primary groups of suitable size all adults not entitled to a direct vote under property qualification. In a country like India, where illiteracy and ignorance about the working of representative institutions are widespread, the system has two obvious advantages, *viz.*, (*i*) it gives a place in the electoral system to all those who are not directly enfranchised and who though forming a substantial portion of the population, could not get the privilege of a vote except under adult franchise ; and (*ii*) it has an educative effect of considerable value in the matter of exercise of the vote. These advantages are, however, heavily counterbalanced by serious practical difficulties. The principal difficulty is the formation of groups and the maintenance of a register of such groups. The population in the villages is often migratory and generally not homogeneous in caste or customs. Under the group system, having regard to local conditions, the only rational way of proceeding would be to group together contiguous houses containing 3 or 4 families. It would be difficult to form

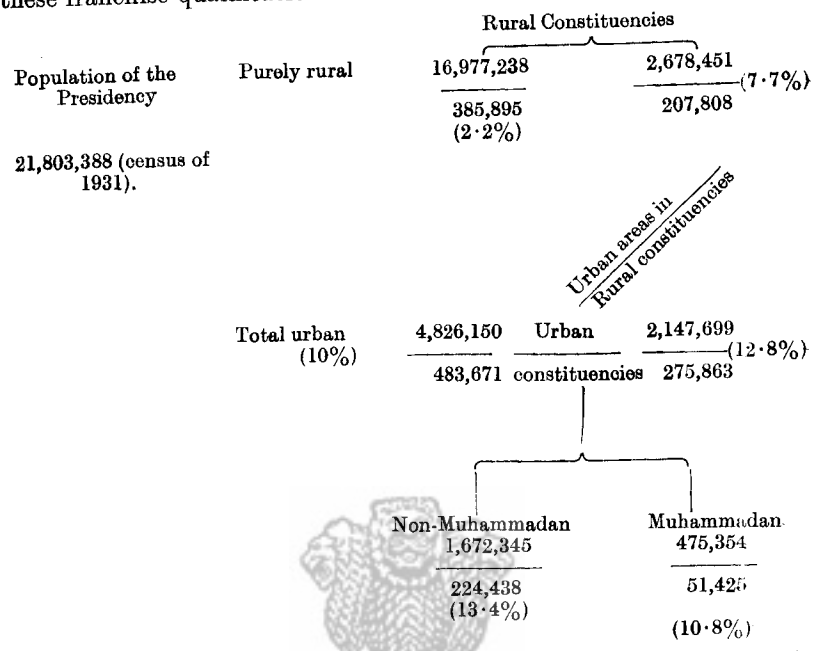
exact groups of 20. One or two families going away or some persons coming to live in the village would upset the group and it would have to be reformed. It would be a difficult, troublesome and expensive task to keep the electoral roll of such groups up to date by constant revision. It will be necessary to devise some special machinery suited to the requirements of wholly ignorant and illiterate masses for holding the election of representative members. If, instead of forming groups, the whole adult unenfranchised male population is asked to choose electors on the basis of one for every 20, there would be difficulty of holding an election even in a large village, say, of 800. This difficulty would be still greater in cities and towns which have a large and shifting population and it would be indefensible in principle to introduce the group system in villages and not in towns. These difficulties will be further accentuated by the existence of separate electorates. If the principle of separate electorates is extended to elections by groups, separate group elections will have to be held for different communities. A group of electors elected on joint suffrage could not be added either to the Muhammadan or to the Non-Muhammadan rolls of directly enfranchised voters; these would have to form part of separate constitutencies. On these grounds, therefore, the Government of Bombay consider that the group system would be unworkable in practice.

Indirect Election.—I am also to observe that the Local Government do not consider it desirable to abolish all existing qualifications for voters and to extend the group system of election to all adult voters, confining the electorate for all constituencies to secondaries chosen by groups of primary voters. A system of indirect election for the Provincial Council has never been seriously suggested before either by the Local Government or by any responsible political party in this Presidency. An indirect system of a different type (namely, election through district local boards and municipalities) existed in this Presidency prior to the inauguration of the Montford Reforms but was strongly condemned by the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report and was rejected by them as being the " main cause of the unreality that characterizes the existing Councils, because it effectively prevents the representative from feeling that he stands in any genuine relation to the original voter ". Any such system of indirect election is not likely to command support from the public and would, in all probability, be rejected by them as a retrograde step.

Franchise Qualifications.

3. *Urban and rural areas.*—The existing urban qualification (*i.e.*, qualification for urban constitutencies and for urban areas in rural constituencies) is occupation, as owner or tenant, of a house or building of the annual rental value of not less than Rs. 120 in Bombay City, of not less than Rs. 60 in Karachi City and of the annual rental value of not less than Rs. 36 or of the capital value of not less than Rs. 1,500 in other urban areas in rural constituencies (or, in certain districts, of the annual rental value of not less than Rs. 24 or of the capital value of not less than Rs. 1,000). The existing rural qualification is holding of land

assessed at or of the assessable value of not less than Rs. 32 either as occupant or as tenant. The following diagram indicates the operation of these franchise qualifications in urban and rural areas :—



(The numerator in each case above gives the figures of population and the denominator the electorate.)

It will be seen that, taking the Presidency as a whole, these qualifications have enfranchised 2·2 per cent. of the rural population and 10 per cent. of the urban population. In the urban constituencies, the qualifications have resulted in the enfranchisement of 13·4 per cent. in non-Muhammadan constituencies, 10·8 per cent. in Muhammadan constituencies, and 12·8 per cent., as a whole, in both Muhammadan and non-Muhammadan constituencies. In the rural constituencies, the population in the urban areas included within them is enfranchised to the extent of 7·7 per cent. and, in the real rural areas, to the extent of 2·2 per cent. Under the existing franchise qualifications 68·3 per cent. of the electors in rural constituencies are enfranchised under the rural franchise and 31·7 per cent. are enfranchised under the urban franchise.

The Southborough (Franchise) Committee were aware of what would probably be the result of the franchise they recommended (*vide* paragraph 10 of their report) but they considered that it was justified by the higher standard of wealth and intelligence in the towns. In view, however, of the low proportion of genuine rural voters in the total electorate the Government of Bombay consider that the disparity should be reduced as far as possible. They consider that the proposals made in paragraph 2 of this report for lowering the existing property qualification and for extending it to the Haris in Sind will tend to rectify this disparity to some

extent. If the abovementioned proposals are adopted they would result in the enfranchisement of about 2,888,948 persons in the non-Muhammadan and Muhammadan constituencies. The total electorate would approximately be 13·25 per cent. of the total population. The Government of Bombay have carefully considered the proposal that the land revenue qualification should be reduced to Rs. 4 in all districts, for both men and women, with a view further to remove the disparity in the voting power of the urban and rural areas but have come to the conclusion—one Honourable Member dissenting—that it is not desirable at present except in regard to women. The Honourable Member, who dissents, is in favour of adopting the Rs. 4 qualification for both men and women.

In this connection it may also be observed that the disparity in the voting strength between the holders of land and agricultural tenants in rural areas is not in fact so great as it appears and is, to some extent, explained by the fact that in many rural areas agricultural tenants who own small pieces of land paying the prescribed land revenue are classed, not as tenants but as land-owners and are registered on the electoral roll accordingly.

Giving each community a voting strength proportionate to its numbers.—The Provincial Committee has stated that (*i*) assuming separate electorates, the Committee does not consider that the principle that each community should be given a voting strength proportionate to its numbers is of any importance; (*ii*) assuming joint electorates with reservation of seats, the Committee considers that the principle is not practicable in the case of all communities; and (*iii*) assuming joint electorates without reservation of seats, the Committee considers that the principle is essential, but cannot possibly be attained except either by adult suffrage or by adoption of the group system exclusive of all other qualifications. The Government of Bombay agree with the views of the Provincial Franchise Committee.

Property qualification.—Possession of property may not be the best test of a person's ability to exercise the vote, but, in the absence of adult suffrage, it appears to be the qualification which is least open to objection. Intelligence, knowledge and a sense of civic duty are the qualities required but no system of enfranchisement could measure them accurately as no line of discrimination can justifiably be drawn between those who possess these merits and the rest of the community. Though the possession of property is not necessarily evidence of merit it does give the possessor a real stake in the country. It has also the merits of simplicity and capability of natural expansion and produces comparatively less inequalities than any other qualification. An educational qualification, though admirable in principle, would result in a very limited enfranchisement in this country and would only operate to produce greater inequalities in enfranchisement between the various communities than already exist. The Provincial Franchise Committee has recommended that a property qualification should be retained and made the chief basis of the franchise. The Government of Bombay accept this view. They further agree with the Provincial Franchise Committee that the suggestion that

wages or incomes below the limit of income-tax assessment should be made a basis of the franchise qualification is unworkable.

Educational qualification.—As regards the suggestion for the introduction of an educational qualification, it may be observed that the Indian Statutory Commission recommended that the Franchise Committee should consider whether it is not practicable and desirable to introduce an additional qualification based on education, independently of property, such as the attainment of the fifth class before leaving school. The Provincial Franchise Committee has recommended that it is desirable that there should be an educational franchise qualification and that it should be the possession of a certificate of having passed the promotion examination from the 4th vernacular standard in vernacular schools or from the equivalent standard in English or English-teaching schools. The Government of Bombay have examined the feasibility of these suggestions and have come to the conclusion that, though good in principle, they are unworkable in practice. It does not necessarily follow that persons who produce certificates from their schools are better fitted to exercise the vote than those who have received their education at home—and this is especially true of women in India owing to social customs— and consequently are unable to comply with the requirements of the electoral law; nor would it be possible in all cases for persons who may have left school, say forty or fifty years ago, to produce the required certificates. Under such conditions, it would be extremely difficult to prepare a correct electoral roll on the basis of any such qualification. Having regard to these practical difficulties, the Government of Bombay are not in favour of introducing a qualification based on education.

Military service qualification.—As regards the military service qualification, all the Returning Officers for the constituencies of the Bombay Legislative Council and the Provincial Franchise Committee have recommended that the existing military service qualification should be retained and should be extended so as to include service in the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces. The Government of Bombay agree with them and recommend that the present military service qualification should be retained and that it should be extended to all persons who, at the time of the preparation of the electoral roll, are able to produce a certificate that their names are borne on the strength of the Auxiliary Force or the Indian Territorial Force, and to those members of the University Training Corps who are able to produce a certificate that they have completed two years' approved training, and to those ex-members of both forces who hold the Long Service Medal or the Volunteer Decoration.

Women's Suffrage.

4. *Franchise qualifications for women.*— According to the population of the 1921 census the proportion of male electors to the adult male population is 13·4 per cent. and that of the female electors to the adult female population is ·8 per cent. There is thus a marked disparity in the enfranchisement of the two sexes and it is desirable that some means should

be devised to enfranchise women to a greater extent. General lowering of the property qualification will enfranchise men in larger numbers than women and will only increase the disparity. Similarly, an educational qualification would help men more than women inasmuch as the percentage of literacy among men is 14, whereas among women it is only 2·4. The leading women's associations have demanded adult suffrage for both men and women on the ground, *inter alia*, that the elementary rights of women as human beings should not be based on an extraneous consideration like marriage; this suggestion does not call for any remarks for the simple reason that the Bombay Government do not consider it desirable to adopt adult suffrage at present even for men. The Indian Statutory Commission has recommended that to the existing qualification for women, should be added two others, *viz.*, (1) being the wife, over 25 years of age, of a man who has a property qualification to vote; and (2) being a widow, over that age, whose husband at the time of his death was so qualified. The Government of Bombay are of the opinion that the first of the Commission's recommendations is open to several practical objections. In the first place, it is estimated that over a million wives would be entitled to a vote if this qualification was adopted and these, added to the total male electorate enfranchised under the proposed qualifications, would make up a total electorate of over 3 millions,—a result which the Government of Bombay are not prepared to recommend. Social custom in many castes allows men to have more than one wife and the precise effect of the proposed qualifications cannot be appreciated with any accuracy. Nor is the suggestion to enfranchise widows of persons who were qualified as holders or property suitable. The Government of Bombay have given their best consideration to the various proposals for the enfranchisement of women and have come to the conclusion that any rapid and extensive enfranchisement is both impracticable and undesirable at present. They agree, however, that the existing disparity in the voting strength of the two sexes should be reduced and that women should be further enfranchised as far as is practicable. They would, therefore, recommend that the land revenue qualification should be reduced to Rs. 4 for women only (as against Rs. 8 for men). It is estimated that this would bring about 117,321 women on to the electoral roll in addition to those enfranchised under the other qualifications. The total electorate for women under the qualifications proposed by the Local Government is estimated at about 150,000.

Educational qualification for women.— The Government of Bombay accept the arguments for the introduction of a literacy qualification for women in theory, but do not recommend the introduction of any such qualification as it would upset the balance between urban and rural areas and between the various classes and communities.

Representation of women in the Legislature.— As regards the method of representation of women in the legislature, I am to state that the Local Government by a majority of 4 to 3 favour the suggestion that three of the unsuccessful women candidates who, not having forfeited their deposits, had polled the highest proportion of votes should be declared elected in addition to any who have been elected in the ordinary

way, and, if less than three such candidates were available, women members should be nominated so as to make up a total of three women members in addition to any elected in the ordinary way. The minority consider that this method should not be adopted unless the number of women elected in the ordinary way is less than three. I am to add that the Government of Bombay agree with the Provincial Committee that the age limit for enrolment in the electoral roll for both men and women should be 21.

Representation of the Depressed Classes.

5. The population of the Depressed Classes (Untouchables) is 1,750,424 ; the number of electors belonging to the Depressed Classes is 29,928 approximately ; the percentage of electors to the population of the Depressed Classes is 1·7 ; the percentage of the population of the Depressed Classes to the total population of the Presidency is 8·02 and the percentage of electors from the Depressed Classes to the total electorate of the Presidency is 3·36. It will thus be seen that the Depressed Classes are much under-represented at present in proportion to their population. They form a substantial minority of the population and have special problems of their own which it will be impossible for them to voice through the general electorate. The total number of Depressed Class voters who would be enfranchised under the qualifications proposed by the Local Government is estimated at 65,000. This would mean about 4 per cent. of their total population. Even with the lowering of the franchise suggested it seems fairly clear that the Depressed Classes electorate will not be able to return a person for that class on the strength of its own vote. Candidates from the Depressed Classes would, therefore, have to rely on the votes of members of other communities and, having regard to the disabilities under which they are labouring at present, and to social customs, it seems unlikely that they would be able to secure any considerable number of votes from those communities. The Local Government, therefore, agree with the Provincial Franchise Committee that even with the extension of the franchise as proposed, the Depressed Classes will not be able to secure candidates of their own choice in the general electorate.

Putting aside the group system which, for reasons already given, the Government of Bombay consider to be unworkable, two proposals to secure a fair representation of the Depressed Classes have been put forward, namely, (1) separate electorates, and (2) joint electorates with reservation of seats in those areas where the Depressed Classes are numerically the strongest. The Government of Bombay have given their most careful consideration to this question and have come to the conclusion that a system of joint electorates with reservation of seats will not be a satisfactory arrangement. It will not ensure the return of candidates who will be genuinely representative of the Depressed Class interests ; nor is any such scheme likely to be acceptable to the community. The Government of Bombay, therefore, recommend that the Depressed Classes should be provided with separate electorates of their own. They agree with the Provincial Franchise Committee that the expression "Depressed Classes" should be interpreted to mean the untouchable

classes only. This definition has been accepted by Dr. Ambedkar and many other representatives of the Depressed Classes and has also been recommended by the Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes Committee appointed by the Local Government.

Representation of Labour.

6. The population of the labouring classes is 6,910,976 and the number of electors from those classes is 69,923 approximately; the percentage of electors to the population is thus ·99. They form 31·7 per cent. of the total population of the Presidency and claim 7·99 per cent. of the existing total electorate. They are represented at present in the local Council by 3 seats filled by nomination. The proposed lowering of the franchise will probably enfranchise an appreciable number of the labouring classes but it is doubtful whether labour will be represented in proportion to its population. The question then arises what measures can be adopted for representation of labour (*a*) where it is or can be organised as in industrial areas and (*b*) where it is unorganised as in the case of agricultural labour. The case of unorganised agricultural labour present several practical difficulties. It would be extremely difficult to constitute an electorate. It has been suggested that the vote should be given to those who earn wages above a certain minimum but it would difficult to ascertain the exact income of such earners. To enfranchise owners of houses (above a certain capital value) in the rural areas might bring in some wage earners but not all. The difficulty would be enhanced by the fact that the labourers are frequently migrating from one place to another. Nor do the Local Government consider that the suggestion that seats should be reserved for representatives of agricultural labour in certain multi-member constituencies in rural areas containing more than a fixed minimum percentage of landless labourers is practicable or desirable. The Government of Bombay have examined all possibilities of drawing up a workable scheme for the representation of unorganised labour and have come to the conclusion—a conclusion which is also reached by the Provincial Committee—that there is no practicable method of enfranchising it in the rural areas and Government are, therefore, of opinion that the only way in which the representation for such labour can be provided is by nomination. They, therefore, recommend that unorganised labour should be represented by nomination if the system of nomination is retained in the new constitution. As regards organised industrial labour the Local Government consider that labour should be represented as a special interest corresponding to capital by making the trade unions the electing bodies. They are not in favour of the suggestion to create a special labour electorate of the factory population receiving wages above a certain minimum. The Provincial Franchise Committee has recommended that labour should be represented through registered trade unions. A scheme of representation of labour by delegates elected by registered trade unions has been tried for the Bombay Municipal Corporation but has not been a pronounced success and the chances of any such scheme being successful in other places are more problematical. It presupposes the existence of trade unions of standing and influence and, on the information available, it is difficult to say how far the existing trade unions

can be relied upon as a suitable basis for the recruitment of labour candidates. However, the Government of Bombay agree with the Provincial Franchise Committee that, under the existing circumstances, representation of labour through registered trade unions is the only practicable method. They, therefore, recommend that labour should be represented by members elected by an electoral college which shall be formed by registered trade unions composed of manual workers throughout the Presidency electing delegates in the proportion of one for every 20 members of such trade unions. A candidate must be an ordinary or honorary member of not less than one year's standing of a registered trade union which is itself of not less than one year's standing. Provision should be made in the electoral rules that trade unions which send delegates to the electoral college shall require adequate standards of paying membership. The Registrar of Trade Unions should be given adequate powers of scrutiny for this purpose.

Representation of Anglo-Indians.

7. The population of the Anglo-Indians is 16,016 and the number of electors from that community is 1,883. The percentage of electors to the population of the community is 11·69. The percentage of the population of the community to the total population of the Presidency is ·07 and the percentage of electors to the total electorate of the Presidency is ·21. At present the Anglo-Indians are represented by election through the separate electorate provided for Europeans and one seat to be filled by nomination is also allotted to them. The community now claims a separate electorate on the ground that it is inadequately represented and has special problems of its own. It is suggested that the Anglo-Indians should be amalgamated with the domiciled Europeans and that there should be a separate electorate for the Anglo-Indian and domiciled European community. The domiciled European population of the Presidency is estimated at 10,000; the total strength of the community amalgamted as proposed would thus be 26,000. The special problems of the community referred to are service (namely, service under the Government of India—Railway—Post and Telegraphs—Customs, etc.), and education. The latter is a Provincial subject and the community, therefore, desires that it should be given special representation on the Provincial Council. The Reforms Inquiry Committee appointed in 1924 did not recommend separate electorates for the Anglo-Indian community but the Indian Statutory Commission recommended that they should be provided for it. On the statistics available the Government of Bombay are of the opinion that it is not possible for the Anglo-Indians to return a member of their own choice if they are merged in the general electorate. They, therefore, agree with the Provincial Franchise Committee that the Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans should be provided with a separate electorate of their own. The electoral roll for this amalgamated community should include all persons of European descent in the male line who, being British subjects resident in British India, are domiciled in British India or were born of parents habitually resident in British India.

Representation of the Indian Christians.

8. The population of the Indian Christians is 274,087 and the number of electors of the community is 16,840 ; the percentage of electors to the population of the Presidency is 6·14. The percentage of the population to the total population of the Presidency is 1·25 and the percentage of electors of the community to the total electorate is 1·88. At present they are merged in the general Non-Muhammadan electorate and have a special seat filled by nomination allotted to them. One Indian Christian was elected through the general constituencies in 1920, one in 1923 and two were elected in 1930. None was returned in 1926. It would thus appear that they have been, on the whole, maintaining the representation to which they would be entitled on the basis of their own population through the general constituencies without any reservation of seats. It appears, however, that the members of the community so far elected have always been from the Bombay City and that the Indian Christian community in the districts has not been represented. It cannot, however, be definitely said that they would be able to return any appreciable number of members of their own choice or to maintain the representation to which they are entitled on the basis of their population. The Government of Bombay, therefore, recommend that the Indian Christians should be represented in the Provincial Legislature by reserved seats in the general Non-Muhammadan electorate.

Reservation of Seats for Mahrattas.

9. In the present Legislative Council seven seats are reserved for the Mahrattas in the following constituencies, namely, Bombay City North, Thana and Bombay Suburban Districts, Ahmednagar District, Nasik District, Poona District, Ratnagiri District and Sholapur, Kolaba and West Khandesh Districts by rotation. Separate representation by means of reservation of seats was provided for the Mahrattas on the recommendation of the Joint Select Committee of Parliament as a means of protection against the alleged ascendancy of the Brahmans.

The Government of Bombay are of the opinion that as the principle of special protection underlying this question is the same as that governing the cases of the special representation of the Anglo-Indians and the Indian Christians, the reservation of seats at present provided for the Mahrattas should be continued.

Representation of Special Interests.

10. The special interests at present represented on the Provincial Legislative Council are :—

By election—

(1) University ;

(2) Commerce and Industry (European and Indian) ;

(3) Landholders ;

By nomination—

(1) Labouring Classes; and

(2) Cotton trade.

Other special representation is not given to special interests as such, but to minorities such as Europeans (by election), Anglo-Indians, Depressed Classes and Indian Christians (by nomination).

This scheme of representation, in so far as it is by election, has worked satisfactorily, and the Government of Bombay are not, therefore, in favour of any change. They agree with the Provincial Franchise Committee that all the special interests at present represented by election or nomination should continue to be represented in the Provincial Legislative Council in the manner suggested by them.

Polling arrangements, method of election, etc.

11. With reference to the supplementary questionnaire No. E. Bom.-309 issued by you I am to forward the following decisions of the Government of Bombay and to inform you that the necessary statistics regarding the questions not dealt with in this report are being collected and a further communication* will be sent to you as soon as the information called for is available :—

(i) It is not desirable to spread the election over a number of days. It would possibly lead to excitement, factions, intrigue and increased personation. Nor is it practicable to prescribe a longer polling period than one day.

(ii) The Government of Bombay do not recommend that the existing method of election should be replaced by what is known as the Coloured Boxes System. The latter system was tried in this Presidency at the election to the Provincial Legislative Council held in 1920 but was discontinued at subsequent elections because it was found unsuitable. The only colours which would be certainly recognised by illiterate voters are black, white, yellow, red and green ; and when the number of candidates in a constituency exceeds 5, such voters find it difficult to decide into which particular box the ballot paper should be dropped. The great practical objection to the system is that it requires an enormous number of ballot boxes because at all the numerous polling stations throughout a constituency there has to be a separate box for each candidate and the transportation of these boxes about the country, especially during the monsoon towards the close of which the elections are usually held in this Presidency, is both risky and expensive. Also, in a country in which the majority of the voters is illiterate, the possibility of the secrecy of the ballot being lost under a system in which the boxes are painted with known colours and are kept within view of the Presiding and polling officers and the candidates and their agents, though

* Page 146.

apparently screened from observation, should not be altogether left out of account. The existing method of election known as the Cross and Symbol system has worked well in practice and is considered more suitable than any other system so far suggested. It has been simplified, from time to time, as a result of experience gained at each election and it is hoped that, with further experience, it will come to be further simplified so as to meet the requirements of a largely illiterate electorate.

(iii) It is feasible and advisable for polling clerks in twos to issue the ballot paper to voters under the general supervision of the presiding officer ; this is, more or less, the present practice.

(iv) The Local Government do not consider that, on the average, 1,000 voters can be polled per day by each polling unit. They are of the opinion that, on the average not more than 750 voters can be polled per day by each polling unit ; but the exact number depends on how the voters come to vote. The above estimate may not stand if, for instance, the polling staff at a polling station is not sufficiently trained, or if there are many women voters or if there are many cases of personation or if there is any disorder at the polling station or if the voters do not come to vote in regular batches or fairly continuously.

(v) The present polling hours, namely, 8 A. M. to 12 NOON and 1 P. M. to 6 P. M. are suitable.

(vi) The number of voters which Government consider administratively possible and the franchise qualifications under which such number would be enfranchised are stated in paragraph 2 and Appendix A of this report.

(vii) For the reasons stated in paragraph 2 of this report the Government of Bombay do not recommend an extension of the franchise so as to enfranchise the maximum number of voters which may be administratively possible.

(viii) The approximate cost (including preparation of the electoral roll) of a general election was Rs. 5,00,000 in 1920, and Rs. 1,50,000 on the average, at subsequent elections. It is estimated that the probable cost of a general election on the basis of the franchise qualifications recommended by Government in this report would be ten lakhs of rupees.

(ix) As explained in paragraph 2, the Government of Bombay are not in favour of the universal indirect system of election or of a combination of direct voting and a group system for the unenfranchised residuum of the population in Bombay.

(x) The Government of Bombay recommend that multi-member constituencies with the method of cumulative voting should be retained. They propose that seats should be reserved in multi-member constituencies for the Mahrattas and the Indian

Christians. The exact number of such constituencies can be determined when the question of formation of constituencies is decided.

(xi) The same electoral system should be applied to town and country.

(xii) Government do not consider that universal direct adult suffrage would be desirable and administratively feasible in Bombay City or in other towns of the Presidency.

(xiii) The Government of Bombay are not in favour of the suggestion that town and country should have representation in the Council proportionate to their numbers ; nor do they think it necessary that the towns should be given some weightage. They do not recommend that municipalities and urban areas should be grouped into constituencies, apart from the rural areas.

Size and nature of the Provincial Legislature.

12. The questions of the strength of the future Provincial Legislature and whether it should be unicameral, as at present, or should be bicameral are still under the consideration of Government. The decisions of the Local Government will be communicated to you as soon as they are reached.*

Qualification of candidates.

13. The existing qualifications and disqualifications of candidates for election to the Provincial Legislative Council are contained in rules 5 and 6 of the Bombay Electoral Rules. Under the existing rules the following persons are not eligible to stand as candidates :—

(1) non-British subjects.—The Local Government, however, have power to declare that, subject to prescribed conditions, the Ruler of any State in India or the Rulers of any such States or a subject of any such State shall not be ineligible for election by reason only of not being a British subject or British subjects ;

(2) any person who is already a member of any legislative body constituted under the Government of India Act, and has made the oath or affirmation as such member ;

(3) any person, being a legal practitioner, who has been dismissed or is under suspension from practising by order of a competent court ;

(4) any person who has been adjudged of unsound mind by a competent court ;

(5) any person who is under the age of 25 ;

(6) any person who is an undischarged insolvent ;

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(7) any person who, being a discharged insolvent, had not obtained a certificate from a competent court that his insolvency was caused by misfortune without his own misconduct;

(8) any person against whom a conviction by a criminal court involving a sentence of transportation or imprisonment for a period of more than one year is subsisting, is not eligible for election for five years from the date of the expiration of the sentence, unless the offence of which he was convicted has been pardoned. The Local Government have, on the application of the person disqualified and with the previous approval of the Governor General in Council, power to remove the disqualification by order in this behalf;

(9) any person convicted of an offence in connection with elections punishable with imprisonment for a term exceeding six months or found by election commissioners to be guilty of certain corrupt practices is ineligible for election for five years from the date of such conviction or of the finding of the commissioners and for three years in the case of certain other corrupt practices;

(10) any person who fails to file a correct return of election expenses is ineligible for election for five years.

The Local Government have power to remove any disqualification incurred under items (3), (9) or (10);

(11) no person is eligible for election for any other than a special constituency unless his name is entered on the electoral roll of the constituency or of any other constituency in the Province and unless he has resided for six months immediately preceding the last date fixed for the nomination of candidates in the constituency or in a division, any part of which is included in the constituency, and, in the case of a Non-Muhammadan, Muhammadan or European constituency, he is himself a Non-Muhammadan, Muhammadan or European, as the case may be. The residential qualification does not apply to candidates for European constituencies. In the case of special constituencies (that is to say, a Landholders', University, or Commerce and Industry constituency), a person is not eligible for election as a member of the Council unless his name is registered on the electoral roll of the constituency.

As regards Non-British subjects, I am to observe that the existing elastic provision which gives power to the Local Government to relax the rule against Non-British subjects should be maintained. As a matter of fact, as early as 3rd August 1920, a notification was issued by the Local Government directing that a Ruler of any State in India or a subject of any such State shall not be disqualified for registration on the electoral roll of a constituency of the local Legislative Council on the ground of his not being a British subject. It would thus appear to be desirable not to shut the door against the subjects of Indian States,

particularly in view of the possibility of the States entering into Federation with British India in the near future. The Government of Bombay, are, however, inclined to favour the recommendation of the Provincial Franchise Committee that only subjects of those States should be qualified to stand as candidates for election to the local Legislative Council in which British subjects are eligible as members of the State's legislature, if any.

As regards the second of the disqualifications enumerated above, the Government of Bombay also agree with the Provincial Franchise Committee that members of other legislative bodies should not be disqualified from standing as candidates for the Provincial Legislative Council, provided that, if elected, they resign their seats in that other body before taking their seats in the Provincial Council.

As regards persons against whom a conviction by a criminal court is subsisting, the local Government agree with the Provincial Franchise Committee that the disqualification in the present form should be removed as recommended by the Federal Structure Committee of the Round Table Conference. They are of the opinion that a person should not be eligible for election unless he is out of prison on the date of nomination.

The Government of Bombay agree with the recommendation of the Provincial Franchise Committee that the residential qualification should be abolished. The Southborough Franchise Committee was divided on this recommendation and by a majority suggested that it should be prescribed for the Provinces of Bombay, the Punjab and the Central Provinces only, a suggestion which was accepted by the Joint Parliamentary Committee. It has now been abolished in the Punjab, and in the Central Provinces it exists in a mild form only.

The Government of Bombay also agree with the Committee that persons holding contracts from the Provincial Government should be debarred from standing as candidates for election to the Provincial Council. Such a provision seems to exist in other countries and has been made in Local Acts relating to municipalities. Notice of a resolution recommending insertion of such a provision in the Bombay Electoral Rules has also been given in the past by non-official members of the local Legislative Council.

Subject to these remarks, the Government of Bombay are of the opinion that the existing qualifications and disqualifications of candidates as prescribed in the Electoral Rules are suitable and should be retained.

Federal Legislature.

14. *Federal Upper Chamber.*—Under the existing arrangement the Upper Chamber of the Central Legislature, namely, the Council of State, consists of representatives elected directly by voters in territorial and non-territorial constituencies. Owing to the small number of constituencies, their size is very large. There are three territorial constituencies

of the Council of State in this Presidency, namely, the Bombay Non-Muhammadan, the Bombay Presidency Muhammadan and the Sind Muhammadan. Of these, the first extends over the whole Presidency excluding Aden ; the second extends over the Presidency proper ; and the third is co-extensive with the Province of Sind. It will thus be seen that the size of the constituencies is enormous and contact between the candidates and voters cannot, therefore, be real. Even the Nehru Committee recommended that the Upper House, namely, the Senate, should be elected by the Provincial Councils by the method of proportional representation by the single transferable vote. The question of the method of election to the Council of State was examined by the Indian Statutory Commission and they thought that theoretically there was no justification for direct election for the Upper House. With Presidency constituencies there is little contact between the voters and their representatives and the vote cannot be regarded as having any educative value as the qualification must be fixed high. The Indian Statutory Commission, therefore, recommended indirect election through Provincial Second Chambers—if any—or otherwise through the Provincial Councils by means of proportional representation. It may be observed that in Federal constitutions the object aimed at in constituting a second chamber is to provide means of giving to the constituent units of the federation an equal voice in deciding questions of policy affecting the federation as a whole. The Lower House is generally composed of representatives elected by constituencies formed on some basis such as population, whereas the Upper House may contain an equal number of representatives from each of the constituent units without reference to the size. This representation of units, apart from that of the people, can come appropriately through the Provincial Councils. On these grounds, the Government of Bombay agree with the recommendation of the Provincial Franchise Committee that the proposal of the Federal Structure Committee that the representatives of this Presidency on the Federal Upper Chamber should be elected by the Provincial Legislature by the single transferable vote should be accepted.

Federal Lower Chamber. Franchise qualifications.— As regards the franchise for the Lower Chamber of the Federal Legislature, the Government of Bombay recommend that the existing franchise qualifications for the Provincial Legislative Council should be prescribed for the Federal Assembly. They would be given an electorate of about 880,000. In their proposals on the methods of representation of the Legislative Assembly the Southborough Franchise Committee reported that to enfranchise a large number of persons in the elections of the Provincial Legislative Council and at the same time to confine representation in the All-India Assembly to a small upper class appears not only illogical but politically undesirable. In spite of this expression of opinion, in providing for direct election for the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State the Joint Select Committee of Parliament recommended different qualifications for the Provincial Councils, the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State. It is true that in some federal constitutions the franchise qualification for the Provincial and Federal Legislatures is the same.

But in view of the very distinct nature of the work to be performed by the two legislative bodies in India the Government of Bombay do not think that it would be unjustifiable to insist on a more enlightened electorate for the Central Legislature. This would appear to be all the more necessary as it is proposed to lower the franchise for the Provincial Legislative Council. It is feared that with three-district constituencies the electorate for the Central Legislature would probably be unmanageable if the franchise for both the Central and Provincial Legislatures was the same. A restricted franchise assumes a more intelligent and a smaller electorate with considerable stake in the country.

Direct election in territorial constituencies.—In their proposals for the constitution of the Lower House of the Central Legislature the Southborough Franchise Committee recommended a system of indirect election for the Lower House in pursuance of the recommendation made in paragraph 273 of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. Though the decided preference of the authors of the report was for a system of direct elections, in view of the enormous size of the possible constituencies and of the difficulties for forming suitable electoral districts for the various communities, they suggested that the question should be investigated by a special Franchise Committee. The Nehru Committee recommended a system of direct election by territorial constituencies for the Lower House of the Federal Legislature ; the Indian Statutory Commission recommended a system of indirect election to the Lower House by the Provincial Legislative Councils but in their report on the recommendations of the Commission the Government of Bombay expressed themselves in favour of a system of direct election. It is true that the size of the existing constituencies of the Legislative Assembly is very large but it is believed that, with the increase in the number of seats, the size of the future constituencies would not exceed two or three districts each and consequently they would be much more manageable than at present. It has also to be borne in mind that the public has come to realise and appreciate the advantages of direct elections and any proposal to go back to indirect elections would be regarded as a retrogade step. It may also be observed in this connection that in almost all federal constitutions the Lower House is directly elected. The Government of Bombay, therefore, agree with the Provincial Franchise Committee that the election to the Lower House of the Federal Legislature should be by territorial constituencies consisting of qualified voters who would cast their votes directly for the candidates of their choice.

Representation of Labour.—The method by which representation should be provided for labour on the Provincial Legislative Council has been discussed in detail in paragraph 6 and the reasons stated therein apply *proprio vigore* to representation on the Federal Legislature also. The Government of Bombay agree with the Provincial Franchise Committee that, as on the Provincial Legislative Council, so on the Federal Legislature, labour should be represented by registered trade unions of the Bombay Presidency.

Representation of women.—As regards representation of women on the Federal Legislature, the Government of Bombay do not think that the method of co-option suggested by the Provincial Franchise Committee would be found suitable in practice. They have no special methods to suggest for the representation of women in the Federal Legislature.

Representation of commercial interests.—The Government of Bombay agree with the Provincial Franchise Committee that, in view of the commercial and industrial importance of this Presidency, the number of seats allotted to this Presidency in the Lower House of the Federal Legislature should be increased by four. They would further recommend that these four additional seats should be allotted to commercial interests. It has been proposed that organised labour should be provided with additional representation in the Lower Chamber of the Federal Legislature through registered trade unions. Commercial legislation affecting the commercial community generally who have a large stake in the country will probably be subject to central legislation under the reformed constitution. Tariffs, customs, labour legislation, etc., are some of the questions in which this Presidency, in view of its commercial and industrial importance, may legitimately claim to be most vitally interested as compared with the other provinces of India. It is, therefore, but fair that commercial interests should be provided with increased representation in the enlarged Lower House of the Federal Legislature.

Depressed classes.—As regards representation of the Depressed Classes, the Government of Bombay agree that special representation should be provided for them in the Federal Legislature. They are of the opinion that representatives of the Depressed Classes should be elected to the Federal Lower House by their representatives in the Provincial Legislative Council.

Special interests.—As regards representation of special interests, Government are of the opinion that the number of seats at present assigned in the Legislative Assembly to special interests (excluding Labour and Commercial interests) should not be increased.

I am to add in this connection that the Local Government are not in favour of requiring a literacy qualification for members of the Federal Assembly or of the Provincial Council owing to the difficulty of enforcing any practical tests.

General.

15. The Government of Bombay have the following general observations to make on the working of the existing franchise and the electoral rules :—

Most of the points which arise in this connection have been already dealt with in the foregoing paragraphs and in the replies of the Provincial Franchise Committee.

Duration of the Council.—The duration of the Legislative Council is fixed by section 72-B of the Government of India Act at three years

from the date of its first meeting. The section provides that it may be sooner dissolved by the Governor, but this power of dissolution has never been used and each of the three councils elected under the new Constitution has lasted for the full period.

General elections.—The Council has been generally dissolved in August or September of the third year of its life and the elections for the new Council held in October or November. Preparations for the election begin in April when the work of revising the electoral rolls is taken in hand. The duty of preparing and maintaining the electoral rolls is laid by the Electoral Regulations (Part II, 1) on the Collector of the District who gets the work done by his Revenue subordinates. A certain amount of help is given by the Local Board and Municipal authorities but the brunt of the work falls on the Revenue Department of Government. If, as has been proposed by the Local Government, the electorate is more than trebled, it is likely that arrangements may have to be made for transferring some of the cost and responsibility for the preparation and maintenance of the rolls and for the conduct of elections to the local bodies. When the Reforms were introduced Government contemplated placing the duty of preparing and maintaining the rolls on local bodies as soon as possible. The development of the non-co-operation movement, however, made it unsafe to take any steps in this direction.

Revision of electoral rolls.—At present the work of revising the electoral rolls is taken up at the end of each triennium just before the general election. With the increase of the electorate, and the probable increase in the duration of the Council from three to five years, this work will become unmanageable within a short time, and it will become necessary to devise some machinery for continuously revising and maintaining the rolls up-to-date.

Disposal of claims and objections.—The hearing of claims and objections to the electoral roll after its first publication is at present done by the Small Cause Court Judges in Bombay and other large cities and by Subordinate Judges elsewhere. Rule 5 of Part II of the Regulations gives the Judges the power to appoint practising lawyers to do this work if the judges are unable to dispose of the claims and objections within a certain period. Up to now, the Judges have not found it necessary to delegate this work to practising lawyers ; with the increased electorate it will probably be necessary to entrust this work to them. The question may have to be considered whether it is advisable to impose a statutory obligation to furnish information which may be required by the Returning Officer. At present the Returning Officer has to collect the information necessary for the preparation of the roll in the best way he can by making house to house enquiries. He does not get much assistance from the public.

Interest taken by electors.—One of the principal difficulties experienced in the preparation and maintenance of the electoral rolls is the insufficient interest taken by the voters in getting themselves enrolled. The position, however, in this respect has improved gradually with every succeeding election, and it is probable that as the value of the vote comes to be better

understood, and party organisations improve in efficiency, the authorities responsible for preparing and maintaining the electoral rolls will receive greater help from the public and from political parties than they have in the past. The extent of illiteracy existing in India and the social conditions of the country make it impossible to provide penalties for failure to enrol and to vote.

Cost of elections.—The cost of preparing, maintaining and revising the rolls is borne entirely by Government. With the present small electorate the cost has not been very heavy. The election of 1920 cost Government a little over Rs. 5,00,000. The whole procedure was then new, a good deal of extra staff was employed, and a house to house inspection was carried out for preparing the roll. In subsequent elections the cost was much less, as the roll of 1920 was taken as the basis, no general house to house inspection was made, and very little extra staff was employed. The cost was Rs. 1,45,000 in 1923, Rs. 1,60,000 in 1926 and Rs. 1,29,000 in 1930.

Time taken for elections.—When the electorate is increased as proposed by Government the question of the time that will be required for carrying through general elections will become of greater importance than it is at present. Even with the present small electorate the time required for carrying out general elections, from the dissolution of the Council till the publication of the results of the elections is generally three months. This long period is necessitated by the difficulty of getting the ballot papers with the names and symbols of the candidates printed and distributed over all the twenty-seven districts of the Presidency in many of which the communications are not good. Facilities for printing the ballot papers are not available except in Bombay and Karachi with the result that the ballot papers for the whole Presidency have to be printed at these two centres. The large size and the difficulty of communications in many districts make it necessary to allow a fairly long interval between the date fixed for polling and that fixed for the counting of votes. Owing to the long time required for a general election the third (October) session of the Legislative Council has had to be dropped in each year in which general elections have been held, and the life of each Council instead of being three years, has actually been two and a half years or a little more.

Illiteracy of electorate.—More than half even of the existing electorate is illiterate. In the rural constituencies the proportion of illiterate voters is much higher. The proportion of illiterate voters to literate is bound to increase very much when the electorate is more than trebled and the difficulty of recording the votes of such enormous masses of illiterate voters will be considerably enhanced. The system of voting employed at present, namely, the cross and symbol system, has up to now worked well even with illiterate voters. Occasionally complaints have been received that a polling officer had favoured a particular candidate on the pretext of assisting illiterate voters to fill in the ballot papers ; but such complaints have been very rare, and on the whole it may safely be said that the cross and symbol system has worked well. Although such a large

proportion of the voters (52·5 per cent.) is illiterate, cases of personation have been very few.

Separate polling booths for women.—The number of women enfranchised at present is very small being only about 47,700 out of a total electorate of 869,566. Up to now, no necessity has been felt for providing separate polling booths for women. When women are enfranchised in much larger numbers separate polling booths with women presiding and polling officers will have to be provided for them, though it is doubtful whether even under these conditions any large percentage of women will turn up to vote. Except in the larger towns it will be extremely difficult to find a sufficient number of women to act as presiding and polling officers.

Return of election expenses.—Rule 19 of Part IV of the Bombay Electoral Rules requires each candidate to submit a return of his election expenses in a prescribed form within thirty-five days from the date of the publication of the result of the election, and rule 5, Part II of the Electoral Rules provides that both the candidate and his election agent should be declared ineligible for election for five years if the return of expenses is not lodged as required by rule 19. After each election a certain number of persons have had to be disqualified under this rule, but the disqualifications have, in most cases, been removed at the request of the candidates if it has been found that the failure to furnish the returns was not deliberate or was due to no dishonest motives. Although Rule 20 gives the Governor-General the power to fix maximum scales of election expenses the power has not up to now been exercised in this Presidency, partly because it was felt that there was not sufficient data available for the fixing of a general scale of expenses, and partly because of the difficulty of prescribing a uniform scale of expenses for constituencies and districts which varied so much in the matter of size, means of communication and in other respects.

Single and plural member constituencies.—The Southborough Committee said in paragraph 13 of their Report that they contemplated as a general rule single member constituencies, but that their detailed proposals left a latitude to the local Governments in cases where a rigid insistence on this rule was unsuited to the local conditions, especially in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, where special circumstances may make it desirable to form plural member constituencies. Of the fifty-four constituencies for the Bombay Legislative Council, eight are three-member constituencies, sixteen are two-member constituencies, and thirty are single-member constituencies. The existence of a large number of minorities, many of them, like the Depressed Classes, the Maharattas, the Lingayats, the Indian Christians and the Parsis, sharply divided politically and socially from the majority communities, makes the retention of plural member constituencies a necessity in this Presidency. They give some chance of success in elections to those classes and communities which either on account of their backward condition, or lack of organisation, or numerical weakness would otherwise find it impossible to make their voice effective in the elections. No demand has been received for the splitting up of the plural member constituencies, except in the

case of the three Muhammadan constituencies of the Northern, Central and Southern Divisions. The grievance with regard to those three constituencies is not that they are plural member constituencies, but that they are unwieldy in size, and that the grouping of districts and cities within those constituencies results in unfairness to some of them. As the question of the allocation of seats and the formation of constituencies is not included in the questionnaire, the Government of Bombay do not, at present, propose to go into the question of the grievances of the three Divisional constituencies. They wish to refer here only to the principle of plural member constituencies, and consider that the retention of such constituencies coupled with the right of cumulative voting is necessary in this Presidency as a safeguard for the minorities. A system of proportional representation if it could be adopted would also serve as a safeguard for some of the minorities, but such a system requires an electorate much more educated and intelligent than that which exists in this Presidency. Although the electoral rules [Part IV, 15 (2)] give the local Government the power to introduce the method of election by means of the single transferable vote in plural member constituencies, if a resolution in favour of the introduction of such a system is passed by the Council, no such resolution has ever been passed or even brought forward in the local Council, nor has any desire been expressed by any section of the public for the introduction of the system.

Voting in general and special constituencies.—Constituencies are at present divided into general and special. Rule 10 of the Electoral Rules provides that no person shall vote at any general election in more than one general constituency. There is, therefore, nothing at present to prevent a man from voting in a general constituency and also in two or three special constituencies; for instance, a man may vote in the University Constituency as a graduate, in the Landholders' constituency as an Inamdar, and in the general constituency as a payer of income-tax or holder of land. The Government of Bombay think that this system should be continued. No complaints have ever been received against it.

16. I am lastly to add that the questionnaire and the recommendations of the Provincial Franchise Committee have been considered by His Excellency the Governor with his Executive Council and Ministers sitting together and that the views expressed in this letter are the views of the Government of Bombay as a whole.

17. Twenty-five copies of each of the papers noted below have already been supplied to you.* A copy of this Report has also been supplied to the Provincial Franchise Committee :—

1. Provisional decisions of the Provincial Franchise Committee on the questionnaire of the Indian Franchise Committee.
2. Summary of views of the Returning Officers of the Bombay Legislative Council on the manageability of elections if franchise is extended to 10 per cent. of population.

* Not Printed.

3. Statement showing the present franchise in local bodies.

4. Reforms Office and General Department notes regarding views of local bodies on their franchise.

5. Notes of the Municipal Commissioner for the City of Bombay regarding the working of the Trade Unions constituency and of the group system of election in the City.

6. Statistical Tables.

7. Written statements on the questionnaire received from private bodies and individuals.

8. Note on the procedure at election.



APPENDIX A.

Statement showing the distribution of voting power under the proposals of the Government of Bombay for extension of the franchise.

I—Figures of possible voters.

Proposed franchise qualifications.	Muhammadans.			Depressed Classes.			Non-Muhammadans (excluding Depressed Classes).			Total.		
	Population. (*a*)	No. of voters. (*b*)	Percentage of (*b*) to (*a*).	Population. (*a*)	No. of voters. (*b*)	Percentage of (*b*) to (*a*).	Population. (*a*)	No. of voters. (*b*)	Percentage of (*b*) to (*a*).	Population. (*a*)	No. of voters. (*b*)	Percentage of (*b*) to (*a*)
*(*i*) Number of possible voters if Land Revenue assessment qualification is reduced to Rs. 8.	3,315,259 (Rural).	169,220	5·10	Rural and Urban not available separately.	39,399	..	Rural and Urban not available separately.	1,139,754	..	16,977,238	1,348,373	7·94
*(*ii*) Do. and if house rent qualification is halved in urban areas.	1,098,800 (Urban)	138,829	12·63	Do.	3,065	..	Do.	495,654	..	4,826,150	895,309	18·55
Total of (*i*) and (*ii*) ..	4,414,059	308,049†	6·97	1,750,424	62,464‡	3·56	15,638,905	1,635,408†	10·45	21,803,388	2,243,682‡	10·29
(*ii-A*) Number of women who would be enfranchised if the Land Revenue assessment qualification is reduced to Rs. 4.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9,222,896 for 25 distr	117,321 icts only.	1·27
(*iii*) Number of Haris in Sind who would be enfranchised.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	400,000	..
(*iv*) Number of Income-tax assessees who would be enfranchised.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	44,798 73,000§	..
(*v*) Number of voters in virtue of military service qualification.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10,147	..
									Total of	(*i*) to (*v*)	2,888,948	or 13·25 per cent. of total population.

APPENDIX A—*contd.*

II—Figures of unenfranchised residuum.

Muhammadans.			Depressed Classes.			Non-Muhammadans (excluding Depressed Classes).			Total.			Women.		
Population. (*a*)	Unenfranchised residuum. (*b*)	Percentage of (*b*) to (*a*)	Population. (*a*)	Unenfranchised residuum. (*b*)	Percentage of (*b*) to (*a*)	Population. (*a*)	Unenfranchised residuum. (*b*)	Percentage of (*b*) to (*a*).	Population. (*a*)	Unenfranchised residuum. (*b*)	Percentage of (*b*) to (*a*).	Population. (*a*)	Unenfranchised residuum. (*b*)	Percentage of (*b*) to (*a*).
4,414,059	2,018,337	45·72	1,750,424	622,520‖	35·56	15,638,905	7,197,117	46·02	21,803,388	9,600,213	44·02	10,330,504	5,483,622	53·08

NOTES.—

*The difference in the figures of voters under (*i*) and (*ii*) above and corresponding figures in Table No. VIII at page 5 of our Statistics Volume is due to the fact that in rural areas the figures of actual payers of land revenue assessment of Rs. 8 have now been obtained instead of Taluka Local Board voters on which the previous figures were based, while the Urban voters now include figures of payers of assessment of Rs. 8 in urban areas in addition to voters if rental qualification is halved.

† Excluding Bombay City and Larkana for which figures are not available.

‡ Excluding Larkana for which figures are not available.

§ This is the estimated number of assessees with incomes between Rs. 1,000 and 2,000 but it is possible that many of these may be voters under other qualifications.

‖ Excluding Bombay City and Sind for which figures are not available.

V

Supplementary memorandum by the Government of Bombay.

LETTER FROM THE REFORMS OFFICER, GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY, TO THE SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, CAMP INDIA, No. 117, DATED BOMBAY CASTLE, THE 29TH MARCH 1932.

SUBJECT :— *Questionnaire issued by the Franchise Committee.*

With reference to paragraph 12 of my letter No. 117-Confl., dated the 21st March 1932, I am directed to forward herewith the views of the Government of Bombay on the questions of the size of the Provincial Legislature and the creation of a Second Chamber for the Province for the consideration of the Indian Franchise Committee.

Size of the Provincial Lower Chamber.

2. The present Provincial Legislative Council consists of 114 members of whom 86 are elected and the rest excluding the members of His Excellency's Executive Council are nominated. The members of the Executive Council are members of the Legislative Council *ex-officio*. (Rule 3 of the Bombay Electoral Rules.) The elected members are elected mostly in territorial constituencies specified in Schedule I to the Bombay Electoral Rules and the extent of each constituency and the number of members to be elected by each are as stated in that schedule. The proposed increase in the number of voters will involve a reduction in the size and an increase in the number of constituencies and a consequent increase in the size of the Provincial Legislature. The Government of Bombay have examined the question in all its bearings and have come to the conclusion that the size of the Provincial Legislature should be increased in order that all communities and interests may be adequately represented in it. They are of the opinion that if an Upper Chamber is created for the Province and if Sind is separated from the rest of the Bombay Presidency the number of seats in the Provincial Lower Chamber should be 180. This decision was reached by a majority of 5 to 2, the minority being in favour of 150 seats only. If, on the other hand, there is to be no Upper Chamber and Sind is included in the Presidency as at present, the number of seats for the single Chamber of the Province should be 220.

Representation of special interests in the Provincial Lower Chamber.— In this connection I am also to state, in partial modification of paragraph 10 of my letter No. 117-Confl., dated the 21st March 1932, that by a majority of 4 to 3 the Government of Bombay consider that the special interests in the Provincial Lower Chamber should be represented as at present. The minority consider that the representation of each special constituency should be increased in proportion to the increase in the total number of seats except that of the landholders for whom an increase of one seat has already been recommended in the Report of the Government of Bombay

on the Simon Commission's recommendations, and the Bombay University. Government are unanimously of opinion that the one seat by nomination allotted to the cotton trade should be abolished.

Creation of a Provincial Second Chamber.

3. The question of establishing a bicameral system in the Provinces was examined by the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. After weighing the pros and cons of the question the authors of the report decided against a bicameral system for the provinces on the ground, among others, that " in many provinces, it would be impossible to secure a sufficient number of suitable members for two houses. . . . . A second Chamber representing mainly landed and moneyed interests might prove too effective a barrier against legislation which affected such interests. Again, the presence of large landed proprietors in the second Chamber might have the unfortunate result of discouraging other members of the same class from seeking the votes of the electorate ". The Government of Bombay admit that there is considerable force in these arguments against a second Chamber stated by the authors of the report. While, however, realising the necessity for a carefully thought-out and broad basis for a second Chamber if constituted and the difficulty of ensuring that such a basis is secured, the Local Government, by a majority of 4 to 3, have decided in favour of having a second Chamber for the province in the reformed Constitution.

Strength of Provincial Second Chamber.—As regards the strength of the provincial second Chamber I am to observe that if Sind is included in the Presidency as at present the number of seats in the Upper Chamber should be forty ; and if Sind is separated the number of seats should be thirty. In the latter case the seats should be allotted as follows :—

By nomination (including officials)	..	10 seats.
Sardars and Landholders	.. ..	3 ,,
Commerce and Industry	.. ..	5 ,,
General	..	12 ,,

If Sind is included, the total number of seats should be distributed in the same proportion as above, *viz.*, 13, 4, 7 and 16 respectively.

Franchise qualifications and term.—As regards the franchise qualifications for the elected members of the second Chamber, the Government of Bombay consider that they should be the same as those prescribed for the present Council of State. The term of the Upper Chamber should be six years for the first Chamber, and thereafter, nine years with one-third of the House retiring every three years.

VI

Further memorandum by the Government of Bombay with reference to paragraph 11 of their final Memorandum*.

LETTER NO. 117, DATED THE 9TH APRIL 1932, FROM THE REFORMS OFFICER, BOMBAY.

SUBJECT.—*Supplementary Questionnaire issued by the Indian Franchise Committee.*

With reference to paragraph 11 of the report of the Government of Bombay on the questionnaire of the Indian Franchise Committee, I am directed to forward herewith 5 typed statements† containing the statistics referred to in the supplementary questionnaire issued by the Committee together with a summary of the views of the Returning Officers for the constituencies of the Bombay Legislative Council on the various points mentioned in that questionnaire and to make the following observations :—

(1) The maximum number of voters who could be accurately polled in the 17 districts for which figures are available using the total number of officers and maximum accommodation possible and taking 750 as the number of voters with whom a presiding officer could deal in a day is estimated as follows :—

(*i*) If election is spread over two days	1,977,000
(*ii*) If election is spread over four days	3,780,000
(*iii*) If 40 per cent. of the voters are women (if election is spread over 2 days)	1,696,000
(*iv*) If 10 per cent. of the voters are women (if election is spread over 2 days)	1,887,000

(2) The percentage of (*i*), (*ii*), (*iii*), and (*iv*) above to the total population of the 17 districts is 14·9, 28·6, 12·8 and 14·3 respectively, and to the adult population is 27·5, 52·6, 23·6 and 26·2 respectively.

(3) The maximum personnel which could be used as presiding and polling officers for the 24 districts for which the figures are available is 32,926 as will be seen from statements IV and V forwarded herewith.

(4) Though most of the Returning Officers do not anticipate any objection to the use of non-officials (school-masters, etc.), as Presiding or Polling Officers some of them do not consider it desirable on the ground that non-officials are sometimes interested in one candidate or another for the election and cannot, therefore, be entrusted with the duties of Presiding or Polling Officers.

(5) It is possible to arrange separate polling booths for women but, except in certain urban areas, it will be almost impossible to find women Presiding or Polling Officers. Provision can be made for separate entrances and compartments for women voters.

(6) The Government of Bombay do not consider that the suggestion that the Depressed Classes should be given some weightage in their voting power is practicable and desirable nor do they recommend that

* Page 129. † Not printed.

male adult franchise should be introduced in the event of separate electorates being created for the Depressed Classes in Bombay.

(7) The views of the Government of Bombay on the constitution of a second Chamber in the Province have been communicated to you in my letter No. 117-Confidential, dated the 29th March 1932.* The Government of Bombay do not propose to modify their proposals about the franchise, or the representation of special interests in the Lower House of the Provincial Legislature in consequence of their recommendation for an Upper Chamber in the Province.

* Page 145.



VII

Supplementary memorandum by the Bombay Provincial Franchise Committee.

LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN, PROVINCIAL FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, BOMBAY, TO THE SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, No. 25, DATED BOMBAY, THE 21ST MARCH 1932.

SUBJECT.—*Report of the Provincial Franchise Committee.*

I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of the Bombay Provincial Franchise Committee's final proposals, made after considering the second questionnaire received from you. The Committee's answers to that questionnaire†† have been incorporated in the present report, which also includes such of their previous resolutions as have not been rescinded or modified when dealing with the second questionnaire.

2. The Committee is not in a position to deal with those of the questions which refer to, or are necessarily based on, new statistics. The Reforms Office has been collecting the statistics desired, and the answers will no doubt be supplied to you by Government, but owing to the extremely short time available, they could not be reduced to form and communicated to the Provincial Franchise Committee in time for incorporation in their resolutions.

3. Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh thinks that the whole question of the franchise is essentially different for Sind from the Presidency, and that so far as Sind is concerned, it should have been dealt with by a separate report, and indeed by a separate Committee. Since in fact no separate Committee has been appointed for Sind, the Bombay Committee could not deal with the case of Sind separately, nor prepare a separate report. As, however, he desires to bring this point of view to the notice of the All-India Franchise Committee, his note* on the subject is attached. His view that the Committee's proposal would enfranchise 25 per cent. of the population does not agree with the figures shown in the statement† appended to the report.

4. I append a note‡ summarising remarks of the officers concerned on the practical working of the elections under adult suffrage in the cities. The replies came too late to be laid before the Provincial Franchise Committee.

5. A statement§ is also attached showing by districts the number of voters who would be enfranchised under the Chamber of Commerce Scheme, and also the proposal to enfranchise all payers of land revenue however small. But the Committee has no figures available to show how many of each different class or community of the population would be enfranchised under these schemes.

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* Appendix V, p. 177. † Appendix IV, p. 176. ‡ Appendix II, p. 172.

§ Appendix III, p. 174.

Appendix I is Rao Bahadur Kale's Note—*vide* page 3 of the Report.

†† Page 108.

[The actual resolutions of the Committee are printed in Italics.]

PART I.

GENERAL QUESTIONS *RE.* PROVINCIAL FRANCHISE.

1. Possible Extension of the Franchise.

RESOLUTION 1.—"*The existing franchise for the Provincial Legislatures can be extended to 10 per cent. by reducing the property qualifications as proposed in Resolution 16 below apart from other extensions of the franchise.*"

Carried *nem con.*

RESOLUTION 2.—"*The Committee is agreed that the suggestion of the Chamber of Commerce that all payers of direct tax to the Local Government and Local Bodies should be enfranchised is unworkable.*"

Note.—If this proposal were combined with the qualification derived from the payment of rent for agricultural land however small, it would give more than 4,700,000 voters or over 21 per cent. of the population. To this perhaps would have further to be added a considerable number of tenants of houses in urban areas who do not pay the house tax; and the Committee think that the electorate so produced would be unmanageably large. On the other hand if the proposed qualification is to be in lieu of all other qualifications existing or proposed then the tenants of agricultural land and the tenants of houses in urban areas would alike be shut out from the vote which many of them already enjoy.

It does not seem possible to arrive on *a priori* grounds at a particular percentage as being the maximum possible percentage which would be practicable, and then work up to this by finding qualifications which might produce that maximum. The Committee would rather prefer to consider the various suggestions for qualifications on their merits, since a particular percentage of enfranchisement which might be quite manageable on one basis of qualification might be quite impossible on another owing to the difficulty of preparing, maintaining or revising the roll, if it were adopted. However, the Committee has been able to come to the following definite resolution on this matter.

RESOLUTION 3.—"*The Committee considers that the percentage of the population which it is desirable and administratively practicable to enfranchise is between 13 and 15 per cent. of the population.*"

Carried by 8 to 2.

The alternative proposal of Rao Bahadur Asavale that the percentage should be 20 per cent. was lost by 8 votes to 4. Rao Bahadur Asavale, Rao Bahadur Angadi, Dr. Solanki and Mr. Syed Munawar alone supporting it.

(Khan Bahadur Allabaksh in a note subsequently given expresses the view that in Sind the franchise should extend for the first five years only to 10 per cent. of the population, an extra 10 per cent. being added after another five years.)

Note.—The methods by which the franchise would be thus extended would be the educational qualification, the military qualification the special literacy qualification proposed for women and the household vote system for the Depressed Classes in addition to the reduction in the property qualification. The effect of the military qualification is negligible. It might bring in some 10,000 voters at most but probably much less. That of the educational qualification cannot be estimated however roughly, as no figures of the numbers of adults who have passed the 4th standard are available, and even if they were, it would be impossible, to guess how many of these would be able to prove their claim to the franchise on this ground and how many of these who could prove it would be enfranchised in other ways. Probably in towns most of those who possess this qualification would be otherwise qualified under the property qualification. There might be a fair number of voters added under this head in purely rural areas but no estimate can be made of it. Taking into consideration only the assessment and house rental qualification, the women's vote and the military vote and the income-tax qualification the percentage would come to slightly over 13 per cent.

RESOLUTION 4.—"*Such an electorate would be as capable of casting an intelligent vote as the present electorate.*"

RESOLUTION 5.—"*Such an electorate would be administratively possible.*"

2. Group System.

RESOLUTION 6.—The final decision of the Committee on this point by a majority is as follows :—

"*The Committee is not in favour of a combination of the group system with any method of direct voting.*"

Carried by 8 to 5. The supporters of the resolution were Dr. D'Souza Messrs. Wadia, Koreishi, Haji, Sardar Mutalik, Messrs. Petit, Winterbotham and Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh. The minority who favoured the group system combined with direct voting were Rao Bahadurs Angarey Asavale, Kale, Mr. Syed Munawar and Dr. Solanki ; but all of these except Rao Bahadur Kale now prefer to abandon the group system in favour of the household vote system of Khan Bahadur Aziz-ul-Huque referred to in Resolution No. 11. Mr. Jadhav who was absent when the final decision was taken and who prefers an exclusive group system, would doubtless accept the combined system if an exclusively indirect system cannot be introduced.

The majority hold that in Bombay and Karachi cities the group system is patently unworkable and impossible, and even in rural areas it would cause far more trouble and expense than it would be worth.

RESOLUTION 7.—"*The Committee adheres to its previous opinion that a universal indirect group system to the exclusion of other qualifications is undesirable.*"

Mr. Jadhav dissents.

The Committee thought that such a system would be almost as difficult to work as adult suffrage, and in any case it is not politically feasible or desirable to deprive of the direct vote those who possess it already.

RESOLUTION 8.—The majority of the Committee is of opinion that "*if there be groups at all, the spokesmen voters should vote in the same general constituency as the direct voters and not in a separate constituency composed of group voters only.*"

Only Rao Bahadur Kale favours the proposal that groups spokesmen voters should vote in a separate electorate of their own composed of all communities.

Note.—Since most of the Committee no longer favour the group system it is unnecessary for them to consider which particular method of working should be adopted. A note* by Rao Bahadur Kale showing how he would work the group system in detail is attached.

RESOLUTION 9.—The question whether any special qualifications is required for the spokesmen of the groups hardly now arises, but the Committee's unanimous opinion is that "*if groups be found, no special qualification would be needed for the spokesmen.*"

RESOLUTION 10.—"*Even if the group system be adopted for the unenfranchised residuum, yet the Committee sees no reason to modify on this account its proposals for the direct electorate, once it had already taken the group system into consideration when framing its proposals for the direct franchise.*"

3. Household vote System of Khan Bahadur Aziz-ul-Huque.

RESOLUTION 11.—"*While admitting that the scheme of Khan Bahadur Aziz-ul-Haque would give a more truly representative electorate than the Committee's proposals, the Committee does not favour the general adoption of that scheme, since among other grounds it tends to enfranchise over 25 per cent. of the total population and about 70 per cent. of the male adult population as against a very small percentage of women. This the Committee does not consider desirable at this stage. Moreover, it would enfranchise a large mass of people who have had no previous experience of the vote.*"

Carried by 5 to 2, Rao Bahadur Kale and Mrs. Maneklal Premchand opposing, while Rao Bahadur Angadi, Rao Bahadur Asavale, Dr. Solanki, Messrs. Syed Munawar and Haji remained neutral.

(The Committee also considered and rejected two rival proposals, one of Rao Bahadur Asavale that the household vote system should be accepted both for urban and rural areas without the addition of the extra literacy qualification suggested by Khan Bahadur Aziz-ul-Huque; and the

* *Vide* Appendix I, p. 171.

other of Rao Bahadur Kale that the household vote scheme of Khan Bahadur Aziz-ul-Haque be accepted as it stands for both urban and rural areas including the literacy qualification. The latter proposal was preferred to the former by 7 votes to 5, Rao Bahadurs Asavale and Angadi, Dr. Solanki, Messrs. Syed Munawar and Haji supporting the first while Messrs. Wadia, Koreishi, Petit, Sardar Mutalik, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Rao Bahadur Kale and Mrs. Maneklal preferred the latter; but it was lost against the resolution rejecting the scheme as shown above.)

4. Disparity in Franchise between Town and Country.

RESOLUTION 12.—"*The Committee agrees that the same electoral system should prevail in town and country except that the house rental qualification can be applied only in towns*".

The proposal that adult suffrage should be introduced into Bombay, Ahmedabad, and Karachi cities was rejected by 9 to 5. Rao Bahadurs Asavale and Angadi, Mr. Syed Munawar, Dr. Solanki and Mr. Haji supported it but Messrs. Wadia, Koreishi, Sardar Mutalik, Rao Bahadur Kale, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Mr. Prater, Dr. D'Souza, Mr. Petit and Mr. Winterbotham opposed it.

(See also the Committee's remarks in Resolution 29.)

RESOLUTION 13.—The Committee by a majority holds that "*though the disparity in the voting strength of urban and rural areas will still exist under their proposals, the point has no special weight since the interests of small towns and of purely rural areas do not appreciably differ; while the larger cities are already formed into separate urban constituencies. It is therefore unable to make any proposals for further reducing that disparity, as this could only be achieved by lowering the rural qualification below the point which they think desirable*".

Carried by 10 to 2, Rao Bahadur Asavale and Mr. Koreishi opposed and Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Mr. Syed Munawar and Mrs. Maneklal Premchand were neutral. Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh contends that in the towns of Sind, at any rate apart from Karachi, there is no appreciable disparity.

A counter-proposal to remove the disparity by reducing the assessment to Rs. 4 met with no support except from Rao Bahadur Asavale, as the Committee had already considered and rejected Rs. 4 assessment qualification.

Note.—Questions regarding representation of town and country are dealt with lower down in Resolutions Nos. 42 and 43.

5. Should each Community be given a Voting Strength proportionate to its Numbers.

RESOLUTION 14.—"*Assuming separate electorates, the Committee does not consider that the principle that each community should be given a voting strength proportionate to its number is of any practical importance. Assuming joint electorates with reservation of seats, the Committee considers*

the principle is not practicable in the case of all communities. Assuming joint electorates without reservation, the principle would be essential, but cannot be attained except by adult suffrage or by the adoption of the group system to the exclusion of all other qualifications (both solutions which the Committee as a whole is not prepared to accept)."

6. Property Qualification.

RESOLUTION 15.—"*The Committee considers that the possession of property of some kind is a suitable qualification for franchise. Property includes occupation as tenant as well as ownership of land or houses, but the suggestion that wages or income below the limit of income-tax assessment should be made the basis of the franchise qualification is unworkable.*"

RESOLUTION 16.—"*The Committee considers that in addition to the income-tax qualification there should be a qualification derived from the occupation as owner or tenant of land assessed or assessable at at least Rs. 8, and in urban areas of houses with a limit of rental value half that which is now fixed for the franchise. The reduction in the limit of assessment is intended to bring it down to the present Taluka Local Board qualification.*"

RESOLUTION 17.—"*In Sind the 'haris' should be enfranchised by the omission of the word 'permanent' from Rule 3 (a) (i) of Rule 2 of the Bombay Electoral Rules.*"

RESOLUTION 18.—"*The Committee does not think that any very important section of the agricultural population or of the poorer classes in rural areas will remain unenfranchised on the Rs. 8 assessment qualification. On this basis nearly one adult male out of every four will be enfranchised. Some male adult members of joint families will remain unenfranchised but they will be of the same class as and would have the same interest as those who will be enfranchised. There is no difference in interest between the man paying Rs. 8 assessment and the man paying Rs. 4 assessment. Both are small holders, both must largely resort to agricultural or other labour to supplement their income. Nor is there any marked difference or conflict of interest between the landless agricultural labourer on the one side, who would be the largest class excluded, and the small landholder or tenant on the other. For these reasons the Committee sees no necessity to reduce the limit of franchise derived from land below Rs. 8 assessment, especially as no reduction could benefit the landless agricultural labourer if he is not himself a tenant. The Committee's main objection to going below Rs. 8 is that there would thus be included in the electorate a mass of electors who have never yet exercised any franchise in the past even for local bodies. It is very undesirable to increase the difficulties of the new Councils and Government by including at the outset large masses of hitherto unenfranchised and illiterate voters. If the Council franchise is lowered to Rs. 8, it may be anticipated that the Local Board franchise would be lowered to Rs. 4, or perhaps to the payment of any assessment; and those who are not enfranchised for the Council on the Rs. 8 basis will thus receive a training in the exercise of the vote, which will fit them for inclusion in the Council electorate at a later date, say 10 or 15 years hence.*"

Carried by 6 to 3, Dr. Solanki, Mr. Syed Munawar and Rao Bahadur Asavale, being the dissentients. Those three favoured the counter-proposal to the following effect :—

"The criticism that a large section of the agricultural population and the poorer classes will be excluded under the Committee's proposals is just, and should be met by a reduction of the assessment qualification to Rs. 4." They urged that there is a large number of persons who are not at present on the Taluka Local Board electoral roll, and therefore will not get the Council vote under the Rs. 8 franchise. But their proposal was defeated as above.

Note.—If the assessment qualification were reduced to Rs. 4 and combined with the house rental and other qualifications proposed by the Committee and the special qualifications for women and the depressed classes suggested by the Committee, the result would be to enfranchise between 18 and 19 per cent. of the population. This percentage is higher than that which the Committee has fixed in Resolution No. 3 as the maximum percentage which would be practicable and desirable. But the Committee's main objection to this reduction in the land assessment qualification is not based so much on the ground that it is unmanageable, as on the ground stated above, namely, that the franchise would be extended to a large number of voters who have hitherto had no experience in the use of the vote.

The above decision also disposes of the suggestion that payment of any land revenue or local fund cess, however small, should qualify.

The proposal of Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh that in Sind all holders of land other than tenants paying Rs. 4 assessment and every tenant cultivating 5 acres or more of land should be enfranchised, found no supporters except himself.

RESOLUTION 19.—"*On the proposals made by the Committee for reducing the assessment qualification to Rs. 8, it is anticipated that probably a larger proportion of tenants will thus acquire the vote for the first time than of landowners. The enfranchisement of haris in Sind proposed by the Committee is alone expected to add about 400,000 to the roll, and this would remove the disparity between landowners and tenants in the Presidency taken as a whole. It seems probable that in the Presidency proper even now a much larger number of tenants could claim to be on the electoral roll than are actually now enrolled, and that through lack of interest they have not got their names put on the roll in many areas. It may be expected that under the new regime the rolls will be more carefully prepared and candidates and voters will be more particular to see that names are not wrongly omitted.*"

Note.—It may be noted that in this Presidency a person who holds land on the rayatwari tenure from Government is called a landowner and not a tenant. The term landholder includes everyone who holds land from Government, however small, as well as Inamdars, and even (in Inam villages where a survey and settlement has been introduced) the occupants of land holding from the Inamdars, whose names appear as permanent occupants. The holdings being often very small are not

always let to tenants, but may be cultivated by the landholder himself. The term "tenant" on the other hand includes both a lessee for a term of years, and also an annual tenant at will holding from the occupant. Many such tenants may be themselves the occupants of a separate small piece of land of their own. It cannot therefore be reasonably held that in this Presidency the interests of landholders, *i.e.*, of Kahatedars, and of tenants are in general directly opposed, so that it becomes a matter of urgent importance that each class should be equally represented.

7. Literacy Qualification.

RESOLUTION 20.—"*The Committee by a majority of 9 to 5 is in favour of introducing a qualification based on education. It should be the possession of a certificate of having passed the promotion examination from the 4th vernacular standard in approved vernacular schools or from the equivalent standard in approved English or English-teaching schools.*"

Messrs. Syed Munawar, Haji, Dr. Solanki, Rao Bahadur Asavale, and Rao Bahadur Angadi oppose the proposal on the ground that it will accentuate the disparity in voting strength and political power between the educationally advanced and educationally backward classes. They think that no such educational standard should be introduced till compulsory primary education is generally in force. Messrs. Winterbotham and Jadhav who were absent agreed with the minority.

RESOLUTION 21.—"*Taking 'literate' as implying bare ability to read and write, the Committee thinks that its proposals will leave a large number of the literate population unenfranchised; but the majority does not think that anything more can or should be done to remedy this.*"

Mr. Jadhav notes that he believes that only a small and not a large proportion of the literate adult population would remain unenfranchised. Since it is quite impossible to discover what numbers will be enfranchised by the Committee's educational qualification, it is not possible to say that Mr. Jadhav's view is wrong.

8. Military Qualification.

RESOLUTION 22.—"*The Military service qualification should be retained, and should be extended to all persons who at the time of the preparation of the electoral roll are borne on the strength of the A. F. I. or the I. T. F., and to those members of the U. T. C. who produce a certificate that they have completed 2 years' approved training, and to those ex-Members of both forces who hold the Long Service Medal or the Volunteer Decoration.*"

RESOLUTION 23.—"*The Committee does not consider that its proposals for the franchise need be modified if there is a second Chamber.*"

9. Women's Suffrage and Representation in Provincial Councils.

(*a*) *Special Franchise Qualification for Women.*

RESOLUTION 24.—"*The Committee by a majority recommend the adoption as a special franchise qualification for women the ability to read and write*

in any language; the voter's name to be enrolled on production of a certificate of such ability signed by a responsible person, to be prescribed by the rules." Carried by 8 to 7: the supporters of this proposal were Messrs. Wadia, Rajadhyaksha, Koreishi, Sardar Mutalik, Mr. Prater, Dr. D'Souza, Rao Bahdur Kale and Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh; the dissentients were Rao Bahadur Angadi, Rao Bahadur Asavale, and Dr. Solanki, and Messrs. Haji, Petit, Syed Munawar, and Winterbotham. Mr. Jadhav who was absent left a note which seems to imply disapproval of the proposal; if his vote be taken as "against" thereby producing equality, the Chairman would give his vote for the proposal, so carrying it.

RESOLUTION 25.—"*The age limit should be 21 for both men and women*". (Mr. Jadhav however thinks the limit should be 20.)

(*b*) *Women and the Group System.*

(The majority of the Committee has finally decided against the group system, but should it be adopted, then the original resolution of the Committee would apply, *i.e.*, that)

RESOLUTION 26.—"*There should be common mixed groups for men and women.*" Carried by 6 to 5. *For*: Mrs. Maneklal, Rao Bahadur Kale, Sardar Mutalik, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Messrs. Prater and Petit. *Against* (and in favour of separate groups for women); Messrs. Koreishi, Syed Munawar, Dr. Solanki, Rao Bahadur Asavale and Rao Bahadur Angadi. Mr. Jadhav who was absent agrees with the majority.

(*c*) *Representation of Women in the Council.*

RESOLUTION 27.—Out of the four expedients mentioned below, *i.e.*,

(*i*) *Co-option by the elected members of the Council,*

(*ii*) *Election by special electorate of educated women voting by post,*

(*iii*) *That a few of the unsuccessful women candidates not having forfeited their deposits who had polled the highest proportion of votes should be declared elected in addition to any who had been elected in the ordinary way.*

(*iv*) *That seats should be set apart for women in certain selected urban areas, the electorate for the purpose in each such area being the electors, men and women, belonging to that area on the rolls of all the general constituencies, who would have two votes, one of which must be cast for the women candidate.*

the Committee does not approve of the proposed method of election by educated women voting by post because it appears undesirable to create a special electorate for women.

"*It feels that reservation of seats or special representation for women is not desirable, if it is possible to enfranchise a sufficient number of women to afford them an effective voice in the election. But if this is impossible, the Committee considers that the 4th proposal is the best. It considers that it should be re-worded as follows:—*

In selected areas, from the allotted seats, seats should be set apart for women, the electorate for the purpose in each such area being the electors,

men and women belonging to that area on the rolls of all the general constituencies."

Note.—The Committee had at one time favoured the co-option proposal, but abandoned it, firstly because it appeared that the suggestion did not find favour with women generally in this Presidency; secondly because it would result in the women's representatives being chosen solely by men, while women would have no voice in the selection; and lastly because the system might make women less inclined to take the trouble of standing as candidates in the ordinary elections, if they thought that whatever happened they would be able to find a seat by the easier method of co-option.

10. Depressed Classes.

(*a*) *Franchise.*

RESOLUTION 28.—"*The term 'Depressed Classes' should be confined for the present purpose to the Untouchable Classes shown in Schedule I of Appendix II of the Starte Committee's Report.*"

RESOLUTION 29.—"*The Committee does not consider that male adult suffrage should be applied to the Depressed Classes, since it is undesirable to extend such a system to one particular class alone, if it is not to be applied universally. Adult suffrage has been rejected for the population as a whole, because it would enfranchise a vast mass of voters with no previous experience of the vote; and it would be illogical therefore to apply the system to that community alone which has the least training and experience.*"

(Mr. Jadhav alone seems to favour adult suffrage for the Depressed Classes, but he was absent when the matter was finally discussed.)

"*The Committee is not in favour of applying the Group System to the Depressed Classes alone, because it thinks that even in rural areas, the group system, if applied to the Depressed Classes, would be more complicated and difficult to work than the Household Unit Scheme of Khan Bahadur Aziz-ul-Huque would be, and it appears to be unworkable in the towns even for the Depressed Classes alone.*

The Committee thinks, however, that, assuming separate electorates for the Depressed Classes, then in addition to qualifications which the Depressed Classes would share with other communities, the Household Unit Scheme should be applied specially to them, and the proposal which the Committee had previously favoured, of enfranchising village servants useful to Government, should be dropped. But it should be provided that if a member of a household already has a vote on other grounds, its representative should not be entered on the roll under this system, i.e., *there should not be more than one voter per family.*"

Carried by 7 to 5; Mr. Haji, Rao Bahdur Asavale, Mr. Syed Munawar, Dr. Solanki, Khan Bahdur Allahbaksh and Mr. Winterbotham supporting and Messrs. Wadia, Koreishi, Sardar Mutalik, Rao Bahdur Kale and Mr. Petit opposing.

Note.—The Household Vote system referred to is as follows: Every family or household to be taken as a unit group and every family to be given a vote. "Family" or "Household" to be taken as a number of persons living together in a common house within the meaning of the Census Code and eating together in a common mess, together with their dependants. Every family or household to be allowed to select its own representative voter from among its number, provided he is adult, if it chooses to do so, but in the absence of any indication of its wishes, the registering officer should enter the name of the principal occupant or the head of the family.

This proposal may be expected to give nearly 300,000 voters, taking the population of the Depressed classes at 1,750,000, and the average number of members as 6, which is the general ratio indicated by the total number of houses according to the 1921 census and the total population. Thus the Depressed class voters would form about 16 per cent. of their total population.

(*b*) *Representation.*

"*A majority of the Committee were of the opinion that the Depressed Classes should be given separate electorates for 20 years.*"

(*N. B.*—This was the original recommendation of the Committee but it was not again considered at the time of the final revision, in view of the ruling that no recommendations on the subject of joint or separate electorates are relevant, since the matter is not within the terms of reference of the Franchise Committee.) That majority consisted of Rao Bahadur Asavale, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Messrs. Syed Munawar, Haji, Prater, Koreishi, Winterbotham and Dr. Solanki. The minority consisted of Rao Bahadurs Angadi and Kale, Sardar Mutalik, Mrs. Manek-lal, Messrs. Wadia and Rajadhyaksha, most of whom were understood to favour reserved seats in the general electorate.

The Committee also considered the suggestion put forward in Madras that in addition to separate electorates, the Depressed classes electors should be given a second vote in the general Non-Mohamedan constituencies, to accustom them to vote in the general electorate. But all proposals for its adoption, with or without modification, were rejected. Dr. Solanki, the representative on the Committee of the Depressed classes, declined to give his approval to the scheme in any form, and the rest of the Committee could not agree on any form of the proposal. Mr. Winterbotham proposed that 'the Madras scheme should be accepted, provided that the number of Depressed class voters enfranchised is sufficient to justify their having a separate electorate and to make it worth while for the candidates, in the general constituencies to canvass the Depressed class vote. But this was rejected by 8 to 3, Messrs. Wadia and Winterbotham and Rao Bahadur Angadi alone favouring it.

Mr. Petit proposed that the Madras scheme should be approved, provided that it does not secure to the Depressed classes a larger number of seats than would be otherwise allotted to the Depressed classes in their

separate electorate, but this met with no support at all. A proposal to accept the scheme as it stands without any qualification was lost by 6 votes to 3, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Mr. Wadia and Rao Bahadur Angadi alone supporting it. Rao Bahadur Kale's proposal that the Madras scheme should be accepted provided that out of the seats allotted to the Depressed classes some should be filled by a separate electorate, and some kept as reserved seats for the Depressed classes in the general electorate, was lost by 7 to 4, Rao Bahadurs Kale and Angadi, Sardar Mutalik and Mr. Petit alone supporting it. The opponents of the scheme (other than Dr. Solanki) thought it unreasonable that the Depressed classes should get a second vote in the general electorate in addition to their separate electorates, while Dr. Solanki feared that the Depressed classes would be subject to violent pressure in order to influence their vote in the joint electorate, and also that the possession of that vote would be made a ground for the speedy withdrawal of the separate electorate.

11. Labour.

(*a*) *Representation of Organised Labour.*

RESOLUTION 30.—"*The Committee recommends that organised labour interests should be represented by members elected by an electoral college, which shall be formed by registered Trades Unions composed of manual workers throughout the Presidency, electing delegates in the proportion of 1 for every 20 members of such unions; the candidate must be an ordinary or honorary member of at least 1 year's standing of a registered Trades Union which is itself of 1 year's standing. The electoral rules should require from the Trade Unions which will send delegates to the electoral college adequate standards of paying membership; the Committee considers that the Registrar of Trade Unions should be given adequate powers of scrutiny for this purpose.*"

And on reconsideration it decided to adhere to this opinion in preference to the creation of a special labour electorate of the industrial workers in factories and docks, this latter being favoured by Rao Bahadur Asavale alone. The Committee was of opinion that representation through the Trade Unions is likely to produce a better class of representative with a more expert knowledge of labour problems and conditions than the alternative proposal.

The other suggestion that 'seats should be reserved for labour in general constituencies, a labour candidate being defined as a manual worker or member or office bearer of a registered Trade Union', was also rejected, Mr. Haji and Rao Bahadur Asavale alone supporting it.

(*b*) *Unorganised Labour in Towns.*

RESOLUTION 31.—A proposal of Rao Bahadur Asavale that 'in addition to the representation of organised labour through the Trade Unions, to provide for unorganised labour there should be a separate electorate consisting of all industrial workers in factories, docks, etc., who are not members of Trades Unions; and that this electorate should have some

of the seats assigned to labour, was *rejected* by 6 to 4, its supporters being Rao Bahadur Asavale, Rao Bahadur Angadi, Dr. Solanki and Mr. Syed Munawar. The majority of the Committee thought that this arrangement would be difficult to work in practice, and being based on an entirely different system from that adopted for organised labour, could not well be combined with it; and moreover it would cut across the lines of communal representation.

Note.—The Committee has thus made no special proposal as regards unorganised labour in towns, but it seems likely in the opinion of most of its members that such labour would be strongly represented in the ordinary electoral roll of the general constituencies in the big towns.

(c) *Agricultural Labour and Unorganised Labour in Rural Areas.*

As regards the question of the landless agricultural labourer, etc., the opinion of the Committee has been shewn in resolution No. 18 above. The Committee could find no practical way of enfranching agricultural labour, save by adult suffrage, or by the group system, or by the general application to rural areas of Khan Bahadur Aziz-ul-Haque's Household unit method, all of which expedients have been rejected by the Committee or by a majority of the Committee.

RESOLUTION 32.—The Committee by a majority *rejected* the proposal to reserve seats for representatives of landless agricultural labourers in certain multi-member constituencies in rural areas where the landless labourers exceed a certain proportion of the population. The proposal was lost by 9 to 4, being supported only by Messrs. Haji, Syed Munawar, Dr. Solanki and Rao Bahadur Asavale. Mr. Jadhav who was absent is also opposed to it.

Note.—The majority found one difficulty in the fact that the landless agricultural labourers are neither organised nor educated, and therefore it would be exceedingly difficult for them to find any one to represent them suitably in the reserved seats, especially if they would have only a small number of voters. And if they formed any considerable body of electors, it would not be necessary to make any special provision for them. Moreover these landless agricultural labourers in the opinion of the majority of the Committee do not differ greatly in interest from the small land holders or tenant, and for the most part belong to very much the same class.

12. Special Interests.

RESOLUTION 33.—It was agreed that "*special interests should continue to receive representation in the Council.*"

RESOLUTION 34.—"*A majority of the Committee consider that all the special interests at present represented by election or nomination should continue to receive representation.*"

Rao Bahadur Angadi thinks that there should be no special representation for the University, but no other members agree with this view. A

minority consisting of Rao Bahadur Angadi, Rao Bahadur Asavale, Dr. Solanki and Mr. Syed Munawar strongly urge that there should be no special representation for the great landholders, and contend that the landholders are certain to be effectively and even excessively represented in the ordinary electorate, and that as regards the Inamdars, it is seldom that their interests are opposed to those of the other landholders. But the majority doubt both these propositions, and the proposal to exclude the special landholders constituencies was lost by 8 to 4.

RESOLUTION 35.—"*The Committee considers that the number of seats reserved for each special interest should bear the same proportion to the numbers of the enlarged Council, as their present number does to that of the present Council.*"

Carried by 7 to 6, Messrs. Wadia, Haji, Sardar Mutalik, Mr. Prater, Dr. D'Souza, Messrs. Petit and Winterbotham supporting.

(The minority who held that the number of seats for special interests in the Council should not be increased above their present number was formed as follows:—Rao Bahadur Angadi, Mr. Syed Munawar, Rao Bahadur Asavale, Dr. Solanki, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, and Mr. Koreishi. In addition to their objection to the Inamdars constituencies they consider that any increase to the special Commercial constituencies must involve an injustice to the claims of rural interests and argue that even if each special interest be admitted to need a voice in the Council that is no reason why it should have more than one seat.)

RESOLUTION 36.—"*A majority of the Committee consider that there should be no change in the method of electing to the Sardars and Inamdars constituencies of the Deccan and Gujarat and to the Sind Jahagirdars and Zamindars constituencies.*" Carried by 6 to 3, Rao Bahadur Angadi, Rao Bahadur Asavale and Dr. Solanki being the minority.

A proposal to include all officiating watandar patils and kulkarnis in the Deccan and Gujarat Sardars and Inamdars constituencies was rejected by 5 to 3.

RESOLUTION 37.—"*No change should be made in the method of election to the Commerce and Industries constituencies.*"

RESOLUTION 38.—"*One seat should be filled by election from the cotton trade in place of the nominated seat by which the trade is now represented, but the Committee has not sufficient material before it to enable it to propose the exact method of election. It considers that the representation of the cotton trade should include both cotton growers and dealers.*"

RESOLUTION 39.—"*The Committee does not consider that its proposals about special interests should be modified, if there is a second Chamber.*" (Rao Bahadur Kale dissents, *vide* Resolution 55.)

13. Qualification of Candidates for the Provincial Council.

RESOLUTION 40.—"*The Committee is of opinion that no literacy qualification should be required of candidates for the Provincial Council.*" Carried *nem con.* The Committee considered that a qualification which merely

requires ability to read and write in a vernacular would serve no useful purpose at any rate in a province where various vernaculars are spoken. Any higher qualification might unduly affect the interests of the more backward classes.

RESOLUTION 41.—"*The Committee agrees that the present rules regarding the qualification of candidates for the Provincial Council should be retained, subject to the following modifications* :—

(i) *Only subjects of such States should be qualified to stand as candidates in which British subjects are eligible as members of the State Legislature, if any.*

(ii) *Members of other legislative bodies should not be disqualified from standing as candidates, provided that if elected they resign their seats on that other body before taking their seats on the Council.*

(iii) *The residential qualification for a candidate for the Council should be abolished.*

(iv) *Persons holding contracts from the Provincial Government should be debarred from standing as candidates for Council by a rule framed on the general lines of those contained in the Bombay Municipal Acts.*

(v) *There should be no disqualification of a candidate on the ground that he has been convicted of a criminal offence, provided that he is not undergoing a sentence of imprisonment at the time, and that if elected he will be able to take his seat within 3 months from the date of election or at the first session of the Legislative Council, whichever is later.*

(vi) *The word 'permanent' in rule 3 (a) (i) of Schedule II of the Bombay Electoral Rules should be omitted before the word 'tenant'.*"

14. Nature of the Constituencies for the Provincial Legislature.

RESOLUTION 42.—"*The majority of the Committee are in favour of multi-member constituencies, for the Provincial Council, both in urban and rural constituencies, provided that they are not obtained by combining different districts in more than one constituency. The number of seats in any constituency should not be more than 4.*

Voting should be cumulative.

Such constituencies are necessary if reserved seats are provided for Marathas, and Indian Christians; and are desirable also in the interests of minorities and sections of all kinds, other than those which will receive separate electorates. It is quite impossible to enumerate all these various sections and interests, as they differ in every district."

Carried by 10 to 4, Rao Bahadur Asavale, Rao Bahadur Angadi, Dr. Solanki and Mr. Koreishi being the dissentients.

(A counter proposal made by Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh that voting should be by single non-transferable vote found no supporters. A proposal that there should be multi-member constituencies in urban areas

and wherever there are reserved seats, but that other rural constituencies should be single member constituencies, was defeated by 8 to 6, its supporters being Rao Bahadur Asavale, Rao Bahadur Angadi, Messrs. Haji, Koreishi, Dr. Solanki and Mr. Syed Munawar.)

15. Representation of Cities.

RESOLUTION 43.— "*The Committee considers that the 3 great cities of Bombay, Karachi and Ahmedabad should have special weightage in the Council, apart from the seats given to special interests, but that otherwise town and country should have representation proportionate to their population. The Committee cannot indicate precisely what weightage should be given to the 3 cities above without working out the exact allocation of all the seats in the Council, which they are not in a position to do.*" Carried by 10 to 2, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh and Rao Bahadur Angadi dissenting.

RESOLUTION 44.— "*The majority of the Committee do not favour the idea of grouping minor municipalities and urban areas into urban constituencies apart from strictly rural areas and consider that the present practice should be retained.*"

Carried by 7 to 4. Messrs. Koreishi, Haji, Syed Munawar and Rao Bahadur Asavale alone support the idea of combining municipalities into joint urban constituencies. The majority hold that the interests of the residents in the smaller municipalities do not differ greatly from those who live in the strictly rural areas.

16. Polling Arrangements.

RESOLUTION 45.— "*The Committee considered the question of extending the polling period beyond one day. If this means that the polling should last for more than one day in any given polling station area, then in the Committee's opinion great inconvenience both to candidates and voters and great confusion would result; for it would be difficult for any given voter to know on which day he should appear. If the proposal be that in one polling station area the voting should be on one day and in another within the same constituency it should be on a different day, this arrangement might reduce expense for Government but the Committee considers that it would entail greater cost and strain on the candidates and it would be better therefore that one and the same day should be fixed throughout the constituency.*"

Note.—Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh dissents and Mr. Jadhav, who was absent also favours a two days' polling period.

RESOLUTION 46.— "*The hours of polling should be from one hour after sunrise to sunset with an hour's recess at midday.*"

RESOLUTION 47.— "*The Committee considers that not more than 500 voters in towns and 300 in rural areas can be polled per day by each polling officer.*"

RESOLUTION 48.— "*In view of the opinion of the majority of the Committee given in favour of multi-member constituencies, the Committee considers that the present cross and symbol system with one common ballot box for all communities should be retained, instead of the multiple box system*

whether of coloured box or of box marked with symbols; for otherwise the number of boxes to be dealt with in each polling station and transmitted for counting to headquarters would be most inconveniently large."

RESOLUTION 49.—"*The Committee considers that as at present the ballot paper should be issued by the polling officers and not by the presiding officer.*"

17. Life or Provincial Legislatures.

RESOLUTION 50.—"*The Committee is of opinion that the life of the Provincial Legislatures should be 5 years instead of 3 as at present.*"

18. Representation of Minorities.

RESOLUTION 51.—"*The Committee thinks that the Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans should be formed into a separate electorate,* i.e., *separate from the Europeans. Their electoral roll should include all persons of European descent in the male line who being British subjects resident in British India are domiciled in British India or were born of parents habitually resident in British India and not established here for temporary purposes.*"

RESOLUTION 52.—"*The Indian Christians should be represented in the Council by reserved seats in the general Non-Mahommedan electorate for a period of 20 years.*"

RESOLUTION 53.—"*A small majority of the Committee hold that reserved seats for Mahrattas with the right to contest additional seats should be continued in those constituencies where they will not have a percentage of voting strength equal to the percentage of their population.*"

Carried by 5 to 4. Those who favoured this proposal are Rao Bahadurs Asavale, Angadi, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Dr. Solanki and Mr. Koreishi. Mr. Jadhav, who was absent, also favours this proposal. The minority consisting of Rao Bahadur Kale, Sardar Mutalik, Messrs. Wadia and Petit are of opinion that no seats should be reserved for Maharattas anywhere.

19. Size of the Provincial Council.

RESOLUTION 54.—"*The Committee considers that the seats on the Provincial Council should be not less than 150 and not more than 200.*"

Carried by 7 to 4. The minority consisted of Rao Bahadur Asavale, Rao Bahadur Angadi, Dr. Solanki and Mr. Prater.

Note.—Rao Bahadurs Angadi, Asavale and Dr. Solanki consider that there should be one seat for every one hundred thousand of the population.

20. Bicameral Legislature.

RESOLUTION 55.—"*The Committee by a majority of 8 to 4 considers that for the first few years at least a second Chamber will be necessary for the Provincial Legislature, the powers of that Chamber being broadly those of the present Council of State.*"

The majority consisting of Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Rao Bahadur Kale, Sardar Mutalik, Dr. D'Souza, Messrs. Wadia, Koreishi, Prater and Petit think that a second Chamber is needed to act as a brake on the Lower House and to relieve the Governor of the necessity of constantly falling back on his emergency powers with reference to ill-considered legislation and to supply the lack of the Official bloc as a moderating influence. Rao Bahadur Kale supports the proposal subject to the opinion that if a second Chamber be established there would be no need for representation of special interests in the Lower Chamber. On this latter point, however, the opinion of the Committee is given in Resolution No. 38 above.

The minority consisting of Rao Bahadurs Asavale, Angadi, Dr. Solanki and Mr. Haji argued that the House elected by the people ought to be the final House and that any Upper House would be undemocratic and almost certainly would be unduly conservative and that its constitution would entail a heavy and useless expense out of all proportion to its utility. Also an Upper House would weaken the sense of responsibility of the Lower House. Mr. Jadhav, who was absent, agrees with the minority, and Mr. Winterbotham with the majority.

RESOLUTION 56.—"*The majority of the Committee consider that the Second Chamber should be elected on a basis of higher qualifications than the Lower Chamber and those qualifications should be based on property and education. A certain proportion of the seats should be filled by nomination by the Governor to represent special interest and minorities.*"

Carried by 8 to 3. The majority consists of Rao Bahadur Kale, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Sardar Mutalik, Messrs. Wadia, Koreishi, Petit, Prater and Winterbotham. Mr. Winterbotham agrees with the majority on the first part of the resolution but is opposed to nomination to the Second Chammer, considering that special interests and minorities should secure representation through special constituencies.

The minority consists of Rao Bahadur Angadi, Asavale and Dr. Solanki.

The following rival proposals were considered and rejected :—

(1) That half the House should be composed of elected members and half of nominated. Five favoured this and 5 were against and the Chairman gave his casting vote against the proposal.

(2) The second Chamber should be elected by the members of the Lower House from among themselves by a single transferable vote.

This was supported only by Rao Bahadur Asavale.

(3) That the second Chamber should be a body elected by the same electorate as the Lower House.

This failed by the adoption of the proposal given above. The majority considered that such a Lower House would not be sufficiently different in composition from the Upper House.

RESOLUTION 57.—"*The Committee agrees that in the event of a difference of opinion between the two Chambers the matter should be referred to a joint session.*"

RESOLUTION 58.—"*The Committee agrees that the life of the second Chamber should be 7 years, half the members vacating their seats after* $3\frac{1}{2}$ *years.*"

Note.—A Statement* is appended showing what is the expected effect of the various proposals of the Committee regarding the franchise for the Provincial Legislature.

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* *Vide* Appendix IV, page 176.



PART II.

FEDERAL LEGISLATURE.

21. Allocation of Seats to British Indian Provinces.

RESOLUTION 59.—"*Having regard to the commercial and industrial importance of the Bombay Presidency and to the fact that Bombay City is the main port of India and that there is a second important port in the Presidency, viz., Karachi, the Committee holds that the weightage allowed to the Bombay Presidency in the allocation of seats for the Assembly should be increased by 4 more seats.*"

Notes.—Rao Bahadur Angadi alone dissents. See also Resolution 69 below.

22. Federal Upper Chamber.

RESOLUTION 60.—"*The Committee agrees that representatives of the British Indian Provinces in the Upper Chamber should be elected in the Provincial Legislature by a single transferable vote.*"

[*Notes.*—(*i*) Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh would add the following proviso :—

> "Provided that the proportion of Mussalman representation in the Federal Upper House which may be laid down in the future Indian constitution is secured."

(*ii*) Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh and Sardar Mutalik favoured direct election to the Upper House and proposed that the existing method of election to the Council of State be retained for the Federal Upper House. But this suggestion was rejected by 9 to 2. Mr. Winterbotham who was absent also favours direct election for the Upper House.]

23. Franchise Qualification for the Assembly.

RESOLUTION 61.—"*The Committee propose that the franchise for the Federal Lower House should be the same as is now in force for the Provincial Council, that is, the payment of income-tax, ownership or occupation as tenant of land assessed at or of the assessable value of not less than Rs. 32 or in the Panch Mahals, Ratnagiri and Upper Sind Frontier Rs. 16, and the occupation as owner or tenant in any municipal district, cantonment or notified area of a house of the annual rental value of Rs. 120 in Bombay City, Rs. 60 in Karachi City, Rs. 24 in any Municipality in the Punch Mahals or Ratnagiri and Rs. 36 in other districts, retired soldiers of the regular Army to be included in the franchise.*" This would have the effect of enlarging the electoral roll from 170,000 to about 870,000 or 3·9 per cent. of the population.

Carried by 9 to 4. Supported by Messrs. Wadia, Koreishi, Haji, Syed Munawar, Dr. Solanki, Messrs. Prater, Winterbotham, Rao Bahadurs Angadi and Asavale. Mr. Jadhav who was absent agrees with the majority.

The minority, namely, Sardar Mutalik, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Dr. D'Souza and Mr. Petit prefer the Committee's original proposal that the present qualification for the Assembly should be retained unchanged except for the addition of holders of a University degree.

Another suggestion that the franchise for the Assembly should be the payment of income-tax or the occupation of land assessed or assessable at Rs. 36 was supported only by Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh and Rao Bahadur Angadi. The majority consider that such a franchise would be most unfair to the urban areas.

RESOLUTION 62.—"*Election to the Lower Federal House should be by territorial constituencies of direct qualified voters and not by any indirect method.*"

Note.—Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh and Mr. Winterbotham favoured indirect election.

RESOLUTION 63.—A narrow majority of the Committee consider that "*there should be single seated constituencies for election to the Lower Federal House ; and in combining districts where necessary, regard should be had to convenience and as far as possible to language.*"

Rao Bahadurs Angadi, Asavale, Dr. Solanki, Mr. Syed Munawar, Mr. Koreishi and Mr. Haji favour this proposal on the ground that single-seated constituencies would be smaller in size and more manageable and convenient for candidates and for election purposes.

The alternative proposal that constituencies should be as far as possible multiple-seated with cumulative voting was supported by Messrs. Wadia, Rajadhyaksha, Petit, Rao Bahadur Kale and Sardar Mutalik on the ground that such constituencies give minorities of all kinds a better chance of securing a candidate of their own choice.

24. Representation of Women in the Assembly.

RESOLUTION 64.—"*If the total number of seats on the Assembly assigned to this Presidency be raised to 30, then in Bombay City 1 seat should be reserved for women in the Non-Mohammedan general constituency and 1 in the Mohammedan constituency ; but if not, the Committee adheres to its original recommendation that the Assembly as a whole should co-opt 3 women representatives provided the minimum of 3 be not elected in the ordinary course.*"

Carried *nem con.*

25. Representation of Depressed Classes in the Assembly.

RESOLUTION 65.—"*A majority of the Committee consider that the Depressed Classes should have special representation in the Federal Assembly. The representative or representatives of the Depressed Classes should be elected to the Federal Lower House from among the members of the Depressed Classes by the vote of all the members of the local bodies and the members of the Provincial Legislative Council.*"

Carried by 6 to 2, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh and Mr. Haji opposing it. Dr. Solanki did not vote.

The Committee considered and rejected 3 other proposals as follows :—

(1) Dr. Solanki's proposal :—The representatives of the Depressed Classes in the Lower Federal House should be chosen by direct election from the Depressed Classes themselves. Their qualification as voters should be the same as the present franchise qualification for the Provincial Councils.

Rejected by 6 to 4. Rao Bahadur Asavale, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Dr. Solanki and Mr. Syed Munawar supported it.

(2) A proposal providing for a special franchise qualification for the Depressed Classes for the Assembly similar to that approved for all classes for future Provincial Councils was favoured by Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh alone.

(3) The proposal of Mr. Haji that the representatives of the Depressed Classes in the Assembly should be elected by the Depressed Class members of the local bodies and Legislative Council was rejected by 7 to 3, Messrs. Haji, Koreishi and Dr. Solanki alone favouring it. The majority considered that it would give much too small a number of electors.

RESOLUTION 66.—"*The Committee considers that its proposal for the method of electing Depressed Class representatives for the Assembly is preferable to the other suggestion that separate Depressed Class constituencies should be formed only in certain urban areas like Bombay, Poona, Sholapur, etc.; because the latter proposal gives the vote only to the Depressed Class voters of a very few urban areas and leaves those in the rural areas entirely unprovided for; whereas the social questions which might arise in the Assembly regarding Depressed Classes would certainly affect rural areas not less acutely than urban areas.*"

Mr. Jadhav alone appears to favour the latter proposal.

26. Representation of Labour in the Assembly.

RESOLUTION 67.—"*Labour should be represented in the Federal Lower House by a member or members elected by registered Trade Unions of the Bombay Presidency.*"

27. Representation of Special Interests in the Assembly.

RESOLUTION 68.—"*The majority of the Committee consider that the number of seats at present assigned in the Assembly to special interests excluding labour should not be increased.*"

Carried by 5 to 2. Rao Bahadurs Asavale, Angadi, Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Dr. Solanki and Mr. Koreishi voting for and Sardar Mutalik and Mr. Petit voting against it. Mr. Winterbotham who was absent agrees with the minority.

Sardar Mutalik's proposal that the Landholders and Millowners constituencies should have two continuous seats each in the Assembly was rejected by 5 to 3, Sardar Mutalik, Mr. Petit and Rao Bahadur Kale being in the minority.

RESOLUTION 69.—*" The Committee's views on the subject of the distribution of seats in the Lower House of the Federal Legislature are as follows :—*

The following basis has been suggested for allocating the 26 seats proposed by the Federal Structure Sub-Committee for the Bombay Presidency :—

General constituencies including Europeans	22
Labour	1
Indian Commerce	2
Landholders	1
	26

This distribution does not, however, provide for the following interests, (a) those interests which are at present provided for by nomination on an All-India basis, namely, the Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians and European Commerce, (b) the interests of the millowners of Ahmedabad and Bombay who at present share by rotation one of the seats allotted to Indian Commerce to the satisfaction of neither, (c) the interests of the Sardars and Inamdars of the Presidency and the Jahagirdars and Zamindars of Sind who at present share one seat by rotation to the satisfaction of neither, and (d) it is doubtful whether one seat will satisfy labour demands. The Committee is unanimously of opinion that these considerations make out an overwhelming case for the increase in the allotment of seats to 30 at least to provide for these interests."

28. Qualification for Candidates for the Assembly.

RESOLUTION 70.—*" A majority of the Committee consider that a member of the Assembly should be required to be able to understand and express himself in English."*

Carried by 7 to 3. The minority consisting of Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh, Mr. Syed Munawar and Rao Bahadur Asavale hold that this condition would prejudice the interests of the backward classes and unduly restrict their choice of candidate and would shut out from the Assembly some candidates who, in spite of inability to speak English, would nevertheless be very useful members.

A rival proposal of Rao Bahadur Asavale that the qualification for the Assembly candidate should be ability to follow the proceedings in English and to address the Assembly in any vernacular language fell through when the above resolution was carried.

S. H. COVERNTON,

Chairman, Bombay Provincial Franchise Committee.

APPENDIX I.

HOW THE GROUP SYSTEM SHOULD BE CONDUCTED.

Note by Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale, M.L.C., and Member, Provincial Franchise Committee, Bombay.

I have already indicated in my Memorandum submitted to the Provincial Franchise Commitee and published at pages 129-130 of the Blue Book (accompaniment No. 7 to the Bombay Government's Report on the Questionnaire of the Franchise Committee) the general outline of the working of the group system. As to how the group voting should be conducted I should like to supplement my statement by making the following observations :—

Lists of all unenfranchised voters should be prepared by the Village Officers about two months prior to the General election with the assistance of Village School Masters and checked by Revenue Officers as also by Officers of the Co-operative and Agricultural and Health Departments. On the day fixed for the election of the Secondary Voters, which should be a month before the general election, persons included in every Unit of the Village, which will have contained about one hundred primary Voters according to my suggested division of the village, should be gathered in front of a temple or Chavadi ; and they should be asked to elect five Spokesmen—a quorum for the meeting being fixed at a certain minimum and voting done by show of hands ; the election should be conducted by the Mamlatdar or other Revenue Officer not lower in rank than the Head Karkun, who generally is also a Magistrate. This method is at present in vogue in the elections in the Village Panchayat and was lately adopted by the Bombay Government when the Village Sanitation Act of 1931 was passed for the election of the Sanitary Committees in Villages. The elections should be held early in the morning before the people of the village go out into the fields for the day's work or at night when they have returned to their homes. When the spokesmen are thus elected, a separate register should be formed in which these should be shown as qualified voters for the Legislative Council.

COUNCIL HALL, BOMBAY.

Dated 18th March 1932.

R. R. KALE, M.L.C.,

Member, Bombay Provincial Franchise Committee.

APPENDIX II.

Summary of replies of Returning Officers of the big cities to the question regarding the enfranchisement of sub-tenants in cities with reference to the questions asked verbally at the Joint Sessions.

In Bombay.—Sub-tenants are enfranchised if they pay the qualifying rent and desire to get themselves enrolled. Lodgers, occupying house or room jointly in a chummery are not enrolled.

If the rental franchise were halved the number of sub-tenants enfranchised might be 50,000 to 60,000.

Sholapur.—They are not at present enfranchised.

Poona City.—Yes, if they pay the qualifying rent. No figures of the number who would be enfranchised if the house-rental qualification were halved are available.

Ahmedabad.—There is no subletting.

Surat.—There is no subletting.

Karachi.—Yes, if they pay qualifying rent. No figures available of the number who would be enfranchised if the house-rental qualification be halved.

2. Replies regarding the working of Election in the big cities under adult Suffrage.

Bombay.—The whole electorate could be polled in one day, if there were no separate electorates, but with separate electorates 2 days would be necessary.

Twenty-four polling stations, 24 Presiding Officers, and 5,000 clerks would be needed for the actual elections.

Staff is said to be available from municipal and Government permanent establishment.

Special temporary staff of 800 would be required from 4 to 9 months for the preparation of the roll.

Expected total cost of an election would be Rs. 6,75,000 as against Rs. 1,25,000 at present under the present franchise.

Spreading the election over two days would not materially reduce the cost.

Karachi.—It would be possible to hold the election in one day with 10 polling stations and 10 supervisors. In each polling station there would be 10 booths, with in all 125 Presiding Officers and 125 Polling Officers. (It seems as though the term " presiding officer " is used in a different sense at Karachi.)

Staff is available from the ranks of Government and municipal employees. Temporary staff would be required for the preparation of the roll, at a cost of about Rs. 10,000.

Approximate total cost including preparation of roll and actual election would be about Rs. 25,000 as against Rs. 5,000 at present.

Surat.—At least 2 or 3 days would be required to poll the entire electorate. 15 polling stations each divided into separate booths, and 15 presiding officers, 75 assistant presiding officers, 300 polling officers and assistants, and 120 peons would be required.

At present the Municipality with only 25,000 voters take 2 days for their own elections using their own staff.

Permanent staff of Government and the Municipality would not suffice and temporary staff would be needed for the preparation of the roll. Cost of preparing roll would be about Rs. 12,000 as against Rs. 6,000 in 1920.

Collector can make no estimate of the total cost of the election.

Ahmedabad.—The whole electorate could not be polled in one day : 3 days would be required. Special staff would be required for the preparation of the roll, *i.e.*, 50 clerks and 15 supervisors for 9 months. If the election be spread over 3 days no special staff would be needed for the actual election.

Total cost of the election would be Rs. 44,000 as against Rs. 7,994 in 1930.

The permanent staff would not suffice for polling all the electors in one day.

Sholapur.—Adult population could be polled in one day if polling stations were doubled, *i.e.*, 32 as against 16 at present, and if the presiding officers were also 32 and polling officers were 168, *i.e.*, double the present number. In addition to the permanent staff, extra temporary staff would be needed for preparation of the roll. They would have to be paid. So also extra temporary staff would be needed in addition to the permanent Government and Municipal staff for the conduct of the election. But Collector cannot estimate what would be the cost of the election in all. He sees no objection to spreading the election over 2 days. Suggests different days should be fixed for Non-Muhammadans, Muhammadans and women respectively; he does not explain why he proposes to give women a separate day.

Poona.—The adult population in Poona Urban Constituency could be polled in one day if 44 polling stations and 44 presiding officers were appointed, and 250 to 300 polling officers employed, as against 22 polling stations and presiding officers and 77 polling officers at present. The adult population of the urban constituency is 126,000. Special temporary additional staff would be needed for the preparation of the roll, but the election could be held with the help of Government and Municipal staff alone. The election could be spread over 2 days if desired. Can give no estimate of the cost of the election, but the temporary staff would have to be paid, and the permanent staff would have to be paid actual expenses at about Rs. 5 per day for presiding officers and Rs. 2 for polling officers. Cost of the election under existing franchise in 1930 was Rs. 5,650.

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APPENDIX III.

Statement showing the effects of the Chamber of Commerce Scheme.

District.	Total number of payers of direct taxes to Sanitary Committee, Sanitary Board or Village Panchayat.	Total number of payers of direct municipal, canton-ment or notified area tax including Sanitary Cess but excluding wheel tax.	Total number of payers of land revenue assessment however small, including holders of Inam lands.	Total number of tenants of agricultural land, however small.
1	2	3	4	5
Bombay City	*Nil.*	29,000	4,902	*Nil.*
Ahmedabad	660	100,636	103,979	67,489
Broach	6,560	13,545	48,082	26,790
Kaira	16,000	25,000	168,000	109,000
Panch Mahals	3,545	6,700	41,445	15,957
Surat	5,075	32,414	90,089	20,550
Thana	8,524	7,955	103,969	117,589
Ahmednagar	11,513	8,382	190,634	16,939
Khandesh, East	18,190	29,147	167,847	29,405
Khandesh, West	5,337	18,059	125,706	42,419
Nasik	7,837	19,787	163,851	15,098
Poona	6,863	26,185	206,438	7,321
Satara	8,167	23,600	253,920	43,341
Sholapur	4,177	19,419	107,818	28,787
Bombay Suburban District ..	50	8,957	13,371	2,257
Belgaum	17,884	18,732	184,036	77,501
Bijapur	2,300	14,675	44,855	85,840
Dharwar	32,400	46,750	156,000	45,200
Kanara	250	7,214	43,350	63,050
Kolaba	3,911	6,104	122,462	114,209

District.	Total number of payers of direct taxes to Sanitary Committee, Sanitary Board or Village Panchayat.	Total number of payers of direct municipal, canton-ment or notified area tax including Sanitary Cess but excluding wheel tax.	Total number of payers of land revenue assessment however small, including holders of Inam lands.	Total number of tenants of agricultural land, however small.
1	2	3	4	5
Ratnagiri	970	9,500	152,000	99,000
Hyderabad	..	8,832	34,890	61,684
Karachi	*Nil*	16,011	27,399	230
Larkana	21,000	..	14,309	114,892
Nawabshah	..	3,887	24,750	21,666
Sukkur	12,737	20,395	51,536	79,768
Thar and Parkar	..	344	49,454	1,702
Upper Sind Frontier ..	100	2,700	8,300	50,000
Total ..	191,050	523,930	2,703,392	1,357,684

The results of the Chamber of Commerce Scheme are obtained by adding columns 2 and 3. The total figure thus obtained would give 3·3 per cent. of the total population if this were the sole basis of enfranchisement.

APPENDIX IV.

Statement showing probable effects of the Committee's Proposals.

———	Presidency proper.	Sind.	Total.
Voters by house rental qualification if halved.	691,970	107,388	799,358
Voters from Rs. 8 assessment franchise	1,087,723	115,875	1,203,598
Voters by Military qualification ..	9,000	1,000	10,000
Haris	..	400,000‡	400,000‡
Women literates (according to 1931 census).	144,255	18,905	163,160
Depressed classes..	283,000*	17,000*	300,000*
Income-tax assessees (say) ..	45,000†	5,000†	50,000†
Total ..	2,260,948	665,168	2,926,116

Percentage of voters to the total population (including Sind)	13·4
Percentage of voters in the Presidency proper	12·6
Percentage of voters in Sind	17·1

* A rough estimate derived from the depressed class population by allowing a rough average of 6 persons per house.

† A rough estimate allowing for the probability that many of the Income-tax assessees would possess other qualifications. The actual number of Income-tax payers is about 118,000.

‡ A rough estimate based on figures given in the 1921 census, of Cultivating tenants, male actual workers for Sind.

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APPENDIX V.

Note by Khan Bahadur Allahbaksh.

1. It is to be regretted that the specific question of the franchise for Sind was merged in the general question of the franchise for the Bombay Presidency as a whole. A province of such importance as to be considered fit for constitution into a separate unit requires special consideration of its peculiar problems. The franchise question in Sind is essentially different from that in the Presidency. It would, indeed, have been better if that question had been considered by a separate Committee. Many of the points raised by me with regard to the special problems of Sind were ruled out on the ground that the Franchise Committee had to consider franchise problems for the Presidency as a whole. Being the only member from Sind, I was unable to do anything in the matter.

However, I would be failing in my duty if I allowed the question of the franchise in Sind to go by default, and I have therefore considered it necessary for me to record my views on at least a few of the more important points.

The Government of Bombay and the Provincial Franchise Committee are of opinion that it is not desirable that the franchise should be extended beyond 14 per cent. of the population for the present. But the franchise proposed for Sind extends to about 25 per cent. of the population of that province. It is this high franchise percentage in Sind which has helped to raise the total franchise percentage in the whole Presidency to 14 per cent. In other words, the 14 per cent. franchise limit for the Presidency has been obtained by raising the franchise in Sind to 25 per cent. This proposal cannot, therefore, be reconciled with the idea of the Committee and of Government to limit the franchise to 14 per cent. of the population, since the limit has been extended much further in the case of Sind and since the limit is only 12 per cent. for the Presidency proper by itself.

Sind, far from being an advanced division of the Bombay Presidency, is one of its comparatively backward parts. Besides, there are no minority problems in Sind to necessitate such a big jump in the franchise. It is my considered view that it is much better that advance in this most important direction should be gradual in a matter which is at the very root of constitutional progress. I am, therefore, of opinion that the franchise in Sind should embrace only 10 per cent. of the population, for the first 5 years, then a further 10 per cent. after another 5 years, till it has reached the goal in 20 years. The 10 per cent. franchise can be obtained by lowering the property qualification so as to secure that proportion. The number of big landholders is only 2,251 who hold 32 per cent. of the total holding in Sind and this is only ·05 per cent. of the total population. The number of holders who are not tenants, *i.e.*, who do not cultivate land for others would be roughly 25 per cent. of the total landholders in Sind, the remaining 75 per cent. landholders though they come under the category of landholders are mostly agricultural tenants, who, in addition to their holdings, cultivate the lands of other landholders and also work as labourers. This class of landholders will have sufficient representation under the franchise proposed by me.

2. Another point which I should like to make is the following : At present the Jahagirdars and Zamindars in Sind between them are allotted one seat on the Provincial Council. Experience has, however, shown that this seat is invariably captured by the Zamindars. On the other hand in the Presidency proper, the Inamdars alone have a separate seat allotted to them. The Inamdars in the Presidency are analogous to the Jahagirdars in Sind, and therefore the Jahagirdars in Sind should also have a separate seat allowed to them for themselves alone. They have a large stake in the country, and need such representation very badly. Otherwise their interests will go by default.

3. The Provincial Committee have recommended that weightage should be given to the Bombay Presidency in the Federal Lower House. I qualified my assent to that proposal by the *proviso* that the weightage given to Bombay does not reduce the proportion of Mahomedan representation in that House. This was, however,

ruled out by the Chairman, as he considered that it raised a communal issue. I am, therefore, constrained to record this very definite and emphatic opinion on this matter.

4. I also expressed the view that whatever proportion may be allotted to the Mahomedans in the Provincial Legislature should be distributed between Sind and the Presidency proper according to their respective population. The total Mahomedan population of the Presidency is 1,583,359 and that of the Mahomedan in Sind is 2,830,000. The Mahomedan population in the Presidency is therefore 56 per cent. of the total Mahomedan population of the whole Presidency and the Mahomedan population in Sind is 64 per cent. of the total Mahomedan population in the Presidency. The Provincial Committee appointed to co-operate with the Simon Commission recommended 50 per cent. for the Presidency Mahomedans despite the fact that their proportion to the total Mahomedan population of the Presidency was only 36 per cent. No doubt, there were 9 prominent Muslim representatives of Sind on that Committee, but when I asked them whether they had any reason for this recommendation, they merely replied that the concession made by them was prompted by a spirit of generosity which was not at all justified by the circumstances of the case, and which was clearly unfair to the Mahomedan population in Sind.

With all its conditions, problems and difficulties peculiar to itself, it is essential that Sind should have sufficient representation in the Provincial Legislature to be able to safeguard its special interests. In sheer justice and fairness, it is necessary that Sind should have its due voice in the Legislature of the Presidency.

ALLAHBAKSH.



Miscellaneous correspondence with the Local Government on matters arising out of replies to questionnaire.

APPENDIX.

I.—Enfranchisement of wives of electors with double minimum property qualifications.

COPY OF A TELEGRAM FROM THE INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, CAMP INDIA, TO REFORMS OFFICER, BOMBAY, NO. N-431 (BOM.), DATED THE 25TH MARCH 1932.

Suggestion has been made in certain provinces that problem of women should be dealt with by enfranchising wives of electors with double minimum property qualification. Committee would be grateful if you would telegraph your views as to desirability and practicability of such a scheme in Bombay and approximate number of women who would be enfranchised on basis of (*a*) present property qualification (*b*) property qualification recommended by you.

COPY OF A TELEGRAM FROM REFORMS BOMBAY, TO THE INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, CAMP, INDIA, NO. 122, DATED THE 30TH MARCH 1932.

Your telegram N-431-Bom. March 25th. If wives of electors with double minimum property qualification were enfranchised possible women electors on basis of property qualification recommended by Bombay Government estimated at eight lakhs thirty two thousand.

LETTER FROM THE REFORMS OFFICER, BOMBAY, TO THE SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, NO. 122, DATED THE 31ST MARCH 1932.

With reference to your telegram No. 431-Bom., dated the 25th March 1932, I am directed to state that the Government of Bombay do not consider that the suggestion to enfranchise wives of electors with double minimum property qualification is desirable and practicable. In the absence of available statistics it is difficult to estimate the number of women who would be enfranchised if the suggestion was adopted, but it is thought that the number would be large and this, added to the total male electorate enfranchised under the qualifications proposed by the Local Government, would make up a total electorate which the Local Government would not consider manageable. Social custom in many castes allows a man to have more than one wife and the precise effect of the proposed qualification, which is higher than that proposed by the Indian Statutory Commission, cannot be appreciated with any accuracy. Possibly, it may result in giving an advantage to the propertied classes over the other classes. A separate qualification for women may also involve the preparation and maintenance of a separate electoral roll for women with consequent increase of cost and labour. The Government of Bombay, therefore, adhere to the recommendation already made by them regarding the enfranchisement of women.

2. The number of women who would be enfranchised on the basis of the existing property qualification if the suggestion above referred to was adopted, is not available. It is regretted that it cannot be supplied without an inquiry which will take time and involve considerable labour and cost.

3. I am to invite attention to my telegram No. 122, dated the 30th March 1932, in which you have been informed that it is estimated that about 852,000 women would be enfranchised if the suggestion was adopted.


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Replies

of the

Government of Bengal

and the

Bengal Provincial Franchise Committee

to the

Indian Franchise Committee's Questionnaires.



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APPENDIX.

Number of depressed Classes—

(*i*) Telegram from the Secretary, Indian Franchise Committee, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No. E-601-Ben., dated the 12th April 1932 263

(*ii*) Telegram from the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Indian Franchise Committee, No. 795S-A., dated the 16th April 1932 263

BENGAL.

I

Memorandum by the Government of Bengal.

Q. 1—

(*a*) This can be done by a suitable reduction of the qualifications required in respect of the payment of rates, taxes, cesses, etc. Government suggest the adoption of the Union Board franchise for rural areas, and a similar level of franchise in municipal areas. They are opposed to any further lowering of the franchise.

(*b*) In Bengal at present elections are not decided on matters of policy, about which an intelligent opinion is desired. Generally they are decided on personal grounds (though of course there have been exceptions) and an electorate raised to 10 per cent. of the total population will generally be swayed by the same influences as the present electorate, as to the intelligence of which opinions differ widely. In any case in Bengal it must not be taken that literacy and intelligence are interchangeable terms.

(*c*) Even with a system of direct election, the necessary arrangements could be made, but they would be cumbrous, slow, and probably expensive, and might break down under their own weight.

(*d*) Needs no reply.

(*e*) Subject to Government's remarks below on the group system Government do not consider it desirable to go beyond an electorate in the neighbourhood of 10 per cent. of the adult population, until further experience of the working of the system has been gained.

(*f*), (*h*), (*i*) and (*j*). Government are interested in the scheme for group electors but apprehend considerable administrative difficulties. They propose to examine the scheme in consultation with official and non-official opinion, and will communicate their views on the scheme to the Committee at a later date.

(*g*) They are not in favour of separate constituencies for group electors.

Q. 2—

(*a*) Yes—*vide* Bengal Government's Report on the Working of the Reformed Constitution in Bengal. They recommend that urban areas shall be grouped into constituencies and kept separate from the rural areas, which should have their own constituencies.

(*b*) Government are not in favour of contriving a set of different franchises whose main object is to attain particular figures, and therefore are not in agreement with this suggestion.

(*c*) Yes, the qualifications are suitable in principle. But they should be modified in the manner specified in the reply to Question 1 (*a*).

(*d*) No.

(*e*) This is of no importance in Bengal.

In this province the number affected would be small. It is thought undesirable to extend the franchise to serving soldiers, whether regulars, territorials or auxiliaries, as such and irrespective of other qualifications. But extension of the existing qualifications to *ex*-auxiliaries and *ex*-territorials is not objected to, if elsewhere considered desirable, though, so far as this province is concerned, the exclusion is not urged.

Q. 3—

(*a*) Government are not in favour of increasing the women's electorate in any way, other than that recommended for the general extension of the franchise [*vide* reply to Question 1 (*a*)].

(*b*) *Vide* reply to Question 1 (*b*).

Government will examine the question of extending the system of group representation to women and will communicate their views later.

(One member of Government is opposed even to examining the question.)

(*c*) Government are opposed to this suggestion.

Q. 4—

Government are not ready with their decision as to the communities which should be included as belonging to depressed classes. They will forward their views later to the Committee.

Under the present franchise the depressed classes have secured a certain number of representatives in the general electorates, though not in proportion to their numerical strength and it is likely that under a franchise extended as recommended in the answer to Question 1 (*a*) they will secure representatives in the general electorates in the areas in which they are numerous. Government are unable to estimate what the extent of such representation will be. Should further representation be required, as is likely, Government for the present adhere to the views expressed in paragraph 20 of their letter* dated 15th August 1930 on the recommendations of the Indian Statutory Commission.

Q. 5—

(1) Government recommend no special measures for the representation of agricultural labour, as the general rural electorate will consist mainly of agriculturists. They are also opposed to any separate representation of plantation labour.

(2) As regards industrial labour Government are of the opinion that there is no feasible method of giving it representation through the general constituencies. It must be dealt with as part of the problem of the representation of special interests.

Q. 5-A—

(1) As regards the representation of the special interests—Universities, Commerce, European and Indian, Mining, Planting, Landholders—Government adhere to the views which they expressed in August 1930 on the Report of the Indian Statutory Commission.

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* *Vide* Annexure, p. 186.

(2) As regards the representation of labour Government are agreed that—

(*a*) Representation through Trade Unions cannot be agreed to.

(*b*) No communal considerations can be taken into account in settling the question of representation.

(On this point one member reserves his opinion.)

(*c*) Whatever system of representation is adopted it can only cover labour employed in organised industries, *e.g.*, jute and other textile mills, coal mines, railways; it cannot apply to casual labour.

(3) Subject to these general remarks Government will examine the question of applying the group system of electorates to labour in the limited sense explained above : at present they do not think any other system offers any possibilities of acceptance.

(4) But they desire to make it plain that in their opinion no system can succeed unless Government have the co-operation of the Agents, managers, etc., of the industrial concerns in working it.

(5) Also they desire to know what definition of ' Labour ' is to be adopted for their enquiries ; is the system to provide for the representation only of manual labour, or is the clerical and supervising staff also to be included ? Are Sardars to be excluded ? Is any attention to be paid to the length of time a ' labourer ' (however defined) has been working or resident within the area or industry for which the system is devised ? For they desire the Committee to realise that in Bengal labour is very fluid, and that the personnel in any mill or factory is liable to change very quickly.

Q. 6—

(*a*) They are not in favour of the representatives of British Indian Provinces in the Upper Chamber being elected by the Provincial Legislatures by a single transferable vote.

As stated in paragraph 36* of their letter in the Simon Report they would prefer to continue the present electorate, to any reduction of the qualifications for which they are opposed.

(*b*) They ought to be different.

As regards the Upper House of the Federal Legislature the proposed qualifications are given in the answer to Question 6 (*a*).

As regards the Lower Chamber, *vide* answer to Question 6 (*c*).

(*c*) On this question Government are hopelessly divided, some Members desiring to retain direct election, others preferring indirect. Of the latter, some would prefer election by the Provincial Legislature, while others would prefer indirect election through local bodies, no two Members agreeing on a scheme.

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* *Vide* Annexure, p. 187.

Q. 7—

(1) Government are opposed to any special arrangements being made for the representation of women, or of the depressed classes of Bengal, in the Federal Legislature.

(2) They recognise that it might be desirable to have Labour specially represented in the Federal Legislature but can suggest no means of arranging for this, save perhaps through the group system of electorates, supposing that proves on investigation to be workable.

Telegram No. 170, dated 14th January 1932—

(*a*) Government suggest a figure of 240 for the Lower Chamber of the Provincial Legislature, and 80 for the Upper.

(*b*) *Vide* answer to Question 5-A.

(*c*) The present rules might be retained with additional provisions that—

(1) no person should be allowed to stand as a candidate for more than one constituency at the same time ;

(2) the qualifications of candidates and of voters should be the same.

(*d*) Government are in favour of a bicameral legislature in Bengal, the strength of the Upper Chamber being $\frac{1}{3}$ of that of the Lower. They adhere to the views previously expressed, save that they consider that the representation of Commerce, European and Indian, in the Upper Chamber should be through election and not through nomination.

ANNEXURE.

Extract from Bengal Government's letter No. 219-A.C., dated the 15th August 1930, to the Government of India,

* * * * * * * * *

20. The recommendations of the Commission regarding the representation of the depressed classes are accepted by the Government of Bengal in principle, but they are not prepared to agree to the proportion suggested in paragraph 80 of the Report, which they consider too high. In their opinion, before any decision regarding the proportion is arrived at, it will be necessary to examine the number of people of the depressed classes in the various areas in which they are largely concentrated, and to adjust their representation with some regard to the total representation of these areas.

21. The Government of Bengal agree to the proposal to retain the representation of the Universities in the Council, but they consider that the electorate for this constituency should be changed and limited to the governing bodies, *i.e.*, the Syndicate and the Senate in the case of Calcutta University and the Court in the case of Dacca. They are agreed that such an electorate is more likely to return individuals of the type associated with University constituencies than the present system of making

all graduates members of the electorate, which does not tend to the election of candidates of the proper calibre.

22. To the recommendations of the Commission on the subject of the landholders' constituencies the strongest objection is taken by several members of Government. They urge that the landholders who are returned by general constituencies do not represent the landholders' interests in the Legislative Council but are governed by the views of the people in their constituencies and of the political party which has supported them in their elections. A further argument used is that the influence of the landholders' representatives in stabilising the constitution is valuable, and, as it is considered important to introduce into the Council every possible stabilising element, there is general agreement that the separate landholder constituencies should be retained. There is some difference of opinion on the question whether their number should be increased proportionately to the increase in the number of members of the Council, the majority being in favour of giving the landholders the same proportion as in the present Council. But the actual number must depend on the decision about a Second Chamber.

23. The proposals for the representation of commerce and labour are approved, but Government are agreed that no special steps need be taken to secure the presence of women in the Legislative Council.

* * * * * * * * *

36. They agree that the Council of State should be retained and that its life should be seven years, but they are not in favour of the proposals for its composition. They would prefer to continue it in its present form and with its present electorate. They are not in favour of any special arrangements to secure the presence of women in the Council of State and are opposed to creating any women's franchise for that body.

* * * * * * * * *

II

Memorandum by the Bengal Provincial Franchise Committee.

Questionnaire—

1. (*a*) By the means indicated in the resolutions passed.

N.B.—The resolutions referred to are as follows :—

(1) The following motion of Mr. N. K. Basu was provisionally accepted by a majority of the Meeting, that assuming women are enfranchised in accordance with the recommendations of the Round Table Conference, the Union Board electorate be accepted for the rural population with identical qualifications in the case of chaukidari unions in areas where there are no Union Boards.

(2) It was resolved that the minority view be recorded, which was that all rate-payers in Union Boards and Chaukidari areas be enfranchised.

(3) The following resolution, moved by Mr. A. F. Rahman, was carried by a majority of 6 to 5.

"that this meeting is of opinion that, if women's suffrage on the basis of qualifications of husbands is not adopted, rate-payers of Union Boards should be enfranchised."

(4) The following resolution was then carried with 5 dissentients that the meeting is of opinion that rate-payers in all Municipalities including Calcutta should be enfranchised.

(5) The Hon'ble Mr. Singh Roy desired that his dissent to the above resolution be recorded.

1. (*b*) Yes.

1. (*c*) Yes.

1. (*d*) Does not arise.

1. (*e*) If the qualifications suggested in the above resolutions passed raise the percentage above 10 per cent. of the total population, to that extent the Committee consider that the electoral roll should be enarged.

1. (*f*) ....

1. (*g*) ....

1. (*h*) Was answered in the affirmative by 7 votes against 2.

Two members, Mr. Mumin and Mr. Basu, reserved their votes.

1. (*i*) Was answered as follows :—

20 would be a suitable size. The basis ought to be adult suffrage at 20 years and over. The President Panchayat with the Circle Officer will form the groups in rural areas. Chairman of Municipalities with Ward Commissioners in urban areas.

1. (*j*) Residential qualification of one year and age limit of 25 years.

2. (*a*) Yes, there is a disparity both qualitative and quantitative in the operation of the franchise qualifications in urban as compared with rural areas. The disparity may be removed by lowering the franchise in rural areas to a greater degree relatively than in urban areas.

2. (*b*) (1) *Proposal.*—That the Committee is in general agreement with the suggestion as a theoretical ideal.

Lost by 7 to 6.

Amendment added.—Subject to the proviso that the voting strength be proportionate to the adult population of the respective communities.

Carried by 6 to 5.

2. (*b*) (2) The Committee agree that the proposals already adopted give effect to this suggestion so far as is practicable whatever be the electorate system adopted.

N.B.—This is the answer to the question 2 (*b*) as it stood in the original Questionnaire.

2. (*c*) (*i*) Yes. It is a suitable test—excluding wage earners in cash or kind, as such except those who will be enfranchised under the proposals already put forward.

2. (*c*) (*ii*) No.

2. (*c*) (*iii*) Modifications have already been suggested.

2. (*d*) Yes—the passing of the Upper Primary Examination or equivalent qualifications provided that the franchise be not conferred on students in any educational institution.

(Mr. Cooper dissents).

2. (*e*) Yes—provided that the franchise be not conferred on students in any educational institution.

3. (*a*) Does not arise in view of answer to 1 (*b*).

3. (*b*) No separate groups. Answer carried by 8 to 3.

3. (*c*) We agree to 2½ per cent. or 5 seats of the total legislature being co-opted provided an equal or larger number have not been elected. Attempts should be made in co-opting women to see that each represents a divis on if possible.

4. The Committee could come to no decision on this question and resolved to put it back for consideration along with the Central Committee.

5A. It was decided to adjourn consideration of this question till the joint meeting with the Central Committee and to suggest that the

gentlemen whom the Committee were proposing to co-opt as representatives of special interests should be asked to give evidence instead of being co-opted as members of the Provincial Committee.

N.B.—These gentlemen were—

Universities—

(1) Lieutenant-Colonel Hassan Suhrawardy, O.B.E., Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, 246, Park Circus, Calcutta.

(2) Mr. Syamaprosad Mookerjee, M.L.C., 77, Ashutosh Mukharji Road, Calcutta.

Commerce—

(1) Babu Nalini Ranjan Sarkar, Hindusthan Buildings, Corporation Street, Calcutta.

(2) The Hon'ble Sir Phillip Henry Browne, C.B.E., 12, Elysium Row, Calcutta.

Mining—

(1) Mr. I. A. Clark, M.L.C., c/o Messrs. Anderson Wright and Company, 22, Strand Road, Calcutta.

(2) Mr. A. C. Banerji.

Planting—

(1) Sir Lancelot Travers, Kt., C.I.E., O.B.E., M.L.C.

(2) Nawab Musharruf Hussain, Khan Bahadur, 45, Garcha Road, Ballygunge, Calcutta.

Landholders—

(1) Raja Bhupendra Narayan Sinha Bahadur, of Nashipur, 54, Gariahat Road, Ballygunge, Calcutta.

(2) Mr. Prafulla Nath Tagore, 2, Darpa Narayan Tagore Street, Calcutta.

(3) Mr. Altaf Ali.

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III

Supplement to the memorandum by the Bengal Provincial Franchise Committee.

Minutes of the Meeting of the Bengal Franchise Committee held on 19th February 1932, supplied to the Indian Franchise Committee.

1. With the exception of Mr. Basu, the Committee were unanimously of the opinion that the group system was worth giving a trial.

2. It was resolved that, if adult suffrage was adopted, and the group system followed, the Committee would not press for special representation for labour unless employees of labour were given special representation.

3. It was resolved that, if the group system was not adopted, then labour should be specially represented.

4. In regard to the qualifications of women it was resolved that, if the group system was not accepted, the qualifications of women should be property in own right or literary qualification.

5. The Committee with one exception were against giving the vote to wives and widows of voters.

6. The Committee were equally divided on the following resolution :

> " given the group system, there should be no representation for special interests except for Universities."

7. It was resolved (two against) that, if the group system was adopted, a second chamber would be necessary in Bengal.

8. Four members were in favour of a second chamber in any case and 3 against.

9. It was resolved unanimously that representation in the Federal Legislature should be on the basis of population and contribution to Central Revenues.

10. It was resolved that the representatives of British Indian provinces in the Upper Chamber of the Federal Legislature should be elec ed by the Provincial Legislatures by a single transferable vote.

11. In regard to other questions relating to the Federal Legislature it was resolved that the Committee should submit its views later.

12. The following resolution in regard to the Depressed Classes was carried by 8 votes to 3—

> " That this Committee is of the opinion that the Depressed Classes are likely to secure representatives of their own choice in the general electorates."

IV

Supplementary Questionnaire addressed by the Indian Franchise Committee to the Government of Bengal and the Bengal Provincial Franchise Committee, dated 29th February 1932.

Q. 1-A.—What is the considered opinion of the Government of Bengal as to the maximum number of voters who could be accurately polled in the province using the total number of officers and maximum accommodation possible.

(*i*) if the election is spread over—

(*a*) two days (one for Muhammadans and one for Non-Muhammadans).

(*b*) four days.

(*ii*) Taking 750 as the number of male voters with whom a presiding officer could deal in a day—

(*a*) if 40 per cent. of the voters are women,

(*b*) if 10 per cent. of the voters are women.

B. What percentage would this number represents of (*a*) the total and (*b*) the adult population ?

Q. 2.—Which system of polling illiterate voters do you prefer—

(*a*) Coloured boxes whereby the voter has to make no mark on the paper but is able to poll secretly ?

(*b*) A system whereby the Presiding Officer marks the ballot paper on the instructions and on behalf of the illiterate voter ?

Polling Machinery.

Q. 3.—What is the maximum personnel which could be used as Presiding or Polling officers the Committee would be glad to have this information under the following heads :—

(*i*) Total number of Government Officers, Gazetted, non-gazetted and ministerial,

(*ii*) Total number of pensioned Government officers,

(*iii*) Total number of Court of Wards Officers (superior and ministerial),

(*iv*) Total number of members of Local Bodies (Municipal Commissioners, members of District and Local Boards), Presidents and Members of Union Bench Courts, Honorary Magistrates, and any other category of honorary workers who could be employed. To what extent could these figures be supplemented by the use of non-officials (School-masters, etc.) ? Is any objection likely to be raised to their use for this purpose ?

(*v*) To what extent could provision be made for—

(*a*) separate polling booths for women and women presiding officers and clerks ?

(*b*) separate entrances and compartments for women voters ?

Q. 4.—What franchise qualifications would you propose in order to enfranchise :—

(*a*) 10 per cent. of the population,

(*b*) the maximum you consider administratively possible as in question 1 above.

What approximate percentage of women would be enfranchised on your proposals, under (*a*) and (*b*) respectively.

Q. 5.—The Franchise Committee would be glad of your considered opinion as between the four systems of voting which have been under consideration :—

(*a*) Universal direct adult suffrage.

(*b*) Universal indirect system.

(*c*) The extension of the direct vote so far as is administratively possible.

(*d*) A combination of the direct and indirect system as explained below.

A fuller note on each of these systems follows below with a view to facilitate a reply.

A. Universal direct adult suffrage.—The fundamental question is whether the system is administratively possible at the present stage. The reply to question 1 above will go far to make clear whether this is so or not.

B. Universal indirect system.—Under a universal indirect system the whole adult population, male and female, might be grouped in groups of between 20 and 50 each, each group to return one of their number as a secondary elector for the election of a member of the Legislative Council. Each group would elect one Mukhiya from among its own members, the election being either informal by means of a show of hands or by individual voting after nomination. (As an alternative the group might be larger electing one Mukhiya for each 20 of its number). Immediately the election was complete, the Circle Officer would place the name of the Mukhiyas elected on the electoral roll, and there would be no appeal against his decision though his proceedings would be open to revision. In the event of its being decided to retain separate Hindu and Moslem electorates, or to create, as recommended in one Province, separate electorates for the Depressed Classes, it would be necessary to form separate Hindu, Moslem or Depressed Class primary groups in the villages. The electorate so chosen would be divided into constituencies for the election of members of Council.

In the event of your approving of this system please state :—

(*i*) The precise methods by which you consider that the election of the electors for the primary groups should be conducted (the supervising and revising authority ; whether an electoral roll should be maintained ; whether geographical proximity should be the basis of the group) ; the size of the group ; whether the village or some other division or area should be adopted as the electoral unit ; whether the population should be divided into groups of 20 or thereabouts, each to elect a Mukhiya, or into larger groups—say 100— to elect say 5 Mukhiyas) ;

(*ii*) Whether men and women should be grouped together or separately ?

(*iii*) Whether you think it could be made applicable to the towns as well as to the country.

If your answer is in the affirmative please state whether you consider that the same basis of grouping and method of voting should be adopted in the towns as in the country. If not, what would you suggest ?

(*iv*) Do you consider that the loss of the direct vote by those who at present enjoy that privilege, and its substitution by a vote for a secondary elector, would be regarded as a source of grievance ?

C. The extension of the direct vote so far as it is administratively practicable.—In the event of your favouring the adoption of this system, please state exactly—

(*i*) the categories of the population which would fall under it to secure direct representation in the Legislature,

(*ii*) the approximate number of women who would be enfranchised and the percentage they would represent of the total electorate,

(*iii*) the number of the Depressed Classes (applying the criteria of untouchability and unapproachability) who would be enfranchised, and the percentage they would represent of the total electorate.

D. The combination of the direct and indirect systems as suggested by the Round Table Conference—

Under such a system the total adult population would be divided into :—

(1) direct voters qualified by property, education, military service, etc.

(2) the balance of the adult population. These might be grouped in groups of say 20 (or some approximate figure). In the cold weather preceding that in which a general election is due, the Circle Officer, in accordance with instructions that would be issued, would divide villages into groups on the basis of geographical proximity.

Each group would return one of their number as a secondary elector for the election of a member of the Legislative Council. The election would be either informal or by nomination as suggested in the case of universal suffrage. On the completion of the elections in the village the Circle Officer would place the names of the secondary electors chosen on the electoral roll of the constituency to which they appertain along with the direct voters, the choice of the primary voters being thus regarded as a qualification for admission to the electoral roll. The voters not directly qualified might be grouped together in the same manner as suggested in the case of universal indirect election above. The method of polling groups would be similar to that suggested above in the case of universal indirect suffrage, except that it would apply only to a proportion and not to the whole.

In the event of your approving of this system the Committee would be glad to know :—

(*a*) The precise method of primary group election which you would suggest ;

(*b*) The ratio which the number of the direct electors should bear to the Mukhiya electors ;

(*c*) Whether men and women should be grouped together in the primary groups or separately ;

(*d*) Assuming it is decided to have one Mukhiya for every 20 persons whether it would be better—

(*i*) to form the whole village into a single group, electing Mukhiyas on the basis of one per 20 adults, or

(*ii*) to form groups of say 100 each electing 5 Mukhiyas, or

(*iii*) to form groups of 20 each electing 1. How would you propose to conduct the election in each case ?

5. Do you propose that the same system should be applied to town and country ? If not, what alternative would you propose for the towns ?

6. Do you consider that town and country should have representation in the Council proportionate to their numbers, or that the towns should have some weightage, and if so to what extent ?

7. The Government of Bengal, in reply to question 2 (*a*) of the Franchise Committee's Questionnaire, state that they recommend that "urban areas shall be grouped into constituencies and kept apart from the rural areas, which should have their own constituencies." The Committee would be glad of further and detailed information, on this proposal :—

(*a*) What, for instance, will be classified as "urban areas" ?

(*b*) What population test would be applied ?

(*c*) How many urban areas would there be in Bengal on the system proposed and where would they be situated ?

(*d*) Are the local Government satisfied that the smaller municipalities have such divergent interests from those of the surrounding rural areas as to necessitate their being converted into separate constituencies ?

(*e*) Are the local Government satisfied that municipalities thrown into the same group will necessarily have a common interest ?

8. The Committee would be glad of the local Government's views on the possibility of establishing a system of direct suffrage in Calcutta—

(*a*) Do the local Government consider that such a system would be administratively workable ?

(*b*) How many days would it take to poll the adult population ?

(*c*) What Government machinery could be made available for the purpose ?

(*d*) Could any approximate estimate be given of the expenditure involved ?

9. The local Government stated in reply to question 2 (*e*) of the questionnaire that they have no objection to an extension of the existing military service qualification to *ex*-members of the Indian Auxiliary and Indian Territorial forces if this is thought desirable. What period of qualifying service, if any, in the auxiliary and territorial forces would they require as a condition of admitting *ex*-members of those forces to the franchise ?

10. Would they propose any differential franchise for women, and if so, what number of women are likely to be placed on the electoral roll as the result of their proposals ?

Do the local Government consider it desirable to make provision to secure as a temporary measure say, for the first ten years that a small number of women shall be members of the Council ? If so,

(*i*) should they be chosen by co-option by the Council, by the single transferable vote,

(*ii*) be elected by a special constituency of literate women only, divided if necessary into Muhammadan and non-Muhammadan constituencies, or

(*iii*) *e.g.*, as suggested in one Province on the following lines :—

" A fixed number of seats should be reserved in the Council for women : women should be allowed as at present in this Province to stand for any constituency for which they are qualified to stand and unsuccessful women candidates up to the number so reserved obtaining the highest percentage of votes to the number of electors on t e electoral roll in the constituency for which they stand, should be declared elected to the seats reserved for women provided that they have obtained sufficient votes not to forfeit their deposits. Women who top the poll in any constituency and win a seat

outright would come into the Council as ordinary members and would be additional to those filling the seats reserved for women. If on the other hand the number of women candidates was insufficient to fill the quota of reserved seats, no further steps to fill the quota should be taken, whether by nomination or otherwise."

11. Could you state—

(*a*) the number of Depressed Class representatives, in the existing Council, and the method by which they were appointed.

(*b*) the castes and sub-castes which in your opinion are depressed in your Province, applying the criteria of untouchability and unapproachability (including such disabilities as refusal of entry to public eating houses) and the population thereof.

(*c*) the number of members of the Depressed Classes, applying the criteria above, who would be placed on the electoral roll as the result—

(*i*) of the system of franchise you propose,

(*ii*) the extension of the direct electorate to 10 per cent. of the population.

(*d*) Are the Depressed Classes or untouchables likely to return representatives of their own to the Council under the system of franchise you propose ? If so how many, and for what constituencies ?

In order to assist the Franchise Committee in dealing with this matter could you take, say, two typical constituencies and have a detailed analysis prepared showing the number of individuals and voters belonging to the Depressed Classes in these Constituencies, and the number of Depressed Class electors who are now on the electoral roll and who would appear on the electoral roll—

(*i*) under the system of franchise you propose,

(*ii*) if 10 per cent. of the electorate were directly enfranchised.

The Committee would also be glad of a statement in general terms of the distribution of the Depressed Classes, applying the criteria of untouchability and unapproachability, throughout the Province. Are there any constituencies or areas in which the Depressed Classes are sufficiently numerous as to make it possible for them to return a member of the Legislature, in the event of their voting together ?

12. How do you propose to secure representation for—

(*a*) industrial labour ; and

(*b*) tea garden labour,

in the Legislature ?

13. To what extent, if at all, could the group system (either wholly indirect or "hybrid"), be used, in your opinion, to deal with the representation of labour?

14. Have you any views as to the desirability of single-member constituencies, as opposed to multi-member constituencies, electing two, three, or five members each, either by the single non-transferable vote, or any other recognised device?

15. Do you consider that a Second Chamber is feasible and desirable in your Province; and if so, what should its members be, and how should they be composed? What would be its position *vis a vis* the Lower House of the Provincial Legislature?

16. What do you consider should be the number of members—

(*i*) of the Lower House of the Provincial Legislature in the event of a bicameral system being introduced,

(*ii*) of the Provinical Legislature if unicameral?

17. What representation do you consider should be given in the Provincial Legislature to special interests, *e.g.*, trade and commerce; planting; landlords; Europeans; Anglo-Indians; Indian Christians, etc., etc.?

18. As regards the Federal Legislature—

(*a*) Do you consider that the Upper Chamber should be elected by the Provincial Legislatures by some system of proportional representation? The Government of Bengal have intimated that they would prefer to continue the present electorate. The Committee would be glad to know, whether, if it is decided not to retain that electorate, the local Government would favour the election of the representatives of British Indian Provinces by a single transferable vote; and if not, what alternative system they would recommend?

(*b*) To what extent should the existing franchise qualifications—

(*i*) for the Upper Chamber [if the answer to (*a*) is in the negative],

(*ii*) for the Assembly,

be extended?

(*c*) Do you consider that any group system could be employed in election to both Houses or either House of the Federal Legislature with a view to giving that portion of the population which has not a direct or indirect share in its election some voice in national affairs?

(*d*) What special interests should be represented in the Federal Legislature, and to what extent?

The Committee appreciate that reference to local officers will be necessary before answers to some of the above questions can be given, but they must ask that arrangements be made to furnish them with the bulk of the information required by 15th March at latest, and that any supplementary information on outstanding points may reach them not later than 25th March. They greatly regret the necessity for thus pressing local Governments and their Officers at the present time, but in view of the date by which their report on the basis of the franchise has to be submitted, they are compelled to ask that the matter may be expedited in every possible way.



V

Memorandum by the Government of Bengal in reply to the supplementary questionnaire issued by the Indian Franchise Committee.

Additional questionnaire. *Answers.*

Government are not satisfied that the number of voters with whom a presiding officer can deal in a day will be as high as 750. For experience has shown that lengthening the hours of polling is not likely to mean a corresponding increase in the number of votes polled, as the voters, save those in the immediate vicinity of the polling station, are not likely to leave for the poll until they have had their meal. Early polling hours are very unsuitable save in urban areas. Nor in view of the distances to be travelled and of the difficulty of making adequate lighting arrangements is it likely that an extension of the polling hours in the evening will result in any increased number of votes being recorded. Government agree, however, on the supposition that the system of coloured boxes referred to in Q. 2 is adopted, to work out its calculations on the basis of 750 male voters per polling officer.

Government are agreed that it is impossible to get an election through in two days in all the districts in Bengal unless the number of voters is reduced or an indirect election is substituted for direct. For the size of some of the districts is so large and the distances to be travelled are so great that, unless the present standard of having a polling station within not more than 6 or 7 miles of the homes of the electors is departed from, the number of polling stations in a district may be largely in excess of the number of presiding officers and polling officers available. Normally the polling arrangements must be made within a district, and it will not ordinarily be convenient to supply the deficiency of one district by using presiding and polling officers

Additional questionnaire.	*Answers.*
	from another district. Even if an indirect election is substituted for a direct election, it is doubtful for the same reasons whether the period required to carry through an election in one of the bigger districts can be reduced to two days. Subject to these general remarks the answers to the questions are as follows :—
Q. 1.—A. What is the considered opinion of the Government of Bengal as to the maximum number of voters who could be accurately polled in the province, using the total number of officers and maximum accommodation possible—	A. (*i*) Government could spare about 2,500 officials to act as presiding officers at one and the same time during an election, and they estimate that they could probably collect in addition about 250 pensioned Government officers and 250 suitable non-officials [*vide* the answer to question 3(*iv*)]. The total number of presiding officers would therefore be about 3,000 and a similar number of polling officers could be found.
(*i*) if the election is spread over—	
(*I*) two days (one for Muhammadans and one for Non-Muhammadans),	(*I*) If the election is to be completed in two days and the capacity of each presiding officer is 750 votes per day, the number of votes that could be recorded in two days would be $3,000 \times 2 \times 750 = 4,500,000$ votes. As stated above, however, in some districts it would not be possible to complete the polling in two days, and the figures given are subject to the stipulation that in some large districts extra polling days would be required.
(*II*) four days,	(*II*) With a four days' poll the number can be increased, say, by two-thirds on the assumption that one-third of the presiding officers are only prepared or available to work at one polling station, and cannot be spared for a second polling station. In this case too the figure is subject to the stipula-
(*ii*) taking 750 as the number of male voters with whom a Presiding Officer could deal in a day—	
(*a*) if 40 per cent. of the voters are women,	

Additional questionnaire.

(*b*) if 10 per cent. of the voters are women ?

B. What percentage would this number represent of (*a*) the total and (*b*) the adult population ?

Answers.

tion that some large districts might not be able to poll in the four days and might require extra days.

(*ii*) On the assumptions (1) that the voters referred to in this question are the persons actually polling and (2) that it will take twice as long to poll a woman's vote as to poll a man's, then on the basis of the calculation given above the figures are as follows :—

Questionnaire.	Number polling.	Electorate.
1	2	3
	Two days' poll.	
1A (*i*) (*I*) ..	4,500,000	5,625,000
1A (*ii*) (*a*) ..	3,214,285	4,017,856
1A (*ii*) (*b*) ..	4,090,909	5,113,636
1B (*a*)	8·9 or 9 per cent.	11·2 per cent.
1B (*b*)	18·0 per cent.	22·6 per cent.
	Four days' poll.	
1A (*i*) (*II*) ..	7,500,000	9,375,000
1A (*ii*) (*a*) ..	5,357,143	6,696,418
1A (*ii*) (*b*) ..	6,818,181	8,522,727
1B (*a*)	14·9 per cent.	18·7 per cent.
1B (*b*)	30·1 per cent.	37·7 per cent.

The figures shown in the column against electorate are on the basis that 80 per cent. of the electorate polls. This is much above the average so far and is likely to be far in excess of the actuals because it is extremely unlikely that any save a small percentage of the women, on whatever basis the franchise is given them, will actually vote.

B. The percentages are given in the statement above.

Note.—These figures have been worked out arithmetically, but Government are convinced that it would be

Additional questionnaire. *Answers.*

impracticable from an administrative point of view to deal at present with the numbers out against a four days' poll. When political consciousness has developed such things may be possible, but at present Government do not consider that it would be possible to poll accurately anywhere near the percentages of the population shown against the four days' poll. They consider that it will be possible to make arrangements for polling an electorate of 5,625,000, on the presumption that not more than 80 per cent. of the voters on the roll would poll, and from an administrative point of view they would be prepared to deal with a direct electorate of that size, though from a candidate's point of view they consider that such an electorate would provide constituencies which would be much too large and expensive for the ordinary candidate to deal with. In view of this fact they would prefer to have a smaller electorate than 5,625,000, at any rate at the outset. If a start were made with a direct electorate of say 7½ per cent. of the total population based on a franchise the foundation of which was the payment of rates, whether union board, chaukidari or municipal, the system could be developed as political consciousness and party organisation increased. Development could be gradual and suited to local conditions and there would be no such break with the past as will be necessitated by the proposed system of indirect elections by groups.

Two members of Government are however so convinced of the difficulties which a direct electorate of the magnitude proposed would present that they are in favour of abolishing the direct electorate and substituting for it an

Additional questionnaire.	*Answers.*
	indirect electorate based on the payment of union board, chaukidari or) municipal rates.
Q. 2.—Which system of polling illiterate voters do you prefer :— (*a*) Coloured boxes whereby the voter has to make no mark on the paper but is able to poll secretly ? (*b*) A system whereby the Presiding Officer marks the ballot paper on the instructions and on behalf of the illiterate voter ?	Government would prefer system (*a*) should it be workable, but, up to the present, it has not met with approval in Bengal and the system (*b*) is in force. They will make enquiries from local officers and will find out what views are held at the present time regarding the feasibility of system (*a*). At present they are inclined to the view that a system of coloured boxes would be workable and should be tried, for in their opinion an ordinary voter would be able to distinguish between, at any rate, the following six colours : black, white, red, green, deep blue and purple.
Q. 3.—*Polling Machinery.*—What is the maximum personnel which could be used as Presiding or Polling Officers ? The Committee would be glad to have this information under the following heads :—	
(*i*) Total number of Government officers, gazetted, non-gazetted and ministerial.	Number of Government officers of gazetted and superior rank who would be available as presiding officers .. .. .. 2,500 Number of non-gazetted and ministerial rank officers who would be available as polling officers 2,500
(*ii*) Total number of pensioned Government officers.	Number of pensioned Government officers available as presiding officers .. .. 250 Number of pensioned Government officers available as polling officers 250
(*iii*) Total number of Court of Wards officers (superior and ministerial).	Number of Court of Wards officers available— Superior .. .. .. 35 Ministerial 15
(*iv*) Total number of members of Local Bodies (Municipal Commissioners, members of District and Local Boards, Presidents and Members of Union Bench Courts, Honorary Magistrates, and any other category of honorary workers who could be employed). To what extent could	Total number of members of Local Bodies— Municipal Commissioners .. 1,661 Members of District Boards .. 683 Members of Local Boards .. 1,358 Presidents and Members of Union Bench Courts .. .. 8,320 Honorary Magistrates 680

Additional questionnaire.	*Answers.*
these figures be supplemented by the use of non-officials (school-masters, etc.)? Is any objection likely to be raised to their use for this purpose?	Government think that District Officers may be empowered to make use of selected Honorary Magistrates. As regards the use of other non-officials, they are divided in opinion because a large number of non-officials would be interested in the success of various candidates. The general feeling however is that District Officers might be allowed to make use of selected non-officials. There is no objection to the use of selected school-masters of Secondary Schools, and it is considered that no objection is likely to be raised to their use unless they are interested in the success of any particular candidate. Government consider that a round number of 250 non-officials may be taken under this head.
(*v*) To what extent could provision be made for— (*a*) separate polling booths for women and women Presiding Officers and clerks, (*b*) separate entrances and compartments for women voters?	Provision can be made for separate polling booths and entrances for women presiding officers and clerks, also for women voters, but there will be great difficulty in finding a sufficient number of women presiding officers, and women clerks will not as a rule be available.
Q. 4.—What franchise qualifications would you propose in order to enfranchise— (*a*) 10 per cent. of the population, (*b*) the maximum you consider administratively possible as in question 1 above?	Franchise qualifications based on payment of union rates or chaukidari taxes in mufassal areas and of municipal rates in municipal areas can be used to enfranchise either (*a*) 10 per cent. of the population, or (*b*) percentage mentioned in the answer to question 1-B, *viz.*, 11·2 per cent.
What approximate percentage of women would be enfranchised on your proposals, under (*a*) and (*b*) respectively?	The total number of rate-payers in rural areas is at least 14·4 per cent. of the population, in urban areas excluding Calcutta 16·74 per cent. of the population, and in rural and urban area excluding Calcutta and Darjeeling 14·52 per cent. of the population. By

Additional questionnaire.

Answers.

varying the amount payable for a legislative qualification the percentage can be adjusted as required.

Government are unable to state what percentage of women would be enfranchised under either of these proposals but, on the basis of the percentage shown as enfranchised in 1929, the percentage would be ·63 in case of (*a*) and ·7 in case of (*b*) above.

Q. 5.—The Franchise Committee would be glad of your considered opinion as between the four systems of voting which have been under consideration :—

(*a*) Universal direct adult suffrage.

(*b*) Universal indirect system.

(*c*) The extension of the direct vote so far as is administratively possible.

(*d*) A combination of the direct and indirect systems as explained below.

A fuller note on each of these systems follows below with a view to facilitate a reply.

Government are divided on this question. The only point of agreement being that system (*a*), universal direct adult suffrage, was unanimously rejected. One member is in favour of a purely indirect system based on the franchise being extended to all rate-payers only. The view is generally held that, if the Franchise Committee would agree to limit the franchise to 7½ per cent. of the population, it would be both desirable and possible to continue the existing system of direct election. But, if they insisted on enfranchising more than that percentage of the population, then recourse to an indirect system was inevitable, because it would be physically impossible or too expensive for candidates to try to get in touch with such huge electorates. Some of the members in that case would be in favour of a combination of a direct and an indirect system; other are in favour of resorting wholly to an indirect system and one member is in favour of direct election only. If an indirect system was resorted to, then it must inevitably be universal, unless the system was confined only to rate-payers. For it would be practically impossible to select a portion of the population to be represented indirectly and leave the remainder out: also at the time the Mukhiyas had to be selected the rolls for direct electors

Additional questionnaire.	*Answers.*
	would not have been prepared, and so it would not be known who should elect the Mukhiyas. If on the other hand the indirect system was confined to rate-payers, there would be rolls of these and selection would be possible at any time.
A. Universal direct adult suffrage.—The fundamental question is whether the system is administratively possible at the present stage. The reply to question 1 above will go far to make clear whether this is so or not.	Government are agreed that universal direct adult suffrage is impracticable
B. Universal indirect system.—Under a universal indirect system the whole adult population, male and female, might be grouped in groups of between 20 and 50 each, each group to return one of their number as a secondary elector for the election of a member of the Legislative Council. Each group would elect one Mukhiya from among its own members, the election being either informal by means of a show of hands or by individual voting after nomination. (As an alternative the group might be larger, electing one Mukhiya for each 20 of its number.) Immediately the election was complete the Circle Officer would place the name of the Mukhiyas elected on the electoral roll, and there would be no appeal against his decision, though his proceedings would be open to revision. In the event of its being decided to retain separate Hindu and Moslem electorates, or to create, as recommended in one province, separate electorates for the Depressed Classes, it would be necessary to form separate Hindu, Moslem or Depressed Class primary	Government are not in favour of grouping the whole adult population into separate groups and selecting one Mukhiya from each of the groups. In their view, if the universal indirect system was adopted, convenient units of area such as a *tollah* or a *para* or a quarter of a village might be selected and the adults therein called upon to select a certain number of Mukhiyas, the number being fixed by dividing the number of adults by 20 or whatever other figure was accepted as the proper number for a group. The details of the method by which these Mukhiyas are to be selected are not worked out, but it is thought, if there is a meeting in the areas concerned, there would easily be agreement about a certain number of the leading persons who should be Mukhiyas, and a show of hands or other method of choice would only be required for a small proportion of the selections. Governmet are agreed that the District authority should be the revising authority and they consider that, wherever possible, the supervising authority should be an official such as a circle officer, but that non-officials such as municipal commissioners might be used wherever local conditions

Additional questionnaire.

groups in the villages. The electorate so chosen would be divided into constituencies for the election of members of Council.

In the event of your approving of this system please state—

(*i*) The precise methods by which you consider that the election of the electors for the primary groups should be conducted (the supervising and revising authority; whether an electoral roll should be maintained; whether geographical proximity should be the basis of the group; the size of the group; whether the village or some other division or area should be adopted as the electoral unit; whether the population should be divided into groups of 20 or thereabouts, each to elect a Mukhiya, or into larger groups—say 100—to elect, say, five Mukhiyas).

(*ii*) Whether men and women should be grouped together or separately.

(*iii*) Whether you think it could be made applicable to the towns as well as to the country.

If your answer is in the affirmative, please state whether you consider that the same basis of grouping and

Answers.

made that possible and disinterested non-officials are available. They consider that, while the maintenance of an electoral roll would be desirable, its feasibility was open to grave doubt, for, taking the population as 50 millions and the adult population as 25 millions, the roll must contain, according to the scheme put forward in the answer to question 5, more than 7½ per cent. of 25 million names, *i.e.*, at least 1,875,000 names. Although the work would be spread over 26 districts and Calcutta, the maintenance of such a roll for the purpose of an informal election would be a serious matter and, considering that the election of Mukhiyas is to be informal, Government do not consider this work should be undertaken. They consider that geographical proximity should be the basis of the group and, as is explained above, the area would be one which was convenient having regard to local conditions; each area to elect a number of Mukhiyas and not to be divided into subordinate groups each of which was to elect one Mukhiya.

Government are divided in opinion as to whether men and women should be grouped together or separately, the majority of them being in favour of their being grouped together, but it is recognised that the chances of an independent opinion being obtained from the women would be reduced thereby, even supposing that under any circumstances women would ordinarily have an independent opinion.

Government are agreed that the system, if adopted, should be confined to non-municipal areas.

Additional questionnaire.	*Answers.*
method of voting should be adopted in the towns as in the country. If not, what would you suggest ?	
(*iv*) Do you consider that the loss of the direct vote by those who at present enjoy that privilege, and its substitution by a vote for a secondary elector, would be regarded as a source of grievance ?	Government are divided in opinion as to whether the loss of the direct vote would be regarded as a source of grievance, the majority holding that it would be so regarded.
C. The extension of the direct vote so far as it is administratively practicable. —In the event of your favouring the adoption of this system, please state exactly—	Government are unable to give exact information regarding the categories of the population which would fail under it to secure direct representation in the legislature, save perhaps to say that under it there is no likelihood of any women being elected, and secondly the scales will be heavily weighted in favour of the classes which at present supply most of the Council members. Subject to the remarks given in answer to Q. 11 they can give no figures regarding the number of women or of the depressed classes, who would be enfranchised or the percentage they would represent of the total electorate. In the case of the depressed classes the percentage would vary greatly in different districts, being high in those few districts in which most of the depressed classes are concentrated. But of course, if the electorates are joint, the percentages will be greatly reduced, because in many of the districts where the depressed classes abound the Muhammadan percentage of the population is high.
(*i*) The categories of the population which would fail under it to secure direct representation in the Legislature.	
(*ii*) The approximate number of women who would be enfranchised, and the percentage they would represent of the total electorate.	
(*iii*) The number of the Depressed Classes (applying the criteria of untouchability and unapproachability) who would be enfranchised, and the percentage they would represent of the total electorate.	
D. The combination of the direct and indirect systems as suggested by the Round Table Conference.—Under such a system the total adult population would be divided into—	In the event of the joint system which is approved by some of the members of Government being adopted the answers to the questions are as follows :—
(1) Direct voters qualified by property, education, military service,	(*a*) The method suggested in the answer to question 5 B.
	(*b*) The ratio will depend upon the ratio which the number of direct electors

Additional questionnaire.

(2) The balance of the adult population. These might be grouped in groups of, say, 20 (or some approximate figure). In the cold weather preceding that in which a general election is due, the Circle Officer, in accordance with instructions that would be issued, would divide villages into groups on the basis of geographical proximity.

Each group would return one of their number as a secondary elector for the election of a member of the Legislative Council. The election would be either informal or by nomination, as suggested in the case of universal suffrage. On the completion of the elections in the village the Circle Officer would place the names of the secondary electors chosen on the electoral roll of the constituency to which they appertain along with the direct voters, the choice of the primary voters being thus regarded as a qualification for admission to the electoral roll. The voters not directly qualified might be grouped together in the same manner as suggested in the case of universal indirect election above. The method of polling groups would be similar to that suggested above in the case of universal indirect suffrage, except that it would apply only to a proportion and not to the whole.

In the event of your approving of this system the Committee would be glad to know—

(*a*) The precise method of primary group election which you would suggest.

(*b*) The ratio which the number of the direct electors should bear to the Mukhiya electors.

Answers.

bears to the total adult population, *e.g.*, if 10 per cent. of the adult population are qualified as direct electors, then 5 per cent. (supposing each group of 20 elects one Mukhiya) of the remaining 90 per cent. will be the Mukhiya electors.

(*c*) *Vide* answer to sub-paragraph B (*ii*).

(*d*) *Vide* answer to sub-paragraph B (*i*).

Additional questionnaire.	*Answers.*
(*c*) Whether men and women should be grouped together in the primary groups or separately.	
(*d*) Assuming it is decided to have one Mukhiya for every 20 persons whether it would be better—	
(*i*) to form the whole village into a single group, electing Mukhiyas on the basis of one per 20 adults, or	
(*ii*) to form groups of say 100 each electing 5 Mukhiyas, or	
(*iii*) to form groups of 20 each electing 1. How would you propose to conduct the election in each case ?	
Q. 5 (*A*).—Do you propose that the same system should be applied to town and country ? If not, what alternative would you propose for the towns ?	The same system should be applied to town and country or, as the Bengal Government would prefer to put it, in municipal and non-municipal areas.
Q. 6.—Do you consider that town and country should have representation in the Council proportionate to their numbers, or that the towns should have some weightage, and, if so, to what extent ?	The Government of Bengal consider it unavoidable that municipal areas should have some weightage in comparison with non-municipal areas. They consider the present weightage excessive and would suggest that in the future it should not exceed 12½ per cent.
Q. 7.—The Government of Bengal, in reply to question 2 (*a*) of the Franchise Committee's questionnaire, state that they recommend that "urban areas shall be grouped into constituencies and kept apart from the rural areas, which should have their own constituencies ".	All municipal areas will be classified as urban areas.
The Committee would be glad of further and detailed information on this proposal :	
(*a*) What, for instance, will be classified as "urban areas "?	

Additional questionnaire.	*Answers.*
(*b*) What population test would be applied ?	No population test will be applied ; the test will be whether it is a municipality under the Bengal Municipal Act or the Calcutta Municipal Act.
(*c*) How many urban areas would there be in Bengal on the system proposed and where would they be situated ?	Excluding Calcutta the total number of municipalities in Bengal is 117, and they are distributed over all the districts of the province and the number in each district is shown in the Statement A* attached.
(*d*) Are the local Government satisfied that the smaller municipalities have such divergent interests from those of the surrounding rural areas as to necessitate their being converted into separate constituencies ?	Yes. Municipalities' interests are divergent from those of the surrounding rural areas. They work under different Acts, their system of taxation is different, and generally their administration is entirely distinct.
(*e*) Are the local Government satisfied that municipalities thrown into the same group will necessarily have a common interest ?	Municipalities will have a common interest in the law which is applicable to them, *e.g.*, the Bengal Municipal Act is about to be revised for the whole of the province. This is entirely distinct from the Bengal Local Self-Government Act, revision of which is being taken up separately.
Q. 8.—The Committee would be glad of the local Government's views on the possibility of establishing a system of direct suffrage in Calcutta—	Government see no difficulty in establishing a system of direct suffrage in Calcutta, but the only question will be what the minimum qualification for a vote is to be. The administrative difficulties will depend entirely on the decision on this point. It will be easier in Calcutta than elsewhere to increase the number of polling stations required to complete the poll in any class of constituency in one day. It is impossible to give an estimate of the expenditure involved until Government have some idea of what is the object to be attained.
(*a*) Do the local Government consider that such a system would be administratively workable ?	If the question is intended to refer to direct adult suffrage, such a system would be administratively almost impracticable. It took two days to hold
(*b*) How many days would it take to poll the adult population ?	
(*c*) What Government machinery could be made available for the purpose ?	
(*d*) Could any approximate estimate be given of the expenditure involved ?	

* Page 219.

Additional questionnaire. *Answers.*

the last election with only 39,903 electors and 46 polling stations. To provide polling arrangements for 733,388 adult voters within a reasonable time would be impracticable without an amount of interference with ordinary Government business which could not but be resented. The lowest estimate submitted is for 1,300 polling booths, 300 of them being for women, and an expenditure of about Rs. 1,50,000.

Q. 9.—The local Government stated in reply to question 2 (*e*) of the questionnaire that they have no objection to an extension of the existing military service qualification to ex-members of the Indian Auxiliary and Indian Territorial Forces if this is thought desirable. What period of qualifying service, if any, in the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces would they require as a condition of admitting ex-members of those forces to the franchise ?

It has already been stated that the question of military service qualification is of little importance in Bengal, but Government suggest that the following periods should be fixed as the periods of qualifying service as a condition of admitting ex-members of these forces to the franchise ; Indian Territorial Force, six years ; the Auxiliary Force, India, four years.

Q. 10.—Would they propose any differential franchise for women, and, if so, what number of women are likely to be placed on the electoral roll as the result of their proposals ?

Do the local Government consider it desirable to make provision to secure as a temporary measure, say, for the first ten years, that a small number of women shall be members of the Council ? If so,

(*i*) should they be chosen by co-option by the Council, by the single transferable vote,

(*ii*) be elected by a special constituency of literate women only, divided if necessary into Muhammadan and non-Muhammadan constituencies, or

As already stated, Government are not in favour of any differential franchise for women or of making provision to secure as a temporary measure that a small number of women shall be members of the Council. While in theory this may be desirable, there is no real public demand in Bengal for such representation. The activities of the few women who are interested in this subject have had no effect whatever on the great mass of the female population of Bengal.

Additional questionnaire.

(*iii*) *e.g.*, as suggested in one province on the following lines ?—

"A fixed number of seats should be reserved in the Council for women: women should be allowed as at present in this province to stand for any constituency for which they are qualified to stand, and unsuccessful women candidates up to the number so reserved obtaining the highest percentage of votes to the number of electors on the electoral roll in the constituency for which they stand, should be declared elected to the seats reserved for women, provided that they have obtained sufficient votes not to forfeit their deposits. Women who top the poll in any constituency and win a seat outright would come into the Council as ordinary members and would be additional to those filling the seats reserved for women. If on the other hand the number of women candidates was insufficient to fill the quota of reserved seats, no further steps to fill the quota should be taken, whether by nomination or otherwise."

Q. 11.—Could you state—

(*a*) the number of Depressed Class representatives in the existing Council, and the method by which they were appointed,

(*b*) the castes and sub-castes which in your opinion are depressed in your province, applying the criteria of untouchability and unapproachability (including such disabilities as refusal of entry to public eating houses) and the population thereof.

Answers.

A list of the depressed class representatives in the existing Council is attached (Statement B)* showing the method by which they were appointed.

The list of castes to be included in the depressed classes is at present under revision. A list of the castes at present classed as depressed classes is forwarded herewith (Statement C)† showing their number according to the last Census, with additions and omissions which have recently been proposed. The decision of Government regarding these will be arrived at after ascertaining the views of the castes concerned, but it will be impossible to arrive at any decision before the date fixed by

* Page 219.

† Page 220.

Additional questionnaire.	*Answers.*
	the Committee for the submission of the views of the Government of Bengal. For the present, therefore, Government propose to proceed on the lines that the list adopted in 1921 will continue in force.
(*c*) the number of members of the Depressed Classes, applying the criteria above, who would be placed on the electoral roll as the result— (*i*) of the system of franchise you propose, (*ii*) the extension of the direct electorate to 10 per cent. of the population.	It is impossible to give any estimate of the number of members of the depressed classes who will be placed on the electoral roll.
(*d*) are the Depressed Classes or Untouchables likely to return representatives of their own to the Council under the system of franchise you propose? If so, how many, and for what constituencies? In order to assist the Franchise Committee in dealing with this matter, could you take, say, two typical constituencies and have a detailed analysis prepared showing the number of individuals and voters belonging to the Depressed Classes in these constituencies, and the number of Depressed Class electors who are now on the electoral roll and who would appear on the electoral roll— (*i*) under the system of franchise you propose, (*ii*) if 10 per cent. of the electorate were directly enfranchised? The Committee would also be glad of a statement in general terms of the distribution of the Depressed Classes, applying the criteria of untouchability and unapproachability, throughout the province. Are there	Depressed classes can only return representatives of their own to the Council if they are united in support of their candidates in the areas in which they abound. Government are of opinion that the chances of different castes which are included in the depressed classes uniting in support of one candidate are very small, as the depressed class idea is a political idea which has not spread to the various castes, which continue to act independently of each other and to agitate in favour of their own claims and not of those of the whole class. As noted in the reply to sub-paragraph C, Question 5, the chances of the depressed classes returning representatives of their own would be materially affected by the question whether the electorate was joint or separate. For, if the Muhammadans were included in the constituencies, the depressed classes percentage of the total would be small. The areas referred to above are confined mainly to the districts of Jessore, Khulna, Mymensingh, Bakarganj, Faridpur, Rangpur and Dinajpur. Outside these districts there is no chance of the depressed classes being able

Additional questionnaire.	*Answers.*
any constituencies or areas in which the Depressed Classes are sufficiently numerous as to make it possible for them to return a member of the Legislature, in the event of their voting together ?	to return representatives to the Council through a general constituency. The District Officers of Khulna and Dinajpur have been directed to prepare the analysis asked for by the Committee of the rolls in two typical constituencies; the results will be forwarded as soon as they have been received.*
Q. 12.—How do you propose to secure representation for— (*a*) industrial labour; and (*b*) tea garden labour, in the Legislature ?	Government do not consider that it is possible to secure representation for all industrial labour. They consider that nomination is under the present conditions of labour in Bengal by far the best method of securing adequate representation of labour, but if, in spite of this advice, representation by election is insisted upon, then they are prepared to make an experiment through the group system to secure representation for— (*a*) workers in jute and other textile factories; (*b*) workers in coal mines; and (*c*) tea-garden labour. They will work out the details as soon as they have had replies to the questions which have been submitted to the Franchise Committee at the time of the joint discussion of the problems involved.
Q. 13.—To what extent, if at all, could the group system (either wholly indirect or "hybrid") be used, in your opinion, to deal with the representation of labour ?	Government are prepared to experiment with the group system as stated above, provided it is made a statutory duty of the employer of labour to assist in the selection of the Mukhiyas for the various groups. They do not consider that there should be any combination of direct and indirect election in this constituency, The election should be entirely indirect.
Q. 14.—Have you any views as to the desirability of single-member con-	In the opinion of Government the constituencies should be single-member

* Pages 222—223.

Additional questionnaire.	*Answers.*
stituencies, as opposed to multi-member constituencies, electing two, three, or five members each, either by the single non-transferable vote, or any other recognised device ?	constituencies, unless there is a decision to have constituencies with reserved seats, in which case those in which seats are to be reserved must be multi-member constituencies. They do not express a preference for any device at present as they do not know for what purpose the device is to be used.
Q. 15.—Do you consider that a Second Chamber is feasible and desirable in your province; and if so, what should its members be, and how should they be composed ? What would be its position *vis-a-vis* the Lower House of the Provincial Legislature ?	The Government of Bengal with one dissentient consider that a Second Chamber is feasible and desirable in Bengal, and they adhere to the views previously expressed as regards its numbers and functions.
Q. 16.—What do you consider should be the number of members— (*i*) of the Lower House of the Provincial Legislature in the event of a bicameral system being introduced, (*ii*) of the Provincial Legislature if unicameral.	As already stated, Government suggest a membership of 240 for the Lower House with 60 for the Upper House in a bicameral Legislature. If the Legislature is unicameral they suggest the figure of 275 which will allow of expansion in the future. The maximum accommodation available for the Lower Chamber in the existing building is 300, and it is not desirable to provide for any larger number in the near future.
Q. 17.—What representation do you consider should be given in the Provincial Legislature to special interests, *e.g.*, trade and commerce; planting; landlords; Europeans; Anglo-Indians; Indian Christians, etc. ?	As regards the special interests, Government adhere to the replies given in their letter on the recommendations to the Simon Commission.
Q. 18.—As regards the Federal Legislature— (*a*) Do you consider that the Upper Chamber should be elected by the Provincial Legislatures by some system of proportional representation ? The Government of Bengal have intimated that they would prefer to continue the present	The Government of Bengal would press for direct election with the present electorate. If that is not retained, one member would favour election by the Provincial Legislature by a single transferable vote, three others favour direct election, one-fourth by members of local bodies, *viz.*, Calcutta Corporation, Municipalities, District and Local

Additional questionnaire.	*Answers.*
electorate. The Committee would be glad to know whether, if it is decided not to retain that electorate, the local Government would favour the election of the representatives of British Indian Provinces by a single transferable vote; and if not, what alternative system they would recommend ?•	Boards, one-fourth by those paying large amounts (the figures can be settled later) of revenue, cess, income-tax and mercantile and trade associations, *e.g.*, by various chambers of commerce, one-fourth by members of the provincial council, and one-fourth by retired administrators, *e.g.*, ex-chairmen and ex-vice-chairmen of local bodies, ex-High Court Judges, ex-District Officers, etc. The other members have no alternative system to recommend.
(*b*) To what extent should the existing franchise qualifications—	The existing franchise qualifications for the Upper Chamber should be maintained.
(*i*) for the Upper Chamber [if the answer to (*a*) is in the negative],	Those for the Assembly should not in any case be extended. The constituencies are too large as it is.
(*ii*) for the Assembly,	
be extended ?	
(*c*) Do you consider that any group system could be employed in election to both Houses or either House of the Federal Legislature with a view to giving that portion of the population which has not a direct or indirect share in its election some voice in national affairs ?	The Government are not in favour of a group system for election to either House of the Federal Legislature.
(*d*) What special interests should be represented in the Federal Legislature, and to what extent ?	They adhere to the views previously expressed regarding the representation of special interests in the Federal Legislature.

STATEMENT A.

Number of municipalities in each district in Bengal.

Burdwan	.. ..	6	Faridpur	.. ..	3
Birbhum	.. ..	1	Bakarganj	.. ..	6
Bankura	.. ..	3	Chittagong	.. ..	2
Midnapore	.. ..	7	Tippera	.. ..	3
Hooghly	.. ..	10	Noakhali	.. ..	1
Howrah	.. ..	2	Rajshahi	.. ..	2
24-Parganas	.. ..	26	Dinajpur	.. ..	1
Nadia	.. ..	9	Jalpaiguri	.. ..	1
Murshidabad	.. ..	6	Rangpur	.. ..	2
Jessore	.. ..	3	Bogra	.. ..	2
Khulna	.. ..	3	Pabna	.. ..	2
Dacca	.. ..	2	Malda	.. ..	3
Mymensingh	.. ..	9	Darjeeling	.. ..	2
			Total	..	117

STATEMENT B.

Names of members of depressed classes in the existing Bengal Legislative Council.

Name.	Caste.	Method of appointment.
1. Rai Sahib Rebati Mohan Sarker	Namasudra	Nomination.
2. Mukunda Behary Mullick ..	Namasudra	Nomination.
3. Hoseni Rout	Dosadh (Methar) ..	Election.
4. Amulyadhan Ray	Namasudra	Election.
5. Sarat Chandra Bal	Namasudra	Election.
6. Lalit Kumar Bal	Namasudra	Election.
7. Prosanna Deb Raikat ..	Koch	Election.
8. R. Maiti	Mahisya	Election.
9. Rai Sahib Panchanan Barma, M.B.E.	Rajbanshi	Election.
10. Nagendra Narayan Ray ..	Rajbanshi	Election.
11. Rai Dèbendra Nath Ballabh Bahadur.	Chasadhopa (Mahisya)	Election.
12. Haribansa Roy	Mahisya	Election.

STATEMENT C.

Depressed classes according to—

Census, 1921.		Census, 1931.	
Caste.	Number.	Caste.	Number.
....		Agariya	230
Bagdi	895,319	Bagdi	987,570
....		Bahelia	4,449
....		Baiti	8,888
Bauri	184,671	Bauri	331,238
....		Bediya	7,243
....		Beldar	3,139
....		Berua	367
....		Bhatiya	322
Bhuimali	79,605	Bhuimali	72,804
Bhuiya	58,902	Bhuiya	49,370
Bhumij	78,795	Bhumij	84,447
....		Bind	19,518
....		Binjhia	317
Chamar	150,689	Chamar	150,458
Chasi Kaibartta or Mahisya ..	2,208,670	....	
....		Dhenuar	44
....		Dhoba	229,666
....		Doai	1,960
Dom	149,450	Dom	140,067
....		Dosadh	36,420
Garo	39,581	Garo	37,909
....		Ghasi	5,312
....		Gonrhi	5,149
Hadi	19,016	Hadi	14,334
Hajang	23,021	Hajang	19,693
....		Halalkhor	876
Hari	148,329	Hari	132,393
....		Ho	23
Jalia Kaibartta	381,432	Jalia Kaibartta	352,072
....		Jhalo Malo	10,005
....		Kadar	1,078
Kaira	3,350	Kaira	38,287
Kalu	95,828	Kalu	71,024
....		Kalwar	13,531
....		Kan	66
....		Kandh	1,525
....		Kandra	4,724
Kaora	110,651	Kaora	107,908
....		Kapali	165,583
....		Kapuria	170
....		Karenga	9,855
Kasta	11,977	....	
....		Kaur	1,781
Khandait	37,375	....	

Census, 1921.		Census, 1931.	
Caste.	Number.	Caste.	Number.
Khen ..	18,909	Khatik	1,157
Koch	130,012	Kichak	2
Koiri	7,115	Koch	81,299
Kora	29,881	Konai	41,058
Kurmi	179,453	Konwar	133
Lohar	67,905	Kora	46,789
Mal	117,403	Kotal	7,651
Malo	221,031	Lalbegi	4,965
Mech	10,777	Lodha	11,001
Muchi	413,578	Lohar	50,167
Munda	98,628	Mahar	1,986
Namasudra	1,997,441	Mahli	16,262
Nuniya	57,243	Mal	111,167
Oraon	201,430	Mallah	26,252
Patni	42,269	Malpahariya	11,782
Pod	588,394	Mech	4,875
Pundari	14,877	Mehtor	23,278
Rajbansi	1,397,726	Muchi	414,219
Raju	52,091	Munda	63,107
Santal	710,775	Musahar	11,714
Sukli	17,591	Nagar	16,164
Tiyar	175,721	Nagesia	2,088
		Naiya	40
		Namasudra	2,094,957
		Nat	7,348
		Nuniya	28,100
		Oraon	136,427
		Paliya	43,160
		Pan	1,855
		Pasi	18,925
		Patni	40,766
		Pod	667,731
		Pundari	31,255
		Rabha	2,076
		Raju	56,778
		Rajwar	21,337
		Santal	433,502
		Shagirdpeasha	333
		Sukli	3,860
		Sunri	76,920
		Teli	224,282
		Tiyar	96,413
		Turi	16,199
Total ..	11,216,911	Total ..	8,071,201

VI

Supplement to the Government of Bengal's answer* to Question 11 of the Supplementary questionnaire issued by the Indian Franchise Committee.

(i)

Statement showing the number of (a) individuals (b) electors belonging to the Depressed Classes in the Khulna constituency.

	Khulna.
1. Total population (Census, 1921)	1,453,034
2. Total non-Muhammadan population (Census, 1921)	730,147
3. Total number of persons belonging to the depressed classes (Census, 1921)	483,860
4. Percentage of 3 to 2	66·3
5. Total number of non-Muhammadans paying Union Board rate, chaukidari tax or municipal tax	95,783
6. Total number of persons belonging to the depressed classes paying Union Board rate, chaukidari tax or municipal tax	59,934
7. Percentage of 6 to 5	62·6
8. Percentage of 6 to 3	12·4
9. Percentage of 5 to 2	13·1
10. Total number of depressed classes on the existing electoral roll of the Bengal Legislative Council	10,132
11. Percentage of 10 to 3	2·1
12. Number of persons belonging to depressed classes who would be enfranchised if 7½ per cent. of the total population were enfranchised	34,090
13. Number of persons belonging to depressed classes who would be enfranchised if 10 per cent. of the total population were enfranchised	45,453

Note.—The depressed classes in Khulna are chiefly Namasudras.

* Page 216.

(ii)

Statement showing the number of (a) individuals (b) rate-payers belonging to the Depressed classes in the Dinajpur constituency.

	Dinajpur.
1. Total pupulation (Census, 1921)	1,705,353
2. Total non-Muhammadan population (Census, 1921)	751,861
3. Total number of persons belonging to depressed classes (Census, 1921)	601,448
4. Percentage of 3 to 2	79·9
5. Number of non-Muhammadans paying Union Board rate, and municipal tax	111,362
6. Number of persons belonging to the depressed classes paying Union Board rate and Municipal tax	58,127
7. Percentage of 6 to 5	52·2
8. Percentage of 6 to 3	9·6
9. Percentage of 5 to 2	14·8
10. Total number of persons belonging to the depressed classes on the existing electoral roll of the Bengal Legislative Council	7,463
11. Percentage of 10 to 3	1·2
12. Number of persons belonging to the depressed classes who would be enfranchised if 7½ per cent. of the total population were enfranchised	29,691
13. Number of persons belonging to the depressed classes who would be enfranchised if 10 per cent. of the total population were enfranchised	39,588

Note.—The depressed classes in Dinajpur are chiefly Rajbansis.

सत्यमेव जयते

VII

Memorandum by the Bengal Provincial Franchise Committee in reply to the Supplementary Questionnaire issued by the Indian Franchise Committee.

Additional questionnaire.

Q. 1.—A. What is the considered opinion of the Government of Bengal as to the maximum number of voters who could be accurately polled in the province, using the total number of officers and maximum accommodation possible—

(*i*) if the election is spread over—

(I) two days (one for Muhammadans and one for Non-Muhammadans),

(II) four days,

(*ii*) taking 750 as the number of male voters with whom a Presiding Officer could deal in a day—

(*a*) if 40 per cent. of the voters are women,

(*b*) if 10 per cent. of the voters are women ?

B. What percentage would this number represent of (*a*) the total and (*b*) the adult population ?

Q. 2.—Which system of polling illiterate voters do you prefer :—

(*a*) Coloured boxes whereby the voter has to make no mark on the paper but is able to poll secretly ?

(*b*) A system whereby the Presiding Officer marks the ballot paper on the instructions and on behalf of the illiterate voter ?

Q. 3.—*Polling Machinery.*—What is the maximum personnel which could be used as Presiding or Polling Officers ? The Committee

Answers.

Q. 1.—This question is left to Government to answer.

Q. 2.—The majority of the Committee (ten members) prefer the system of coloured boxes. Four members think that photographs of candidates should be required to be placed on the top of each box. Two members prefer the system whereby the Presiding Officer marks the ballot paper on behalf of illiterate voters.

Additional questionnaire. | *Answers.*

would be glad to have this information under the following heads :—

(*i*) Total number of Government officers, gazetted, non-gazetted and ministerial.

(*ii*) Total number of pensioned Government officers.

(*iii*) Total number of Court of Wards officers (superior and ministerial).

Q. 3 (i), (ii) and (iii).—These sub-questions are left to Government to answer.

(*iv*) Total number of members of Local Bodies (Municipal Commissioners, members of District and Local Boards, Presidents and Members of Union Bench Courts, Honorary Magistrates, and any other category of honorary workers who could be employed). To what extent could these figures be supplemented by the use of non-officials (schoolmasters, etc.) ? Is any objection likely to be riased to their use for this purpose ?

Q. 3 (iv).—There is likely to be no objection raised to the utilisation of the services of persons of the classes mentioned.

(*v*) To what extent could provision be made for—

(*a*) separate polling booths for women and women Presiding Officers and clerks,

(*b*) separate entrances and compartments for women voters ?

Q. 3 (v).—This sub-question is left to Government to answer.

Q. 4.—What franchise qualifications would you propose in order to enfranchise—

(*a*) 10 per cent. of the population,

Q. 4 (a).—It is proposed by a majority of the Committee, consisting of ten members, that, in order to enfranchise 10 per cent. of the total population, the

Additional questionnaire. *Answers.*

union board and municipal franchises, reduced to such level as is necessary, say As. 12 rate or tax, be made the qualification, women to be required to be qualified in their own right, *i.e.*, not on the qualifications of their husbands.

The minority (four members) consider that the existing union board and municipal voting qualification should be adopted, and that the wives of voters, if above 25 years of age, should be enfranchised on their husbands' qualifications.

The approximate percentage of women who would be enfranchised according to the proposal of the majority is ·63 per cent. of the total population.

(*b*) the maximum you consider administratively possible as in question 1 above.

Q. 4 (*b*).—This question is left to Government to answer.

What approximate percentage of women would be enfranchised on your proposals, under (*a*) and (*b*) respectively ?

Q. 5.—The Franchise Committee would be glad of your considered opinion as between the four systems of voting which have been under consideration :—

(*a*) Universal direct adult suffrage.

Q. 5 (*a*).—All the members are against universal direct adult suffrage.

(*b*) Universal indirect system.

Q. 5 (*b*).—Five members are in favour of the universal indirect system and nine members against.

(*c*) The extension of the direct vote so far as is administratively possible.

Q. 5 (*c*).—Eleven members are in favour of and three members are against the extension of the direct vote as far as is administratively possible.

(*d*) A combination of the direct and indirect system as explained below.

Q. 5 (*d*).—Three members are in favour and eleven members are against a combination of the direct and indirect systems.

Additional questionnaire.

A fuller note on each of these systems follows below with a view to facilitate a reply.

A. Universal direct adult suffrage.—The fundamental question is whether the system is administratively possible at the present stage. The reply to question 1 above will go far to make clear whether this is so or not.

Answers.

Thus the Committee by a majority favour the extension of the direct vote as far as is administratively possible.

On the question of the extent to which it is administratively possible to extend the direct vote, the Committee, on compromise, make the following unanimous recommendation: The direct vote should be conferred on all persons who pay As. 12 local tax or rate or over, but, if it is decided by the Indian Franchise Committee that the number thus enfranchised is inadequate, then, and in those circumstances only, the Committee consider that an indirect system of group voting should be resorted to.

On the question whether the indirect system to be adopted in those circumstances should be the universal indirect system or the hybrid system, the Committee are divided in opinion. When the question was put to the vote, three members voted in favour of the hybrid system and ten against. Eight members voted in favour of the universal indirect system and six against.

In deciding, for administrative reasons, not to recommend the extension of the direct vote beyond the limit mentioned above, the Committee were, in the main, influenced by consideration of the difficulties involved in the creation, under the direct system, of constituencies which would be manageable by candidates.

Additional questionnaire.

B. Universal indirect system.—Under a universal indirect system the whole adult population, male and female, might be grouped in groups of between 20 and 50 each, each group to return one of their number as a secondary elector for the election of a member of the Legislative Council. Each group would elect one Mukhiya from among its own members, the election being either informal by means of a show of hands or by individual voting after nomination. (As an alternative the group might be larger, electing one Mukhiya for each 20 of its number). Immediately the election was complete, the Circle Officer would place the name of the Mukhiyas elected on the electoral roll, and there would be no appeal against his decision, though his proceedings would be open to revision. In the event of its being decided to retain separate Hindu and Moslem electorates, or to create as recommended in one province, separate electorates for the Depressed Classes, it would be necessary to form separate Hindu, Moslem or Depressed Class primary groups in the villages. The electorate so chosen would be divided into constituencies for the election of members of Council.

In the event of your approving of this system please state—

(*i*) The precise methods by which you consider that the election of the electors for the primary groups should be conducted (the supervising and revising authority; whether an electoral roll should be maintained; whether

Answers.

Q. ɔ*B* (*i*).—The Committee express their opinion that each mukhi should represent ten persons. For the rest the sub-question is left to Government to answer.

Additional questionnaire.	*Answers.*
geographical proximity should be the basis of the group; the size of the group; whether the village or some other division or area should be adopted as the electoral unit; whether the population should be divided into groups of 20 or thereabouts, each to elect a Mukhiya, or into larger groups—say 100—to elect, say, five Mukhiyas).	
(*ii*) Whether men and women should be grouped together or separately.	*Q. 5B* (*ii*).—The majority of the Committee, consisting of five members, consider that men and women should be grouped together. The minority (three members) favour separate grouping for men and women.
(*iii*) Whether you think it could be made applicable to the towns as well as to the country.	*Q. 5B* (*iii*).—All municipalities should be excluded from the operation of the group system.
If your answer is in the affirmative, please state whether you consider that the same basis of grouping and method of voting should be adopted in the towns as in the country. If not, what would you suggest?	
(*iv*) Do you consider that the loss of the direct vote by those who at present enjoy that privilege, and its substitution by a vote for a secondary elector, would be regarded as a source of grievance?	*Q. 5B* (*iv*).—Loss of the direct vote would not be regarded as a grievance in the opinion of the majority of the Committee consisting of six members. The minority (five members) are of the contrary opinion.
C. The extension of the direct vote so far as it is administratively practicable.—In the event of your favour-	

Additional questionnaire.

Answers.

ing the adoption of this system, please state exactly—

(*i*) The categories of the population which would fail under it to secure direct representation in the Legislature.

Q. 5C (*i*).—The unanimous opinion of the Committee is that, if the franchise is confined to persons paying As. 12 local tax or rate voting directly, then labour and women will fail to secure direct representation.

On the question whether the depressed classes would under the same conditions fail to secure direct representation, the Committee are divided in opinion. The majority (eight members) think that they would fail to do so. Two members think the contrary.

(*ii*) The approximate number of women who would be enfranchised, and the percentage they would represent of the total electorate.

Q. 5C (*ii*).—This sub-question left to Government to answer.

(*iii*) The number of the Depressed Classes (applying the criteria of untouchability and unapproachability) who would be enfranchised, and the percentage they would represent of the total electorate.

Q. 5C (*iii*).—According to the criterion laid down in this sub-question, *viz.*, untouchability and unapproachability, as those terms are understood in other parts of India, the Committee consider that, except Bhuimalis only, there is no such class in Bengal.

Mr. Mullick, who does not agree, is allowed to submit a note* explaining his views for the information of the Indian Franchise Committee.

D. The combination of the Direct and Indirect systems as suggested by the Round Table Conference.—Under such a system the total adult population would be divided into—

Q. 5D.—This question does not arise.

(1) Direct voters qualified by property, education, military service, etc.

(2) The balance of the adult population. These might,

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Additional questionnaire. *Answers.*

be grouped in groups of say, 20 (or some approximate figure). In the cold weather preceding that in which a general election is due, the Circle Offieer, in accordance with instructions that would be issued, would divide villages into groups on the basis of geographical proximity.

Each group would return one of their number as a secondary elector for the election of a member of the Legislative Council. The election would be either informal or by nomination, as suggested in the case of universal suffrage. On the completion of the elections in the village the Circle Officer would place the names of the secondary electors chosen on the electoral roll of the constituency to which they appertain along with the direct voters, the choice of the primary voters being thus regarded as a qualification for admission to the electoral roll. The voters not directly qualified might be grouped together in the same manner as suggested in the case of universal indirect election above. The method of polling groups would be similar to that suggested above in the case of universal indirect suffrage, except that it would apply only to a proportion and to the whole.

In the event of your approving of this system the Committee would be glad to know—

(*a*) The precise method of primary group election which you would suggest.

(*b*) The ratio which the number of the direct electors should

Additional questionnaire.	*Answers*
bear to the Mukhiya electors.	
(*c*) Whether men and women should be grouped together in the primary groups or separately.	
(*d*) Assuming it is decided to have one Mukhiya for every 20 persons whether it would be better—	
(*i*) to form the whole village into a single group, electing Mukhiyas on the basis of one per 20 adults, or	
(*ii*) to form groups of, say, 100 each electing 5 Mukhiyas, or	
(*iii*) to form groups of 20 each electing 1. How would you propose to conduct the election in each case ?	
Q. 5. (A).—Do you propose that the same system should be applied to town and country ? If not, what alternative would you propose for the towns ?	*Q. 5.* (A).—The majority of the Committee, consisting of eight members, consider that it would be inadvisable to apply the same system to town and country. As an alternative system for the towns (*i e.*, all municipalities) they propose that the direct system of voting be extended to persons paying As. 12 local tax or rate and over. The minority (five members) are of the opinion that the same system should be applied to town and country.
Q. 6.—Do you consider that town and country should have representation in the Council proportionate to their numbers, or that the towns should have some weightage, and, if so, to what extent ?	*Q. 6.*—In the opinion of the majority of the Committee, consisting of seven members, there should be a 12½ per cent. weightage in favour of the towns (*i.e.*, all municipalities). Two members think that towns should be given greater weightage than 12½ per cent. Three members consider that town and country should be given representation proportionate to their numbers.

Additional questionnaire.

Q. 7.—The Government of Bengal, in reply to question 2 (*a*) of the Franchise Committee's questionnaire, state that they recommend that "urban areas shall be grouped into constituencies and kept apart from the rural areas, which should have their own constituencies". The Committee would be glad of further and detailed information on this proposal:

(*a*) What, for instance, will be classified as "urban areas".

(*b*) What population test would be applied?

(*c*) How many urban areas would there be in Bengal on the system proposed and where would they be situated?

(*d*) Are the local Government satisfied that the smaller municipalities have such divergent interests from those of the surrounding rural areas as to necessitate their being converted into separate constituencies?

(*e*) Are the local Government satisfied that municipalities thrown into the same group will necessarily have a common interest?

Q. 8.—The Committee would be glad of the local Government's views on the possibility of establishing a system of direct suffrage in Calcutta.

(*a*) Do the local Government consider that such a system would be administratively workable?

Answers.

Qs. 7, 8 and 9.—These questions are left to Government to answer.

Additional questionnaire.

(*b*) How many days would it take to poll the adult population ?

(*c*) What Government machinery could be made available for the purpose ?

(*d*) Could any approximate estimate be given of the expenditure involved ?

Q. 9.—The local Government stated in reply to question 2 (*e*) of the questionnaire that they have no objection to an extension of the existing military service qualification to ex-members of the Indian Auxiliary and Indian Territorial Forces if this is thought desirable. What period of qualifying service if any, in the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces would they require as a condition of admitting ex-members of those forces to the franchise ?

Q. 10.—Would they propose any differential franchise for women, and, if so, what number of women are likely to be placed on the electoral roll as the result of their proposals ?

Do the local Government consider it desirable to make provision to secure as a temporary measure, say, for the first ten years, that a small number of women shall be members of the Council ? If so,

(*i*) should they be chosen by co-option by the Council, by the single transferable vote,

(*ii*) be elected by a special constituency of literate women only, divided if necessary into Muhammadan and Non-Muhammadan constituencies, or

Answers.

Q. 10.—This question is left to Government to answer, but Mrs. Bose is allowed to submit a note* for the information of the Indian Franchise Committee.

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Additional questionnaire.

(*iii*) *e.g.*, as suggested in one province on the following lines ?—

"A fixed number of seats should be reserved in the Council for women: women should be allowed as at present in this province to stand for any constituency for which they are qualified to stand, and unsuccessful women candidates up to the number so reserved obtaining the highest percentage of votes to the number of electors on the electoral roll in the constituencies for which they stand, should be delcared elected to the seats reserved for women, provided that they have obtained sufficient votes not to forfeit their deposists. Women who top the poll in any constituency and win a seat outright would come into the Council as ordinary members and would be additional to those filling the seats reserved for women. If on the other hand the number of women candidates was insufficient to fill the quota of reserved seats, no further steps to fill the quota should be taken, whether by nomination or otherwise."

Answers.

Q. 11.—This question is left to Government to answer.

Q. 11.—Could you state—

(*a*) the number of Depressed Class representatives in the existing Council, and the method by which they were appointed,

(*b*) the castes and sub-castes which in your opinion are depressed in your province, applying the criteria of untouchability and unapproachability (including such disabilities as refusal of entry to public eating houses) and the population thereof,

(*c*) the number of members of the Depressed Classes, applying the

Additional questionnaire. *Answers.*

criteria above, who would be placed on the electoral roll as the result—

(*i*) of the system of franchise you propose,

(*ii*) the extension of the direct electorate to 10 per cent. of the population,

(*d*) are the Depressed Classes or Untouchables likely to return representatives of their own to the Council under the system of franchise you propose? If so, how many, and for what constituencies

In order to assist the Franchise Committee in dealing with this matter, could you take, say, two typical constituencies and have a detailed analysis prepared showing the number of individuals and voters belonging to the Depressed Classes in these constituencies, and the number of Depressed Class electors who are now on the electoral roll and who would appear on the electoral roll—

(*i*) under the system of franchise you propose,

(*ii*) if 10 per cent. of the electorate were directly enfranchised?

The Committee would also be glad of a statement in general terms of the distribution of the Depressed Classes, applying the criteria of untouchability and unapproachability, throughout the province. Are there any constituencies or areas in which the Depressed Classes are sufficiently numerous as to make it possible for them to return a member of the Legislature, in the event of their voting together?

Additional questionnaire.	*Answers.*
Q. 12.—How do you propose to secure representation for— (*a*) industrial labour; and (*b*) tea garden labour, in the Legislature?	*Qs. 12 and 13.*—Even if the group system, whether wholly indirect or hybrid, is not adopted, labour should be given representation in special constituencies by means of the group system, the term "labour" to include mill and factory labour and seamen only. Mr. K. C. Roy Chowdhury dissents. He considers that the special representation of labour should be made through Labour Unions approved by Government. He is allowed to submit a special note for the information of the Indian Franchise Committee.
Q. 13.—To what extent, if at all, could the group system (either wholly indirect or "hybrid") be used, in your opinion, to deal with the representation of labour?	
Q. 14.—Have you any views as to the desirability of single-member constituencies, as opposed to multi-member constituencies, electing two, three, or five numbers each, either by the single non-transferable vote, or any other recognised device?	*Q. 14.*—The Committee favour single-member constituencies.
Q. 15.—Do you consider that a Second Chamber is feasible and desirable in your province; and if so, what should its numbers be, and how should they be composed? What would be its position *vis-a-vis* the Lower House of the Provincial Legislature?	*Q. 15.*—The Committee are of the opinion that if the group system of voting is adopted, a Second Chamber will be necessary in Bengal. A minority of the members are in favour of a Second Chamber in any case. All the members consider a Second Chamber feasible. As regards the strength of the Second Chamber, the Committee consider that its strength should be 40 per cent. of the Lower House. As regards its composition the Committee, except one member, think that 70 per cent. of its members should be elected by general constituencies by the direct vote, 20 per cent. should be elected by special interests and 10 per cent. should be nominated by the Governor. Mr. N. K. Basu dissents to nomination. He considers that no member should be nominated. As regards the qualifications of voters it is thought that these

Additional questionnaire.	*Answers.*
	should be the same as the qualifications of voters for the present Legislative Assembly and that the qualifications of candidates should be required to be a little higher than those of voters, both as regards age and in other respects. As regards the position of the Second Chamber *vis-a-vis* the Lower Chamber, the Committee accept, *mutatis mutandis*, the views expressed by the Federal Structure Committee in regard to the relations of the Upper and Lower Chambers of the Federal Legislature (*vide* paragraphs 40-42, Federal Structure Committee's third report).
Q. 16.—What do you consider should be the number of members—	
(*i*) of the Lower House of the Provincial Legislature in the event of a bicameral system being introduced,	*Q. 16* (*i*).—Not less than 225.
(*ii*) of the Provincial Legislature, if unicameral.	*Q. 16* (*ii*).—Not less than 250.
Q. 17.—What representation do you consider should be given in the Provincial Legislature to special interests, *e.g.*, trade and commerce, planting; landlords; Europeans; Anglo-Indians; Indian Christians, etc., etc.?	*Q. 17.*—As regards European interests, the view of the majority consisting of seven members, is that the existing representation of European interests in the existing elected Bengal Legislative Council, both special as representing trade and commerce and also as consisting of constituencies representing the non-official European community, should be retained in the same proportion in the new elected Bengal Legislative Council (Lower Chamber). The view of the minority (four members) is that 10 per cent. only of the total House should be reserved for European interests, both special and general. As regards other special interests the Committee think that the following interests should be given representation in the provincial legislature (Lower

Additional questionnaire.	*Answers.*
	Chamber) in the same proportion as in the present Bengal Legislative Council: Indian trade and commerce, landlords, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians. The Committee by a majority of 6 to 1 consider that, if an equal number of general seats is given to Hindus and Muhammadans in the general electorate, then the special constituencies reserved for those two communities should be divided in equal numbers between Hindus and Muhammadans, so far as is found to be possible.
Q. 18.—As regards the Federal Legislature—	
(*a*) Do you consider that the Upper Chamber should be elected by the Provincial Legislatures by some system of proportional representation? The Government of Bengal have intimated that they would prefer to continue the present electorate. The Committee would be glad to know whether, if it is decided not to retain that electorate, the local Government would favour the election of the representatives of British Indian Provinces by a single transferable vote; and if not, what alternative system they would recommend?	*Q. 18* (*a*).—The Committee are of the opinion that the Upper Chamber of the Federal Legislature should be elected by the Provincial Legislatures by some system of proportional representation.
(*b*) To what extent should the existing franchise qualifications—	
(*i*) for the Upper Chamber [if the answer to (*a*) is in the negative],	*Q. 18* (*b*) (*i*).—This question does not arise.
(*ii*) for the Assembly,	*Q. 18* (*b*) (*ii*).—The existing franchise qualifications for the Assembly should not be extended further.
be extended?	

Additional questionnaire.

(*c*) Do you consider that any group system could be employed in election to both Houses or either House of the Federal Legislature with a view to giving that portion of the population which has not a direct or indirect share in its election some voice in national affairs ?

(*d*) What special interests should be represented in the Federal Legislature, and to what extent ?

The Committee appreciate that reference to local officers will be necessary before answers to some of the above questions can be given, but they must ask that arrangements be made to furnish them with the bulk of the information required by 15th March at latest and that any supplementary information on outstanding points may reach them not later than 25th March. They greatly regret the necessity for thus pressing local Governments and their officers at the present time, but in view of the date by which their report on the basis of the franchise has to be submitted they are compelled to ask that the matter may be expedited in every possible way.

Answers.

Q. 18 (*c*).—No.

Q. 18 (*d*).—Not more than four seats in all should be reserved in the Upper Chamber of the Federal Legislature for the following special interests: Europeans, Anglo-Indians and trade and commerce. Labour should be represented in the Lower House only. Europeans, Anglo-Indians and commerce should also be represented in the Lower House. It is not thought necessary, at this stage, to determine the proportion of representation.

Note of dissent by Mr. N. K. Basu, M.L.C., dated 11th March 1932.

I regret I cannot accept the majority resolutions on the mode of voting.

What the majority have decided is--

(1) The voting *in towns* is always to be direct.

(2) The voting *in rural areas* is to be direct if the franchise is confined to persons paying annas 12 or above in rates or taxes: but if a larger number of persons are enfranchised, the voting is to be altogether by the group system, each Mukhi representing 10 persons.

(*N.B.*—Towns mean all municipal areas.)

A short resumé of the way in which this decision has been arrived at will be instructive.

After the matter was remitted by the Indian Franchise Committee for reconsideration, the matter was fully debated on the 4th instant and the following answer decided on :—

" All the members are against universal direct suffrage ; five are in favour of and nine against universal indirect system ; eleven are in favour of and three against extending the direct vote as far as is administratively possible ; three are in favour of and eleven against a combination of the direct and indirect systems."

At the next meeting (7th March) the Chairman made a strong appeal for unanimity and after stating what the local Government had recommended urged us to accept the same view as a compromise resolution. Thereafter, it was proposed, as a compromise—

" That the direct vote be conferred on all persons paying annas 12 as tax or rate and above, but that if the Indian Franchise Committee determine to extend the franchise still further by including persons paying lower taxes, etc., then and in those circumstances only, this Committee recommend that an indirect system of voting be adopted."

This was accepted as a compromise, though in the minds of several of us (including myself) there were considerable misgivings.

The voting on the next question showed that our misgivings were well founded :—

" On the question whether the indirect system to be adopted in these circumstances should be the universal indirect system or the hybrid system, the Committee are divided : Three are in favour of the hybrid system and Ten against ; Eight are in favour of the universal indirect system and Six against."

This appears to me to be not only anomalous but in direct contradiction to our previous resolution on question 5.

I shall now indicate my reasons for dissenting from the majority verdict.

The universal indirect system (which I shall hereafter call the "group" system) disenfranchises a large number of persons who are voters now. (I do not lose sight of the fact that to minimise the force of this objection the majority have decided to recommend that each Mukhi should represent ten persons. This expedient, however, to my mind does not meet the difficulty.) It is bound to create a great deal of discontent even though five of our members think otherwise.

In making their recommendation, I am afraid, the majority have been swayed more by phrases and political ideals than by the practicalities of the position. The ideal of "adult suffrage" and the possibility of doing away with "communal electorates" have had a lot to do with their decision. Indeed, at one period (*viz.*, during our discussions with the Indian Committee) I myself surrendered to the latter idea, and though it has ever since been counted to me for righteousness by the protagonists of the group system, I am convinced I was wrong.

Regard being had to the fact that the Provincial Legislature we are considering the franchise for is to be entrusted with responsible government, I do not think adult suffrage can now be considered.

We ought to remember that in Bengal, the adults are just 50 per cent. of the population, the women (mostly purdah) are about 47 per cent. of the adults, the percentage of literacy among women is almost negligible, the bulk of the people take very little interest in things beyond their immediate ken.

In this connexion the remarks of the Auxiliary Committee of the Simon Commission should be borne in mind—

"In every country where there is representative government" education should be given "such as to produce a popular electorate capable of exercising intelligently the primary functions of citizenship: they should be able to choose their representatives with knowledge and intelligence: to understand, at any rate, to a certain extent, the social and political programmes which are placed before them by candidates for election to the legislative bodies."

When we remember that less than 13 per cent. of the adult population of the province is literate, I am afraid, the regretful decision must be that the time for adult suffrage—direct or indirect—has not yet arrived.

I would base my recommendation on the findings of the Franchise Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference. One of the very few of their unanimous resolutions was—

"We consider that there should be a property qualification for the franchise."

Then there were majority resolutions to have *additional* educational and military qualifications and special representation for women.

In his remarks to the Provincial Committee, the Chairman of the Indian Franchise Committee asked us particularly to try and ascertain public opinion on the matter.

The opinions so far published in the Press (English as well as Vernacular) are singularly unanimous and have condemned the "group" system by bell, book and candle. I do not think we have any right to ignore the volume of opinion and decide to the contrary on the ground that "we are making history", another phrase on which the majority of our Committee have stumbled.

I would therefore have all voting—even in rural areas—to be direct (the official members of the Committee have assured us there would be no administrative difficulty) and would confer the franchise upon—

(*a*) All persons paying rates and/or taxes of annas 12 and over.

(*b*) All literate women, of 25 and above.

(*c*) All males who have passed the Matriculation Examination, or an equivalent examination.

This would enfranchise about 18 per cent. of the rural adult population or 9 per cent. of the total population.

The voters in towns would bring the number of persons enfranchised to the maximum which I consider to be proper at the present time.

I may note that under this scheme the total enfranchised would be about 36 lakhs as against the 23 lakhs of secondary voters under the group system, with one Mukhi for 10 adults.

In my judgment, the secondaries are the only persons enfranchised under the "group" system. The primary voter's franchise is the shadow of a shade and no responsibility attaches to it, nor for the matter of that to the secondary voter.

Then again, the majority have recommended weightage of 12½ per cent. to be given to the towns.

This in my opinion is wholly inadequate in present circumstances. The rural population is 46 millions and that of towns about 3½ millions.

The present ratio of representation between urban and rural areas is 1 : 4.

The majority would reduce that to 1 : 10. This is wholly unfair and loses sight of the fact that in the towns in Bengal are conglomerated all the people who really can exercise an intelligent franchise. If the present ratio be considered to be unjust and it is decided not to maintain it, I should certainly not reduce it to less than 1 : 5.

N. K. BASU.

Note of dissent by Mr. S. M. Bose, M.L.C., dated 13th March 1932.

I regret to have to submit this Note of Dissent on the Provincial Committee's recommendations on the Additional Questionnaire sent by the Indian Franchise Committee.

2. In the following note, I shall deal with the following matters :—

(*a*) Objection to the universal indirect system and the Provincial Committee's recommendations (paragraphs 3 and 4).

(*b*) My objections to the abolition of the present direct system of voting (paragraph 5).

(*c*) Public opinion in Bengal is strongly against abolition of direct voting and against universal indirect system ; illogical differentiation made by the Committee between town and country (paragraph 6).

(*d*) Hybrid system—its dangers (paragraph 7).

(*e*) My concrete suggestions (paragraphs 8 and 10).

(*f*) More seats for urban areas (paragraph 9).

3. I am unable to agree first as to the recommendation advocating the universal indirect system in case the Central Committee think a very large increase of electorate should be allowed. See answer to question 5 (*d*). I am entirely opposed to the introduction of any such system in any shape or form, and to the abolition of the existing system of direct voting.

4. On the 4th March last, at a very full meeting of the Provincial Committee (14 out of 15 members being present), it was decided by 9 votes to 5 that there should not be the universal indirect system ; and at the same meeting, it was by 11 votes to 3 decided on the extension of the direct vote so far as it is administratively possible [answer to question 5 (*b*) and (*c*), Additional Questionnaire]. It is thus abundantly clear that a considerable majority of our Committee are in favour of question 5 (*c*) and are of opinion that the direct voting system should continue, and should be extended, and that in no event was the universal indirect system to be introduced. In face of this, it is difficult to understand how the Committee at its next sitting, after an attempt to reopen the matter had failed, should have recorded the opinion that the direct vote should be conferred on all persons paying 12 annas rate or tax, but if the Central Committee determine to extend the franchise still lower, *the universal indirect system is to be introduced.*

5. I am definitely of opinion that under no circumstances should the right of direct franchise now in force be taken away. Shortly put, this system is to be preferred to the indirect or the group system for the following, among other reasons : (1) it has considerable educative value for the voters ; (2) it places them face to face with the candidate who is to be always in touch with them, and so feel a sense of responsibility towards them, which will be entirely absent in the group system, where

the candidate is not in contact with the primary voters ; (3) the primary election being held six or nine months before the secondary or the real election, the primaries will be quite in the dark as to who the Council candidates will be, or what will then be the actual issues before the country ; the only matter before them is the choice of their headman, the secondary voter ; (4) the secondary thus will have no mandate from the primaries (even if they had any mandate, there is no compulsion on the secondary voters, and the ballot box effectually covers a multitude of sins) and will do just as they like. So this form of adult suffrage will really mean that nineteen people out of twenty will not have the faintest voice in the governance of their country ; (5) the vigilant candidate will have to canvas at both the elections, which will mean a heavy expenditure ; (6) the necessity of having a detailed house-to-house census throughout all the villages in Bengal every four or five years, just before each election. I need not deal with practical difficulties, *e.g.*, who is to maintain and revise the roll, etc. To the very strong argument that the present direct voters will bitterly resent any deprivation of their rights, the answer has been made that he is sure to be returned as a secondary voter. That this is incorrect has been shown by actual calculation for the union board to which belonged the villages in Faridpur, which we went to visit on the 20th February last. I am told that there the present number of direct voters to Council is about 370 ; but if the group system of twenties be applied, there would be about 160 secondary voters ; and there can be no certainty that these will come from the present direct voters. Further, if it be true that the direct voter is sure to be returned as secondary, then I ask what is the use of this farce of a show of adult suffrage, with its attendant expense and unsettling of the present system, which gives us exactly what we are getting now ?

6. In accordance with the suggestions made by the Central Committee, the Provincial Committee's provisional conclusions regarding the universal indirect system were submitted for public opinion, and the unanimous opinion as expressed in the Press has been strongly against this scheme, and in favour of the retention of the present system of direct voting. The "Amrita Bazar Patrika," the paper with the largest circulation among Indians, Congress papers like "Liberty," the "Advance" —both in English—the "Bangabani," nationalist papers like the "Basumati" and the "Ananda Bazar Patrika," weeklies like the "Sanjibani," edited by that Nestor among journalists, Mr. Krishna Kumar Mitra, the veteran Liberal politician—all sections of political opinion in Bengal have condemned the proposal to introduce the universal indirect system and to abolish the present system. This fact must be borne in mind. Further, the illogical nature of the Committee's recommendation to have the universal indirect system is shown by the fact that according to them, this should not apply to towns. But in urban areas, there is a large number of adults without franchise, perhaps proportionately as large as in rural areas. In rural areas, on the other hand, there is a large number of direct voters. One possible reason in favour of this exemption in favour of towns may be that the urban voters being more educated, more vocal and more concentrated, can combine mor

effectively to make their objection heard. But there is in truth no reason for any differentiation between town and country. Efforts should be made to avoid any permanent cleavage between rural and urban interests, to avoid any ground for fostering ill-feeling between them.

7. The *hybrid system* is much better, but there is a danger to be safeguarded against. The primary and the secondary electors are all persons who pay no tax at all. It will be inadvisable to allow such persons to have any effective voice in the expenditure of the revenues to which they do not contribute. For those who pay no taxes have every motive to be lavish and none to economise. There will be a real danger to the State if such persons are allowed to vote money for any purpose they think fit to call a public one. It is therefore necessary to see that the secondary non-tax paying adult voters are small in number as compared with the direct voters—say one secondary to four direct voters. It follows that the groups should be at least 25 if not 50. To this limited extent, I am prepared to allow the hybrid system, but I think it will be quite sufficient to depend on direct voting, so far as practicably possible.

8. I have had considerable experience of elections; I have fought two contested elections for the East Mymensingh (Rural) Constituency, with nearly 90 polling stations, and a very large electorate spread over a considerable area. I have fought a third election in Calcutta, and have helped in a good many other contests. I am of opinion that in fixing the basis of franchise, we should carefully bear in mind, *inter alia*, the following considerations: (1) the present illiteracy and the consequent lack of active political interest; and the lower the franchise is extended, the greater the proportionate illiteracy among the voters. This will no doubt be remedied to a larger extent, the longer the Primary Education Act is enforced; (2) the necessity for a fairly small constituency where it is possible for the candidate directly to approach the electors and to influence them, and be responsible in the real sense of the term to them; (3) the difficulty of communication in rural areas; (4) the fact that the number of seats is not likely to be enlarged very much, the probable number being 200 in place of 114 elected seats at present. Having regard to all these factors, I think that under the direct system of voting alone, without recourse to the hybrid system, we can enlarge the franchise so as to give the vote to four million people, thus trebling the present number of enfranchised persons; this will mean enfranchising 16 per cent. of the adult population. I may here enter a caveat against the common parlance of asking for enfranchisement of so much per cent. of the *total population*. To my mind this phrase has no meaning, and what we ought to speak is by reference to the *adult population*, our goal being adult suffrage. The basis of franchise then would be as follows:—

Enfranchise for the Council all persons possessing the union board electorate qualification (payment of Re. 1 as cess or chaukidari rate), and all persons possessing municipal voting qualification as at present,

together with all wives, of the age of thirty or over, of such two classes of persons. The approximate figures will be as follows :—

(1)	Persons with union board electorate franchise	2,400,000
(2)	Persons with chaukidari committee franchise	200,000
(3)	Municipal voters, including Calcutta ..	400,000
(4)	Wives of 30 years and over, of above, say ..	1,000,000
	Total ..	4,000,000

The above figures may be adjusted so as not to exceed four millions—a total which can be conveniently polled by the direct system. If we take into account the following additional qualifications, this number will be I think greatly exceeded : (*a*) educational qualification—all adult matriculates or those passing the School Finals, and (*b*) military qualification, including service in the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces, as recommended by our Committee. There will be no necessity of resorting to the hybrid system at all. But should the Central Committee be desirous of still further increasing the franchise, the hybrid system with safeguards as in paragraph 6 above may be tried.

9. The second matter on which I to some extent differ from the Committee is on the question of towns. There seem to prevail an unreasonable hostility to towns, and an inclination to penalise them at the expense of the country. In this connection, the apposite remarks of the Government of India in their Fifth Despatch on the Indian Constitutional Reforms (Franchise), dated April, 1919, should be borne in mind : " After religion and race, the boundary between town and country is the greatest dividing line that runs through the Indian people. It corresponds closely with the division between progress and conservatism ; between English education and vernacular ; between experience of self-government and lack of such experience. It is roughly the difference between the old Indian and the new, the forces that are pressing us forward, and those that are holding us back. These are in our view elements which ought to be measured on a uniform scale all round, and the relative importance of which ought to be assessed in each province." The importance of towns was also mentioned in the memorandum of the Government of Bengal before the Simon Commission. The towns are the centres of political life and thought of the country ; the educated classes of all communities congregate there. As the Simon Commission in their Report, Volume 1, paragraph 33, remark : " It is inevitable that in India, those who give their attention to political affairs should be found mainly in the towns. It is in the towns that are to be found the barristers and journalists who predominate among the leaders of Indian political opinion and from whose ranks for the most part are drawn the propagandists,

candidates and public representatives of all political parties and communities. The Indian educated class presents a feature which must be regarded as unique. For here is a body of men, educated, working, and, in many instances, thinking in an alien Western language, imbibing with that education the principles and traditions of a Western civilization and polity, and yet keenly conscious of its unity with the mass of the Indian people whose minds are set in the immemorial traditions of the East." For these reasons I think that the number of urban seats—17 at present—should be increased. Big towns with a population of 25,000 and over should have a seat. There were 22 such towns according to the 1921 census. The other urban areas with less population may be conveniently grouped to form constituencies.

10. Finally I wish to add that my scheme (paragraph 8) would provide an electorate which will adequately reflect the adult population belonging to the Moslem community and the "backward classes" (see the remarks at page 273 of the Report on the Working of the Reformed Constitution in Bengal, 1921-27). It will also provide for the adequate enfranchisement of women, which is omitted in the scheme to lower the franchise to 12 annas ratepayers, adopted by our Committee.

S. M. BOSE.

Note on Special Electorate for Labour by Mr. K. C. Roy Chowdhury, M.L.C., dated 9th March 1932.

The joint memorandum of registered trade unions in Bengal including organisations of jute millhands, printing press employees, seamen, railway workmen and clerks was submitted to the Central Franchise Committee urging special representation for labour if the same concession is made to Industry and Commerce by reservation of seats in Bengal and Federal Legislatures equal to those to be reserved for the latter.

The following are the existing special constituencies for Commerce and Industry :—

	Seats.
Bengal Chamber of Commerce	6
Indian Jute Mills' Association	2
Indian Tea Association	1
Indian Mining Association	1
Calcutta Trades' Association	1
Bengal National Chamber of Commerce	2
Bengal Marwari Association	1
Bengal Mahajan Sabha	1

The proportion is just over 10 per cent. of the present House of 140 and as this proportion has been recommended by the Provincial Committee for representations of capitalists (Trade and Commerce), in the new Provincial Legislatures, labour should have same proportion of seats reserved for it in Bengal Council.

According to a Note submitted by India Office to the League of Nations, the total number of industrial workmen in India is over 20 millions and the share of Bengal is about 5 millions or practically 20 per cent. of the adult population of Bengal including females, Hindus, Moslems, and members of all other communities.

The following figures of wage-earners in Bengal have been taken from various reports and records :—

Operatives employed in registered factories in Bengal including 320,000 jute millhands is about	560,000
Seamen including inland navigation	120,000
Tea garden labour in Dooars, Darjeeling, Tippera and Chittagong	90,000
Coal miners in Burdwan	45,000
Railwaymen (share of Bengal including Carriage and Wagon, Traffic, Loco, Engineering)	120,000
Clerks	60,000
Jetty, Dock and Motor Vehicles labour	20,000
	1,015,000

With universal indirect adult suffrage, a million of the above industrial workers neglecting half timers should, on the basis of ten in a group, return 100,000 secondary electors to elect at least 16 Council Members (6,250 per constituency). More than 90 per cent. of them work and reside in urban areas. The Bengal Provincial Committee have unanimously decided to exclude group system from those areas and yet in case of labour representation they have illogically and inconsistently and in spite of my protest recommended grouping and indirect election of labour. Take the case of jute mills ; they are scattered and not more than 15,000 millhands will be found to reside within a single municipal area. If you group them, you will have to include non-millhands in these groups. The same will apply to seamen, who when out of employ reside in villages in different districts, *viz.*, Comilla, Chittagong, Noakhali, Dacca, etc. It will not be possible therefore to form such groups of industrial labour as well ensure election of labour representatives in Council.

The Whitley Commission has made it abundantly clear in its report that labour must have adequate representation in all legislatures to share the responsibility of passing labour legislations which must inevitably

grow as India is a member of the International League of Nations and its labour branch. The Whitley Commission has also recommended that Labour Unions should form special constituencies as Chambers of Commerce and Mill and Mining Associations, etc.

The progressive labour movement in India is responsible for the All-India Trade Union Congress, now called All-India Trade Union Federation, with branches in all industrial provinces. The Bengal Branch, known as Bengal Trades Union Federation, has 12 or 13 Unions affiliated to it, with a membership of over 50,000. They are all registered and have to submit reports and accounts every year to the Registrar of Trades Union.

Mr. N. M. Joshi and other two labour representatives on the Round Table Conference advocated this method (*vide* page 84 of the Minority Report). Mr. Gilchrist of the Bengal Government has emphasised the importance of Labour Unions. Mr. Thompson on behalf of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce admitted in evidence that he has no objection to representation of labour through Trade Unions. There need be no fear that politicians will easily capture Labour Unions in future. In fact a large majority of workers all over India are fed up with political extremists who promoted strikes and three thousands out of employment.

The Government in future will be the sole judge of the *bona fides* of labour unions, before admitting them as special electorates.

Labour must have at least 15 seats in future in Bengal Council of 200, including two representatives of tea plantations and two of coal mines and five seats in the Central or Federal Legislature, which will be mainly responsible for labour legislations.

The Government of India has hitherto recognised the All-India Trade Union Congress and Federation for selection of delegates to the International Labour Conference. The Governments of Bengal and Bombay have nominated labour representatives in Municipal Boards in consultation with *bona fide* Labour Unions (*e.g.*, labour seats in Bhatpara Jute Mill Municipality in Bengal).

It is an admitted fact that next to the Indian National Congress, the labour movement in India is best organised with more than 300,000 members and maintains strong discipline. But for the unfortunate political situation the Trade Unions would have made much more rapid progress. The Bengal Franchise Committee has little or no knowledge of these facts and is prejudiced against Trade Unions because of their exploitation by political extremists.

Group, unless it is universal or direct, is out of the question. The next best suggestion if Trade Unions are not favoured is that made by the Simon Commission, *viz.*, that in every province the Governor should nominate labour representatives in agreement with suitable labour organisations following the procedure laid down in the Treaty of Versailles for selection of delegates to the International Labour Conference.

K. C. ROY CHOWDHURY.

Minute on the "depressed classes" by Mr. M. B. Mullick, M.L.C., Member, Bengal Provincial Franchise Committee, dated 12th March 1932.

1. *Hindu topography—Indications of.*—The term "Hindu" does not indicate any homogenous race. Of the various castes coming under the term "Hindu", there is hardly anything in common between one and another so far as their internal affairs are concerned, though they all profess the Hindu religion and are also governed by the Hindu Laws. It is therefore impossible to try to find out any community of interest between these various castes. But even with various differences, there are certain castes which can be grouped together in consideration of their enjoyment of political and social privileges in common with one another. For instance, the three topmost castes under the Hindu topography, namely, the Brahmin, the Vaidya, and the Kayastha, practically go together; and though there is no intermarriage between the three castes and even amongst the several subsects of each of them, they enjoy all other privileges, social and political, together in that they have the common social servants, the priest and the barber, to serve them, and in matters of education and state patronage they have jointly got the largest share in between themselves.

2. *Caste-Hindus.*—It is almost an admitted fact that the said three castes have so far determined the hierarchy of various Hindu castes on account of their privileged position and that they have always exercised a very great influence upon the ruling authorities of the country. For some reason or other they have given, according to their estimation, some status to the next batch of castes known as the Navashaks or the nine branches, namely, the Karmakar (blacksmith), the Kumabhakar (potter), the Napit (barber), etc. These are the nine castes from whom the above three high castes would take water and that they would not consider the former "untouchable" from any point of view. Their touch or presence either in the kitchen or the temple would not pollute the food or drink or even defile the articles of worship.

Leaving the aforesaid twelve castes, the rest might practically go together; but that with their progress and education and with their economic and political advancement some other castes have raised themselves in the estimation of the first three castes. Amongst these may be mentioned the Shahas and Subarnabaniks (the rich mercantile and land-owning communities in Bengal) and also the Mahishyas or Chashi-Kaibarthas. How the rich position of the Shahas and Subarnabaniks has worked upon the rigidity of Hindu orthodoxy will be evident from the fact that even in the Hindu orthodox dining hall of the Lowis Jubilee Sanitarium at Darjeeling, the Shahas and Subarnabaniks are allowed to take their food in the same dining hall with the Brahmins, the Vaidyas and the Kayasthas; but that no castes belonging to the depressed classes of the Hindus is allowed to have his meal in any portion of the said dining hall. In the Government Hindu High English School at Calcutta where only the Brahmins, the Vaidyas and the Kayasthas are allowed, they have admitted the

Subarnabaniks ; but they do not admit any caste of the depressed classes.

3. " *Depressed classes* "—*Who they are.*—There has been no attempt made so far to define the term " depressed class ". I am also obliged to concede that it is not quite possible to give a cut and dry definition of the term. But the matter will be clear from the analysis of the Hindu topography of castes given above. Though there cannot be a correct definition, yet looking at the events as have happened certain indications can surely be given of the castes who would come under the " depressed classes ". Amongst these criteria, may be mentioned the following :—

(*a*) Castes, from whose hands the three high caste or even the Navashakhas (that is, the caste-Hindus) would not accept water and whose presence either in the kitchen or in the room where water and cooked food are kept, would pollute the same according to their estimation.

(*b*) Castes, who would not be allowed into any Public temple and whose presence in the same would defile articles of worship.

(*c*) Castes, who would not be allowed to enter or to have their meals inside the dining room of a hotel or eating house run by the aforesaid caste-Hindus.

(*d*) Castes, at whose socio-religious functions Srotriya Brahmins (that is, the priests) officiating in such functions in the house of the caste-Hindus, would not officiate.

(*e*) Castes, who would not be served by the Srotriya Napit (that is, the Barber) whose services are necessary in various socio-religious function of the Hindus.

4. *Implications of the term " unapproachability " and " untouchability "*.—Some confusion has been sought to be made by the introduction of such terms as " unapproachability " or " untouchability " as being the only defining factors of the depressed classes, as it obtains in Madras and in some other parts of India. The matter can only be looked at from one point of view, namely, that it is not the same consideration in all the different parts of India as would make a particular caste a " depressed class ". The factors differ in different provinces. But the common indication remains, namely, that it is the external expression of an internal feeling of odium by which certain sections of the community are precluded from having anything in common with others in social matters and as a result of which, they are also debarred from the enjoyment of their political rights. This one common factor is expressed in one province in the shape of denial of entrance into schools or public temples, in another in the shape of denial of having any access to public wells or tanks, in another in the shape of refusal of having meals inside the public hotels or eating houses and in others again in the shape

of denial of social services from social servants; but that they all lead to show that these castes are refused the enjoyment of their political rights.

It was thus observed by the Indian Statutory Commission in their report (Volume I, page 39) :—" In Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and the United Provinces, although there are large numbers belonging to untouchable castes, in general they do not seem to suffer so universally or so severely as in the south. It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that the problem does not exist in these provinces."

Regarding the condition of the untouchables the said Report observes on page 39, Volume I, that considerable efforts have been made in recent years by social reformers and by Government for the amelioration of the state of the depressed classes, but progress has been, and is likely to remain, slow. Modern changes in the external conditions of daily life are not without effect, but the breaking down of the barriers cannot but be exceedingly gradual.

5. *The communities coming under the "depressed classes" and their numbers.*—Taking the above criteria, I am of opinion that the following castes* (stated in Schedule A below) would come under the term " depressed classes ".

Their number would be over ten millions. The correct figures may be obtained from the Government Census Department. They would thus be over 20 per cent. of the total population in Bengal.

The Statutory Commission in their Report, Volume 1, page 40, gives the number of the depressed classes in Bengal at 11·5 millions or 24½ per cent. of the total population. At that time they were not quite clear in their estimation, as it now appears that one of the castes called the " Mahishyas or Chasi-Kaibartas " have taken exception to their being included in the category of the depressed classes.

6. *Should the " depressed classes " have any representations at all ? If so, on what basis ?*—If the responsible Government or representative Government means that the same should contain the acknowledged representatives of all sections of His Majesty's subjects, the position can never be denied that these vast numbers of people should have their representation on the Legislature of the province. The position cannot also be doubted that regard being had to their number and to their mostly being the producer of national wealth, the said representation must be true and proper as also effective ; and in order that the same result may be achieved, their representation should be from amongst themselves and in proportion to their numerical strength. Everybody now seems to agree on this matter. All the various associations including even the Hindu Mahasabha with Dr. Moonje as its President, agree in this. The only difference between the depressed classes themselves and these others seems to be that while the depressed classes are definitely of opinion that they should have the power and privilege to choose their own true representative from amongst themselves. Others seem

* Page 258.

to think that the depressed classes should be given their proper share of representation but that the same is to be had jointly with the other Hindus. I do not consider it worth while to pursue this point as it has been definitely ruled by the Chairman of the Indian Franchise Committee that this question is not within the scope of their enquiry.

7. *If "depressed classes" are likely to secure representation of their own choice in the general electorates* ?—Past experience shows that it is not the number that has counted in the matter of securing one's own true representative on the Legislature. For the number of the depressed class electors is not very insignificant and in some of the general constituencies, they are in the majority. With any general extension of the Franchise, the same conditions will continue to exist; and the same factors, namely, the influences of the landlords and of the money-lenders and also of the religious interference coupled with the illiteracy of large sections of them will still continue to exercise the same old influence and they will be debarred from the free exercise of their votes.

Past experience.—While the figures (*vide* pages 174, 351 and 366, Part I, Census Report, 1921) show that they are in fairly large numbers and are in a majority in some of the general constituencies in Bengal, they have not only been unable to send their true representatives but have absolutely failed to secure any representation at all in most of them.

A. First Election of 1920.—The following were the members from the depressed classes in the Council of 1921 :—

(1) Rai Sahib Panchanan Barma, M.A., B.L., M.B.E.—(Rajbangshi) Rangpur.

(2) Mr. Nerode Behari Mullick, M.A., B.L.—(Namasudra) Bakarganj South.

(3) Mr. Hem Chandra Nasker—(Pod) 24-Parganas.

(4) Mr. Prasanna Deb Raikat—(Koch or Rajbangshi) Jalpaiguri.

(5) Babu Rasik Chandra Charmakar—(Chamar) Noakhali.

(6) Mr. Bhismadeb Das—(Namasudra) Nominated.

Of these Babu Rasik Chandra Charmakar, an illiterate member of the " chamar " community was returned uncontested from Noakhali. He was sent to the Council as a sort of ridicule by the political party, that is, the Congress ; his coming to the Council indicates dominant position of the caste-Hindu. Mr. Bhismadeb Das, a leading Namasudra member of Faridpur, was defeated by a caste-Hindu, and he came to the Council by Government nomination. Messrs. Prasanna Deb Raikat and Hem Chandra Nasker were able to come in only because of the fact that they were big landlords. Even then the influence of the latter gave way to that of the caste-Hindus in the following elections when he was returned as a nominee of the caste-Hindus.

Mr. Nerode Behari Mullick was able to get in because there was a triangular fight. The other two candidates being influential landlords,

their contest was keen and the Namasudra candidate got in only by chance.

Mr. Mukunda Behary Mullick, M.A., B.L., Advocate, High Court, the true representative of the depressed classes of Khulna, was defeated by a caste-Hindu, while the figures show that they are 333, the caste-Hindus are only 58 in a total population of 500 Hindus.

B. The Second Election of 1923.—The following were the members in the Second Legislative Council of Bengal :—

(1) Rai Sahib Panchanan Barma, M.B.E., M.A., B.L.—(Rajbangshi) Rangpur.

(2) Babu Nagendra Narayan Roy, B.L.—(Rajbangshi) Rangpur.

(3) Mr. Prasanna Deb Raikat—(Koch or Rajbangshi) Jalpaiguri.

(4) Babu Mohini Mohan Das—(Namasudra) Faridpur.

(5) Dr. Charu Chandra Das, L.M.S.—(Dhoba) Nominated.

Babu Mohini Mohan Das has not got any English education at all and he cannot speak in English. He is an inhabitant of Barisal but he came in as a Congress candidate from Faridpur defeating Babu Bhismadeb Das, a true and educated representative of the Namasudra community of the district of Faridpur. The figures show that the depressed classes are 220 and the caste-Hindus are only 62 in a population of 362 Hindus. In the next election when Mr. Hem Chandra Nasker and Mr. Mohini Mohan Das stood independently both of them were defeated.

Messrs. Mukunda Behary Mullick, M.A., B.L., Nerode Behari Mullick, M.A., B.L., Bhismadeb Das, Broja Mohan Mandal, Debendra Nath Biswas, Suresh Chandra Adhikary, B.L., Rajani Kanta Das, B.L., were all defeated by the caste-Hindus from the general constituencies of Khulna, Bakarganj South, Faridpur South, Faridpur North, Jessore South, Jessore North and Dacca.

C. The Third Election of 1926.—The following are the members from the depressed classes in the third Legislative Council of Bengal :—

(1) Mr. Nagendra Narayan Roy, B.L.—(Rajbangshi) Rangpur.

(2) Mr. Prasanna Deb Raikat—(Koch or Rajbangshi) Jalpaiguri.

(3) Mr. Hem Chandra Nasker—(Pod) 24-Parganas.

(4) Rai Sahib Rebati Mohan Sarkar—(Namasudra) Nominated.

In this election also Messrs. Mukunda Behary Mullick, M.A., B.L., Kamini Kumar Samodar, B.A., Jogendra Nath Sarkar, B.L., Debendra Nath Biswas, Bhismadeb Das also contested in the general constituencies, but that they were defeated by the caste-Hindus. Mr. Hem Chandra came in as a Congress nominee.

D. The Fourth Election of 1929.—In this Council there were the following members to start with :—

(1) Rai Sahib Panchanan Barma, M.A., B.L., M.B.E.—(Rajbangshi) Rangpur.

(2) Mr. Prasanna Deb Raikat—(Koch or Rajbangshi) Jalpaiguri.

(3) Mr. Hem Chandra Nasker—(Pod) 24-Parganas.

(4) Mr. Mohini Mohan Das—(Namasudra) Faridpur South.

(5) Mr. Mukunda Behary Mullick, M.A., B.L.—(Namasudra) Nominated.

(6) Rai Sahib Rebati Mohan Sarkar—(Namasudra) Nominated.

Mr. Hem Chandra Nasker and Mr. Mohini Mohan Das came in only as Congress nominees, but for which they would have never been returned. Mr. Hem Chandra Nasker has also practically no English education. With the resignation of the Congress nominees from the Council these two gentlemen also resigned their seats.

E. The Bye-Elections of 1930.—With the adoption of the resolution by the Congress to non-co-operate the caste-Hindus, a large section of whom belong to the Congress group, did not take any part in this election and they practically boycotted the same. As a result the following other gentlemen were returned uncontested to the Council in February and May 1930 :—

(1) Mr. Sarat Chandra Bal, B.L.—(Namasudra) Faridpur South.

(2) Mr. Amulyadhan Roy, B.L.—(Namasudra) Jessore South.

(3) Mr. Lalit Kumar Bal, B.L.—(Namasudra) Bakarganj South.

(4) Mr. Nagendra Narayan Roy, B.L.—(Rajbangshi) Rangpur East.

(5) Babu Hoseini Rout—(Methar) Midnapur North.

Of these Babu Hoseini Rout, a sweeper by occupation and who does not know to sign his name even, has been sent to the Council by the caste-Hindus as a sort of ridicule.

Even in the bye-election of 1930, when there was a contest, as it was in Khulna, the depressed class candidate, a B. L., was defeated by a Matriculate caste-Hindu.

Our experience and the review of the results of the previous elections indicated above, show clearly that the depressed classes will not be able to secure representatives of their own choice in the general electorates under a Joint System of Elections.

8. *The number of seats the "depressed classes" can have under the new constitution.*—The Indian Statutory Commission in their report (Volume 2, page 67) recommended thus :—"The proportion of the number of such reserved seats to the total number of seats in all the Indian general constituencies should be three-quarters of the proportion of the depressed class population to the total population of the electoral area of the province. It will be seen therefore that we do not recommend allocating seats to the depressed classes on the basis of their full population ratio. The scale of reserved representation suggested will secure a substantial increase in the number of M. L. C.'s drawn from the depressed classes.

The poverty and want of education which so widely prevail amongst them make it extremely doubtful whether a large number of adequately equipped members could be at once provided, and it is far better that they should be represented by qualified spokesmen rather than by a large number of ineffectives who are only too likely to be subservient to higher castes." I am, however, of opinion that regard being had to the statistics a portion of which is indicated above, the reason assigned by the Indian Statutory Commission for a reduced number of depressed class representatives is more imaginary than real. For some of their representatives, though not superior to a few of the caste-Hindu representatives, are in no way inferior to a large number of their representatives.

Without entering into a further detailed discussion of the matter and considering the claims of the various communities of Bengal I am of opinion that in a Chamber of 200 members in Bengal the depressed classes should at least have 35 seats, if not more, to which they are certainly entitled.

9. *Whether there will be any difficulty in the formation of their constituencies.*—In consideration of their numerical strength and in consideration of the localities in which they generally live, as will appear from the map given on page 11 of the Report on the working of the reformed constitution in Bengal, 1921—1927, prepared by the Government of Bengal there will be no difficulty whatsoever in the formation of their constituencies.

10. *Federal Legislature.*—In consideration of the fact that some of the very important subjects will be all-India subjects under the new constitution, it is only proper and just that the interest of the depressed classes should also be fairly represented on the Federal Legislature along with other special interests.

सत्यमेव जयते

M. B. MULLICK.

SCHEDULE A.

(Referred to in paragraph 5 above.)

List of depressed classes.

1. Agaria.
2. Bagdi.
3. Bahelia.
4. Baiti.
5. Bauri.
6. Bedia.
7. Beldar.
8. Berua.
9.
10. Bhuinmali.
11. Bhuita.
12. Bhumij.
13. Bind.
14. Binjhia.
15. Chamar.
16. Dalu.
17. Dhami.
18. Dhenuar.
19. Dhobi.
20. Doai.
21. Dom.
22. Dosadh.
23. Garoh.
24. Ghasi.
25. Gonrhi.
26. Hadi.
27. Hajng.
28. Halakhur.
29. Hari.
30. Ho.
31. Jalia-kaibartta.
32. Jhalo, Malo.
33. Kadar.
34. Kalu.
35. Kawar.
36. Kan.
37. Kandh.
38. Kandras.
39. Kaors.
40. Kapali.
41. Kapuria.
42. Karenga.
43. Kaur.
44. Khatik.
45. Kichak.
46. Kochh.
47. Konai.
48. Konvar.
49. Kora.
50. Kotal.
51. Kurariar.
52. Lalbagi.
53. Lodha.
54. Lohar.
55. Mahar.
56. Mahli.
57. Mal.
58. Mallah.
59. Malpahariya.
60. Mochh.
61. Mehtar.
62. Munda.
63. Muchi.
64. Musahar.
65. Nagar.
66. Nagesia.
67. Naiya.
68. Namasudra.
69. Nat.
70. Oraon.
71. Paliya.
72. Pan.
73. Pasi.
74. Patni.
75. Pod.
76. Pundari.

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List of depressed classes—contd.

77. Rabha.
78. Raju.
79. Rajwar.
80. Rajbansi.
81. Santal.
82. Shaigirdpesha.
83. Sunri.
84. Teli.
85. Tiyar.
86. Turi.

I agree subject to reservation if adequate number of seats for representatives of depressed classes in the Central Legislature which will deal exclusively with problems of employment in State Railways, Customs, Posts and Telegraphs and other concerns directly under the Central Government.

K. C. ROY CHOWDHURY.

I am in accord that separate electorates should be given the depressed classes.

E. T. MCCLUSKIE,—14-3-32.

I agree.

A. F. RAHMAN.

M. A. MUMIN.

So do I.

TAMIZUDDIN KHAN.

The Minorities Pact agreed to separate representation for "Depressed Classes" and therefore I think the principle in their case should be granted.

C. G. COOPER.

I am in favour of separate representation for the depressed classes for the present.

F. W. ROBERTSON,—17-3-32.

Note by Mrs. P. K. Bose on Women's Suffrage and Women's Representation.

1. Women are actually carrying on social and educational works and it would not be proper to deny them their right to vote in the elections to the Legislature. Giving women votes will make them realise their sense of responsibility and divert their energies into desirable activities.

2. Unless the basis of franchise is a fair one, women will go unrepresented. Therefore it is essential to widen women's franchise and I suggest the following qualifications :—

(A) Possession of property or payment of taxes, rates and cesses on a much reduced scale than at present (this may be the same as adopted for men).

(B) Literacy—Women above 21 years of age.

(C) Being the wives and widows (of the age of 25 years and over) of men who have or had votes. Where there are more than one wife or widow, only one may be given a vote.

3. According to the above recommendation—

(A) Present property, etc., basis enfranchises—40,971 women. Lowered property qualification may enfranchise additional—2,000 women.

(B) Literacy—Taken from Census—375,232 women.

(C) As wives of men voters per Union Board electorate—1,288,000 women.

As widows of men voters per Union Board electorate—1,262,000 women.

Total available by direct method 2,986,203 women (as against 40,971 now).

There may be some over-lapping, but approximately there would be about 2½ million direct voters or 10 per cent. of the total women population.

4. If the indirect system be adopted for men who do not come in as direct voters, then it would be advisable to bring in the rest of the adult women as well, and have separate primary groups for women. The nominees of these groups may exercise votes as though they were directly qualified.

5. The voting qualifications being decided upon, it will be necessary to consider the system of electorates for women. Separate or communal

electorates for women are not in my opinion necessary or desirable in case of direct voters and in the secondary stage. "The sheer weight of numbers" provides ultimately a more effective safeguard than any system of separate electorates. But separate entrances for men and women in the same polling station might be allowed.

6. Qualifications of candidates should be required to be a little higher than those of electors both as regards age and in other respects.

7. It will be possible to ensure the return of women to the legislature by reserving for women—say five seats in a house of 200 members. There are five divisions in Bengal and one seat from each division may be so reserved. If it is possible to create multi-member constituencies one seat in each of these may be reserved for women, the rest being open alike to both men and women. The provision of multi-member constituencies on the above lines will, to my mind, pave the way for the introduction of general electorates in the near future.

8. In case any of the reserved seats remain vacant, I would suggest as the next best method, a system of co-option by the members of the Legislature, by a single transferable vote.

9. As their admission to the Council ought to depend on the vote of a constituency composed of electors of both sexes, I do not approve of a special constituency of literate women only as suggested in the additional Questionnaire, paragraph 10.

10. If a Second Chamber is feasible then women should have a seat.

MRS. P. K. BOSE.

Letter from Messrs. N. K. Basu, R. P. Sinha Ray, S. M. Bose, and B. C. Chatterjee, to the Chairman and Members of the Indian Franchise Committee, dated the 21st March 1932.

We the undersigned members of the Bengal Provincial Franchise Committee are much surprised to find that several of our colleagues have at this late stage thought fit to countersign Mr. Mullick's note without any reference to the Committee.

At the meeting of the Provincial Committee held on the 8th March 1932 (which was attended by all members of the Committee except the two official members), the answer to Q. 5C (*iii*) was agreed to by every single member except Mr. Mullick who was allowed to submit a note.

These proceedings were confirmed on the 12th March and Mr. Mullick submitted a note to which were attached some highly obtruse remarks

by Mr. K. C. Roy Chowdhury. It may be noted in passing that Mr. Mullick has traversed grounds far in excess of the scope allowed him by the resolution of the 12th March.

The Committee was dissolved on the same day.

Now, more than a week later, come these signatures. How this has been achieved and with what voice the signatories are now speaking we are not in a position to understand, but we protest against the manner in which the so-called "Minorities Pact" is now sought to be brought in after the dissolution of the Committee, and also the manner in which the decision of the Provincial Committee is sought to be altered.



Miscellaneous correspondence with the Local Government on matters arising out of replies to Questionnaires.

APPENDIX.

(a) Number of Depressed Classes.

TELEGRAM FROM THE SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, TO THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, NO. E-601-BEN., DATED THE 12TH APRIL 1932.

Please refer to first paragraph Government of Bengal's original reply to Franchise Committees questionnaire. Should be glad to have by telegram Government's decision as to the communities which should be included as belonging to the depressed classes. Reference your answer to Additional Questionnaire question to please report urgently views of local officers on feasibility of coloured box system.

TELEGRAM FROM THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, TO THE INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, NO. 7956-A., DATED THE 16TH APRIL 1932.

Your telegram E-601-Ben. dated twelfth April Depressed Classes please make following provisional corrections to list of Depressed Classes according to census 1931 appended to Bengal Governments answers to additional Questionnaire. For Jhalo Malo 10005 read Jhalo Malo or Malo 198099 for Kaira read Kharia add Rajbanshi 1804371 Kurmi 194652 Kastha 2601 Koiri 16021 Khandait 34328 for total 8071201, read total 10311268. Figures in respect of last three castes incomplete as these are for some districts only local Governments decision as to the communities which should be included as belonging to depressed classes has not yet been reached and will not be available before end of April at earliest.

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Replies

of the

Government of the United Provinces

and the

U. P. Provincial Franchise Committee

to the

Indian Franchise Committee's Questionnaires.

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UNITED PROVINCES.

Visit of the Indian Franchise Committee to Lucknow (7th—9th February 1932).

Memorandum by the Government of the United Provinces.

I

LETTER NO. 64-R., DATED LUCKNOW, THE 2ND FEBRUARY 1932, FROM THE UNITED PROVINCES GOVERNMENT, DEPARTMENT OF PUBLICITY AND REFORMS.

In your demi-official letter No. F. 183/31-R. of the 6th January, to Clay, you asked the local Government to furnish copies of their provisional views and material for the Indian Franchise Committee not less than four days before its arrival at the provincial headquarters. The United Provinces Government regret that in the short time available they have not been able to collect new statistics or form fresh views on the various points covered by the questionnaire. They can at present merely place before the Committee the material previously supplied to the Indian Statutory Commission. This consists of the following :—

*(1) *United Provinces Government's report on the working of the system of the Government for the years 1921—1928.*—Reference is invited to paragraphs 163 to 180 on pages 149 to 166, paragraphs 284 and 285 on pages 445 and 446 and paragraphs 341 to 343 on pages 482 and 483 which contain an account of the existing electoral machinery of these provinces, including the franchise for local boards. The position of the depressed classes and of labour is stated in paragraphs 173 (*iv*) and (*v*) on pages 158 to 160. Reference is also invited to paragraphs 1 to 14 of part X on pages 559 to 570 which discuss certain proposals for the widening of the franchise, the system of election and communal and special electorates.

†(2) *Report of the Committee appointed by the United Provinces Legislative Council to co-operate with the Indian Statutory Commission.*—Paragraphs 22 to 25 and 70 to 73 may be seen.

(3) *United Provinces Government's letter No. 4949-C., dated the 23rd August 1930, to the Joint Secretary to the Government of India, Reforms Office, paragraphs 21 to 34 and appendices D and E.*—These extracts contain the views of the United Provinces Government on the recommendations of the Indian Statutory Commission relating to the franchise and representation of various classes and bodies in the Legislative Council.

EXTRACTS FROM THE LETTER OF THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED PROVINCES, TO THE JOINT SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, REFORMS OFFICE, NO. 4949-C., DATED THE 23RD AUGUST 1930.

Communal representation.

"21. This Government are not concerned with the representation of Sikhs, non-Brahmins or Mahrattas, and in their consideration of this

*Published in Volume IX of the Report of the Indian Statutory Commission.
†Published in Volume III of the Report of the Indian Statutory Commission.

question of communal representation propose to confine themselves to the cases of Muslims, Indian Christians and depressed classes. They are in full agreement with the view of the Commission that the subject of communal representation is pre-eminently one which the rival communities should settle among themselves, but that in the absence of any new agreement between Hindus and Muslims communal representation for the latter community must be continued in this province for the present. The Commission have considered three different methods of securing such representation, namely, (1) by means of a system of reserved seats, (2) by means of a system of reserved seats combined with a system of previous selection of candidates by Muslim electors alone, and (3) by means of a system of proportional representation. They have rejected the first and third of these methods, and this Government agree with their view that the first would be entirely unacceptable to the Muslim community generally and that the third is at present impracticable. The Commission have suggested that the second method, called by them the system of " primaries," should be further considered by both communities to see if it provides a basis of agreement. This Government are not yet in a position to state what the views of the Muslim community generally are likely to be on this question, but I am to say that Nawab Sir Ahmad Sa'id Khan and all His Excellency's Ministers are opposed to the introduction of this system of election, and that this Government have reason to believe that that view would be endorsed by a majority of Muslims in this province. The Government as a whole accept the view that in the absence of agreement between the two great communities separate Muslim electorates must be continued.

Representation of depressed classes.

" 22. At present the Governor nominates one member to represent classes which in his opinion are depressed classes. In his report to the Commission the Governor in Council recommended that in future the Governor should nominate five persons to represent depressed and backward classes. The committee of the United Provinces Legislative Council agreed that representation of both these classes should be by nomination and recommended that the number of representatives should be fifteen. The Commission have gone far beyond these recommendations. They reject the system of nomination on the ground that it provides no opportunity for training these classes in politics. They also reject separate electorates on general grounds of principle and also on two special grounds, namely, (1) that exact definition would be difficult and (2) that such electorates are likely to militate against the rise of these classes in the social scale. They therefore propose that seats should be reserved in the non-Muslim constituencies to be filled by the votes of the non-Muslim general electorates, and that the Governor should be required to certify which candidates are authorized to seek election. They realize that difficulty may for some time be experienced in finding sufficient suitable candidates among the depressed classes themselves, and suggest that, if this difficulty does arise, the Governor should for ten years, and in respect of half the number of reserved seats only, have the power either (1) to allow other than members of such classes to stand for election on

their behalf, or (2) to nominate such other persons to reserved seats. Finally, the Commission recommend that the number of reserved seats should be fixed on the following principle—the proportion of the number of reserved seats to the total number of seats in all the Indian general constituencies should be three-fourths of the proportion of the depressed class population to the total population of the electoral area of the province. The Government of India will not expect this Government at the present stage to enter into a detailed and exhaustive examination of this difficult question. The matter is one which will require careful investigation by the Franchise Committee which the Commission recommend. This Government therefore confine themselves to an expression of opinion on the main principles involved.

"23. The Commission's proposal, as understood by this Government, would result in the return to the legislature of this province of about forty representatives of the depressed classes. The basis of this proposal is not the probable electoral strength of these classes but their total strength. The Commission have made no attempt to estimate their electoral strength. All that they say on this subject is that "there are, even with the present restricted franchise, a sufficient number of depressed class voters to make methods of election possible, at all events, in many areas." This Government have not the necessary information to enable them to say whether that statement is or is not accurate so far as this province is concerned. Their own opinion is that if the term "depressed classes" is defined with some strictness and held to include only the members of those castes which follow an occupation which is generally regarded as degrading, the number of persons belonging to those classes who are at prsesent enfranchised will be found to be comparatively small. Even if the franchise be lowered, so long as the main qualification is the payment of rent for land or of land revenue, the number is likely to remain comparatively small, for the reason that the main occupation of these castes is not cultivation. Speculation in a matter of this kind is however useless and actual facts must be ascertained. The Governor in Council is not prepared to accept the proposal that the representation of these classes should be based on their total strength. This would give them a representation out of all proportion to their political importance. It is therefore essential to find out what the probable voting strength of these classes will be on whatever franchise is to be fixed for the general electorate—for there can be no question of a special franchise—and thereafter to consider what number of representatives can suitably be allotted. This Government propose therefore to initiate inquiries immediately so that they may have some material which they can put before the Franchise Committee and which may form a basis for their own proposals.

"24. This Government also disagree with the Commission in regard to the method of election. They agree that it is desirable to introduce some system of election in place of nomination, but they dislike the proposal that the election should be made by the non-Muslim electorate to a number of reserved seats. As explained in the extract which will be found in the appendix*, from a note by Raja

* Pages 278—280.

Bahadur Kushalpal Singh, this is not what the depressed class leaders themselves ask for, and it is not likely to satisfy them. The Commission themselves admit that separate electorates are more likely to secure the return of an adequate number of persons who enjoy the confidence of the depressed classes. That admission suggests the vital objection to their proposal, namely, that in the general non-Muslim constituencies the depressed class voters will be far outnumbered by the other voters and the members returned will be those who are supported by the majority of voters, as distinct from the depressed class voters. The Commission's proposal will not in fact give the depressed classes members who will be trusted by them to represent their special interests. The alternative is separate electorates. These no doubt have their own disadvantages, but if the initial difficulty of creating an electorate can be overcome, this Government consider that these classes should not, on a purely theoretical ground, be denied a privilege which has already been given to Muslims and Europeans and which it is proposed to give to Indian Christians and Anglo-Indians. The objection that such an electorate will involve stigmatizing each elector and will militate against his rise in the social scale is not one that is likely to weigh with those principally concerned, and if the representatives in the legislature must be stigmatized, and even the Commission's proposal involves this, there seems no reason why the voters should not be. It is at least arguable also that the position of these classes is more likely to be improved by securing real representation in the local legislature than by the ineffective form of representation suggested by the Commission. The real difficulty lies in forming an electorate. This Government are not at present prepared to say more on this point than that they propose to investigate the matter in the hope that they may be in a position to put concrete proposals for an electorate before the Franchise Committee.

Indian Christian representation.

"25. The Indian Christian community is at present represented in this province by one nominated member. The Commission propose that representation should in future be by election, they prefer a system of reservation of seats to separate electorates and they recommend that the number of representatives be increased from one to two. The total number of Indian Christians in this province at the census of 1921 was 169,000. The number of electors, even with the extended franchise, will therefore be comparatively small. No figures are at present available showing the distribution of Indian Christians among the various districts of the province, but it can be said with confidence that it will not be possible in this province to make a satisfactory arrangement whereby two seats will be reserved for Indian Christians. If nomination is to be substituted by election, then it seems practically inevitable that a separate electorate should be established. This Government have no objection to the increase in the number of representatives from one to two.

University representation.

"26. The Commission obviously are not convinced of the desirability of retaining university representation and have confined them-

selves to a halting expression of opinion that the existing university seats should be retained. There is some division of opinion on this subject among the Members of this Government. His Excellency the Governor and the two Members of the Executive Council see no advantage in retaining the one university seat in this province. University members do not represent any special interests and the university electors undoubtedly receive adequate representation through the general constituencies. His Excellency's Ministers feel some difficulty in agreeing to the withdrawal of a privilege at present enjoyed. They would therefore prefer to retain the existing seat. They would not, however, confine it to the Allahabad University, but would either have a joint electorate formed from the three provincial universities of Allahabad, Lucknow and Agra, or in the alternative they would allow each university to elect the member in turn.

Representation of labour.

" 27. Labour at present receives no special representation in this province. The Commission recommend that the duty of drawing up rules for securing labour representation should be imposed on the Governor and they would leave it to him to resort to nomination if he considers a system of election impossible. As regards the number of labour representatives, they content themselves with expressing the view that, if suitable members are available, the proportion of labour representation should be increased. The position in this province in regard to the representation of labour interests was fully explained in this Government's report to the Commission, and I am to say that this Government do not anticipate that a system of election will be possible. In the absence of any labour organizations which are capable of putting up a panel of candidates from whom selections could be made, this Government at present see no alternative to a system of nomination pure and simple, and they are prepared to accept the Commission's proposal which will probably result in the Governor nominating one or two labour representatives.

Representation of great landholders.

" 28. The great landholders of this province have special electorates which return six members to the legislative council. On the ground that their standing and reputation and the influence which they exert in their own localities have enabled them to share a large number of seats in the general constituencies and are therefore such as to render special protection unnecessary, the Commission have, subject to a certain safeguard to secure them their present representation, recommended the withdrawal of their special representation. This Government are unable to endorse the Commission's recommendation. Though all the Members of Government hold the same views on the general principles involved, I am to refer the Government of India to the extracts E (*i*) and (*ii*)*, which will be found in the appendix, from notes by Nawab Sir Ahmad Sa'id Khan and His Excellency's Ministers. Government hold that the representation which the great landholders have been able to secure

* Pages 280—281.

has not been disproportionate to their political importance in present conditions. It is almost inevitable that as the electorate gains political experience, it will tend to prefer representatives drawn from sources other than the great landed families, and the need for special representation is likely to increase rather than decrease. It is peculiarly unfortunate that the Commission have singled out this one class to be deprived of a privilege at present enjoyed, while at the same time recommending the grant of special representation on a wider scale for some classes of little political importance and the retention of the special representation of another class—university graduates—to which the arguments used in the case of the landholders apply with even greater force. This Government are unanimously and strongly in favour of the retention of the special representation of the great landholders at the existing ratio, and the Governor in Council desires to repeat the recommendation placed before the Commission, which was that the number of representatives be increased to twelve, seven to be elected by Agra landholders, four by the Oudh taluqdars and one by the Oudh landholders other than taluqdars, and that all these representatives except the last be elected by proportional representation on the system of the single transferable vote. His Excellency's Ministers would go further and give the landholders sixteen representatives, as recommended by the Indian Central Committee, but, differing in this from that Committee, would allot ten seats to be filled by the Agra Province Zamindars' Association, five to be filled by the British Indian Association, and one by Oudh landholders other than taluqdars. I am to add also that the Ministers consider that similar bodies of equal status in other provinces should also return their own representatives by separate electorates to both chambers of the provincial councils and also to the Federal Assembly and the Council of State.

Nominated members.

"29. The Commission propose that, apart from a power to nominate members representative of certain special classes where election is impossible or fails to give a specified amount of representation, the Governor should have a discretionary power of nomination which should be used particularly to ensure more adequate representation of women and labour. They would fix the number of members who may be nominated at between 5 and 10 per cent. of the total fixed seats. In a council of 250 this would give the Governor power to nominate between 12 and 25 members. Apart from officials the Governor in this province now has power to nominate only five members and of these three must be representatives of special interests. There are, in the opinion of the Governor in Council, obvious disadvantages in leaving the Governor so general a power as the Commission propose. However defensible such a power is under the existing constitution, it will clearly become more and more anomalous as the constitution approaches one of complete responsible government. His Excellency in Council is therefore in favour of retaining the power of nomination only to a very restricted extent and in order to secure the representation of definite interests. He sees no reason to

grant any special power of nominating women as such. If this Government's proposals in regard to the representation of great landholders are accepted, then there will be no need for nomination in their case. This Government also hope that it will be possible to secure the representation of Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, and depressed classes by election. The only special interest which it will not be possible to get represented by election is that of labour, and this Government have already agreed above to the nomination of one or two labour members. The Commission have said nothing about the nomination of expert members. This Government consider that the Governor should have the power at present conferred by proviso (*b*) to sub-section (2) of section 72-A of the Government of India Act to nominate not more than two persons having special knowledge or experience of the subject matter of any Bill which is before the legislature. Such persons would not necessarily be officials but might, to take one example, in the case of a Bill to regulate religious and charitable endowments, be persons who have had actual experience of the management of such endowments. This Government would also allow the Governor to nominate one person (who would generally be an official) to act as legal adviser to the Government and to assist in dealing with the drafting of Bills during their progress through select committees and the like. The Governor in Council would therefore prefer to restrict the Governor's power of nomination to the following three purposes :—

(1) to secure representatives of labour interests,
(2) to secure the assistance of experts, and
(3) to secure the assistance of a legal adviser and draftsman.

His Excellency's Ministers would, however, have no objection to the Commission's proposal to give the Governor power to nominate members up to 5 or 10 per cent. of the total membership, on the understanding that he would not be restricted to use this power to secure the representation of any special interests such as those of women or labour.

Powers of legislation and finance.

" 30. The special powers of the Governor in relation to legislation and finance have been dealt with in paras. 15 to 17 above*. This Government accept the remaining proposals in regard to legislation and finance contained in paras. 96 to 98 of the Report.

Chapter 3.—The Franchise.

" 31. After referring to the variety of views held in India in regard to the extension of the franchise and to the way in which the views held by various classes and communities are influenced by the manner in which each such class or community is likely to be affected by extension, the Commission have rejected adult franchise as impracticable at the present stage and have recommended that a Franchise Committee should be appointed with instructions to frame schemes which would enfranchise about 10 per cent. of the total population. They have further suggested that a special literary qualification should be introduced and also a special qualification for wives and widows of

* Not printed.

persons qualified for the franchise. Finally, as a complement to their proposal that the legislative council should be permitted to revise the franchise by constitutional resolutions, they have recommended that after an interval of fifteen years a second Franchise Committee should be appointed to review progress and, if 20 per cent. of the population have not by then been enfranchised, to devise means to accelerate progress. The views of this Government on each of these proposals are explained in the following paragraphs.

Proposals for extension.

"32. The Commission base their proposed extension of the franchise on the following grounds :—

(1) That the existing franchise is too limited to provide the material from which to build an adequate scheme of representative government.

(2) That many of those who are at present below the line of qualification are as fit to exercise the vote as those who are above it, and, even if they do not ask for it, the vote must be regarded as an instrument of political education and as a source of political influence.

In this section of their Report the Commission have not referred to the size of constituencies. But they have done so in paras. 205 and 206 of Volume I, and it would appear that one of the reasons which influenced them in proposing so large an extension of the franchise was that such an extension would render possible a reduction of the size of constituencies and a closer touch between members of the legislature and the voters who return them. Their ideas on this point are the outcome of their own experience derived from a country which is predominantly industrial. It may be questioned whether they apply with the same force to a country which is predominantly agricultural and in which 90 per cent. of the people live in an immense number of villages scattered over the country-side. For practical purposes it can make little difference in the relations between the member and his electors whether the constituency contains 2,000 villages or 1,000, and any reduction in the size of constituencies that is within the bounds of possibility is not going to make any real difference from this point of view, nor give either the member or voter a more accurate appreciation of the true meaning of representation. While therefore this Government are not opposed to some extension of the franchise in the hope that the vote may in time prove to be an instrument of political education and a source of political influence, they see no adequate reason for so large an immediate extension as that proposed by the Commission. This Government stated to the Commission that the great majority of the electorate in this province are not only illiterate but also ignorant of and without interest in the affairs of the province as a whole. They do not, however, deny that there is some force in the argument that many of those who are at present without the vote are as fit to exercise it as the majority of existing voters. It is therefore not unreasonable to extend the franchise to a considerable extent, but care must be taken not to make it so large as to place an undue strain on the polling

machinery. This Government have not immediately available all the information which they would like to possess before expressing a considered opinion in regard to the extent to which the franchise can be widened, and for that reason they desire to confine themselves to a provisional expression of opinion on this point. According to figures collected in 1920 the lowering of the principal rural qualifications to a payment of not less than Rs. 25 rent in the case of tenants and not less than Rs. 10 land revenue in the case of landholders will add about 1½ million to the rural electorate and thus double the number of persons enfranchised by virtue of rent or revenue paying qualifications. This Government are not at present disposed to recommend any larger extension than this. But they would agree to the lowering of the other rural qualifications and also of the urban qualifications, where this can suitably be done, to such a degree as to qualify roughly double the present number of electors. It may be objected that the increase thus proposed is only 100 per cent. instead of the 200 per cent. recommended by the Commission. The reply to that objection is, firstly, that, as already stated, the argument that smaller constituencies will bring member and voter into close touch does not apply to Indian conditions with the same force as it does to English conditions; secondly, that the franchise necessary to secure this Government's 100 per cent. increase will be approximately the same as that required for the Commission's higher increase with the exception of the special women's qualification which this Government for reasons given below are not prepared to accept; and, thirdly, that it would be unwise to lower the qualifications still further at the present stage.

Literary qualification.

"33. This Government are divided in their views on the proposed literary qualification. His Excellency the Governor and the Members of the Executive Council are opposed to this innovation. His Excellency's Ministers accept the principle of the Commission's proposal, but two of them would prefer that the actual qualification should be somewhat different. Hitherto the main principle of the franchise has been based on some property qualification, and until it is shown that it is impossible to retain that principle and at the same time widen the franchise to the extent desirable, the Governor in Council would prefer to have no purely literary qualification. The Commission suggest two reasons in support of their proposal, namely, that it would bring in voters of better education, and that it would provide for an increase in the number of electors in proportion to the spread of education. In reply to these reasons it can be argued that the test proposed is so low that it will not bring in really educated men and that the majority of men who are educated have, and in future may be expected to continue to have, a property qualification of some kind or other. It is, however, true that the present qualifications disenfranchise many members of joint Hindu families, and for this, as well as for general reasons, the Ministers would like to see a literary qualification introduced. Nawab Muhammad Yusuf and Maharaj Kumar Mahijit Singh would extend the franchise to those who have passed the matriculation or other

equivalent examination or a recognized proficiency examination in a vernacular or classical language. Raja Bahadur Kushalpal Singh would accept the qualification proposed by the Commission.

Special qualification for women.

" 34. The Commission have expressed considerable concern at the small number of women who are enfranchised and a desire to see a substantial increase in the present ratio of women to men voters. In order to effect this they have suggested that it may be found possible to add to the present qualifications two others, namely, (*i*) being the wife, over 25 years of age, of a man who has a property qualification to vote, and (*ii*) being a widow over that age whose husband at the time of his death was so qualified. In addition they would apply their proposed educational qualification to women over 21 years of age as well as to men. These proposals are of a far-reaching nature and must be considered in relation to existing facts. In this province the great majority of the voters are ignorant and illiterate villagers. Whatever can be said of their competency as voters it can hardly be questioned that the wives of most of them are even more ignorant and illiterate and that many of those who are of a better status would be prevented by social customs from exercising the vote. The practical result of the proposal would indeed be to give to the low caste Hindu voter, whose wife is able to go to the poll, a second vote and thus give him twice the voting power of many of the higher caste Hindus and also of many of the Muslims. In the opinion of this Government the means of extending the women's franchise can best be left to be dealt with by the people themselves under the powers which it is proposed to grant to the new legislative councils.

Appendix.

Extracts from notes by Hon'ble Captain Sir Ahmad Sa'id Khan and His Excellency's Ministers.

D

Depressed classes.

" The importance of depressed classes lies in the fact that they include within their fold lakhs of humble tillers of the soil and also real agricultural castes such as Kachhis, Lodhas, Kurmis, Murao, Koeri, Tharus, Bhuksas, etc. Had it not been for Tharus and Bhuksas the culturable land of the Tarai would have remained uncultivated . . . The importance of the depressed classes will fully appear from the following very pertinent observations of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru :—

> ' " I do say what is my most sincere conviction, that unless you are able to solve your own social problems about the depressed classes and the untouchables, I do not see any real prospect for real genuine constitutional advance, and any Constitution that you may get will certainly not arouse any

interest in me, because I do feel, howsoever good, howsoever perfect, howsoever ideal your Constitution may be, unless you have got the support of the minorities and unless you command the confidence of those whom in your vanity you may describe as depressed classes, your Constitution will not be worth a day's purchase." '

So far as my information goes, suitable representatives of the depressed classes will be forthcoming to fill 40 seats on the Council.

" The Simon Commission admit that most of the depressed class associations which appeared before them favoured separate electorates with seats allocated on the basis of population. The United Provinces Adi-Hindu (Depressed Classes) Leaders' Conference was held at Allahabad on July 23. " This Conference while thanking the members of the Indian Statutory Commission for taking a keen interest in the cause of the depressed classes, strongly protests against their recommendation of a joint electorate system and is of opinion that nothing short of a separate electorate would ameliorate the social and political status of the depressed classes." The Simon Commission concede that " Separate electorates would no doubt be the safest method of securing the return of an adequate number of persons who enjoy the confidence of the depressed classes." But they are averse from recommending separate electorates for them on the ground that separate electorates will prevent their political amalgamation with other Hindus. They have ignored one important fact. The depressed classes are not a homogeneous body. They consist of a large number of heterogeneous clans which are socially distinct and are kept apart from one another by a spirit of rigid exclusiveness and separation. They entirely lack cohesion and are scattered all over the province. Although according to our *Shastras*, as interpreted by the Calcutta High Court, the various sub-divisions of the Shudra caste can intermarry, but in actual practice intermarriage between them is impossible. The depressed classes have been divided into separate clans by very sharply defined boundaries over which it is impossible for one to pass to another. Ethnologically they are so many tribes and clans, with separate histories and customs. There should be two distinct stages in the process of their political amalgamation with the high caste Hindus. The first stage should be that they should be brought together and welded into one political unit. Their unification into one political unit will be seriously retarded if the system recommended by the Simon Commission is adopted. Their voting strength will be much smaller than that of the high caste Hindus. A member of the depressed classes who wants to get himself elected will look rather to the ease with which he can secure election to the council than to the political education of his order. He will naturally solicit the support of the high caste Hindus who will be both numerous and influential . . . When such a candidate is returned to the council, he will be a servile follower of the high caste Hindus and will be more concerned to keep their favour than to represent the interests of his own order . . . If the system recommended by the Simon Commission is adopted, the candidates returned to council will not only show no interest in the welfare of the

depressed classes but will regard themselves as members of the high castes and in no way allied to the depressed classes. The result will be that the concession proposed by the Simon Commission instead of being a blessing will be a veritable curse to them . . . —(*Raja Bahadur Kushalpal Singh*).

E

Representation of great landholders.

(i)

"The chief reason that they have given for the abolition of the special representation of the zamindars is that they have been able to capture enough seats in the legislatures through the general electorates. That is true; but it is equally true in the case of other special constituencies. For instance, graduates, professors, teachers and *ex*-teachers come into the councils through the general electorates and yet the universities are given representation. Similarly, men of business and commerce in the Assembly and the councils have often been elected through the general constituencies. Is there any reason why they should be given special seats, while the special seats of the landlords should be taken away? If we compare the number of landlords returned to the council in the election of 1924 with those returned in the election of 1927, we find that while in 1924, according to the memorandum of the United Provinces Government, there were 51 landlords, their number has come down to 45 in 1927. With the widening of the franchise I am sure that the chances of the landlords of getting into the councils from the general constituencies will be greatly reduced. But this is not all. The real point is this: that the landlords elected by the general constituencies will perforce try to represent the views of their constituencies in the legislature. Again and again I have noticed in the legislative council that while the landlords representing the special constituencies boldly took a line of their own in regard to a particular proposal, the other landlords, in spite of their sympathy with the proposal, opposed it because they were afraid of their constituencies. A landlord elected by a general constituency will never be able to go against the wishes of his constituents —(*Sir Ahmad Sa'id Khan.*)

(ii)

"We are bound to say that the withdrawal of the rights of the zamindars and taluqdars to be represented through their own associations is a very retrograde and unjustifiable recommendation. The arguments advanced by the Commissioners that the Montagu-Chelmsford Report contemplated only as a temporary arrangement to give representation to the zemindars through a separate special electorate of their own and that they did not desire it to be a permanent feature cannot be accepted as incontrovertible. While it may be arguable on the basis of a certain expression which occurs in the recommendations of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, namely, "we must give them special measure of representation, if they need it *at the outset*, but it may be that their

political education like the ryots will come mainly by pressure of events", that it was not meant to be a permanent feature. It cannot be denied that the power of the zemindars, as has been found all over the world, is bound to decline gradually, and if special representation to zemindars was found necessary to be given from the very beginning, it is even more necessary now when the working of the Reforms has shown that the majority of the zemindars has decreased after every general election under the Reforms. The alternative suggested that the Governor may nominate zemindars in the legislature if the representation is not adequate according to the representation guaranteed to them under the present Constitution is, in our opinion, extremely unsatisfactory and cannot be acceptable to the zemindars . . . We are of opinion that at least sixteen seats should be allotted to the Agra Province Zemindars' Association and the British Indian Association of Oudh to return their representatives to the council, as has been recommended by the Indian Central Committee or even more proportionately to the total strength of the council—(*Honourable Ministers' joint note*)."

II

(i) Proceedings of Meetings of the United Provinces Provincial Franchise Committee at which the Questionnaire of the Indian Franchise Committee was considered.

(*a*) *Proceedings of a meeting of the United Provinces Franchise Committee held on February 1, 1932.*

The United Provinces Franchise Committee met at 11 A. M. in the Committee Room of the Council House.

The following members were present :—

(1) Rai Rajeshwar Bali Sahib, O.B.E., M.L.C.
(2) Raja Jagannath Bakhsh Singh Sahib, M.L.C.
(3) Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Hussain, M.L.C.
(4) Mr. H. C. Desanges, M.L.C.
(5) Mr. Rama Charana, Rai Sahib, M.L.C.
(6) Mrs. J. P. Srivastava, M.L.C.
(7) Mr. H. N. Kunzru.
(8) Mr. J. H. Darwin, I.C.S.
(9) Dr. K. N. Malaviya, Advocate.
(10) Babu Ram Sahai Sahib.
(11) Rao Bahadur Thakur Bikram Singh, M.L.C.
(12) Dr. S. S. Nehru, I.C.S.

Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Husain proposed that Rai Rajeshwar Bali Sahib, M.L.C., be elected Chairman of the United Provinces Franchise

Committee. Mr. H. C. Desanges seconded the proposal. The Committee agreed. Rai Rajeshwar Bali then took the chair. It was agreed that Dr. Nehru should act as Secretary.

Dr. Nehru explained the scope of the Provincial Franchise Committee's enquiry and said that the Indian Franchise Committee desire to have the provisional views of the Provincial Committee as early as possible. These views, and the material which the local Government have, would be forwarded to the Indian Franchise Committee and would form the basis of their discussion when the Indian Franchise Committee arrive on February 7. The Committee noted that the Indian Franchise Committee are arriving here on February 7 and again on March 19. They desire it to be informed that February 8 and 9 would not suit the Muslim members of the Committee on acount of *Id*, and March 22 to 24 would not suit the Hindu members on account of *Holi*.

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The Committee decided to consider items 1 and 2 of the questionnaire the following day.

The meeting then adjourned at 12 A. M.

S. S. NEHRU, *Secretary.* RAJESHWAR BALI, *Chairman.*

(*b*) *Proceedings of a meeting of the United Provinces Franchise Committee held on February 2, 1932.*

All members were present.

(1) The Indian Franchise Committee's telegram suggesting a representation of labour on the Committee was read and considered. It was thought that sufficient time was not left for taking any effective action in the matter. Moreover, there were members on this Committee with sufficient experience of labour conditions and capable of putting the view-point of labour.

* * * * * * * *

The Committee proceeded to discuss the first section of the questionnaire regarding the extension of the franchise. Paragraphs (*a*) and (*f*) were considered first.

I.—(*a*) The means discussed and suggested were the lowering of property qualifications and introduction of literacy qualifications. The Committee then passed on to consider (*f*).

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It was agreed, after some discussions on a basis of castes, that Messrs. Darwin and Malaviya should draft a skeleton of a scheme for village or caste grouping system. Till a scheme was received and considered the Committee would not come to a decision.

(*b*) After some discussion it was agreed that such an electorate would be capable of casting an intelligent vote. Any slight deterioration that might result would disappear very soon.

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(*d*) No answer.

If group system is not adopted, electoral roll should be enlarged up to 15 per cent. of total population.

II.—(*a*) The disparity is marked but there has been no complaint that it requires rectification.

(*b*) This has been achieved and there is no reason to suppose that the existing proportion will be disturbed if the qualifications are lowered.

Yes.

(*c*) Our definite aim being universal suffrage, we cannot on principle accept property qualification as test of fitness for franchise as it is purely arbitrary, but has been accepted for practical purposes. For this reason we recommend lowering the property qualifications and then introducing a literacy-the-property qualification. In the case of joint Hindu families the qualification should be introduced on the lines of qualifications for such families for district board elections.

This should also apply *mutatis mutandis* to tenants whose names are entered in the revenue records.

(*d*) After some discussion it was generally agreed that the minimum qualification should be a class IV certificate but that the Director of Public Instruction be invited to attend the Committee and give them the benefit of his views in regard to examinations, standards and certificates.

(*e*) It was agreed to retain the existing military service qualification and extending it to include service in the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces, pending scrutiny of the Act.

The Committee adjourned to Wednesday, February 3, 10-30 A. M.

S. S. NEHRU, *Secretary.* RAJESHWAR BALI, *Chairman.*

(*c*) *Proceedings of a meeting of the United Provinces Franchise Committee held on February 3, 1932.*

The Committee assembled at 10-30 A. M. All members were present except Kunwar Bikram Singh.

3. (*a*) *Women's suffrage.*—It was agreed after some discussion that the wife of a husband possessing a property qualification should have the right to vote. Opinion was, however, divided in regard to the question whether in case of co-wives only one wife was to be enfranchised or as many wives as were covered by the property qualification of the husband.

As regards widows it was agreed that they should not get the right to vote except on their own separate qualifications.

The age-limit should be fixed at 21.

As to literacy qualification for women's suffrage, it was decided to consult the Director of Public Instruction who has already been invited to appear before the Committee in another connection.

The Committee realized the serious difficulties that beset the question of registration and particularly that of identification of female voters at elections. The suggestions for curtailing the cases of fraud and false personation were, firstly, that where no official can identify a female voter, who is enfranchised through her husband, she must be identified by her husband, who must take upon himself the responsibility of proper identification. Secondly, there should be heavy penalties provided in such cases of fraud and false personation. In view of the fact that the number of female voters may increase to such an extent as to prove a decisive factor in elections, no woman should be allowed to vote unless she has been properly identified.

There should be joint polling booths for men and women voters.

(*b*) This should be postponed till Messrs. Darwin and Malaviya have drafted the skeleton scheme for caste and village grouping system and the Committee have considered it.

5. As the basis of suffrage is being lowered this assumption will no longer be justified in the case of both organized and unorganized labour.

The Committee adjourned to February 4, 10-30 A. M.

S. S. NEHRU, *Secretary.* RAJESHWAR BALI, *Chairman.*

(*d*) *Proceedings of a meeting of the United Provinces Franchise Committee held on February 4, 1932.*

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The agenda of the Franchise Committee was next taken up.

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4. *Representation of the depressed classes.*—With the Chairman's permission Mr. Rama Charana read out a note he had prepared. This opened the discussion.

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The question was what test should be applied.

Mr. Desanges suggests the test of a caste or castes being a depressed class should be that laid down by the Simon Commission, namely, (1) untouchability, (2) unapproachability.

Rai Sahib Babu Rama Charana, however, suggests as follows :—

" Untouchability of the sort prevailing in the United Provinces and further economic and educational backwardness among the Hindus, also criminal tribes."

" Untouchability of the sort prevalent in the United Provinces means (1) prohibition from drawing water from wells, channels, etc., used by high class Hindus ; (2) prejudice created among the high class Hindus against classes on account of their occupation and eating certain food."

Kunwar Bikram Singh observes—" If educational and economic backwardness among Hindus is to be considred for depressed classes as suggested by Mr. Rama Charana, then, my submission is that on behalf

of not only my Jat community but for all such martial races as Rajputs, Jats and Gujars who are admittedly backward educationally and economically may be given separate representation and assured of their political elevated position in the future legislatures to safeguard their own respective interests.

Hafiz Hidayat Husain states alternatively that if educational backwardness is one of the criteria for marking a community in the Hindus as depressed, Rajputs, Jats, Kurmis, Gujars and other martial communities should also be classed as depressed.

It was agreed to apply the tests enumerated by Mr. Desanges to the castes specified in Mr. Blunt's note.

The Committee discussed at great length as to who were the depressed classes and what was their total number. Rai Sahib Babu Rama Charana thought that Mr. Blunt's figures were underestimated as the number of depressed class people was in his view about 20 millions. On the other hand Mr. Kunzru felt that Mr. Blunt's figures were overestimated as was clear from some of the official statements made from time to time by the local Government and the Government of India. If untouchability were the criterion as accepted by the Simon Commission, *vide* Report, Volume I, para. 56, then the Committee unanimously agreed that Bhangis and Doms are the only ones falling under depressed classes. Rai Sahib suggested an exhaustive inquiry into the matter, but it was agreed unanimously that this was not feasible within the time at the disposal of the Committee.

The Committee is of opinion that through the lowering of the franchise, which they have already advocated, the depressed classes will secure a larger number of electors and thus be able to exercise more influence over the elections.

Rai Sahib Babu Rama Charana proposed the formation of separate electorates to represent the interests of the depressed classes. Mr. De anges pointed out that this would be very difficult on administrative grounds due to the scattered nature of the depressed class communities. A discussion followed. Dr. K. N. Malaviya made a strong appeal to Rai Sahib Babu Rama Charana to accept joint electorates and secure a number of reserved seats to safeguard their interests. It was eventually decided to allow Rai Sahib Babu Rama Charana time to consult his associations.

The Committee adjourned to February 5, 10-30 A.M.

S. S. NEHRU, *Secretary.* RAJESHWAR BALI, *Chairman.*

(e) *Proceedings of a meeting of the United Provinces Franchise Committee held on February 5, 1932.*

We propose to give the vote to all women but realize that the difficulty of identification in the case of women, who observe strict *purdah*, is greater than in the case of those who do not observe strict *purdah*.

Then the tentative scheme of the group system prepared by Messrs. Darwin and Malaviya formed the basis of discussion. The following criticism was offered :—

(*a*) Administrative arrangements would have to be made as much or nearly as much as for any other system of adult suffrage, *e.g.*, preparation of rolls, identification of voters, decisions of objection, supervision of elections, etc. Therefore, if feasible, adult suffrage by direct election would, undoubtedly, be the better method.

(*b*) This will involve two elections for the candidate and from his point of view will make the elections extremely expensive.

(*c*) It is not desirable to adopt both methods of election, direct and indirect, at the same time.

(*d*) If community is the unit, this might introduce caste divisions both among Hindus and Muslims, which ordinarily do not exist or are not prominent at present.

(*e*) If the village is the unit, then in the case of the bigger villages plural voting would have to be introduced, which would cause further complications.

The Committee is, therefore, opposed to this proposal and would prefer adult suffrage, if and when administratively feasible.

The question as to whether the group system would solve the problem of the representation of the depressed classes was put to the members of those classes. They said that the same general objections held good in their case also.

Mr. Ram Sahai's memorandum was then taken into consideration.

(1) Rai Sahib Babu Rama Charana does not endorse the first point.

(2) Rai Sahib Babu Rama Charana agrees with the second point.

Rai Bahadur Thakur Bikram Singh strongly opposes them on the ground that all the depressed classes are Hindus, and does not think that even they would be prepared to separate from a religious point of view. He is, however, of opinion that certain seats be reserved for them but the election should be by joint electorate.

Dr. Malaviya is opposed for the reason given in his appeal on February 4.

Mr. Darwin favours the system of nomination in preference to the reservation of seats. He is opposed to separate electorates on the ground that this would give an undue advantage over intermediate classes who get no representation at all.

Mr. Kunzru is opposed to separate electorates, and it will not be possible to consider the question of reservation of seats until the extent to which the depressed classes have been enfranchised and the size of the Council are known.

Mr. Desanges is inclined to let them have separate electorates with separate seats for themselves not in proportion to their population but 10 per cent. of the seats fo Hindus.

Hafiz Hidayat Husain, on behalf of all Muslim members, said that we feel bound by the minorities pact arrived at in London in December 1931, allowing separate electorates to the depressed classes. He does not want to fix any exact number but may allow 20 per cent. of all the seats.

The Committee adjourned to February 6, 10-30 A. M.

S. S. NEHRU,
Secretary.

RAJESHWAR BALI,
Chairman.

(*f*) *Proceedings of a meeting of the United Provinces Franchise Committee held on February 6, 1932.*

Discussion continued on the proposal made by Hafiz Hidayat Husain giving 20 per cent. of total seats to depressed classes. He adds that this figure was arrived at on the basis of the depressed class population being about 26·4 per cent. of the total population of the province.

The question can be considered on the basis of the following analysis :—

Depressed class population	..	26·4 per cent.
Muslim population	..	14·8 per cent. of total population.
		41·2 per cent.
Total for caste Hindus	..	58·5 per cent.
As to representation—		
out of 100 seats ..	..	20 per cent. for depressed classes as stated by Hafiz Hidayat Husain in accordance with the pact arrived at in London.
		30 per cent. for Muslims.
		1 per cent. for Christians.
		2 per cent. for Anglo-Indians.
		3 per cent. for Europeans.
		56 per cent.

44 seats will be left over for 58·5 per cent. of the population which reduces the majority to a minority and will affect the Hindu-Muslim settlement of 1916, if speaking on behalf of the Muslim members Hafiz Hidayat Husain stands by his proposal.

Note.—Rai Sahib Babu Rama Charana objects to the population of depressed classes being 26·4 per cent. which is based on the calculation made by the Simon Commission and considers it to be much more. If the figure is found to be higher, the percentage of seats will proportionately rise.

In Rai Sahib Babu Rama Charana's view not only the castes which have been described as " non-depressed and dubious " in Mr. Blunt's

note, but also Pahari, Bhil, Bhopa, Bauriya, Nai, Bari and Kahar, should be included in the list of depressed classes. He reserves his opinion as to the number of seats to be claimed for them.

At this stage Thakur Bikram Singh pointed out that as the result of the majority being turned into a minority, different communities of Hindus, like the Jats, press for their separate representation as part of a minority community on the population basis.

II.—The Federal Legislature.

(*a*) Mr. Kunzru discussed at length the relative merits of direct and indirect election for both the upper and the lower chambers. The Committee favour direct election with the following qualifications :—(1) Raja Jagannath Bakhsh Singh favours it at present but reserves the right to modify it if necessary when the constitution of the provincial second chamber is definitely known ; (2) the members of the depressed classes reserve their opinion.

Mr. Darwin gave some rough figures showing the implications of having an electorate for the Legislative Council amounting to 15 per cent. of the population and after considering this the Committee were of the opinion that it would not be administratively feasible to increase the electorate beyond 10 per cent. specially if the Federal Legislature elections were to take place on the same day and the Committee considered that as essential. This is in modification of the view taken in the reply to question I (*e*).

(*b*) After considering the administrative difficulties the Committee was of opinion that the election of the lower house of the Federal legislature could at the most be trebled.

I.—Figures should be collected of payers of land revenue in categories of—

(1) Rs. 1,000 to 2,000. (3) Rs. 2,500 to 3,000.
(2) Rs. 2,000 to 2,500. (4) Rs. 3,000 to 4,000.
(5) Rs. 5,000 and over.

II.—Payment of rent—

(1) Rs. 100 to 125 ; (2) Rs. 125 to 150 and (3) Rs. 150 and over.

III.—The same categories for payers of land revenue.

Figures for tenants paying between—

(1) Rs. 25 to 34 ; Rs. 35 to 49 ; (2) Rs. 50 and over.

IV.—Similar figures for payers of land revenue.

V.—Similar figures for categories of payers of land revenue.

Rs. 10 to 20 ; Rs. 20 to 25 ; Rs. 25 to 35 ; Rs. 35 to 49.

(*c*) We favour direct elections and think that the size of the lower chamber be increased to 400.

S. S. NEHRU,
Secretary.

RAJESHWAR BALI,
Chairman.

(ii) Note on the Group System by Messrs. J. H. Darwin and K. N. Malaviya, Members of the United Provinces Provincial Franchise Committee.

The Committee has referred to us the question of considering whether any such system would be feasible. When the matter first came before it, the general opinion was that it was not. Some members, however, thought that it might be possible if instead of a group of 20, a village was made the unit of the primary. But that would produce two great difficulties. There is first the vast difference in the size not only of villages but of towns, where the group system would also presumably operate. This difficulty might perhaps be surmounted by allowing more than one representative for a village or town on a population basis. But this would considerably complicate the election, seeing that the unit group would be composed of persons of different castes, creeds and interests. As the local Government has said on page 565 of its report, the average voter already finds sufficient difficulty in casting a straight vote for a single candidate. It would introduce so many rivalries that it could not be completed without special polling arrangements. And this is the second difficulty. Polling arrangements would necessitate polling officers and staff : and it would be administratively impossible to conduct an election in every village.

There are so few panchayats in this province (4,594 only for 104,347 villages in 1927) that the problem cannot be solved by making them election committees : nor would the organization of panchayats merely for this purpose be a practical proposition.

We think, however, that the group system might be workable if groups were arranged by communities or sections of them. In all towns and villages such communities are already in existence. All we shall have to do is to take advantage of this fact. The main benefit is that in the formation of a group or groups there will then be little, if any, of the friction which is the great obstacle to their composition by any other method. Imagine for a moment what might otherwise occur. Take for instance a village in which 200 persons are not ordinarily qualified to vote but will come under the group system : of these 110 may well all be members of a single predominant community. Now if ten groups were formed of 20 each, all that the predominant community will have to do to establish a monopoly of group electors is to arrange for 11 of their number to be included in each group. They will not have to trouble about the remaining members of the groups, because with their numerical majority in each they can secure the whole of the representation. This is by no means a far-fetched example : every one with experience of this province knows the close ties by which members of one community are often united against others. On the other hand if the groups were formed by communities there could be no such manipulation : each community would secure its proper share of group electors.

We propose then that each community should form a separate group council with a president of its own and draw up a list with the help of the patwari in which the name of every person (male or female) is recorded who is not otherwise entitled to a vote. This council would choose

as many group electors as the number to which it is entitled on the basis of population. This may be one in 20, one in 50 or one in 100 : the principle is the same for all. If we took 20 as the pivotal number we would probably have to direct that less than 11 in any community would not be sufficient to entitle them to a separate group elector : but that if they were more than 10 and not less than 30 they would have the right of choosing one elector : if over 30 and not more than 50 they would have the right of choosing two electors, and so on. As soon as the council had drawn up the list it would be forwarded to the election officer. We anticipate that there would be very few objections to the lists under this arrangement, but if so these would be decided by the election officer. The latter would then intimate to the council the number of representatives to be chosen by them, and the dates by which this was to be completed. The council would then send the results to the election officer who would thereupon amalgamate the names of the selected representatives with those of persons qualified by a direct vote.

This scheme apart from solving the otherwise difficult question of composing groups will have the following advantages :—

(1) It is a long step on the path of universal suffrage. The Committee in England contemplated a gradual reduction of the size of groups from 20 to 15, 15 to 10, and so on unti lsuch suffrage was achieved. There will be no difficulty in increasing the number of group electors by successive stages, once the system is introduced.

(2) It will create a mass political consciousness. Every person in every community will feel that he has a share in the creation and composition of the Legislative Council, and will thus be encouraged to take an interest in its proceedings.

(3) It will give each community or section of community a voting strength roughly proportionate to its numbers. This was one of the ideals which the Round Table Conference had in view.

(4) It will save the elaborate and expensive machinery which would have to be devised for any other form of grouping or selection. It is very simple of comprehension, and, though it would want some supervision, would make no exorbitant demand in that respect. It involves the appointment of an election officer, but as the Committee is already of opinion that such an officer would in any case be required for other franchise arrangements, that will mean no additional cost.

An argument that might be brought against our proposal is that it would tend to create mutually exclusive bodies and divide India into petty political units, with the result that the growth of nationalism would be retarded. Our reply is that this will not actually be the case. We are merely utilizing associations that already exist and are universally recognized. Ours, moreover, is merely a temporary expedient for the

sake of administrative convenience, and should not be regarded as a permanent measure. It may also be urged that this system will mean much more intensive work on the part of candidates and entail visits by them to each village in their constituency. But this will not be so. The actual election contests will not be among the primary groups. This will only take place when the group electors have been amalgamated with other voters. It is only then that the candidates will come on the stage. There will be no actual survival of community groupings once the direct electorate has been formed, because the group electors will include persons of every community, and they will then inevitably unite for or against those persons who stand as candidates.

The selection of one person out of 20 means 5 per cent. of the population. Out of a population of 47 millions this comes to 2·35 millions. If we deduct 10 per cent. of the total population as having according to the wishes of the Committee become qualified for a vote otherwise, we should get 1·85 millions. A large number like this will be able to play a considerable part in elections. If this system was applied to depressed classes, the Chamar community, for instance, which number some six millions, would on this 20 per cent. basis secure about 30,000 group electors and in those districts where they lived closely together they might, with a little combination, secure the return of a member of their community to the Legislative Council, who had (as some of them have) the other necessary qualifications. In this way part, if not the whole, of the question of representation of depressed classes might be solved.

J. H. DARWIN,
February 4, 1932.

K. N. MALAVIYA,
February 4, 1932.

सत्यमेव जयते

Visit of the Indian Franchise Committee to Lucknow (18th-22nd March 1932).

III

Memorandum by the Government of United Provinces.

LETTER FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED PROVINCES, TO THE SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, CAMP INDIA, No. 104-C.X., DATED LUCKNOW, THE 20TH MARCH 1932.

I am directed to forward a copy of the United Provinces Provincial Franchise Committee's replies to the questionnaire issued by the Franchise Committee, together with the views of the local Government on the points dealt with in these replies. The local Government regret the delay in the despatch of these papers, but they were unable to obtain a report from the Provincial Committee until the 19th instant. The recommendations of the Provincial Committee have been considered by His Excellency the Governor with his Executive Council and Ministers sitting together.

2. As regards the first point raised in the questionnaire, namely, the extension of the franchise in the Provincial Legislature so as to include 10 per cent. of the population in the electoral roll, the local Government have considered, as a preliminary question, whether an enlarged electorate should be secured by an extension of the present system of direct voting, or by the general substitution of the "group" system to which reference is made in (*f*), (*g*), (*h*), (*i*), (*j*) of part I of the questionnaire. They see certain advantages in the application of this latter system, particularly to rural voters, as it would embrace some of the elements of a general adult suffrage and would meet some of the difficulties arising from the problem of securing representation for depressed classes and for women. But there are on the other hand obvious disadvantages in depriving of the direct vote a large number of people who have hitherto enjoyed it; moreover, the "group" system of voting is in itself a novelty, and its actual effect in developing the political consciousness of the electorate and its desire to make use of its voting powers could only be decided by experience. It would be undesirable to base a legislature charged with working the new Constitution on an electorate secured by a system of which no one can forecast the operation; and on the whole therefore the local Government consider that the "group" system, if adopted, could only be used as supplementary to the "direct" system and not in substitution for it. I am to return to this point subsequently; at this stage it is only necessary to say that the local Government advocate that in the main, the enlarged electorate should be obtained by an extension of the present franchise, to be secured by lowering the property qualification and introducing a literacy qualification.

3. *Question (b) of part I—Capacity of such an electorate to cast an intelligent vote.*—It will be sufficient to say here that the quality of the electorate thus obtained will not be markedly different from that which prevails at present. How far a vote is "intelligent" must depend

on the standard of political consciousness which it is held that a voter should possess. Clearly large numbers of existing voters have little conception of political issues and know little of the nature of the constitution; the value of giving the vote to these classes depends, rather on its educative effect than on their capacity to make a judgment on principles and policy. The individual in the enlarged electorate will not be characteristically different from the present voter; a reduction for instance in the tenant or land revenue qualification will not bring a different class of intelligence to the polls. The mass effect may be different, owing to the inclusion of a larger proportion of one interest or another, as for instance, the tenant interest; but the answer to I (*b*) of the questionnaire is that the voter, as such, will not be different in general intelligence from the voter whom the Committee now encounters in the province.

4. *I (c)—Manageability of an electorate of this size.*—The Provincial Franchise Committee give some details of the number of voters with which polling officers can deal, and would take the results at which they arrive as a basis for determining the proportion of the population which they would enfranchise at this stage. Without entering into these details, the local Government consider that by a simplification of the present procedure (such for instance as the use of coloured boxes and dispensing with cross marks on ballot papers) it would be possible to make arrangements for polling approximately 10 per cent. of the population on the direct vote. They would prefer to decide subsequently, in the light of facts forthcoming as to the establishment available in each district, whether it is preferable to spread out the elections over several days instead of polling all electors in a constituency on one day.

5. *I (e)—Desirability and feasibility of further extension.*—The local Government are not at this stage prepared to advocate an extension of the direct vote beyond the approximate figure of 10 per cent. of the population. Both on general grounds, based on the character of the electorate available, and on administrative grounds, they consider this sufficient at present.

6. *I (f) to (j)—Adoption of the "group" system.*—It will be seen from what has already been stated that the local Government would adopt the group system, if at all, only as supplementary to an expanded direct franchise. The merits and demerits of the group system have no doubt been amply canvassed elsewhere in evidence given before the Franchise Committee, and the local Government do not now propose to enter on any discussion of general principles, but will proceed briefly to state their conclusions on the subject. Actual experiments made by district officers show that though some difficulties will no doubt be encountered in working any such system, they are not insurmountable, and there is evidence to show that a considerable number of people, particularly in the rural areas, who will not obtain a direct vote, would desire to utilise the opportunities presented by this system. On the other hand it is so much of a novelty that it is difficult to speak with any confidence of its probable results in operation. Any views which the local Government can now put forward must therefore be given

with considerable hesitation. They would be prepared to adopt it as an experimental measure, to be modified and perhaps even abandoned in the light of actual experience of its working. If it is adopted, they would recommend that voting should be in small groups of 20, formed as far as possible from neighbouring households, rather than in larger groups combining to nominate a number of representatives, since the latter system would in their opinion give a less true representation and would be liable to misuse by undesirable influences. Voting should be by adults, male and female, on a residential qualification; the basis of the register could be obtained from the census reports. A definite series of rules would have to be laid down for the special staff employed to carry out voting on the spot. But these rules, though definite enough to produce a guarantee against abuse by the establishment so engaged, would have to provide for some elasticity in order to suit the requirements of the voters themselves. The procedure would necessarily be far less formal than that applicable to direct voting; but it will be necessary to provide for a summary form of objection before the Collector who, in case of any serious doubt as to the procedure adopted, would be able to order a fresh election. Each group would decide for itself whether women would vote separately or with men. The local Government would not advise that group electors should vote in separate constituencies; it would seem preferable on many grounds, including that of simplicity, that the group representative should merely be added to the electoral roll of direct voters. This in itself would involve the rejection of the suggestion contained in I (*g*) that only group electors should be qualified to stand as candidates. Nor would the local Government advise in reference to question I (*j*) that any special qualifications should be required in the persons chosen by groups to vote on their behalf. It is calculated that group voting on this system would produce 800,000 voters as an addition to those obtained under the direct voting system.

II.—Franchise Qualifications.

7. (*a*) *Disparity in the operation of the franchise qualifications in urban as compared with rural areas.*—There has been no general complaint of disparity in the operation of the franchise qualifications in urban as compared with rural areas. In general, however, there is a higher level of income in the urban area than in the rural area. The general qualification for the urban franchise for the Legislative Council is an annual rental of Rs. 36 which would seem to postulate an income of an average of at least Rs. 240; this would probably exceed the average net income of the agricultural voter on the lower franchise qualification which will now be proposed for adoption. It will be understood that this is a matter on which it is not possible to speak with any certainty, owing to the variety of conditions in the province; a tenant on Rs. 50 in Bundelkhand holds a far greater area of culturable land than a tenant paying a similar rent in the west of the province; and equally of course rentals vary greatly in different towns. On the whole the local Government consider that if the rural qualification is now reduced as proposed, no question is likely to arise of weightage of one type of vote against the other. Such complaint as exists actually refers rather to the fact that

a number of large towns are included in general constituencies of a rural character and tend to dominate the latter. It will be advisable so to re-arrange constituencies as to avoid this result.

8. *II (b)—Assuming that communal electorates are retained should each community be given a voting strength proportionate to its numbers.*—At present, as shown by the Provincial Franchise Committee, there is no great disparity between the proportion of Muslim and non-Muslim electors to the total population of the community, and the local Government agree that there is no reason to suppose that this proportion will seriously be disturbed by the new qualifications now suggested. The local Government would in general be opposed to adopting variable qualifications for different communities in order to secure a voting strength proportionate to numbers, as they attach importance to the maintenance of a uniform qualification for the franchise.

9. *II (c)—The fitness of a property qualification as a test for the franchise.*—Without going into general considerations of principle, the local Government consider that the existing type of qualification may reasonably be adopted as the basis of franchise in view of the fact that on other grounds it is desirable to restrict the franchise to a definite proportion of the population. As shown below, they propose an additional qualification in the nature of an educational test, but they consider that with this addition the franchise will be sufficiently comprehensive.

10. *II (d)—Addition of an educational qualification.*—There seems to be in the province a general feeling that some provision should be made for the difficulty arising from the existence of the joint Hindu family system and for the fact that in many cases sharers in tenancies do not (owing to the system of record) obtain a direct vote. The local Government therefore agree with the Provincial Franchise Committee that the franchise should be extended by adoption of an educational qualification and would for this purpose accept the passing of the upper primary examination. It appears that in the last eleven years 442,000 males and about 11,000 females have passed this examination. Some illustrative tests have been made to elicit information as to the extent of the net addition to the electoral roll through this qualification, and also with a view to ascertaining how many of those who possessed the certificate have relapsed into illiteracy. The general result of such tests goes to show that the proportion of those who have relapsed into illiteracy in after years is not large. It also appears that the net addition to the electoral roll by adopting this qualification would not be considerable. The local Government would adopt this qualification rather in order to meet the considerations above referred to than as a definite measure for widening the franchise.

11. *II (e)—Retention of the existing military service qualification.*—The local Government agree with the Provincial Franchise Committee in recommending the retention of the existing military service qualification

and would extend it to include service in the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces. The net addition to the electoral roll would not in this province be considerable.

12. Though precise figures cannot be given, it is believed that the required 10 per cent. of direct votes could be obtained by reducing the land revenue qualification to Rs. 10 and the rental qualification to Rs. 25, leaving the present urban qualification untouched.

III.—Women Suffrage.

13. *III* (*a*) *and* (*b*).—The local Government regret that they have not been able to arrive at a unanimous decision on the answer to be given to this portion of the questionnaire. The Government as a whole are fully conscious of the considerations put forward before the Round Table Conference for the extension of the franchise to women, and admit that the principles of the Hindu law will actually operate to exclude women from the electoral roll so long as the latter is based mainly on a property qualification or the payment of taxes. Some members of the Government, however, feel that there are objections to adopting the alternative suggested, namely admitting to the electoral roll the wives of those who possess the property qualification or (as suggested by the Provincial Franchise Committee) admitting the wives of those who possess double the minimum property qualification. The latter proposal in particular appears to be open to the objection that it would in effect give a double vote to husbands possessing double the minimum qualification and would act therefore to the prejudice of the large classes now being enfranchised which possess only the minimum qualification. These members of Government also feel that there is not in the province at large any real demand for a measure of this nature. They would prefer to attempt to extend the franchise to that class of women who might be expected both to be willing to appear at the polls and also to be capable of exercising an independent vote, namely those possessing a literacy qualification. They would adopt as liberal a definition as possible of this qualification and would allow any woman to exercise the vote who can produce a certificate that she can read and write, attested by an inspectress or assistant inspectress of schools or an honorary magistrate. It must be admitted that even this liberal interpretation of the qualification would not enfranchise a very large number of women, for the census returns show that there are only some 128,000 women of the age of 20 and over who possess literacy. At the same time, however, this measure might be expected to bring to the polls the great majority of those women who actually desire to exercise the vote. They further point out that if the group system is adopted, women will at least be admitted as primary voters and will have an opportunity of standing for election as group representatives. Other members of Government feel that the proposal of their colleagues is inadequate, and that effective steps are in fact necessary to remove the sex disqualification imposed by the Hindu social system. They would therefore adopt the proposal of the Provincial Franchise Com-

mittee so far as it relates to the enfranchisement of the wife of a husband possessing double the minimum property qualification. They would not give the vote to widows except on any separate qualification they may possess. They admit the difficulty arising from the existence of co-wives and on the whole would prefer to restrict the vote to one wife to be nominated by the husband. All members of Government agree that such steps as are possible should be taken to secure identification of women voters and to prevent fraud and false personation. The primary responsibility for identification must rest on the husband and adequate penalties must be provided for personation.

As already shown, the local Government consider that if the group system is adopted, the group should be composite and include both men and women.

14. *III (c)—Suggestion for the co-option of women representatives.*—The local Government agree with the Provincial Franchise Committee in finding objections to the principle of co-option and would prefer a system under which a definite number of seats should be reserved for women to be filled from among the women candidates who have polled the largest proportionate number of votes but have been unsuccessful in obtaining a seat. The proposal that seats should be filled from among the women candidates who have polled the largest absolute number of votes in the constituencies is open to the objection that constituencies may vary greatly in size. It is understood that the number of seats reserved for women would be filled up on a communal basis. It will probably be necessary to provide in the initial stages that if a sufficient number of candidates do not qualify by this method the vacant seats will have to be filled up by nomination by the Governor.

IV.—Representation of depressed classes.

15. The Franchise Committee will have received a note* on the depressed and backward classes prepared by the Hon'ble Mr. E. A. H. Blunt, Member of the Executive Council, which has been of great value to the local Government in considering this question. The recommendations of the Provincial Franchise Committee disclose, as is only natural, a considerable difference of opinion both as to the classes which should be described as "depressed" and as to the method of their representation. The maximum estimate amounts to 17 million persons; the minimum to something less than one million. Moreover, whatever definition is adopted, the factors on which discrimination is based cannot be said to be constant, for classes at times rise in the social scale, and even within different classes discrimination is liable to be based on a variable factor, such as occupation. Here again the local Government would desire to avoid entering on a discussion of general principles. They will confine themselves to expressing a feeling that special measures are necessary to protect only those classes whose interests are liable to suffer if they are not voiced by their own representatives or are left to be voiced casually by others. A large number of classes now described as "backward" obviously do not fall within this description; on the other hand

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there are castes which suffer serious disabilities requiring removal and their interests would therefore be prejudiced if representation were left to chance. Accepting the fact that there are classes which need such protection by special representation in the legislature, the local Government nevertheless find great difficulty in proposing a separate electorate for them owing to the fact that they are widely scattered throughout the province and also to the fact that owing to inter-class jealousies they themselves at present will encounter difficulty in finding common representatives. The local Government therefore consider that for the present special representation must be secured by nomination in the hands of the Governor. For obvious reasons this nomination should remain entirely in his hands and should be exercised before Ministers are selected. At the same time these classes, on the franchise now proposed, will have a certain number of electors of their own ; if the group system is adopted as supplementary to the direct system, it may well be that the total number of electors belonging to the depressed classes may amount to 400,000 or 500,000. As the castes improve in social condition, this figure will rise ; and if the franchise qualification be again lowered, it will become considerable. As political consciousness grows among these classes, associations will arise representative enough and wide enough in composition to justify the Governor in consulting them regarding their nominated representatives. It may be foreseen. that sooner or later these associations will combine into a single association capable of running candidates for election in the general constituencies. Nominations could then disappear. The local Government cannot forecast future developments, and in any case the question of the depressed classes will constitute a real problem for another generation at least. But they are already rising, and the local Government believe that the rise will be both more rapid and more far-reaching than is usually supposed.

16. In making nominations during the first stage the Governor should be guided, though not necessarily restricted, by a schedule which would be drawn up for his use. It should at least include the following classes ; the list is based on the information given in Mr. Blunt's note, and is intended to indicate those classes for which there can be no doubt that special consideration is required. (The components of the groups referred to are given in Mr. Blunt's note.)

Dhanuk	127,581
Chamars in rural areas estimated at	4,187,770
Bhangi group	349,053
Kolarian group	125,356
Dom group	109,906
Pasi group	1,446,155
Hill Dom	326,012
Vagrant tribes	111,981
Total	6,773,814

V.—Representation of labour.

17. The facts regarding labour are already in possession of the Franchise Committee. The great mass of labour is agricultural and it is not possible to devise any form of franchise for it. Nor indeed are the interests of the paid agricultural labourer markedly different from those of the small tenant who will now find his way to the electoral roll through the enlarged franchise. Industrial labour in an organized form may be said to exist only at Cawnpore, where there are some 35,000 labourers employed in factories, though of course there are considerable number of labourers employed in the railway workshops at Gorakhpur, Jhansi and Lucknow. At present there exist no trade unions of such a composition and character as could be utilized as forming the basis of representation. The local Government however think that a beginning might be made by giving representation to factory hands at Cawnpore, it being understood that with the growth of organized forms of industrial labour this principle might be extended to other centres. They would form a special constituency with a roll embracing all adult labourers who for six months have been employed on a pay of Rs. 15 per month or over in factories (as defined in the Factories Act) at Cawnpore. It would be a matter for consideration whether another constituency could be formed by combining labourers in other towns of lesser industrial importance, and if the Franchise Committee accept the principle now suggested, the necessary investigations will be undertaken in order to determine the feasibility of this extension.

V-A.—Representation of special interests.

18. It is to be assumed, as a factor in the consideration of this question, that the size of the Legislative Council will be considerably increased as a result of the expansion in the number of electors. The question of the exact size and composition of the Council does not form an item in the questionnaire; but the local Government assume for this purpose that it will at least contain 200 members. They further assume, for the purpose of discussing this part of the questionnaire, that their recommendation for the constitution of a second Chamber will be accepted. If so, it becomes necessary to consider whether the representation of special interests can more suitably be made in the second than in the first Chamber. On the assumption that the functions of the second Chamber will be largely revisory, the local Government think that it would not be advisable to confine representation of special interests entirely to that Chamber. General experience has shown elsewhere that with a wide extension of the franchise it is necessary to make provision in an originating chamber for the presence of a certain number of persons with special knowledge and experience of interests which are likely to be vitally affected by legislation. On the other hand the representation of such interests in the first Chamber should be limited to such number as will secure to them a proper expression of their views rather than a definite weightage of votes, and the local Government have been largely guided by this consideration in making the following recommendations.

19. In its report to the Simon Commission the local Government proposed that the existing special representation of the Allahabad University by one member should be retained and that an addition should be made by combining the universities of Agra and Lucknow (which are at present unrepresented) in a single member constituency. The local Government did not at the time make any suggestion in regard to the two denominational universities of Benares and Aligarh, which are all-India in character and whose statutes depend on all-India legislation. The local Government still consider that so long as these universities are not affected by provincial legislation, they cannot claim special representation in the provincial legislature; but on reconsideration of their original opinion they think that the three provincial universities should now be combined in a single constituency to be represented by two members.

20. As regards the representation of Commerce, the interest is now represented by three members. Two are elected by the Upper India Chamber of Commerce and one by the United Provinces Chamber. This arrangement has continued practically unchanged since 1919. The larger representation given to the Upper India Chamber of Commerce can be justified by the fact that the capital interests represented by its constituencies are undoubtedly far greater than those represented by the United Provinces Chamber. The local Government consider that the existing representation should be maintained, but in order to provide for the possibility of changes in the composition of the Chambers and also for the increase in the size of the Legislative Council, they would prescribe the seats representative of Commerce as five in number and would give to the Governor power to nominate from time to time the bodies which should be allowed to elect members. A number of smaller chambers or associations representative of industrialists and commercial men are now arising in other parts of the province, and it is likely that these will gain in importance sufficiently to warrant their being regarded either singly or in combination as constituencies for returning persons representative of Commerce. The local Government would prefer to avoid nomination and would, as shown above, give power to the Governor merely of selecting bodies which should be allowed to elect members.

21. As regards landowners, the local Government consider that it is essential to give special representation to them owing to the prominent part which revenue and rental legislation is likely to take from the first under the new constitution. Recent events have in their opinion emphasized this necessity, and it is indeed possible that for some years to come questions of this character will form the outstanding problems which will engage the attention of the legislature. At present special representation is afforded by the method described at page 157 of the Report of the local Government presented to the Indian Statutory Commission. There are special electorates in Agra and Oudh returning two and four members respectively. As shown, however, in that Report, resolutions have been passed in the Legislative Council

advocating an increased representation for the Agra landholders, and these resolutions have received the support of the local Government. The Agra Zamindars' Association has by legislation now been placed in a position similar to that of the British Indian Association of Oudh, in so far that Government now collects the subscriptions of its members along with the land revenue and it can be said with confidence that the Agra landholders are now far better organized than they were when the matter was originally considered in 1919-20. Those of them who pay Rs. 5,000 land revenue and over considerably outnumber the taluqdars in Oudh; the electors number 716 in the two Agra constituencies and only 373 in the taluqdari constituency of Oudh, and of the taluqdars nearly one-fifth pay less than Rs. 5,000 land revenue. The taluqdari representation is roughly one member for every 100 electors. If the same ratio were applied to Agra, there would be an increase to seven. On the same ratio also the 102 non-taluqdar landholders in Oudh who pay over Rs. 5,000 land revenue and at present receive no special representation, would return a single member. The local Government advocate, on the principle stated in the previous paragraph, that the total representation of landholders should be raised from six to twelve to be secured as follows. There would be four members to represent the British Indian Association of Oudh plus one member elected by non-taluqdar voters of Oudh in a special constituency. There would be four members to represent the Agra Zamindars' Association, with three members elected in special constituencies by superior revenue payers not belonging to the Association.

II.—FEDERAL LEGISLATURE.

VI.—Allocation of seats to British Indian Provinces.

22. The local Government find some difficulty in answering that portion of the questionnaire which relates to the selection of representatives of British Indian provinces for the Upper Federal Chamber in the absence of a decision whether a Second Chamber will be constituted in the United Provinces. It is possible that if such a Chamber is constituted, this might be used as a means of electing representatives to the Upper Federal Chamber. In any case, however, the local Government do not support the proposal of the Federal Structure Committee that the representatives of British India in the Upper Federal Chamber should be elected by the provincial legislatures by a single transferable vote. They consider that such a procedure would not make adequate provision for the election of persons distinguished by political or other qualifications of the class desirable in an Upper Federal Chamber, since it would force them to seek election in the first place to the provincial legislatures. The provisional opinion of the local Government is therefore that it would be desirable to select representatives for the Upper Federal Chamber by the direct vote from special constituencies of the nature of those now constituted for election to the Council of State. As regards election to the Lower Chamber of the Federal Legislature, the local Governments are mainly influenced by considera-

tions based on the size of the constituencies which it would be necessary to create in order to secure the election of the 32 members which it is proposed should constitute the representation of the province in the Lower Chamber. The size of these constituencies would be increased if communal electorates were introduced, and the local Government see little chance of securing and maintaining contact between representatives and electors in constituencies of this nature. They therefore propose that representation should be secured through an electorate consisting of members of district and municipal boards. This would give an electorate of manageable size and representative in character.

VII.—Representation of women, labour and depressed classes in the Federal Legislature.

23. The local Government do not find it possible to make suggestions on this point at the moment and would prefer to wait decisions as to the manner in which representation of these elements is to be secured for the provincial legislature.



Note explaining the origin and nature of depressed and backward Classes by the Hon'ble Mr. E. A. H. Blunt, O.B.E., C.I.E., I.C.S., Member, Executive Council, United Provinces Government.

This note is an attempt to explain the origin and nature of the classes usually called "depressed", and their relation to the Hindu social system. It is prepared for the use of the Franchise Committee, in the hope that it may help them to understand a very difficult problem. In writing it I have used the following material :—

(*a*) Crooke's "Tribes and castes of the North-Western Province and Oudh." This work, which is in the form of a dictionary, was written in 1895. To bring it up to date, certain additions and corrections are required, but Crooke is still *the* authority on the caste-system of these provinces, and is not likely to be ousted from the position.

(*b*) Sir Richard Burn's Census Report, United Provinces, for 1901, chapter VIII. This chapter contains a scheme of social precedence, which was based on local inquiries made by committees which were created *ad hoc* in every district, and is the *locus classicus* on this particular subject.

(*c*) Information collected by myself at various times on the subject of caste generally. This was done principally in connection with the census of 1911, when it was the result of local inquiries made by special officers in every district, usually from members of the caste themselves. Other information is the result of my own observations or of special inquiries which I have made. [It has been collected in a book of which I have just received advance copies.]

(*d*) The rough draft of a chapter on the backward and depressed classes which will ultimately appear in the Census Report of 1931, kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. A. C. Turner, Provincial Census Superintendent. His information was, as usual, collected for him by special officers in every district, who made inquiries from the local pandits and other influential Brahmans regarding such matters, as "untouchability" and other disabilities of the "depressed". Mr. Turner has also allowed me to see the census figures for 1931, and I have used them in this note.

It should be understood, that all the statements made in this note refer directly only to the United Provinces; but with minor modifications they are probably also true of the whole of Northern India between sea and sea, and between Himalayas and Vindhyas,—in other words, of the country formerly called Aryavarta or Aryan territory.

Origin of the "depressed" classes.

2. *The Arya social classes.*—When the Arya invaders first broke into India some 3,000 years B. C., they were already divided into three social classes, of which, two, namely, the ruling or military class, subsequently

called the Rajan or Kashattriya, and the priestly class, subsequently called the Brahman, were already recognized as superior to the Vish, or Arya commonalty.

3. *Arya and Dasyu.*—On entering India, the Aryas found the country inhabited by a race, to which they gave the name Dasyu. The Aryas were a fair-skinned people, and, for the time, highly civilized. The Dasyus were a mere collection of jungle tribes, dark skinned and little better than savages. The Arya hated and despised the Dasyu, whose physical peculiarities, manners and customs were all repugnant to him. But the Arya wanted the Dasyu's country ; he wanted the Dasyu's women, for he had not brought enough of his own with him ; and so the two races were forced into the closest contact.

4. *Intermarriage between dissimilar races.*—When two races of similar blood and civilization are brought into contact so close as this, there is usually fusion between them, producing a mixed race with characteristics derived from both sides of its descent. But when the two races are of different blood and at different stages of civilization, then the fusion is never complete. Intermarriage between them occurs. But the process is not universal ; the highest sections in the higher race disdain to take wives from the lower race, whilst the lower race cannot obtain them from the higher at all. And the process is not continuous ; it is begun with reluctance, and it ceases as soon as the higher race has bred a sufficiency of women for its wants. The result is the formation of groups of all shades of colour, some of them of pure blood, both high and low, most of them of different degrees of mixed blood,—but all imbued with a spirit of exclusiveness, bred of mutual dislike and contempt.

5. *The varnas and the outcaste groups.*—So it was in India ; and thus there arose the four well-known *varnas*, a word which—significantly enough—means " colour " ; the first three called Brahman, Kashattriya and Vaishya after the existing Arya social classes, the fourth class called Sudra, a term of uncertain meaning but possibly the name of some Dasyu tribe. There was, however, another class in this Arya-Dravidian society formed from the remnants of the Dasyu tribes, called Nishada or Chandala in Vedic times, and *hina-jatyo* (low tribes) in Buddhist times ; with whom are coupled the *hina-sippani*, groups following low or primitive occupations, such as hunting, fowling, basket-making, the collection of jungle produce, as well as more degrading occupations, such as tanning, scavenging, and the trade of the executioner. These *hina-jatiyo and hina-sippani* were the " depressed classes " of that period. They were compelled to live in villages by themselves ; and they were so " untouchable ", that, like the lepers of the middle ages, they had to give notice of their approach by striking two pieces of wood together.

6. *The later invasions.*—At a much later date came the foreign invasions, beginning with the expedition of Alexander the Great in the fourth century B. C. and ending with the inroad of the Huns in the fifth century A. D. Greek, Parthian, Scythian, Kushan and Hun, one after another, broke through the northern passes and carved out kingdoms for themselves in India. The invaders, sooner or later, were absorbed in the

Hindu social system; their kings and nobles, in virtue of their position usurped the style and rank of Kshattriyas, whilst their tribes were added to the ranks of Vaishya or Sudra; some also to the *hina-jatiyo*, since some of these new comers were barbarians, as alien from the Hindu as the Dasyu had been from the Arya.

7. *The social pale.*—When a higher race like the Aryan intermarries with a lower race like the Dasyu, it is usually compelled, sooner or later, to admit the half bred groups into its social system; but it generally endeavours to keep out the lower race. The result is the formation of a sort of social pale, within which are the groups that possess any share of the higher blood, outside of which are groups of the lower blood. So it was in India. The Brahmans, anxious to preserve the Arya people and especially the Arya religion from contamination, at first tried to exclude not only the *hina-jatyo* and *hina-sippani*, but also the Sudra. In respect of the latter they failed; for though a distinction is still drawn between the once-born Sudra and the twice-born higher classes, yet the former is recognized as a full member of the Hindu society. And even amongst the *hina-jatyo* and *hina-sippani* there were many that from time to time succeeded in forcing their way within the pale.

8. *The parvenus.*—The process by which such an outcaste group enters Hindu society has always been the same. The aspirant begins by abandoning the degrading occupation which is traditional in his group, and takes to some less un-savoury means of livelihood. As he grows prosperous, he gives up all those primitive customs which are especially abhorrent to Hinduism, for instance, the practice of widow remarriage, the drinking of strong liquor and the eating of pork or beef. He also lowers the age of marriage and adopts the characteristic Hindu domestic rites. His next step is to induce some Brahman first to attend and then to serve his rites. He adopts in place of his group name some sectional name preferably one also to be found in groups of higher position. Lastly, with the assistance of his newly acquired family priest (*purohit*), he invents for himself a pedigree, and puts out a definite claim to be a member of one of the three higher castes. And such a claim has more than once been admitted.

9. *Exclusiveness of the low groups.*—It must not be supposed, however, that all tribes outside the pale were equally anxious to cross it. The spirit of exclusiveness, which was and still is the principal characteristic of Hindu society, has worked both ways. If the Arya hated and despised the Dasyu, the Dasyu hated and feared the Arya. He was quite as unwilling to give the Arya his daughter in marriage as the Arya was to take her. At no time would he have felt any desire to exchange his own priests and his own rites for the priests and rites of others. His objection to eating food cooked, or drinking water given, by an Arya, was even stronger than that of an Arya to eating food cooked, or drinking water given, by him: for his objection was the result of certain primitive superstitions to which he attached great importance, whilst the Arya's objection was mainly the result of racial fastidiousness.

"Depressed" class of the present day.

10. *The present state of affairs.*—The *hina-jatyo* and *hina-sippani* of Buddhist times have their descendants or counterparts at the present day. There are still in existence such degraded tribes as the Habura, the Sansiya, the Nat, and other vagrants, or the Dom, which are wholly outside the pale of Hinduism, and have so far shown no great desire to be received within it. There are, in South Mirzapur and elsewhere, tribes that have only partly emerged from jungle life, and still preserve their primitive customs, beliefs and rites. There are castes following unsavoury professions, from which the better castes to a greater or less extent hold themselves aloof. And it is to these castes and tribes that, *prima facie*, the term "depressed class" should be restricted.

11. *Terminology.*—The phrase "depressed class" is of comparatively recent coinage. It is not to be found in Crooke's great work. It was not used by Sir Richard Burn in the Census Report of 1901; nor was it used in the Census Report of 1911. It seems to have found its way, probably from Madras, into the United Provinces about 1920. The use of the word "depressed" in this connection is unfortunate. Firstly, it does not translate any vernacular term; indeed the Hindustani adjectives used in this connection, such as *adi* (aboriginal), *adna* (inferior), *dalit* (downtrodden), or *achut* (untouchable), have been subsequently selected to translate the English adjective. Secondly, the word "depressed" is question-begging, for it connotes the presence of a depressor; and though there may be castes that can with justice complain that obstacles have been deliberately placed in the way of their social or economic or political advancement, there are also many castes which, though they may be of low social status, are certainly not "depressed" in the literal sense of the word, and would be extremely annoyed if they were told that they were. This is indeed the principal reason why it is so difficult to define the term, and why its meaning differs so greatly with different authorities.

12. *Criteria of depression.*—Various criteria have been suggested by which to determine whether a particular tribe or caste should or should not be classed as "depressed". The principal of these are as follows,—

(1) Untouchability, or pollution by physical contact; which involves—

(*a*) exclusion from the use of a village well:

(*b*) exclusion from the temples of orthodox Hinduism.

(2) Food and water taboos.

(3) Exclusion from orthodox domestic rites.

13. (1) *Untouchability.*—The criterion of untouchability is of special importance, because many people (including the Simon Commission) appear to regard "untouchable" and "depressed" as synonyms. The principle is of far less importance in this province than in other parts of India. We have, for instance, no caste so low that its members can cause pollution from a distance, or by the fall of a shadow; our untouchables convey pollution only by contact. Moreover, the superstition is moribund. Few castes are now untouchable to Rajputs and Sudras; and

though Vaishyas and Brahmans may be more particular, yet they too are apt to ignore untouchability, whenever observance of it would be inconvenient. If a Brahman is working in the field during the morning with an untouchable labourer, he can scarcely avoid contact with him; but the fact will not trouble him, for he will in any case wash himself and his clothes when he goes home at midday, and thereby can remove the stain of contact. Modern conditions have also served to weaken this taboo. Touchables and untouchables jostle each other freely in a crowded street, or a political meeting, or a railway carriage; but trouble is avoided because the touchable is careful not to display any curiosity regarding his neighbour's caste.

14. *Exclusion from wells and temples.*—(*a*) *Wells.*—With the disappearance of the taboo of untouchability, itself the two principal disabilities which result from it are also disappearing. Not so long ago, the untouchables of a village, if they had no well of their own, were compelled to wait at the village well until some member of a clean caste condescended to draw water and fill their vessels for them; they were not allowed to draw water themselves. The reports received at the census of 1931, however, show that this restriction is disappearing rapidly, and that for the most part untouchables are as free to use the common well as anybody else. Nowadays, an untouchable would only be debarred from using the well, if a touchable wanted to use it at the same time; in which case the untouchable must stand aside till the touchable has finished.

(*b*) *Temples.*—Some social reformers seem to regard exclusion from the major Hindu temples as the principal disability of an untouchable caste, and the removal of it as the only step necessary to raise him into the ranks of Hindu society. It seems doubtful, however, whether so much weight should ever have been given to this particular restriction. Castes likely to be excluded from such temples would rarely have either an opportunity or a desire to enter them. Many such castes have their own deities and their own worships, often of a very primitive kind, and would ordinarily be content with those. If an untouchable conceived the idea of visiting the Golden temple at Benares, his motive will probably be either mere curiosity, or a vague idea, common enough amongst the followers of all primitive religions, that it is desirable to placate strange gods in their own domain. The prohibition, moreover, has never been confined merely to untouchables, but is extended to the followers of other religions, for instance Islam and Christianity. At the present time, the latest reports show that in many districts the prohibition has been relaxed. For instance, at a certain famous temple in the Bara Banki district where a large fair is held on the Shivratri festival, Chamars and sweepers are allowed to offer their Ganges water without any restrictions whatever; whilst from another district comes the report that Chamars are allowed to enter temples up to a certain fixed distance, provided they are wearing wet loincloths (*dhotis*).

15. *Temporary and permanent untouchability.*—Untouchability serves as a criterion of social status only when it is permanent. It is the result of uncleanness. Anybody may be temporarily unclean and

therefore temporarily untouchable; for instance a woman in her courses or in childbed is always untouchable for a fixed period. If a man, though touchable himself, has come into contact with an untouchable, he himself becomes untouchable until he has removed the stain. Again, anybody, even though touchable himself, can pollute by touch the chief mourner after a death, who, for the benefit of the departed soul, must keep himself in a state of ceremonial purity. On the other hand, the son of a twice-born cannot be polluted by touch until he has undergone the *upanayana* ceremony which makes him twice-born, and has put on the *janeo* (sacred thread), a rite which should take place in the eighth year, but is usually postponed till the tenth or eleventh; and it is this fact that makes it possible for the sons of Brahmans and Chamars to play together in the streets, or sit next to each other on the same school bench.

16. *The causes of permanent untouchability.—In theory*, the following practices would make a tribe or caste permanently untouchable, at all events to a Brahman :—

(1) the following of some unclean profession, such as scavenging;

(2) the keeping of pigs, or the eating of unclean food, such as pork or beef;

(3) vagrancy, unless there is a settled home to which the tribe or caste occasionally returns.

Reports received in connection with the census of 1931 from the districts, show that the *average* Brahman still regards these practices as carrying with them a theoretical stigma of untouchability, even though that stigma, as already explained, may now be lightly regarded. There is, moreover, a marked and growing tendency to make untouchability a personal and not a caste attribute. Formerly, every person born into a caste, the members of which followed some degrading practice, was treated as permanently untouchable. At the present day, any caste, or any section of a caste, or any individual who has abandoned the practice which made him untouchable, becomes touchable. The village Chamar, for instance, will remain untouchable so long as he handles dead animals, but the Chamar who has become a saddler (*zingar*), or a cobbler (*mochi*), or a groom (*syce*), is not. This has happened even amongst Bhangis, for there is a case recorded of a municipal latrine-cleaner, who having first risen to the rank of jamadar of scavengers, subsequently abandoned that occupation altogether, and is now no longer regarded as untouchable by his fellow-citizens. And all recent evidence suggests that, at the present day the castes that would, as a *whole*, be treated as untouchable are very few,—the Bhangi; the Dom; and the wandering tribes; and these would be untouchable not only to the Brahman but to all orthodox Hindus. The whole idea of untouchability, in fact, is now fast disappearing.

17. *Untouchability amongst the untouchables.*—Curiously enough, however, many castes, which for this reason or that are in theory untouchable, are particular in keeping certain other untouchables at a distance. For instance, the Basor, a section of the Dom tribe, which has

settled down to the comparatively respectable occupations of basket-making and music, will not touch either a Bhangi, a Chamar, a Dhobi, or even a Dom or a Dharkar, both of whom are his close relatives. Among the five castes mentioned, the Bhangi and the Chamar will not touch the Dhobi or the Dom. The Dharkar also extends his objections to the Chamar; whilst even a Dom will not touch a Dhobi.

18. *Untouchability summarized.*—The principal facts connected with untouchability can now be summarized—

(*a*) The number of castes that would be regarded or treated as untouchable by all the twice-born is small.

(*b*) The number of castes that would be regarded as untouchable by the Brahman is considerable, but—

(*i*) the stigma of untouchability will disappear if the practice which produced it is abandoned;

(*ii*) even though a Brahman may *regard* any particular caste as untouchable, he will not necessarily *treat* a member of it as such, if to do so would cause himself inconvenience.

(*c*) Castes, themselves untouchable, are often more intolerant in their treatment of other untouchables than the twice-born themselves.

19. *Untouchability the minimum criterion.*—It follows, therefore, from what has been said, that untouchability cannot be regarded as a good, and still less a decisive, criterion of social status; for in certain circumstances anybody may become untouchable, whilst with relatively little trouble, anybody who is untouchable can relieve himself of the taint. The number of those who attach any importance to the principle is constantly growing smaller, and the principle itself is constantly growing weaker. If we confine ourselves strictly to the few castes which are untouchable to everybody, then untouchability may serve as a criterion of the *minimum* population that can be regarded as "depressed"; beyond that, however, its use would be dangerous. On the other hand, the degrading practices mentioned in paragraph 16, whether they do or do not connote untouchability, do connote a social status, which may, or may not, be sufficiently low to be consonant with "depression".

20. (2) *The food and water taboos.*— These taboos form the most common criterion of the social rank of any particular caste. They form one of the bases on which Sir Richard Burn erected his scheme of precedence, and for all Hindus they are of great importance. A classification of castes according to these taboos represents, in Sir Edward Gait's words (Census Report of 1911), the "external view of the social organization". To the individual his caste matters much, but it matters very little to anybody else. A Brahman will not care whether his neighbour belongs to this caste or that, but he will care whether he can take food or water from his hands. At first sight it would seem that these taboos provide an adequate criterion of the social position of any particular caste,—at all events, in any given locality, for the intercourse which can take place in

this matter varies from place to place. There are, however, many practical difficulties. The taboos themselves have always admitted of exceptions, for since the time of Manu it has always been recognized that the hungry traveller may obtain food as best he can, whether he thereby infringes caste regulations or not. The distinction drawn between *kachcha* food (food cooked with water) and *pakka* food (food cooked with butter, *ghee* or milk), forms another exception, and is an excellent example of practical casuistry. In modern times, again, the incidents of railway travelling have further relaxed these restrictions. It would be inconvenient to make inquiries regarding the caste of a platform food-vendor especially if the wait is a short one. "Having drunk water from his hands it is foolish to ask about his caste," says the proverb; and a wise traveller avoids trouble by making no inquiries at all. Finally, the number of high caste Hindus, who will dine in company with Hindus of any caste, or with Muslims and Europeans, is constantly growing; and such guests do not as a rule inquire to what caste the cook of the host belongs. In short, these taboos also, though they can scarcely be described as moribund, are sensibly weaker than they used to be a generation ago.

21. *The food taboos of the low castes.*—Again, many low castes are quite as particular as high castes regarding these food taboos. The Kumhar (potter), for instance, is in this respect on a par with the Kanaujia or Saraswat Brahman. The Majhwar and the Agaria, two primitive tribes in south Mirzapur, are on a par respectively with the Khattri and Kayastha. Out of 76 castes whose commensal taboos have been fully analysed, there are only four who will take food cooked or drink water given by almost anybody,—namely, the Bhangi, the Chamar, the Dom and the Kanjar (a vagrant tribe). In modern times as in ancient, the spirit of exclusiveness is as strong in some low castes as it is amongst the highest.

22. Lastly, in particular cases the taboos themselves are either irrational or merely sentimental. Why, for instance, should a twice-born caste be willing to take water from a man who transports goods by boat, and refuse to take it from a man who transports goods on the backs of bullocks or ponies? Why should he take water from a tailor and refuse to take it from a weaver? Why should he refuse to take water from a man whose oil he uses freely? The most striking instance of this, however, is that of the Kalwar. He has a longstanding claim to be regarded as a Vaishya. He is wealthy and his percentage of literacy is high. Yet no twice-born will take water from him, and the only reason appears to be that he sells liquor.

23. *Food taboos the maximum criterion.*—In short, though the food taboos are an important and well-nigh a decisive criterion of social status, the fact that a caste is debarred from offering either food or water to any twice-born caste cannot be regarded as decisive of its "depression". At the very most, it can be regarded as setting an upper limit, just as untouchability sets a lower limit, to the "depressed" classes.

24. (3) *Exclusion from orthodox domestic rites.*—At all times, throughout history, the Brahman priesthood have endeavoured to keep the *hina-jatyo* and the *hina-sippani* segregated, not only from Hindu society, but from the Hindu religion and the Hindu ceremonial. They were not allowed to hear, much less study, the Vedas: they must carry out all ceremonies without using the *mantras* (sacred texts); and no Brahman would carry out any domestic ceremony (*sanskara*) for them. And that is still the position; there are many castes who are not served by Brahmans, yet have showed by their attempts to secure some trivial service from Brahmans, that they are desirous of receiving their recognition, and of being admitted as full members of the Hindu society. And if the term "depressed class" had only a historical or ethnographical significance, if it meant merely the lowest stratum in the Hindu caste system then I should reserve it for those whom no Brahman will serve. They are in precisely the same position as the old *hina-jatyo* and *hina-sippani*, who were the "depressed classes" of mediaeval times. Their position is pathetic, because they want what the Brahman will not give them, they are "depressed" in the full sense of the word. At the same time there would be difficulties in using this as the sole criterion of "depression;" for there are many castes which possess their own deities, rites and priests (*baiga* and *ojha*), who are apparently content with them, and do not desire the ministrations of Brahmans except, sometimes, as astrologers. And some of these must certainly be classed as "depressed." Again, the disability itself is removable; the prosperous Chamar, Bhar, or Pasi, can always find for themselves family priests. And since an individual by his own action can free himself of this disability, it must be regarded as the attribute of a person rather than of a caste.

25. *The difficulty of defining a depressed class.*—With criteria so wholly vague and inconclusive, it is not perhaps surprising that different writers, each from his own point of view, have given such different meanings to the term "depressed." Some, for instance, would restrict it to the few groups, numbering perhaps a million in all, which are untouchable to everybody else without exception. Others would extend it so as to include all groups, in number some 13 millions, which are debarred from offering food or water to the twice-born. And there are some who would stretch the term so as to include not only those who can reasonably be called "depressed" but also those who can be labelled "back-ward":—whereby they stretch the figure to some 27 millions or so, and turn what is usually regarded as a minority into a large majority. Nor, in view of the magnitude of the political issues now involved, is there any likelihood that these differences can be composed, indeed they are more likely to be emphasized.

Personally, I regard it as wholly impossible to devise a general formula capable of covering all cases of "depression." "Depression" is a question of fact, not of formula. I consider that the only possible method of deciding whether it exists in the case of an individual caste is to examine the circumstances of that caste in detail.

26. *The backward classes.*—Of recent years a considerable number of lower Sudra groups have endeavoured to join forces with the "depressed classes." They describe themselves as "backward;" they claim that in respect both of social status and civil position, the difference between themselves and the "depressed" is only one of degree, and that they are as much in need as the latter of special concessions and special treatment. The result is that in the later discussions on this subject, "depressed" and "backward" classes are linked together as if they were one. The term "backward" is as unfortunately chosen as the term "depressed." Firstly, what type of backwardness is meant? If it be backwardness in the matter of education, then, as one member of the Provincial Franchise Committee has pointed out, the term could justifiably be used to cover not only some, but all Sudras, and even a considerable number of the "twice-born." And if backwardness is interpreted as meaning the maintenance of primitive customs, beliefs and ideas, there are many continental nations which still cling to customs and superstitions quite as primitive as any to be found among our "backward" classes. Do not we ourselves dislike the number 13, the crossing of knives, the spilling of salt, and regard Friday as unlucky? Are not most of our Christmas customs survivals of pagan festivals? In short, the term "backward" is entirely relative; its content depends on the place where progress is supposed to end and backwardness to begain. Backwardness, like depression, must be regarded as a question of fact and not of formula; and here too, the only possible method of deciding whether it exists is to examine the circumstances of individual castes.

I commence, however, by certain general observations which may lighten the task of detailed examination.

Need for Social Uplift and Political Concessions.

27. *Social uplift.*—The Hindu social system is the most aristocratic in the world. A man is born a member of the caste to which his parents belong, and throughout his life remains a member of it. But ambition to rise in the social scale is as common in the East as in the West, and in favourable circumstances an individual, or a sub-caste, or even a whole caste, can rise to higher things. The progress of the parvenu has already been described (paragraph 8); and though that progress may be slow and even painful, yet it is sure, and long before it is complete, untouchability and other stigmata of "depression" will have passed away. Nor are such cases uncommon. Claims to higher social rank are usually ventilated at a census, for the claimants are anxious to be recorded by the new caste-name, which they have selected for themselves. In 1911 and 1921 no less than 26 low castes put forward such claims, of which seven claimed to be Brahmans, sixteen to be Kshattriya or Rajput, and three claimed to be Vaishya. There are many older claims. In short, the modern *hina-jatyo* or *hina-sippani* can and do rise in the social scale by their own unaided efforts, and do not need the assistance of a social reformer to raise them. But if a low caste does not need patronage, it does need its adequate share of opportunity. It is useless for a Chamar or Pasi to give their sons a university education, if the sons can find no

market for their degrees and no sphere of action for their energies. Nothing which any social reformer could do to raise the "depressed classes" will be half so effective as a government order making them eligible for appointment to services other than menial.

28. *Political concessions.*—The present composition of the Legislative Council is abnormal, for it includes twelve members belonging to low or depressed castes who owe their election to Congress support. Every other elected Hindu member in the present Council belongs to some twice-born caste; nor can I remember a single elected Sudra member in any previous Council. The reason is simple enough. In earlier days, the Brahman was not only the priest but the leader of society. The Rajput, whether king or petty baron, was the political ruler. To every Rajput clan were attached Sudra groups that lived under its protection and served it as cultivators, artisans, or menials; the relationship is proved by the fact that many Sudra sub-castes are still called by the names of Rajput clans. And the absence of Sudras from the Council to-day merely means that such folk still prefer to be represented by their natural protectors. It is impossible to say how long this preference will last. The historical bond between the twice-born leader and the Sudra follower has already been weakened, and the time is probably not far distant when the Sudras will cut themselves adrift, and seek to elect representatives from amongst their own community; which, in rural areas, is tantamount to saying that the tenantry will cut themselves adrift from the landlords. Personally, I believe that even under the present electoral system, the Sudra tenantry would in many districts be strong enough to defeat a landlord candidate; which belief is supported by the success of the Congress in capturing twelve seats for low caste representatives at the recent election. But whether that be true or not for the present, it will certainly be true in the future, when the franchise qualification has been lowered. And that fact has an important bearing on the present discussion, for clearly any class which can secure adequate representation through the general electorate requires no special franchise concession.

29. *Coercive processes available to low castes.*—Even if the electoral system were so constructed that only the twice-born could hope to secure election to the Council, yet their Sudra or low caste constituents have means at their disposal by which to compel their representatives to respect their wishes. Such castes are almost invariably ruled by councils (*panchayat*), of which there is one to each local section or brotherhood (*biradari*). These councils are generally composed either of all adult males in the brotherhood, or of representatives selected on one basis or another, and is ruled by a small committee, of which the headman of the brotherhood (*chaudhri*) is president. This headman is usually a permanent officer, either hereditary, or elected or nominated for life. These councils have authority to investigate and punish all offences against caste custom, and also to licence acts and omissions which by custom require their sanction. They are extremely powerful. Their decrees are binding on every member of the brotherhood, and anybody who disobeyed or ignored such a decree would render himself liable to be outcasted; whilst the

decrees of one brotherhood are almost invariably observed and put into effect by other brotherhoods. Moreover these councils can and frequently do take action against other castes should a cause of quarrel arise. Their weapons of offence are the strike and the boycott; the offended council will forbid its subjects to work for, or serve, or have any intercourse whatever with, the offender until he has placated it. If, for instance, a Nai (barber) quarrels with one of his clients, the Nai *panchayat* will take the case up, and the client will go unshaven until he makes terms. Municipal scavengers have more than once organized effective strikes against an obnoxious board, whilst in one famous case there was a caste strike against Government itself. The Koiri poppy-growers, being dissatisfied with the rates paid by Government for opium, assembled in joint *panchayat*, and decided to stop growing poppy till the rates were enhanced; and Government had to give way. In short the use of boycott and strike is well understood in India; and I have little doubt that, if necessary, caste *panchayats* would not hesitate to use these weapons in the political arena,—for instance, against representatives who consistently ignored their wishes. Indeed, unless I am mistaken, they have already been so used in the sphere of local self-government; whilst the Congress are constantly advocating the social boycott of their political opponents. This too is clearly a factor of which some account must be taken, when deciding whether a particular caste does or does not require any special franchise concession.

30. *Connection between social status and civil position.*—At the present moment all the Hindu majority, consisting of the "twice-born" and all the better Sudras, are anxious to avoid the possibility of being swamped in politics by the "depressed" and "backward" classes. They realize that if they expect these groups to be swallowed up in a general electorate, they cannot reasonably exclude them from the Hindu social system. They realize, moreover, that if they persist in such social exclusion, these groups will cut themselves off from Hinduism altogether, either by way of conversion to some proselytizing religion such as Islam, Christianity or the Arya Samaj or by forming themselves into a new and individual society, such as is implied in the term "Adi-Hindu." It is for this reason that the social uplift of the depressed classes figures so prominently in the programme, not only of Hindu social reformers, but of Hindu political leaders. In short, the depressed classes are likely to obtain social salvation through the political door. There are, however, indications to suggest that the twice-born castes have allowed the propitious moment to slip by unheeded. The present reforms have awakened a rudimentary sense of political values in the lower classes, which, especially in rural areas, are also beginning to understand the advantages of economic independence. And it may prove that the social benefit which Hinduism has to offer will not prove enough to draw the depressed back to their old relations with the "twice-born". The break between the two is not yet complete, but it has begun and is continuing.

31. Ad hoc *definitions of depressed and backward classes.*—In paragraphs 25 and 26, it has been suggested that the only possible method of deciding whether a caste should be classed as "depressed" or "back-

ward", as the case may be, is to examine the circumstances of that caste in detail. I now offer the following *ad hoc* definitions as a standard of decision :—

(1) A " depressed class " is one whose social, economic and other circumstances are such that it will be unable to secure adequate representation of its political views, or adequate protection of its interests, without some form of special franchise concession.

(2) A " backward class" is one whose circumstances are such that it could secure adequate representation of its political views or protection of its political interests through the general electorate, yet is unlikely to make use of its powers.

By these definitions I hope to emphasize the political object of this inquiry, whilst using the various social criteria not as decisive but as mere clues pointing to a decision.

Detailed examination of castes.

32. The highest caste which I have ever heard described as backward is the Ahir, and I have examined the circumstances of this caste and of all others that are placed below it in Sir Richard Burn's scheme of social precedence, 157 in all. I have arranged these castes in convenient classes and groups, and in Appendix I*, I have given for each caste or group sufficient information to serve as a basis for decision regarding its social and civil position. Appendix II† is a table which shows for each group and class the population which is respectively " touchable ", " untouchable ", " not served by Brahman ", " depressed ", and " backward ". I should explain that the figures of population wherever possible are those of the 1931 census ; where these are not available, I have used the figures of the 1901 census. As there were decreases of population in each of the two decades between 1901 and 1921, and a large increase in the decade 1921—1931, the probability is that the 1901 figures are not far from correct now.

Conclusions.

33. I now summarize the conclusions of this detailed examination :—

Class A.—Peasantry.—This is a class of about 9⅓ million population. It consists of nine groups consisting of 24 castes. The principal occupation of one of these groups is cattle-owning. A second is composed of shepherds and goat-herds, whilst a third specializes in intensive cultivation of all kinds such as the growing of poppy, flowers and fruit, and market-gardening. All these three, however, have ordinary cultivation as their subsidiary occupation, whilst it is the principal occupation of the other six groups. The vast majority are tenant-farmers and a large proportion are reasonably well-to-do, notably the cattle-owners and market-gardeners. Of the total population of 9⅓ million all except 480,000 are touchable and neither depressed nor backward. I have classed some 484,000 as backward.

* Page 318. † Page 328.

Class B—Village menials, labourers and watchmen.—This class consists of ten castes with a population of 820,000. It is divided into five groups. Three of these groups and a small part of a fourth, totalling some 354,000, are depressed, of which 244,000 are also untouchable.

Class C—Riverine class and group.—This consists of seven castes with a total population of 965,000. The members of this caste are all by tradition fishermen and boatmen, and many still follow that occupation, though a considerable number have taken to cultivation. This is a difficult group to place. Their social and economic condition is certainly better than that of any other group which has been classed as backward; and they should be able to make their wishes felt through the general electorate if they combine with other similar castes. Unfortunately, the nature of their occupation sends them far afield; and combination, even amongst themselves, might be difficult. They insist that they are "backward", and though I am inclined to doubt it, I have shown them as such.

Class D—Artisans.—This class consists of twelve castes arranged in six groups, with a population of over 8¾ million, of which over six million belong to one caste, the Chamar. Of these only 5 million have been classified both as untouchable and depressed and 2¾ million as backward; just over a million consisting of the Barhai group and some weavers, are neither. In this group I have included two puzzling castes; the Kumhar which, though exhibiting every outward sign of depression, is touchable, eats clean food, and is admitted by nobody to be depressed; and a weaver group, of which five-sixths are by unanimous consent classed as both untouchable and depressed with little or no obvious reason. I have classed the Kumhar as backward.

Class E—Carriers.—This consists of only one group of three castes. The total population is only 49,000 none of whom are depressed or backward.

Class F—Domestic servants.—This class consists of eighteen castes arranged in five groups. The population is over 3 million. Of these one million are untouchable and depressed, and about 1-1/3 million are backward. The rest, consisting of two groups, are neither.

Class G—Tradesmen and manufacturers.—This class consists of twenty castes arranged in seven groups. The total population is just under 2 million, of which a small group of 4,000 has been classed as backward. The rest are neither backward nor depressed.

Class H—Dancers, singers, jesters and musicians.—This is a small class of ten castes arranged in three groups, the total population of which is under 19,000. Of these 7,000 are classed as depressed. The rest are neither depressed nor backward.

Class J—Sectarian castes.—This is a small group consisting of two castes with a population of under 38,000, which are neither depressed nor backward.

Class K—Primitive tribes.—This class consists of 32 tribes in five groups numbering in all 2-1/3 million. The whole of this group is both untouchable and depressed.

Class L—Vagrant tribes.—These consist of 19 castes arranged in four groups of which the total population is just under 112,000. The whole of these are depressed and save one small caste, 800 strong, the whole are also untouchable.

Total figures.—The population dealt with is just under 27,470,000. Of these 9,182,000 are untouchable, whilst 8,077,000 are not served by Brahmans. The number of depressed works out at 8,812,000 and of backward classes at 6,046,000.

Conclusion.—It is no part of my object in this note to suggest what special franchise concessions should be granted to the "depressed" and "backward" classes. All I need say by way of conclusion is that in my opinion the "depressed" certainly requires such a concession. As regards the backward classes, I am doubtful. *Ex hypothesi*, they are capable of obtaining sufficient representation or protection for their interests through the general electorate, but for reasons which make up their "backwardness", are not likely to use that power. They will, however, quickly learn to do so; and I consider that if any concession is given to them, it should be for a strictly limited period, which I put at not more than ten years from the first election held under the new franchise.

March 3, 1932. E. A. H. BLUNT.



APPENDIX I.

Notes.—1. Clean food consists of the following: —Grain pulse, vegetables, sugar, milk, *ghee*, butter; mutton, goat's flesh, venison and game birds. Some high castes also eat wild boar's flesh and scaled fish. Poultry are regarded as unclean, but not sufficiently so to make a caste untouchable. The flesh of the domestic pig, beef, and all animals not commonly used for food, such as field rats, tortoises, crocodiles, bear's flesh or monkey, are positively unclean, and the use of any of these meats would render a caste untouchable to a Brahman. The drinking of spirituous liquor is lowering, but by itself does not make the drinker untouchable.

2. *Service of Brahman priests* means the possession of a Brahman family priest (*purohit*), who will serve the domestic rites (*sanskara*), of which there are sixteen. The twice-born may, and should, carry out all of them: the Sudra should carry out all but the *upanayana* rite, which makes the initiate twice-born; but probably most people other than Brahmans, whether once-born or twice-born, carry out only the more important rites, connected with birth, marriage, and death.

3. *Untouchable*, save where the term is further defined, means following one of the practices described in para. 16, which formerly made a caste wholly untouchable to Brahmans.

4. *Food taboos.*—For these purposes food is divided into *kachcha*, which means food cooked with water, and *pakka*, which means food cooked with *ghee*, butter and milk. The restrictions regarding the latter are much less stringent than the restrictions regarding the former. It must be remembered that the restrictions apply, not to the donor of the food, but to the cook. The Brahman may accept uncooked food from an untouchable, and also cooked food, if the untouchable's cook is of a suitable caste.

5. *Social classes according to Sir Richard Burn's classification.*—Group VIII consists of castes from whom some of the twice-born will take *pakka* food, and all will take water.

Group IX consists of castes from whose hands some of the twice-born will take water, whilst others will not.

Group X consist of castes from whom the twice-born cannot take water, and is subdivided into three sections:

(*a*) with respectable occupations.

(*b*) with occupations considered more or less degrading,

(*c*) suspected of criminal practices.

Group XI consists of such castes as are untouchable, but do not eat beef.

Group XII consists of such castes as eat beef and vermin, and are considered filthy.

Rural groups.

A.—Peasantry.

(1) *Ahir group.—Ahar, Ahir, Bhurtiya, Harjala.*—The first two castes are closely connected, the third and fourth are offshoots of the second, which is the parent tribe in this class, descended from the Abhiras, a non-Aryan (possibly Scythian) pastoral race, and traditionally connected with the cult of the god Krishna. They are cattle owners, though many have become cultivators. The Ahir claims connection with the Rajput; all are orthodox Hindus, eat clean food, and are served by Brahman priests. The first three are in group VIII, the fourth, which has lost status by taking to begging, is in group X (*b*). The Ahir possesses a strong *panchayat*. None of these castes can be classed as either "depressed" or "backward".

(2) *Kachhi group.—Baghban, Mali, Saini, Kachhi, Murao, Koiri, Kunjra.*—All of these castes are closely connected to each other and probably to the important Kurmi tribe. They are all cultivators, specialising in market gardening, the growing of fruit, flowers poppy, and similar forms of intensive cultivation. They are all orthodox Hindus, and eat clean food, are served by Brahman priests, and as a rule are much better of than most cultivating castes. Kunjra is an occupational name (greengrocer), usually reserved for Muslims. These Hindu Kunjras are probably members of one or other of the former castes, who have taken to selling instead of growing vegetables. They are all in group VIII, and possess *panchayats*. The Kachhi has recently set up a claim to Rajput (Kachhwaha) descent. None of these castes can be classed as "depressed" or "backward".

(3) *Lodha group—Soiri, Kisan, Khagi, Lodha, Gorchha.*—These are all cultivating castes. The Soiri is probably of non-Aryan origin, whilst the Gorchha is of unknown descent. The other three are probably offshoots of the Kumri tribe. All of them, however, claim Rajput descent, which claim seems to be admitted in the first case. All of them are orthodox Hindus, eating clean food and served by Brahman priests, though some Gorchhas drink liquor. All of them are in group VII; the last three possess *panchayats*.—None of these castes are "depressed" or "backward".

(4) *Bhar.*—This tribe represents the remnants of a Dravidian and possibly autochthonous race, which once held Oudh and the eastern districts, and was dispossessed by immigrant Rajput clans which were set moving by the Muslim invasions of the mediaeval era. This race before its downfall was well advanced in civilization, but the modern Bhar is on a much lower level. One section, known as Rajbhar, is of higher social standing than the rest. He claims to be a Rajput, is served by Brahmans, and only eats clean food. The ordinary Bhar keeps pigs and eats pork, and accordingly is untouchable to Brahmans, with whom in matters of ritual he has little or nothing to do. All of them have many primitive beliefs and customs. But their social position is undoubtedly higher than that of other similar tribes. He is in group X (*a*), and has a *panchayat*. Being a cultivator of fair standing he cannot be regarded as depressed, but he must certainly be classed as backward.

(5) *Bhoksa group—Bhotiya, Bhoksa, Tharu.*—The Bhotiya caste is composed of immigrants, either from Tibet or Bhutwal in Nepal. The other two castes live in the Tarai and Bhabar which are submontane tracts below the Himalayas. The first of these is now wholly Hinduized; they eat clean food, are served by Brahman priests, and have adopted all important Hindu customs. The Bhoksa possesses legends of Rajput descent. He is an orthodox Hindu and served by Brahmans, though his food is not always clean. The Tharu varies. In some places he is as advanced as the Bhoksa; and in others he is decidedly backward, eating unclean food, possessing primitive customs and having little to do with Brahmans. Both Bhoksa and Tharu, however, live for the most part in certain Government estates, and are well looked after. All three castes are cultivators by occupation, they are placed in group X (*a*), and have *panchayats*. I do not think any of these castes can be called depressed, but the more primitive Tharus must be classed as "backward". I have taken a high estimate of over 50 per cent. as such.

(6) *Phansiya.*—The Phansiya is an offshoot of the Pasi tribe, which first came to notice as a separate caste in 1911. They were formerly hunters and fowlers, but have now settled down to cultivation and fruit selling. They eat clean food, are served by Brahmans, and imitate all the restrictions of higher castes. The caste is a good example of a rise in the social scale as a result of adopting a respectable occupation. They were not included in Sir Richard Burn's classification, as they had not then a separate existence I would put them not lower than group X (*a*). There is a strong *panchayat*. I regard them as "backward", and estimate their number at 700. No census figure is available.

(7) *Gidhiya.*—This caste came to notice for the first time in 1911. It claims to be descended from Gujarat Rajputs, but is more probably an offshoot of the

criminal tribe called Bawariya. Traditionally, they are birdcatchers and used to be criminals, but have now settled down to cultivation. They are orthodox Hindus. Their food, though they eschew pork, fowls and beef, is unclean, because they eat carrion. This caste was not listed by Sir Richard Burn, having only been subsequently formed. I should put it in group XI (*b*). There is a *panchayat*. I class the Gidhiya as depressed.

(8) *Meo.*—The other names for this caste are Mewati, Mina and Mina-Meo. There are both Hindu and Muslim branches and it is very hard to distinguish them: for many Muslim Meos call themselves by Hindu names, and also preserve various Hindu customs and beliefs. Throughout their history they have been turbulent and troublesome—the most desperate rogues in India, as one writer calls them. They are certainly not untouchable, though they are best avoided. They are placed in group X (*c*), and have a *panchayat*. They are certainly "backward", though they require rather the restraining influence of the police, than the uplift of a socia reformer.

(9) *Gadariya.*—This is a caste of shepherds, goatherds and blanket weavers, the origin of which is uncertain. They are orthodox Hindus, served by Brahman priests, and are particularly careful about their food, drink and personal purity. They are in group IX, and possess a *panchayat*. The Gadariya claims to be a Pali Rajput. He is neither "depressed", nor "backward".

B.—Village menials, watchmen and labourers.

(1) *Luniya group—Luniya, Beldar, Kharot.*—The parent caste in this group is the Luniya. The common occupation is earthwork and the making of saltpetre. Most Luniyas eat clean food; the other two castes eat pork, and are accordingly untouchable. None of them have Brahman priests. Some of them have taken to agriculture, and have accordingly risen in the social scale, but the status of most of them is decidedly low. They are in group X(*b*). The Luniya and Beldar have strong *panchayats*. The Luniya can scarcely be regarded as "depressed" though he is "backward". The other two are depressed.

(2) *Arakh group—Arakh, Khangar, Kotwar.*—The Arakh and Khangar are closely connected; indeed, in some tracts they describe themselves in terms which can only mean that they are two branches of the same caste. The Kotwar is merely one section of the Khangar. As a whole, these castes appear to be offshoots of the Pasi tribe. They are employed as village menials, watchmen, and labourers. Some Khangars claim Rajput descent; and though they are certainly of non-Aryan origin, a very large body of tradition makes it plain that they did actually rule in the past. These Khangars, of course, follow all the twice-born customs of the Rajput. The rest are of lower status, but they eat only clean food, and employ Brahmans, though of somewhat inferior grade, to serve their rites. They are decidedly less backward than most of the Pasi tribes, but must be placed among the "depressed". The Arakh and Kotwar are placed in group X(*b*), the Khangar in group X(*c*), because he is suspected of criminal practices, notably, theft and burglary. Nonetheless, he is very often appointed the village chaukidar. The Arakh and Khangar have *panchayats*.

(3) *Sejwari group—Sunkar, Sejwari.*—Both these castes belong to Bundelkhand. The former are labourers, the latter serve the Bundela Rajputs as menial servants or watchmen. Though the social status of both is low, they appear to be orthodox Hindus and are served by Brahmans. Little is known of them and their customs, but the worst alleged against them is that they drink liquor. The Sejwari is placed in group IX, the Sunkar in group XI. They can be classed as "backward".

(4) *Dusadh.*—The Dusadh is a menial tribe found in the east of the provinces; whose origin is very uncertain. Some of their legends would suggest a mixed descent, but more probably they are of non-Aryan stock. At one time they seem to have been soldiers, and it is said that most of Lord Clive's army at Plassey was composed of Dusadhs. They appear to be regarded as untouchable, but it is difficult to imagine why, for they eat only clean food and follow clean occupations,

being mostly ploughmen or watchmen. On the other hand, they have no Brahman priests, and though they assert that they are orthodox Hindus, many of their deities and beliefs are decidedly primitive. An attempt has been made to connect the name with Dhusiya, which is a sub-caste of the Chamar, but the derivation is impossible, and their affinities seem to be rather with the Gond and Pasi tribes than with any occupational group. They are placed in group XI, and have a strong *panchayat*. They are "depressed."

(5) *Dhanuk.*—The origin of this tribe is unknown. One Bhangi group is called Dhanuk, but is most probably an offshoot from the parent tribe which has taken to scavenging. In some places too one of the Dhanuk sub-castes is Dusadh. Apart from this, however, it appears to have no affinities with any other castes of the same status. One early ethnologist appears to regard them as of Parthian (Pahlava) descent, on the ground that the name can be derived from a Sanskrit word meaning "archer," but the theory is scarcely convincing. By occupation, Dhanuks are village menials, day labourers and watchmen, whilst their women are midwives. They eat unclean food and drink freely of liquor, and though they call themselves orthodox Hindus, they have many primitive beliefs and are not served by Brahmans except as astrologers. They are placed in group XI, and have a strong *panchayat*. They are "depressed."

C.—Riverine.

Kewat group.—Mallah, Kewat, Bind, Sorahiya, Tyar, Chai and Kadhera.—It is difficult to decide which caste should be regarded as "parent" in this group. The title is possibly best assigned to the Kewat, who is usually regarded as the modern representative of the ancient Kaivarta. The pedigree of this caste is uncertain. According to Manu, the Kaivarta is descended from a Nishada father and an Ayogavi mother, a class itself descended from a Sudra father and a Vaishya mother,—a very low descent, since in both generations, the father was the lower of the two parents in rank. Some Puranas on the other hand, give the Kaivarta a Kshatriya father and a Vaishya mother, a far more distinguished parentage. Both Kewat and Mallah claim to be descendants of the ancient Nishadas, and it is mainly on this ground that they now insist on being reckoned amongst the "backward" classes. The argument, of course, is by no means conclusive, for groups of quite as undistinguished descent have risen in the social scale. So much, however, is certain that these groups are all inextricably linked together, for each appears as a sub-caste in one or more other groups. They also appear to be connected with the Kahar and Luniya groups. By occupation, they are traditionally fishermen and boatmen, but at the present day many are cultivators. They are all of them apparently orthodox Hindus and served by Brahman priests. For the most part also they eat only clean food, and fish, though some eat such food as tortoises and crocodiles. They are all placed in group IX, Kewat, Bind, and Chai have *panchayats*: in all probability the rest have them too, but I cannot find the fact recorded. I think they have quite enough independence to make their voice heard in a general electorate if they choose: but their occupation will make difficult any combination with other group for political purposes, and, though with some hesitation, I class them as "backward."

Rural and urban groups.

D.—Artisans.

(1) *Barhai group—Barhai, Kunera, Lohar.*—These are respectively the carpenter, the turner and the blacksmith. The Kunera is merely an offshot of the Barhai. Both Barhai and Lohar claim to be Vishvakarmabansi Brahmans—a more suitable pedigree for the Lohar than the Barhai, since Vishvakarma is the Hindu Vulcan. They are also orthodox Hindus eating clean food and served by Brahmans. All of them are placed in group VIII and have *panchayats*. They are neither "depressed" nor "backward."

(2) *Kumhar.*—The Kumhar is the village potter. He is a quiet, respectable and industrious artisan, specially fastidious in matters of food and of food taboos.

His ceremonies are orthodox, but he has little to do with Brahmans in his domestic rites, which are carried out not by a *purohit*, but by the Nai. Brahmans, on the other hand, will fix auspicious days for his ceremonies. The Kumhar's status is everywhere low, though he is trying to rise in the social scale. He is despised because he has to handle rubbish and sweepings as fuel for his kilns, and he is associated with that impure beast, the donkey. Others despise him as a kind of butcher, because he cuts the throats of his pots when he takes them from the wheel. He does not appear to be untouchable to anybody and indeed he can offer water to the twice-born, being placed in group IX. He has a strong *panchayat*. I cannot class him as " depressed," though he is backward.

(3) *Kori group—Orh, Balai, Kori.*—By tradition the members of all these castes are weavers and most of them are so still ; but many Koris have taken to agriculture or domestic service, whilst some Orhs have prospered and are now moneylenders and landholders. The parent caste in this group is the Kori, of which both the others were originally sub-castes. The Kori, as his sectional nomenclature proves, is of very mixed origin. His social status also varies according to his occupation ; those who have taken to domestic service or agriculture are regarded as considerably higher than the weavers, and are certainly touchable. The others are generally regarded as untouchable, eating unclean food, whilst Brahmans apparently have little to do with them. The Orh is of considerably higher status. He eats clean food together with fish and fowl, is served by Brahmans of a good class. He is often an orthodox Vaishnava. The Balai eats unclean food and drinks liquor but he is served by Brahmans and is often an orthodox Vaishnava. He can scarcely therefore be regarded as untouchable.

The Orh is in group X (*a*) the Kori and Balai in group XI. The Koris that have taken to domestic service should be placed as high at least as group IX. The Kori possesses a strong *panchayat*. I class Orh, Balai and the Koris of the three western divisions as neither " depressed " nor " backward." The rest of the Koris I class as " depressed."

(4) *Chamar group—Chamar, Dabgar, Gharami.*—In villages the Chamar is the currier, tanner and leather worker, and also the village drudge. He is unclean because he handles the bodies of dead animals, especially cattle. His women are the village midwives, another unclean occupation. He eats unclean food not excepting beef, whilst as a rule no Brahman priest will serve him. In some parts of the province he is compelled to live in a hamlet of his own (*chamrotia*) ; even the lowest castes regard him as untouchable. On the other hand, many Chamars have taken to cleaner occupations such as those of saddler (*zingar*), cobbler (*mochi*), groom (*syce*), whilst the extension of the leather trade at Cawnpore and elsewhere has enabled many Chamars to become wealthy, when they aim at a social status much higher than that of their village brethren. Such Chamars are generally regarded as touchable, and many change the caste name for something less ill-sounding, for instance, Kuril, Aharwar, Jatia, Dhusia and, especially, Jaiswar. The Dabgar and Gharami are small offshoots which have taken respectively to the making of leather vessels and thatching. All of these are placed in group XII, but I am inclined to think that only the village Chamars are properly placed there, whilst the rest should be placed probably as high as group X (*b*). The Chamar has a very strong *panchayat*. I class the great majority of Chamars as " depressed ". Those who have risen in the social scale to some extent I class as " backward ." I estimate the number of the latter at 2,000,000.

(5) *Khairwa.*—This is a small caste of catechu makers found in Jhansi. They are on much the same level as the Dusadh whom in some respects they resemble. They eat only clean food, have primitive bel efs of their own, and do not employ Brahmans as priests. They are placed in group X (*b*). I class these as " backward."

(6) *Dalera.*—This is a small tribe which may be akin to Khagis. They ar basket makers, labourers and thieves. They are orthodox Hindus in all respects They are placed in group X (*c*). I class these as " backward. "

E.—Carriers.

Banjara group—Banjara, Belwar, Naik (plains).—The parent caste is the Banjara. Naik is the name of one of the sections (five Hindus and two Muslims), into which the caste is divided, whilst Belwar appears to be merely another name for Naik in some districts. They share a common occupation, the carrying trade; but many are now tradesmen or cultivators. A caste of this kind is naturally of mixed composition, but its Hindu branches taken as a whole may be regarded as entirely orthodox. All of them eat clean food, though some drink spirits, and all of them are served by Brahman priests. Indeed, the Naik and Belwar claim, apparently with good reason, to be of Brahmanical origin; in the case of the Belwar, the claim was admitted in 1911. The Banjara has a *panchayat*. They belong to group X (*a*). I class these as neither "depressed" nor "backward."

F.—Domestic servants.

(1) *Nai.*—The Nai is a village barber and performer of minor operations such as setting bones, drawing teeth and lancing boils. He is an orthodox Hindu, served by Brahman priests and eating clean food, though some drink spirits. He is an important member of the village community; his trade gives him the right of entry into all households, with the result that he has become the village news-monger whilst many caste councils use him as their messenger to summon the brotherhood together. As a village tradesman goes, he is prosperous, receiving not only annual dues from his clients, but special fees for marriages, confinements and other important occurrences. His caste has a powerful *panchayat*. He is placed in group VIII. I class him as neither "depressed" nor "backward".

(2) *Bari group—Bari, Bargahi.*—The traditional occupation of both Bari and Bargahi is the making of leaf platters, such as are used at Hindu feasts. They are, however, also household and personal servants. Little is known of their origin, and their sectional nomenclature does not help, as this consists mostly of local names. They are both orthodox Hindus, eating clean food, and served by Brahmans. At the present day, many have taken to cultivation. They are placed in group VIII; the Bari has a *panchayat*. As servants, it would be difficult for them to make their wishes heard in spite of their masters; and I class them as "backward."

(3) *Kahar group—Dhimar, Gharuk, Gond, Goriya, Kahar, Kamkar, Singhariya.*—This group requires description rather more detailed than usual, for their position is a subject of controversy. The parent caste in this group is the Kahar which has a variety of occupations, being fishermen, palanquin bearers, domestic servants, and growers of certain special crops, notably, the *singhara* nut or water caltrop. The Dhimar and Goriya are groups which specialize in fishing; and the Singhariyas, as their name implies, specialize in growing *singhara*. The rest are for the most part domestic servants, though some Gonds are stone cutters and grain parchers. The Gharuk is the Hindu "bearer," who serves Europeans. Traditionally, the Kahar is descended from a Brahman father and a Nishada or Chandala mother; which may be interpreted as connoting a mixture of Arya and non-Arya blood. The Rawani sub-caste of Kahars claims to be Chandrabansi Kshattriyas, a very high class. Kahars are orthodox Hindus, and with few exceptions eat only clean food. They are also apparently served by Brahmans, though for legendary reasons they refuse to accept Brahmans as their spiritual guides (*guru*). Those who are engaged in domestic service regard themselves as superior to the groups which follow other occupation; but all of them are placed in Group VIII, and consequently rank relatively high in the social scale. They are particular regarding their own food taboos, which is natural enough, since by carelessness they might become unfit for their principal occupation of domestic servant. I think they must be classed as "backward." They would scarcely venture to oppose their masters in politics.

(*Note.*—This Kahar Gond should be carefully distinguished from the Gond tribe of Central India, which has a few representatives in Bundelkhand.)

(4) *Dhobi.*—The social position of the washerman caste is very low. One authority writes of him "no Hindu of any caste, even the lowest, will wash his

own clothes, and so the Dhobi has been formed into a caste which will bear the impurities of all." His unpleasant occupation, especially the fact that he washes the clothing of women when they are themselves unclean, stamps him as specially impure; even the lowest castes despise him, will have nothing to do with him and, though untouchable themselves, will not touch him. This is true even of the Dom. Apart from that he eats unclean food, and except in some of his marriage ceremonies does not appear to be served by Brahmans. The fact that he occasionally, though not invariably, uses asses to take soiled clothes to the washing place and back again is also against him. Yet the highest caste regularly employ him, and cannot regard him as untouchable in the fullest sense, since they allow him to wash their clothes. Nobody of course will take either food or water from him. He is placed in group XI and has a very strong *panchayat*. I class him as "depressed."

(5) *Bhangi group.*—Strictly speaking there is no longer a Bhangi caste, if indeed there ever was one. It is a group composed of a number of castes, all of which follow the profession of scavenging; Hela, Balmiki, Rawat, Dhanuk, Turaiha, Lalbegi, are the principal groups, together with Shaikhmehtar, who call themselves Muhammadans. They are of course hopelessly unclean and untouchable to all. They are not served by Brahmans, and their beliefs are wholly their own. They are classed in group XII and most, if not all of the Bhangi castes, have strong *panchayats*. I class them as "depressed."

Urban Groups.

G.—Tradesman and manufacturers.

(1) *Sonar group—Sonar, Niyaria, Kasera, Thathera.*—These are all metal workers. The first is a goldsmith, the second a metal refiner, the other two work in brass. They are orthodox Hindus, eat clean food and are served by Brahman priests. All of them are of respectable status. Some Sonars, indeed claim Kshattriya origin. They are in group VIII, and all of them except the Kasera have *panchayats*. These are neither "backward" nor "depressed."

(2) *Barai group—Barai, Tamboli.*—These two castes specialise in the growing and selling of betel (*pan*) and are closely connected. Like most castes which are connected with the production of articles of food, they are careful to preserve their personal purity, eat only clean food and are served by Brahmans. They belong to group VIII, and have *panchayats*. These are neither "depressed" nor "backward."

(3) *Darzi Group—Bharbhunja, Chhipi, Dhunia, Patwa, Tarkihar, Darzi.*—These are all occupational castes, respectively grain parcher, calico printer, cotton Carder, braid maker, makers of palm-leaf ornaments and spangles, and tailor. All of them are orthodox Hindus eating clean food and served by Brahmans. Many Darzis claim to be Kayasthas. They are all in group IX, except the Dhunia, who is in group X(*b*). The Chhipi, Dhunia and Darzi all have *panchayats*. These are neither "depressed" nor "backward."

(4) *Churihar group—Churihar, Lakhera, Manihar.*—This is a group of cognate castes; all of them manufacture glass bang'es, whilst the Lakhera also makes bangles of lac, and the Manihar makes tinfoil. Nearly all Lakheras are Hindus, but most of the other two castes are Muslims. They are orthodox Hindus, eating clean food and served by Brahmans. They belong to group X (*a*); the Churihar and Manihar have *panchayats*. These are neither "depressed" not "backward".

(5) *Ramaiya group—Saiqalgar, Ramaiya.*—The traditional occupation of the Saiqalgar is that of armourer. At the present day, however, they are mostly wandering knife-grinders. Most of them are Muslims. The Ramaiya's occupation is peddling and trading. He is sometimes a Sikh, sometimes a Hindu. Little is known of either of these castes, but both appear to be of respectable standing. The Ramaiya is in group X (*a*), and the Saiqalgar in group XI; both, however, are probably placed rather too low. These may be regarded as "backward."

(6) *Kalwar group—Kalwar, Teli.*—These two are occupational castes. The Kalwar is traditionally connected with the sale of liquor, though now a days he

is a general trader and moneylender. The Teli is the oil-presser. Both are orthodox Hindus, served by Brahmans and eating clean food. The Kalwar has a long standing claim to Vaishya descent. Both have been placed in group X (*a*), but at the present day that is probably too low. Both have *panchayats*. These are neither "depressed" nor "backward."

(7) *Mochi.*—The Mochi has a complicated history. Thirty-five years ago there were two kinds of Mochi; the shoemaker and cobbler who was a Chamar, and the saddler and harness maker who claimed to a Srivastava Kayastha, and apparently *was* so, since he intermarried with them. The former has prospered considerably, and for the last 20 years he has called himself Kayastha-Mochi, thus claiming to be a Kayastha, though no Kayastha will admit the claim. At the present day they are probably all orthodox Hindus and served by Brahman priests. They are placed in group X (*b*) and have a *panchayat*. These are neither "depressed" nor "backward."

H.—Dancers, singers, jesters and Musicians.

(1) *Gandharb group—Gandharb, Radha Bhagat, Paturiya, Kanchan, Naik (hills).*—The common occupations of all these castes are singing, dancing, and prostitution. Radha and Bhagat are merely two names for the same caste, whilst Naik is the name given to the dancing girls of Kumaun. All of them are orthodox Hindus, particular about their food and their personal purity, and served by Brahmans. The Gandharb, however, ranks rather higher than the rest. Amongst the Naiks, the men are cultivators and traders and actually wear the sacred thread (*janeo*). The Gandharb belongs to Group IX, the rest are in group X (*b*). These are neither "depressed" nor "backward."

(2) *Bhand.*—These are jesters and buffoons. All, but a very few, are Muslims, and it seems probable that in the case of the Hindu Bhands, the name is occupational rather than a caste name. They probably belong to the principal group in this class. They are placed in group X (*b*). These are neither "depressed" nor "backward."

(3) *Dharki group—Dharki, Kingaria, Pawariya.*—These are different names for the same caste, an offshoot from the Dusadh. Its occupation is dancing, singing and begging. They eat unclean food and are not served by Brahmans. Their reputation is unsavoury, because they go about with women of bad character and their social status is very low. They are in group X (*b*). These are "depressed."

J.—Sectarian classes.

(1) *Sectarian groups—Atit, Sadh.*—These are religious sects, which in process of time have become castes. Atits are orthodox Hindus in all respects. The Sadhs are a unitarian sect dating back to 1543, and originally recruited from a number of castes. They are vegetarians, followers of the simple life, and specialize in cotton printing. They are of good social status, being placed in group VIII. These are not "depressed" nor "backward."

K.—Primitive tribes.

(1) *Kolarian group—Agariya, Bhuiya, Bhuiyar, Chero, Ghasiya, Khairaha, Kharwar, Kol, Korwa, Majhwar (Manjhi), Panka, Parahiya, Patari.*—These tribes are known as the Kolarian group, found mostly in South Mirzapur, though the Kol extends also into Bundelkhand. Though some of them have in minor matters been influenced by more advanced neighbours, their beliefs, customs and ceremonies are all primitive and essentially non-Aryan. Amongst many of them, for instance, there are distinct traces of totemism. They used to be jungle tribes, but many have now taken to cultivation. With the exception of the Majhwar and the Patari, all of them eat pork, and some eat beef. With few exceptions, all their rites and ceremonies are carried out by their own priests, known as *baigas*, who generally belong either to the Bhuiyar or Patari tribes. They also employ devil priests or exorcisors, (*ojhas*). Occasionally, the less backward use Brahmans, but only as astrologers.

The Benbasi section of the Kharwar tribe is much higher than the rest. Its head is the Raja of Singrauli; they now call themselves Benbansi Rajputs and not only are served by Brahman priests, but wear the *janeo*, and have actually succeeded in intermarrying with Chandel Rajputs. The Agriya and ordinary Kharwar are in group XII, the rest are in group X (*b*). Many, if not all of them, have *panchayats*. They are all "depressed."

NOTES.—(*i*) The name Bhuiyar is also used in Mirzapur for the caste elsewhere called Orh: and in the same district there is yet another group called by this name, which seems to be an offshoot of the Chamar caste that has taken to weaving.

(*ii*) The Majhwar Manjhi must be carefully distinguished from the Mallah Manjhi.

(2) *Bayar group—Banmanus, Bayar, Dhangar, Musahar.*—These tribes are of much the same status and racial affinities as the Kolarian group. They are possibly not quite so primitive, but it is a question only of degree. All of them eat unclean food. The Dhangar and most Musahars are served by *baigas* though some of the latter use Brahmans as astrologers; the Bayar, however, is sufficiently advanced to be served by Brahman priests. For the most part, they are ploughmen or village menials. The Banmanus, which is a sub-caste of the Musahars, still lives in the jungle and makes a living out of jungle produce. The Bayar is in group X(*b*), the rest in group XII. All have *panchayats*. They are all "depressed."

(3) *Dom group—Balahar, Bansphor, Basor, Dharkar, Dom (plains), Domar.*—Domar is merely another name for Dom, used in some districts. The other four are all sections of the main Dom tribe which have settled down to some comparatively respectable occupation. All of them eat unclean food and are thoroughly untouchable, whilst none of them employ Brahmans for any purpose. They rank very low in the social scale; indeed, the Dom is probably the lowest caste in the province. The Bansphor and Dharkar are placed in group XI, the rest in group XII. All of them have *panchayats*. They are all "depressed."

(4) *Pasi group—Aheriya, Baheliya, Kabariya, Khatik, Pasi, Tarmali.*—One of the most important of our low tribes is the Pasi, which is the parent tribe in this group. It is spread all over the eastern districts and Oudh, and is probably connected with the famous Bhil tribe of Central India. It has played an important part in history, and may once have been a ruling race. The traditional occupation of the Pasi is tapping palm trees, but they are now labourers, cultivators, distillers of illicit liquor, watchmen and thieves. Tarmali is merely another name for Pasi, alluding to their traditional occupation. Aheriyas and Baheliyas are hunters and fowlers in the western districts. They are offshoots of the Pasi tribe, which are closely connected and indeed claim to be identical. The Khatik is an occupational offshoot of the Pasi tribe, whose principal business is that of a greengrocer; but some of them are also butchers. Another name for them is Chik. Kabariya is merely the name of a Khatik section. All of these groups eat pork and other unclean food, except the Baheliya. All of them, except the Khatik, employ Brahmans to serve their rites or as astrologers. All of them, of course, drink liquor. Their status is very low. The Baheliya is especially despised because his methods of snaring birds are regarded as unpleasantly cruel. Taken as a whole they are not so low, however, as any of the three former groups. All of them are placed in group XI, most of these groups have *panchayats*. They are all "depressed."

(5) *Hill-Dom group—Silpkar (hill-Dom), Saun.*—Silpkar is a name recently appropriated by the hill tribes, which were till recently called Dom. The social system in the hills is entirely different from that which we know in the plains. Apart from immigrants, there are only three main social groups, Brahmans, Rajputs and Doms or Silpkars. The two first are divided in Brahmans and Rajputs proper, and Khas Brahmans and Khas Rajputs. According to popular opinion, the Khas Brahmans and Khas Rajputs are descended from the Khasa race, which at a very early date settled in Kumaun. Dom is not the name of a tribe, as it is in the plains, but the name of an aboriginal race, popularly believed, to be descended from the Dasyu, which was enslaved by the Khasas. It is now broken up into a

variety of occupational groups; but neither the Brahman not Rajput sections nor the Dom groups can be regarded as castes. They are merely social classes. For instance, a prosperous Dom can marry his daughter to a Khas Rajput. The Khas Rajput can sometimes get a real Rajput as a husband for his daughter. The rules governing intermarriage between the various Dom occupational groups are both lax and variable. On the other hand, a definite line is drawn between Brahman and Rajput on one side and Dom or Silpkar on the other. The former are within, the latter without, the social pale. Twenty-five years ago, all Doms were regarded as absolutely impure and untouchable; many, however, have risen, many more are struggling to rise, and in time will be successful. The adoption of a new name in place of Dom is proof of their desire for social uplift. They have not been separately shown in the scheme of social precedence; at the present time, however, I should be inclined to put them not lower than group X (*b*). The Saun is merely a small group of miners, belonging to the main Dom race. They are all "depressed."

L.—Vagrant Tribes.

(1) *Habura group—Bengali, Beriya, Bhantu, Habura, Kanjar, Karwal, Sansiya.*—All these tribes are closely connected. For the most part they are vagrant criminals, though some Kanjars are comparatively respectable shikaris. They all eat unclean food, are entirely untouchable, and employ Brahmans for no purpose whatever. The Bhantu and Sansiya are placed in group X (*d*), the Bengali, Beriya and Habura XI, the Kanjar in group XII. The Karwal was not separately listed. For practical purpose all of them can be regarded as in group XII. Most of these have *panchayats*. They are all "depressed."

(2) *Nat group—Badi, Bajaniya, Bajgi, Gual, Kalabaz, Nat.*—The parent stock in this class is the Nat; the other castes mentioned are all either sections of that caste or offshoots from it. The word "Nat" means dancer, but the tribe includes dancers, tumblers, acrobats of every variety; makers of combs, articles of grass and straw and metal; conjurors, jugglers, snake-charmers, tattooers, musicians, thimble-riggers, quack doctors—in a word, all those nondescript vagrants who wander about from fair to fair in search of a living that is always disreputable and often dishonest. All of them eat unclean food, are wholly untouchable, and none of them are serverd by Brahmans. The Nat is placed in group XI, and has a *panchayat*. None of the other groups were separately recorded in 1901. They are all "depressed."

(3) *Badhik group—Badhik, Barwar, Bawariya (Boriya), Sahariya, Sanaurhiya.*—All these castes appear to be of mixed origin and to have been formed originally of outcastes and brokenmen of all kinds. The Badhiks knew little of their origin, but vaguely claim a Rajput descent. The Bawariyas (Boriyas) are scattered all over India, who claim with extraordinary unanimity to be connected with the Rajputs of Chitor, whose vassals and mercenaries they were. It was the siege of Chitor in 1305, which sent them wandering over the country as thieves and robbers. The Barwars claim to be descended from outcasted Kurmis. The Sahariya is apparently an amalgam of various Dravidian elements, whilst the Sanaurhiya is less a caste than a criminal brotherhood which recruits from all sorts of castes except Bhangis and Chamars. Their customs vary, but they have little or nothing to do with Brahmans, and for the most part eat unclean food. As vagrants they are untouchable. They are all in group X (*c*) and have *panchayats*. All are "depressed."

(*Note.*—The Bawariyas in Mirzapur must be excluded. They are orthodox Hindus, served by Brahman priests, and eat clean food. They are mostly cultivators.)

(4) *Kapariya.*—This caste is of mixed descent. Its principal occupation is begging and selling ponies or goats. They claim to be Hindus and are touchable, but even the lowest castes despise them. They are not served by Brahmans. They are in group X (*c*) and have a *panchayat*. They are "depressed."

APPENDIX II.

Name of group.	Touchable.	Untouchable.	Not served by Brahmans.	Depressed.	Backward.
A.—Peasantry.					
(1) Ahir group	4,246,311	..	..	..	..
(2) Kurmi group ..	2,143,560	..	..	..	..
(3) Lodha group	1,434,952	..	..	..	..
(4) Bhoksa group ..	30,000	19,028	19,028	..	19,028
(5) Bhar	..	460,643	460,643	..	460,643
(6) Phansiya ..	700	..	..	..	..
(7) Gidhi a	..	191	..	191	..
(8) Meo	3,381	..	..	..	3,381
(9) Gudariya	1,000,541	..	..	..	..
Total A—Peasantry	8,859,945	479,862	479,671	191	483,052
B.—Village menials, labourers, etc.					
(1) Luniya group ..	464,162	45,473	509,635	45,473	464,162
(2) Azakh group	110,032	..	..	110,032	..
(3) Sejwari group ..	882	..	..	..	882
(4) Dusadh	..	71,340	71,340	71,340	..
(5) Dhanuk	..	127,581	127,581	127,581	..
Total, B—Village menials, etc.	575,076	244,394	708,556	354,426	465,044
C.—Riverine group ..	965,749	..	..	..	965,749
D.—Artisans.					
(1) Barhai group ..	877,812	..	..	..	..
(2) Kori group	154,867	775,839	..	775,839	..
(3) Chamar group ..	2,000,000	4,187,770	4,187,770	4,187,770	2,000,000
(4) Kumhar	760,609	..	760,609	..	760,609
(5) Khairwa	81	..	81	81	..
(6) Dalera	1,925	..	..	..	1,925
Total, D—Artisans ..	3,795,264	4,963,609	4,948,460	4,963,690	2,762,534
E.—Carrier group ..	49,269	..	..	..	..

Name of group.	Touchable.	Untouchable.	Not served by Brahmans.	Depressed.	Backward.
F.—Domestic servants.					
(1) Bari group	57,672	..	..	..	..
(2) Kahar group	1,364,094	..	..	..	1,364,094
(3) Bhangi group ..	..	*349,053	349,053	349,053	..
(4) Nai	651,436	..	..	..	..
(5) Dhobi	..	†656,913	656,913	656,913	..
Total, F—Domestic servants.	2,073,202	1,005,966	1,005,966	1,005,966	1,364,094
G.—Tradesmen and manufacturers.					
(1) Sonar group	277,041	..	..	..	..
(2) Barai group	210,567	..	..	..	..
(3) Darzi group	429,327	..	..	..	..
(4) Churihar group ..	8,074	..	..	..	..
(5) Rangaiya group ..	4,468	..	..	..	4,468
(6) Kalwar and Teli ..	984,543	..	..	..	..
(7) Mochi	5,534	..	..	..	..
Total, G—Tradesmen, etc.	1,919,541	..	..	..	4,468
H.—Dancers, singers, jesters, etc.					
(1) Gandharb group ..	11,982	..	..	..	..
(2) Dharhi group ..	..	7,599	7,599	7,599	..
(3) Bhand	129	..	..	..	..
Total, H—Dancers, singers, etc.	19,111	7,599	7,599	7,599	..
J.—Sectarian group ..	37,709	..	..	..	..
K.—Primitive tribes.					
(1) Kolarian group ..	..	128,356	125,356	125,356	..
(2) Bayar group ..	..	78,770	63,570	78,770	..
(3) Dom group ..	..	*109,906	109,906	109,906	..
(4) Pasi group ..	..	1,738,663	200,000	1,738,663	..
(5) Hill Dom group ..	..	316,012	316,012	316,012	..
Total, K—Primitive tribes	..	2,368,707	814,844	2,368,707	..

* Untouchable to all twice-born, and many lower castes.
† Untouchable to many lower castes ; and to some extent to all twice-born.

Name of group.	Touchable.	Untouchable.	Not served by Brahmans.	Depressed.	Backward.
L.—Vagrant tribes.					
(1) Habura group	..	*38,325	38,325	38,325	..
(2) Nat group	..	*37,072	37,072	37,072	..
(3) Bhadik group ..	..	*35,781	35,781	38,781	..
(4) Kapariya	803	..	803	803	..
Total, L.—Vagrant tribes ..	803	111,178	111,981	111,981	..
GRAND TOTAL ..	18,288,673	9,181,315	8,076,977	8,812,560	6,046,081

* Untouchable to all twice-born, and many lower castes.

Extract from letter No. 63-B, dated 12th April 1932, from the Chief Secretary to the Government of the United Provinces, to the Joint Secretary, Indian Franchise Committee.

Mr. Blunt also wishes me to bring to the notice of the Indian Franchise Committee the fact that in Appendix 2 to the printed note which we wrote for the Committee's use on the "origin and nature of the depressed casses", the word "untouchable," standing at the head of column 3 of that appendix, should be read along with note 3 of Appendix I on page 12 so as to make it quite clear what exactly was the connotation of the word "untouchable" as used by him in Appendix 2.

सत्यमेव जयते

IV

Memorandum by the United Provinces Provincial Franchise Committee.

The following constituted the Provincial Franchise Committee :—

Nine Non-Official members of the Legislative Council, *viz.*—

1. Rai Rajeshwar Bali,
2. Raja Jagannath Bakhsh Singh,
3. Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Husain,
4. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Fasih-ud-din,
5. Captain Nawab Jamshed Ali Khan,
6. Rao Bahadur Thakur Bikram Singh,
7. Mr. H. C. Desanges,
8. Rai Sahib Babu Rama Charana,
9. Mrs. J. P. Srivastava,

three non-officials—

1. Dr. K. N. Malaviya, Advocate,
2. Mr. Ram Sahai, Plumber and Contractor,
3. Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, Vice-President, Servants of India Society,

and lastly two officials—

1. Mr. J. H. Darwin, I.C.S., Collector, Agra.
2. Dr. S. S. Nehru, I.C.S., Reforms Officer.

The Committee elected Rai Rajeshwar Bali as Chairman and Dr. S. S. Nehru as Secretary.

The Committee met at Lucknow on February 1—6; thereafter with the Indian Franchise Committee on February 7—9; then again on February 18; and finally on March 3—17 (excepting March 5 and 13), 1932.

The Indian Franchise Committee questionnaire has been circulated to—

	32	ladies,
	7	members of the Council,
	51	depressed class members,
	19	depressed class associations,
	7	labour associations,
and	98	other associations and general public.
Total	224	

Replies have been received from—

11	ladies.
3	members of the Council,
27	depressed class members,
12	depressed class associations,
2	labour associations,
101	other associations and general public.
Total 156	

The Committee examined these replies and called up selected witnesses for oral examination. These included—

7	ladies,
2	members of the Council,
6	depressed class members,
2	depressed class associations.
..	labour associations,
22	other associations and general public.
Total 39	

After examining the oral and written evidence submitted, considering the results of the joint deliberations of the Indian Franchise Committee, and discussing the position thoroughly among themselves, the Committee have formulated their views on franchise questions as follows :—

I.—PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES.

1.—Extension of Franchise.

(*a*) What means can you suggest by which the existing franchise for the Provincial Legislature could be extended so as to include 10 per cent. of the population in the electoral roll?

(*a*) The means suggested by which the existing franchise for the provincial legislature could be extended so as to include larger percentage of the population in the electoral roll would be the lowering of the property qualification and introduction of a literacy qualification.

(*b*) Do you consider that such an electorate will be capable of casting an intelligent vote ?

(*b*) The Committee are agreed that such an electorate would be capable of casting an intelligent vote. Any deterioration that might result would disappear very soon.

(*c*) Do you consider that such an electorate would be administratively manageable having regard to the arrangements likely to be feasible for the preparation, maintenance and revision of the electoral rolls, and for the recording and counting of votes ?

(*c*) The Committee have considered in detail whether such an electorate would be administratively manageable having regard to the arrangements likely to be feasible for the preparation, maintenance and revision of the electoral rolls, and for the recording and counting of votes. The Committee are agreed that 200 is a reasonable figure to fix for the average number of polling officers per district and that the size of the electorate should be determined by the number of polling officers available.

The Committee provisionally approved that 800 should be regarded as the minimum figure of registered voters with which a polling officer can deal. The Committee have considered the following proposal made by Mr. Darwin assuming that for voters for the future Assembly there will be the same qualifications as at present for the Council, this will use up 36 polling officers, and mean 1,500,000 voters or 31,250 per district of whom 28,000 will be non-Muslims. This leaves 164 polling officers. So enfranchised for Council persons who have sufficient qualifications to utilize these polling officers in full. 164 polling officers can deal with 6,297,600 voters in the province, which out of a population of 48 millions means 13 per cent. equal to four times the present electorate. This may go up to 14 per cent. or even more, if as is possible, more towns than at present, are regarded as urban constituencies and the percentage of voters in them is higher than in rural constituencies.

This proposal was approved with the following modifications :—

(*i*) A polling officer can deal with 900 registered voters instead of 800. This will produce 7,084,000 voters instead of 6,297,000.

(*ii*) All cities with a population of 50,000 or over shall be included in the urban constituencies. This will give 500,000 voters extra.

(*iii*) The total Non-Muslim enfranchised would roughly be 7½ millions or 18 per cent. of the Non-Muslim population which is equivalent to more than one-third of the adult population. Similar results should be arrived at in the Muslim population.

(*iv*) It was agreed that the qualification for the rural and urban areas should be so worked out as to produce the above results.

Note.—The absence of figures more recent than and supplementary to those supplied to the Southborough Committee was a handicap to the Committee.

Note.—K. B. Hafiz Hidayat Husain does not desire more than 10 per cent. of the total population to be enfranchised.

Some of the Committee consider it unsound in principle that a person should be enfranchised on a qualification other than his own, but in view of the present position of women in these provinces, where the personal law debars Hindu women from inheriting any part of their fathers' or husbands' rights, and of the fact that no other qualification can be devised which will enfranchise a reasonable number of women and thus induce in them a sense of citizenship, the majority agree that as a special case they should, if adult, be enfranchised on

their husband's qualifications provided that this qualification is at least double the minimum required. Further, that all women should be enfranchised who themselves pay any revenue or rent, rates, or taxes whatever their amount, or are sufficiently educated to be able to read and write.

(*d*) If the answer to (*b*) and (*c*) is in the negative, what alternative qualifications for the electorate would you propose?

(*d*) Does not arise.

(*e*) If the answer to (*b*) and (*c*) is in the affirmative, do you consider that it would be practicable and desirable, having regard to the same considerations, to enlarge the electoral roll still further and, if so, what means would you suggest for the purpose?

(*e*) Does not arise.

(*f*) It has been suggested that assuming adult suffrage to be impracticable at present, all adults not entitled to a direct vote should be grouped together in primary groups of about 20 or in some other suitable manner for the election of one or more representative members from each group, who would be entitled to vote in the provincial elections either in the same constituencies as the directly qualified voters or in separate constituencies to be framed for them. The suggestion has been discussed mainly with reference to rural villages, but might be made applicable to towns also.

Do you consider that any such system would be feasible and advantageous in the areas with which you are acquainted, and, if so, would you advise that the group electors should vote in the same constituencies as the directly qualified voters or in separate constituencies to be framed for them?

(*f*) Five members think that as the group system has been found to be administratively feasible it might be introduced as providing the rudiments of political education to a large number of women and depressed classes, who could not otherwise obtain the vote. Its introduction should be made supplemental to the present direct system and would not materially reduce the proportion of those who can be directly enfranchised as an estimate shows that a maximum of 800,000 (=1·6 of the total population) would obtain the direct vote in this manner.

The remaining nine members are opposed to the group system for the following reasons: (1) it will not give political education to the primary voter, because there will be no one to explain the political issues to him. Or in the alternative the worry and expense of the election will be doubled for the candidate. (2) the secondary voter will not feel any responsibility to

fied electors, or in separate constituencies composed of group electors only ?

his primary voter, particularly if the voting is by ballot, much less will the candidate owe any responsibility to the primary elector. (3) It may lead to malpractices and is liable to abuse both by the petty officials who would be responsible for its working as well as by those who hold an influential position in the villages. (4) It will give rise to many complaints and appeals and produce many administrative complications. No satisfactory method can be devised for the composition of suitable groups.

One member thinks that the group system might work if it were the only system and the direct system were abolished. In default of that he is not in favour of the group system.

(*g*) It has been proposed that in the event of separate constituencies being framed for group electors, only group electors should be qualified to stand as candidates for such constituencies ?

Are you in favour of this course ?

(*g*) Does not arise, as the majority of the Committee is opposed to the group system.

(*h*) Do you consider that it would be feasible and advantageous to abolish all the existing qualifications for voters and to extend a system of the nature described in (*f*) and to confine electorate for all constituencies to secondaries chosen by groups of primary voters ?

(*h*) A majority of the members are opposed to the group system.

(*i*) In the event of your answer to (*f*) or (*h*) being in the affirmative, what do you consider would be a suitable size for the groups referred to above ? On what basis would you constitute them, and whom would you charge with the duties of framing them ?

(*i*) Does not arise.

(*j*) Would you require any special qualification, whether property, educational or other, in the persons chosen by such groups to vote on their behalf for the election of members? If so, what?

(*j*) Does not arise.

2. Franchise qualifications.

(*a*) Do you consider that in the areas with which you are acquainted, there is any marked disparity in the operation of the franchise qualifications in urban as compared with rural areas? If so, what measures would you suggest in order to rectify such disparities?

(*a*) The disparity in the operation of the franchise qualifications in urban as compared with the rural areas is marked but has given rise to no complaints and requires no rectification.

(*b*) It has been suggested that each community should be given a voting strength proportionate to its numbers, and that the franchise system should be so contrived as to secure this result, in so far as it may be practicable. Are you in agreement with this suggestion, and, if so, what measures would you suggest for giving effect to it in your province on the assumption (*i*) that separate electorates are retained, (*ii*) of joint electorates with reservation of seats, and (*iii*) of joint electorates without reservation of seats?

(*b*) The position already is such that each community has a voting strength proportionate to its numbers. Thus the non-Muslim electorate of 1,379,754 is 3·6 per cent. of the total non-Muslim population; while that of the Muslim electorate of 229,258 is 3·5 of the Muslim population. Thus this has been achieved and there is no reason to suppose that the existing proportion will be disturbed if the qualifications are lowered.

(*c*) Is the possession of property of some kind, in your opinion, a suitable test of fitness for the franchise? (The term "property" should be understood in its widest sense as including not only the ownership of landed property but also the occupation of land or house property or the receipt of income or wages whether in cash or kind.) If so, do you consider the existing property qualification suitable? If you do not, what modification do you suggest?

(*c*) The definite aim in view being universal suffrage, the Committee cannot on principles accept property qualification as test of fitness for franchise as it is purely arbitrary but has been accepted for practical purposes. For this reason they recommend lowering the property qualifications and introducing a literacy qualification. In the case of joint Hindu families the qualification should be introduced on the lines of qualifications for such families for district board elections. This should apply *mutatis mutandis* to tenants whose names are

entered in the revenue records. They do not, however, think it feasible to include receipt of income in kind, other than produce rents.

(*d*) Are you in favour of introducing a qualification based on education, independently of property? If so, what educational qualification would you suggest?

(*d*) It was generally agreed that the minimum qualification should be a class IV certificate, or any equivalent educational qualification. This is held by the head master of the primary school and a certificate is issued by the Deputy Inspector of Schools. Standards vary from school to school, but a certain proportion of pupils is examined every year to secure uniformity. As to any possibility of corruption the certificate has no material value so far but it will acquire great value if made the basis of vote. An alternative *ad hoc* test would be too much.

(*e*) Are you in favour of retaining the existing military service qualification and extending it so as to include service in the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces?

(*e*) The Committee are in favour of retaining the existing military service qualification and extending it to include service in the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces.

3. Women Suffrage.

(*a*) The Statutory Commission proposed that the wives and widows (if over 20 years of age) of men entitled to vote under the property qualification, should be enfranchised and that in addition an educational qualification should apply to women over 21 as well as to men. In the Franchise Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference it was suggested that the age-limit should be 21 for women as well as for men.

Are you in favour of increasing the women's electorate in the ways suggested or would you prefer any other method? If so, what method? To what extent would you favour increase in women's electorate?

(*a*) The Committee agreed that the wife of a husband possessing double the minimum property qualifications should have the right to vote. Opinion was, however, divided in regard to the question whether in case of co-wives only one wife was to be enfranchised or as many wives as were covered by the property qualification of the husband. It was also proposed that only the wives of the voters who pay Rs. 25 as revenue or Rs. 50 as rent should be enfranchised. But the former proposal found the larger support.

As regards widows it was agreed that they should not get the right to vote except on their own separate qualifications.

The age-limit should be fixed at 21.

As to literacy qualification for women it was agreed to enfranchise all adult women who can read and write.

The Committee realised the serious difficulties that beset the question of registration and particularly that of identification of female voters at elections. The suggestions of curtailing the cases of fraud and false personation were, firstly, that where no official can identify a female voter, who is enfranchised through her husband, she must be identified by her husband, who must take upon himself the responsibility of proper identification. Secondly, there should be heavy penalties provided in such cases of fraud and false personation. In view of the fact that the number of female voters may increase to such an extent as to prove a decisive factor in elections, no woman should be allowed to vote unless she has been properly identified.

(*b*) In the event of a system of group representation being established as proposed in paragraph 1 (*f*), do you consider that women should be formed into groups, and, if so, should separate groups be formed for women or should groups contain both men and women?

The Committee have by majority decided against the group system.

(*c*) The suggestion has been made that at any rate as a temporary measure legislature should co-opt women members to an extent not exceeding 5 per cent. by a system of proportional representation so as to ensure some representation of women in the legislature. What are your views on this suggestion?

The Committee have agreed with one dissentient that five seats should be reserved for women in addition to all the seats they may win in the general election. These five seats should be filled from among the women candidates who have polled the largest absolute number of votes in the constituencies. The matter is not free from difficulty but this would be much simpler than filling them from the candidates who have polled the largest proportionate number of votes. The Committee, therefore, rejected the system of co-option as suggested.

4. Representation of the Depressed Classes.

What communities would you include as belonging to depressed classes? Would you include classes other than untouchables, and if so, which?

Do you consider that the depressed classes are likely, through such general extension of the franchise as you favour, to secure representatives of their own choice in the general electorates, and if so, to what extent? If your answer is in the negative, what specific proposals would you make to secure their representation in legislatures? The possible application of the group system of representation to the depressed classes should be specially considered.

Rai Sahib Babu Rama Charana would make "no difference between depressed and backward classes as given in Mr. Blunt's note*". They total 15,000,000. He wishes to add—

Gadaria	..	1,000,000
Bari ..	..	57,000
Nai ..	..	651,000
Darzi ..	..	429,327
Total	..	17,137,327
(about)	..	17,000,000

He would also regard the remaining castes in Mr. Blunt's list as depressed; but they have a chance of getting in the legislature through an extension of the franchise. Mr. Kunzru, Thakur Bikram Singh and Raja Jagannath Bakhsh Singh define depressed classes as untouchables as defined by the Simon Commission.

Mrs. Srivastava and Messrs. Hidayat Husain, Desanges and Nawab Jamshed Ali Khan's view is that depressed classes should include only those which are untouchable according to the Simon Commission. Khan Bahadur Fasih-ud-din's view is that the depressed classes should include not only untouchables but also those classes who have no chance of securing representation otherwise. This definition will apply to both Hindus and Muslims.

Messrs. Darwin and Nehru would make the criterion—

(1) untouchability,

(2) in other cases want of representation where such representation is required for the promotion of their interests.

Mr. Ram Sahai's view is that depressed classes are those castes which

* Page 303.

are subjected to the system of untouchability of the sort prevalent in the provinces, namely, that (*i*) the caste Hindus do not take water or food touched by these people; (2) the caste Hindus will not allow them entry into eating houses maintained by them for the Hindu public; (3) the caste Hindus will not allow them to stay in Dharamsalas maintained by them for the Hindus.

Rai Sahib Babu Rama Charana's view is that depressed classes are (1) those castes which are untouchable in the sense of the term prevailing in the province; (2) those castes whose profession is considered degrading by high caste Hindus; (3) those castes whose general, social and economic condition is backward. He said that it is difficult to define what was meant by the untouchability of the sort prevailing in the province" but it is well known.

The Chairman agrees with Messrs. Kunzru, Hafiz Hidayat Husain and others of their view.

If depressed classes are confined to untouchables, whose touch pollutes, they will only consist of Bhangis and Doms, whose population is less than half a million.

They would, therefore, not be entitled proportionately to more than 3 seats. The Committee, however, decided to deal with the question in a more liberal spirit.

All the members of the Committee, except Messrs. Rama Charana and Ram Sahai, who refrain from voting, agree that 10 seats in a house of 250 should be reserved for such classes whether backward, depressed or untouchable, as are unable to secure promotion of their interests unless they have special representation.

This decision is unacceptable to Rai Sahib Babu Rama Charana who asks for 48 seats.

The Committee is unanimous, except for the two dissenting members, that representation should not be by pure nomination. They approve of a system under which associations for depressed or backward classes, after consolidation into properly recognised bodies with registered list of members, should forward recommendations to the Governor who will select the requisite number.

5. Representation of Labour.

Assuming that such widening of the basis of suffrage in general constituencies as is found practicable does not provide adequate representation of labour what special measures would you recommend for representation of labour (*a*) where it is or can be organised as in industrial areas, (*b*) where it is unorganised as in the case of agricultural and plantation labour. On what basis would you allot representation to labour in each case ?

As the basis of suffrage is being lowered this assumption will no longer be justified in the case of both organised and unorganised labour.

The Committee recommend 2 seats in a house of 250. The Committee had not sufficient material to make detailed proposals but they suggest that some method may be devised by which a representative from Cawnpore, where labour population is at present concentrated, should get one seat out of the two. The two constituencies should be arranged by the local Government. As regards agricultural labour, special representation is not practicable.

5-A. Representation of special interests.

What are your views as to the retention of representation of special interests (Universities, Commerce, European and Indian Mining, Planting, Labour, Landholders, etc.) in the legislatures ? If you favour its retention do you consider that the existing methods of election thereto are satisfactory ? If not, what suggestions would you make ?

In regard to the retention of representation of special interests the Committee's views are as follows :—

	Present.	Proposed.	Remarks.
Chambers of Commerce.	3	3	Separate.
Universities	1	2	Subject to future modification.

Landlords.

Mr. Kunzru, Mrs. Srivastava and Mr. Ram Sahai .. 12

Mr. Darwin and Dr. Nehru 16

K. B. Maulvi Fasih-ud-din, K. B. Hafiz Hidayat Husain, Captain Nawab Jamshed Ali Khan, Raja Jagannath Bakhsh Singh and Rao Bahadur Thakur Bikram Singh 25

The first three are prepared to reconsider the extent of representation if there is to be no second chamber.

The allocation of seats reserved for landlords would be as follows :—

B. I. Association ..	12	9	7	}	5 Agra.
Non-Taluqdars ..	1	1	1		
Agra zamindars ..	6	5	4	}	7 Oudh.
Muzaffarnagar zamindars	6	5	4		
	25	20	16	12	

Each association should send its representative by a method of single transferable vote.

Those members who have voted that the number of zamindars' representatives should be 16 or less recommended 6 seats for Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians (2 each). Those who have voted that the number of landholders' representatives should be 25, recommended 9 seats.

II.—THE FEDERAL LEGISLATURE.

6. Allocation of seats to British Indian Provinces.

(*a*) The Federal Structure Committee proposed that the representatives of British Indian Provinces in the Upper Chamber should be elected by the Provincial Legislatures by a single transferable vote. Do you agree with this proposal or have you any alternative to suggest ?

With regard to the composition of the second chamber and the franchise for it, we shall express our views after various associations have been examined on this point.

Bâbu Ram Sahai is of opinion that there should be direct election for the lower chamber and indirect for the Federal Upper House by the lower chamber of the provincial legislature.

Rao Bahadur Thakur Bikram Singh and Raja Jagannath Bakhsh Singh think that election to the Upper Chamber of the Federal Legislature should be

by direct election, provided the franchise is such as to secure the attainment of the desired object.

The Chairman and K. B. Maulvi Fasih-ud-din, Mr. Desanges, Captain Nawab Jamshed Ali Khan, Mr. Darwin, Mr. Kunzru and Dr. Nehru are in favour of direct election as at present, which has worked well both in the opinion of the Government of India and the Local Government.

Babu Ram Sahai would favour indirect election.

K. B. Hafiz Hidayat Husain would be in favour of direct election if, in addition to a property qualification to be decided hereafter, the additional qualifications now prescribed for voters for the Council were retained in future also.

(*b*) Do you consider that the franchise qualifications ought to be different for the Federal and Provincial Legislatures? If so, what do you consider it ought to be in the case of the Federal Legislature?

The franchise qualifications for the Upper Chamber shall be discussed after hearing further witnesses.

The qualifications for the present council should be the qualifications for the future Lower Federal Chamber.

(*c*) The majority of members of the Federal Structure Committee considered that election to the Lower Chamber of the Federal Legislature should be by territorial constituencies consisting of qualified voters who would pass their vote directly for the candidates of their choice. Under a scheme of this nature, there would be more than a million inhabitants on an average in each constituency. The constituency would in some cases be of enormous size, specially if communal electorates were introduced. In view of the obvious difficulties, which must confront a candidate in canvassing and maintaining contact with such large constituencies the Committee recommended that the alternatives

The Committee unanimously decided in favour of direct election. Raja Jagannath Bakhsh Singh would, however, reserve to himself the liberty of altering his opinion on this and other points if there were no Upper Chamber in the Federal Legislature as qualified by him in connexion with the discussion on the franchise of the second chamber.

The Committee consider that instead of 200 the Federal Assembly should consist of 300 members. This would entitle the province on population basis to 57 seats. We think, however, that the U. P. should not be assigned less than 48 seats. The size of the constituencies in that case will be much smaller than it is now.

of direct and indirect elections should be fully explored, and suggested that while it might be possible without difficulty to adopt direct election in certain areas some form of indirect election might prove desirable in rural areas.

The Franchise Committee would be glad to have your views on this difficult question. In the event of your favouring some system of direct election, it would be very useful if you would indicate the nature of the constituency that you would form having regard to the number of seats which you consider ought to be allotted to your province.

7. Representation of women, labour and depressed classes.

Please add any further suggestions which you desire to make regarding the representation of women, labour and the depressed classes and other interests at present specially represented in the Federal Legislature.

The Committee unanimously recommended the allotment of 1 seat for women. Mr. Kunzru said that he would not allot any other seat to any other interest.

We think that no special representation of labour is required for these provinces.

As regards the representation of depressed classes, Babu Ram Sahai wants it to be as it has been laid down in the Minorities' Pact.

Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Husain and Khan Bahadur Maulvi Fasih-ud-din would give them two seats and Mr. Desanges one, while the rest consisting of Raja Jagannath Bakhsh Singh, Chairman, and Mr. Kunzru, as stated above, do not consider it necessary to allot any seats for the depressed classes as in their view questions relating to their rights would come within the purview of the Provincial Legislature where seats have already been allotted to them.

Mr. Kunzru, as stated above, and Mr. Ram Sahai would not give any representation to the landlords in the Federal Legislature, while the rest consisting of Mr. Desanges, K. B. Maulvi Fasih-ud-din, K. B. Hafiz Hidayat Husain, Raja Jagannath Bakhsh Singh and the Chairman would allot two seats one for the province of Agra and one for Oudh.

The majority are in favour of allotting one seat to Europeans and Anglo-Indians.

Second chamber for the Provinces.

Opinion was divided, voting—

for	*against.*
Raja Jagannath Bakhsh Singh.	Mr. H. C. Desanges.
Capt. Nawab Jamshed Ali Khan.	Mrs. J. P. Srivastava.
K. B. Hafiz Hidayat Husain.	Mr. Ram Sahai.
K. B. Maulvi Fasih-ud-din.	Mr. H. N. Kunzru.
Rao Bahadur Thakur Bikram Singh.	
Chairman.	

सत्यमेव जयते

Note of Dissent by Rai Sahib Babu Rama Charana, M.L.C., Member, United Provinces Provincial Franchise Committee.

I regret having to write this note of dissent from the decision arrived at by the majority of the members of the committee on the question of the representation of the depressed classes. The questionnaire makes it clear that the method of representation by nomination of the depressed classes is no longer regarded as appropriate and that it is generally felt that provision should be made in the new constitution for their better representation. In direct contravention of the decision of the R. T. C. and the ruling of the Chairman, Indian Franchise Committee, the majority of the members of the U. P. Franchise Committee have decided in favour of nomination. I submit that it is not within the competence of the committee to do so. The most wonderful feature of this decision is that they have proceeded to fix the number of nominated seats as ten, without deciding as to what communities should be included as belonging to depressed classes, in other words, without knowing their population. They say that the decision as to what communities should be regarded as depressed, should be done by the associations of the communities themselves. Thus they have avoided the duty cast upon them by the questionnaire. I cannot help remarking that the provision for the representation of depressed classes hits both the landlords and the High Class Hindus. The Muslim members of the committee have been probably influenced by the threat that the Hindu Muslim settlement of 1916 might be affected. This being so the majority decision of the U. P. committee is not unnatural.

I will include both touchable and untouchable communities as belonging to depressed classes. The list is given below on the line of Hon'ble Mr. Blunt's second note : —

1. Ahir group.
2. Kachhi group.
3. Lodha group.
4. Bhoksa group.
5. Bhar.
6. Phansia.
7. Gidhiya.
8. Meo.
9. Gadariya.
10. Luniya group.
11. Arakh group.
12. Sejwari group.
13. Dusadh.
14. Dhanuk.
15. Riverine group (Mallah group)
16. Barhai group.
17. Kori group.
18. Chamar group.
19. Kumhar group.
20. Khairwa.
21. Dalera.
22. Carrier group (Banjara group).
23. Bari group.
24. Kahar group.
25. Bhangi group.
26. Nai.
27. Dhobi.
28. Sonar group.
29. Barai group.
30. Darzi group.
31. Churihar group.
32. Ramaiya group.
33. Kalwar and Teli.
34. Mochi.
35. Gandharb group.
36. Dharhi group.

37. Bhand.
38. Sectarian group (Atit, Sadh).
39. Kolarian group.
40. Bayar group.
41. Dom group.
42. Pasi group.
43. Hill Dom group.
44. Habura group.
45. Nat group.
46. Badhik group.
47. Kapariya group.
48. Kurmi.

That these communities are depressed classes will appear from the following sources given in the attached note*.

1. From the speech of H. E. the Governor, who in his reply to an address put the number of the depressed classes at about twenty millions and includes castes whose occupations are regarded degrading besides the untouchables.
2. From the despatch of the U. P. Government.
3. The U. P. Muslims' memorandum submitted to the Simon Commission.
4. Council questions and answers including answers given by our Hon'ble the President of the U. P. Franchise Committee when he was a minister of the U. P. Government.
5. Local Board's records.
6. From the speech of Maharaja Darbhanga as president of the All-India Varnashram Dharam Sabha at the Patna Session.
7. Election of depressed classes members by congressmen as an act of mockery to the present council.
8. Other Sources.

The question of untouchability in this province is not acute. But the division of Hindus into high and low, twice-born and sudra is very acute. Though some castes claim to be twice-born but their claim has never been accepted by the high caste Hindus. There is a real clash of interest between the high and low class Hindus, which has exhibited itself in the formation of Hindu Backward Classes League and the Adi-Hindu Sabha and the like. There has been a clamour on the part of these classes for separate electorate. And yet, it passes my understanding when I hear the Hindu members of the committee say that there are no backward and depressed classes except Bhangis and Doms. I am sorry to remark that they have taken advantage of the difficulty of a theoretical definition being possible. But why the rise when there are the abovementioned communities who have not been able to elect representatives of their own choice hitherto, and who, with the exception of perhaps Kurmi, Ahir group, Kachhi group, Lodha group, Barhai group, Sonar group, Barai group, Kalwar group and Gandharb group, are not likely to elect representatives of their own choice in future, even if adult suffrage be introduced. Already the majority of the voters belong to the above communities and any extention of the franchise will not alter the result.

The Report on the working of the system of Government U. P. 1921-1928, Vol. III submitted to the Indian Statutory Commission

* Pages 351-360.

says at page 2 :—

" In the province as a whole the four leading castes, Brahman, Thakur, Vaishya, and Kayastha from 21·1 per cent. of the total Hindu population, but these five castes supplied no less than 93 per cent. of the Hindu members of Council. The Jat, with 18 per cent. of the population, have contributed another 5 per cent. to the Hindu membership ; and all the millions included in the multitude of other Hindu castes, including the real agricultural castes, though they amount to over 76 per cent. of the Hindu population have only succeeded in supplying 2 per cent. of the representation."

Of course the result of guaranteeing representation to these classes would be to deprive the high class Hindus of the unjust and undemocratic monopoly which they have hitherto enjoyed and which they are attempting to retain by every possible means. There is absolutely no reason why over 35 per cent. population should go unrepresented when they are groaning under the prejudice of the high class Hindus.

I agree with the Hon'ble Mr. Blunt that the castes recorded as depressed and backward in the Appendix II of his second Note cannot get representation in Legislatures. But I would also add to that list the Gadariya, Darzi group, Nai and Bari group.

The speech in vernacular of Hon'ble Raja Shambhu Dayal of January 23, 1926 in the Legislative Council on the resolution regarding education of depressed classes reveals the true estimation in which the high class Hindus hold them. They regard the progress of the depressed classes as incongruous and improper as if it were tantamount to wearing the foot dress over the head. The origin of the sudra is also ascribed to the foot of the Creator.

The educational disabilities of the depressed classes can be judged by the report of 1927 of the committee appointed to enquire into and report on the state of primary education of boys of the Muslim community and of educationally backward communities in the United Provinces. Two paras. from page 8 of the report are quoted below :—

" Employers of unskilled labourers have no desire to raise literacy among their employees and create discontent. The literate members of other castes and communities are averse from increasing literacy in the depressed classes for fear of competition for the posts of patwaris, school masters, etc.

" These economic causes combined with strong social prejudice have resulted in local opposition to the foundations of special schools, which usually shows itself in refusal to supply a house or ground for the school on the part of owner's of property. In places where accommodation has been found, common methods of breaking up of schools are to threaten parents or pupils with dismissal from employment and to make the teacher so uncomfortable that he resigns."

The note on page 30 of the same report of Rai Sahib Pandit Sukhdeo Tewari, B.A., a retired officer of the Education Department

and belonging to the highest caste of Hindus says : —

" As the development of education in any country depends on its special circumstances such as old traditions, public opinion, etc., education both in rural and urban areas here was confined amongst the literary classes only. The backward communities were allowed to remain in ignorance as they were before.....The high class and literate Hindu communities, particularly the zamindars discouraged the backward classes to educate their boys as they did not like the latter to become more learned and question their authority over them. The teachers who happened to belong to literate communities did not admit boys of untouchable classes for one reason or another. Only a few boys of Kahars, Ahirs, Nais, etc., were taken in to serve as menial servants. Although the angle of vision has now changed still I believe that there is a considerable number of high class people who discourage education amongst the backward classes. .....On investigation it was brought to light that no attempt was even made to educate the depressed and other backward Hindu communities which formed a large percentage of the total Hindu population."

Instances are not wanting of local bodies who deliberately discourage education among the depressed classes. A passage relating to education of depressed class boys on page 41 of the General Report on Public Instruction in the United Provinces for 1926 is given below :—

" To some extent the appointment of supervisors is responsible for the decrease, but in the Benares division it is reported to be due to discouragement of this class of education by the boards, the Jaunpur district board in particular and that of Ghazipur in a less degree, obtaining discreditable mention."

The doors of public services maintained by the Government and the local bodies are banged against the qualified men of the depressed classes. They have no means to ventilate their grievances in this connection.

The areas in which they live are generally insanitary and the health department of the Government and the local bodies do not care for them.

The depressed classes are generally tenants with no fixity of tenure, no fixity of rent and therefore no freedom of vote. They are not any the less intelligent but they are not independent to vote for men of their own choice. In short the condition of the depressed and backward classes is not far from slavery.

In conclusion I need point out that as member of the U. P. Simon Committee, I agreed to 15 nominated seats out of a house of 182 for the reason that full provincial autonomy was not going to be granted and these seats I accepted for 10 years after which period I demanded separate electorate if a sufficient number of depressed classes did not get in through the general electorate.

LUCKNOW :
Dated the 18th of March 1932.

RAMA CHARANA, (*Rai Saheb*),
B.A., LL.B., ADVOCATE, M.L.C.,
Member, U. P. Franchise Committee.

ANNEXURE.

Note on Castes regarded as depressed in United Provinces.

[The number given in brackets after the names of castes refers to the castes of the same number in my note of dissent.]

His Excellency Sir Malcolm Hailey, Governor of the U. P. in his reply to an address from the Adi-Hindu (Depressed Classes) Association, Lucknow, March 6, 1930, said :—

> " In the term depressed classes are included now-a-days a great mass of people of varying status some of whom perhaps owe that position to the origin you suggest, while large numbers owe it to the adoption of particular trades held to be of a menial nature, and others to the fact that they are descended from people who for some reason have been definitely outcasted. If the population belonging to these various classes can be viewed as one body the total is undoubtedly large. There are in the United Provinces some thirteen million people who are included by the census among Hindus, but who for various reasons are regarded as untouchables. There are a considerable number whose occupations are classified as more or less respectable, and who come therefore under less rigid social restrictions ; but there are also a great number, amounting perhaps to about seven millions, whose occupations are definitely regarded by Hindus as degrading and placing their followers, in ordinary parlance beyond the pale of society."

EXTRACT FROM NOTE OF THE HON'BLE RAJA BAHADUR KUSHAL PAL SINGH, MINISTER FOR EDUCATION, ATTACHED TO LETTER No. 4949-C., DATED AUGUST 23, 1930, FROM THE CHIEF SECRETARY OF THE GOVERNMENT, UNITED PROVINCES, TO THE JOINT SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, REFORMS OFFICE.

" The importance of the depressed classes lies in the fact that they include within their fold lakhs of humble tillers of the soil and also agricultural castes such as Kachhis (2), Lodhas (3), Kurmis (48), Muraos (2), Koeri (2), Tharu (4), Bhuksas (4), etc."

In their letter to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department, dated the 16th March 1908 the Government of U. P. stated that " it must be remembered that the mass of the Hindu population is to be found in the lower castes Chamars (18), Pasis (42), Ahirs (1) and the like ".

Report on the working of the system of Government U. P., 1921-1928, Vol. III, *submitted to the Indian Statutory Commission in 1928, page 2.*

" In the province as a whole the four leading castes, Brahman, Thakur, Vaishya and Kayastha form 21·1 per cent. of the total Hindu population, but these four castes have supplied no less than 93 per cent. of the Hindu members of Council. The Jat, with 1·8 per cent. of the

population, have contributed another 5 per cent. to the Hindu Membership ; and all the millions included in the multitude of other Hindu castes, including the real agricultural castes, though they amount to over 76 per cent. of the Hindu population have only succeeded in supplying 2 per cent. of the representation.

Views of the Muslims of United Provinces.

The Muslim Memorandum (otherwise known as Khan Memorandum) signed *inter alia* by Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Husain, Khan Bahadur Maulvi Fasih-ud-din and Lieutenant Nawab Jamshed Ali Khan, the Muslim members of the present U. P. Franchise Committee and presented to the Indian Statutory Commission in 1928 has the following paragraph at page 2 :—

" The present division of the population for the purpose of election is very artificial. All Indians who are neither Christians nor Moslems are included in the term 'Hindu'. This has resulted in Hindus proper representing the great mass of our population known as the depressed classes. These constitute by far the major population of our province. The population of Hindus proper in these provinces is 10,597,917 according to the census figures of 1921, the touchable depressed classes, *e.g.*, Tamolis (29), Kachies (2) and Kahars (24), etc., number 13,973,188 and the population of the untouchable depressed classes, *e.g.*, Doms (41), Bauriyas (40), Kanjars (44), Bhangis (25), etc. 14,693,816 according to the same census figures. Thus out of total population of 46,000,000 of these provinces about 28,800,000, *i.e.*, over 60 per cent. are not represented in the councils except by one nominated seat, while the Hindus proper who constitute only 25 per cent. of the population appropriate to themselves the majority of seats in the council making the beginning of an oligarchy in the province.

Our first proposal therefore is that the artificial division of the population be done away with, and representation on an adequate scale be given to the depressed classes. We advocate this also in sympathy with our Hindu brethren whose efforts for the uplift of these classes we greatly value. Our suggestion is that an appreciable number of seats be taken away from the general Non-Muslim electorate for these classes and that those seats be filled by election."

Now what castes other than those accepted by Mr. Blunt as depressed and backward go to make up the population 28,800,000 ? The simple answer is that all the castes enumerated by me in my note of dissent number about 28,800,000.

Report of Simon Committees.

Before the Simon Commission the following deputation gave evidence as representatives of the depressed classes :—

1. B. Rama Charana (Mallah) (15) B.A., LL.B., M.L.C., Advocate, Chief Court, Oudh Member, U. P. Committee, Spokesman.

2. B. Khem Chand (Jatav) (18), *ex*-M. L. C., President, All-India Sri Jatav Mahasabha.
3. B. Nanak Chand Dhusia (18), President, Adi-Hindu Sabha, U.P.
4. Munshi Hari Tamta (43), Chairman, Kamaun Shilpakar Sabha.
5. Bhagat Mullu Ram (Kuril) (8), representative, All-India Adi-Hindu Aborigines Maha Sabha, Cawnpore.
6. B. Sheo Dayal Singh Chaurasia (Barai) (29), B.Sc., LL.B., Advocate, Lucknow.
7. B. Ram Prasad (Ahir) (1), Pleader, Oudh.
8. B. Chet Ram (Pasi) (42), Member, Municipal Board, Allahabad.
9. B. Raja Ram Raikwar (24), of Kahar Sudharak Sabha.

All the castes mentioned in my note of dissent were agreed upon as belonging to the depressed classes.

The U. P. Simon Committee recommended 15 seats by nomination for the depressed and backward classes, *vide* page 72 of the report of the Committee appointed by U. P. Legislative Council to co-operate with the Indian Statutory Commission.

The Indian Central Simon Committee however split up the depressed classes into two parts and recommended 5 seats for the one part whom they classed as backward and 10 seats for the other part whom they classed as depressed, *vide* page 45 of the Report of Indian Central Committee.

The Indian Statutory Commission however without giving any reason for it took the number of depressed classes as 13 millions. But at the same time they gave the Governor the power to certify as to the member of the caste which was eligible to contest seats to be *reserved for the depressed classes in joint electorate.*

Council questions and answers.

The following questions and their answers given by the Government from time to time in the Legislative Council prove that all the castes mentioned in my note of dissent have hitherto been regarded by the government as depressed classes.

[Starred question No. 60, dated 15th December 1924.

Baboo Khemchand: Will the Government be pleased to state the names, caste, and religion of members who have been nominated by the Government to represent depressed classes on the district boards of these provinces except Agra where I am myself a member ?

The Hon'ble Rai Rajeshwar Bali: The statement asked for is laid on the Hon'ble Member's table.

Names of members nominated by government to represent the depressed classes on the district boards of the United Provinces (except Agra) referred to in the reply to starred question No. 60 for the 15th December 1924 :

District.	Name of nominated member representing depressed classes.	Caste.	Religion.
PROVINCE OF AGRA.			
Dehra Dun ..	Mansa Ram ..	Gadariya (9) ..	Hindu.
Saharanpur ..	Chaudhri Mangat Singh ..	Dhiman (carpenter) (16).	Do.
Muzaffarnagar ..	B. Akhoy Chandra Bhattacharji.	*Nil*	Christian
Meerut	Chaudhri Het Ram ..	Kahar (24) ..	Hindu.
Bulandhshahr ..	Dauji	Chamar (18) ..	Do.
Aligarh	Karan Singh	Lodha (3) ..	Do.
Muttra	Chaudhri Dalchand ..	Chamar (18) ..	Do.
Agra	(The Hon'ble member himself.)	Do. ..	Do.
Mainpuri	Chaudhri Jiwan Ram ..	Do. ..	Do.
Etah	Chaudhri Kham Chand ..	Do. ..	Do.
Bareilly	Ramat Jaiswal	Do. ..	Do.
Bijnor	Mangal	Do. ..	Do.
Budaun	Net Ram	Teli (33) ..	Do.
Moradabad ..	Jiwa Ram, B.A., LL.B. ..	Baghwan (2) ..	Do.
Shahjahanpur ..	Umrai Lal	Kachhi (2) ..	Do.
Pilibhit	Mangal Sen	Mochi (34) ..	Do.
Farrukhabad ..	B. Keshri Lal Raidas ..	Chamar (18) ..	Vedri.
Etawah	Chaudhri Gyan Singh ..	Ahir (1) ..	Hindu.
Cawnpore ..	B. Ghasitay Lal ..	Chamar (18) ..	Do.
Fatehpur	B. Mullu Ram ..	Do. ..	Do.
Allahabad ..	B. Nand Kishore ..	Pasi (42) ..	Do.
Banda	L. Baldeo	Kumhar (19) ..	Do.
Hamirpur ..	L. Lallu	Teli (33) ..	Do.
Jhansi	L. Ganesh	Kumhar (19) ..	Do.
Jalaun	L. Ram Charan	Teli (33) ..	Do.
Benares	Rev. J. C. Jackson ..	..	Christian.
Mirzapur	..	..	..

Districts.	Name of nominated member representing depressed classes.	Caste.	Religion.
Jaunpur	Ram Charan	Lunia (10) ..	Hindu.
Ghazipur	B. Sheo Nath	Koeri (2) ..	Do.
Ballia	L. Sita Ram	Teli (33) ..	Do.
Gorakhpur ..	Chaudhri Baldeo Prasad ..	Kalwar (33) ..	Do.
Basti	Rev. Tafazzul Haq ..	..	Christian.
Azamgarh ..	Dwarka Nath Chaudhri ..	Mallah (15) ..	Hindu.
Naini Tal ..	Munshi Bachi Rai ..	Shilpkar (Hill Dom) (43).	Vedri.
Almora	Munshi Hari	Samla (43) ..	Hindu.
Garhwal	Rev. J. B. Thompson ..	..	Christian.
PROVINCE OF OUDH.			
Lucknow ..	Rai Bahadur Behari Lal ..	Kurmi (48) ..	Hindu.
Unao	B. Hari Shankar ..	Lodh (3) ..	Do.
Rai Bareli ..	Sheo Lal	Chamar (18) ..	Do.
Sitapur	L. Mata Prasad ..	Teli (33) ..	Do.
Hardoi	Pitun	Chamar (18) ..	Do.
Kheri	Nita Ram Saheb ..	Do. ..	Do.
Fyzabad	Rev. A. Sanderson ..	..	Christian.
Gonda	Bhagwan Das	Lodh (3) ..	Hindu.
Bahraich	Chheda Lal	Ahir (1) ..	Do.
Sultanpur ..	Mr. G. Kenyar ..	..	Christian.
Partabgarh ..	Baij Nath	Teli (33) ..	Hindu.
Bara Banki ..	Mr. S. R. Parker ..	..	Christian.

Note.—Christians in the above list were nominated because according to government suitable men from depressed classes were not available, although it is not correct.

Starred question No. 49, dated July 26, 1926.

Rai Bahadur B. Ram Nath Bhargava: (*a*) Will the Government lay on the table a statement showing separately the depressed class or classes from which the persons were nominated as members of the Municipal and District Boards of the United Provinces and in the United Provinces Legislative Council during the last two elections ?

(*b*) (Is not relevant).

Hon'ble Nawab Muhammad Yusuf: (*a*) The Government do not propose to collect the information. It is known that the classes from

which the members have been nominated on Municipal and District Boards include Lodh (3), Ahir (1), Teli (33), Murao (42), Kumhar (8), Chamar (18), Carpenter (16), Kahar (24), Mallah (15), Kachhi (2), Mochi (34), Manjhi (15) and Kalwar (33).

Khan Bahadur Mr. Muhammad Aslam Saifi.—May I ask with regard to No. 49 whether Dhobies are also included ?

Hon'ble Nawab Muhammad Yusuf: Yes.

Hon'ble Sir Sam O'Donnall: Nominations are not made by the Government.

Volume XXIII, Page 638, dated March 23, 1927.—B. Bhagwati Sahai Bedar :—

(1) Are the representatives of the Depressed classes in the Moradabad Municipal and District Boards members of the Depressed classes ?

(2) If so, to which class do they belong ?

The Hon'ble Nawab Muhammad Yusuf: (1) The answer is in the affirmative with regard to the District Board. There is no representation of the depressed classes on the Municipal Board.

(2) The representative of the depressed classes on the District Board is Baghban (2).

Question No. 90, dated March 4, 1927.

Babu Rama Charana: Will the Government be pleased to state the castes of the depressed class nominated members shown in the statement of said answer, for 1924-25 ? (The question referred to is starred question No. 1 of Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Husain of June 25, 1926.)

The Hon'ble Nawab Mohammad Yusuf: Kumhar (19), Jatia (18), Kachhi (2), Pasi (42), Teli (33), Chamar (18), Nai (26) and Bhangi (25).

Question No. 101, dated June 20, 1927.

Babu Rama Charana: Will the Government be pleased to state the total number of village Panchayats in the different districts of these Provinces ?

How many Panches and Surpanches out of these belong to the depressed classes in each Panchayat ? Will the Government be pleased to give names and castes of such depressed class Panches and Surpanches ?

The Honourable Nawab Mohammad Yusuf: A statement (not printed) in the proceedings containing the information is laid on the honourable member's table.

Below is given the principal castes of the different Panches and Surpanches of the depressed classes mentioned in the above statement :—

Ahir (1)	Dhobi (27)	Khewat (15)	Mali (2)
Ahar (1)	Dhunia (30)	Khatik (42)	Mallah (15)
Baghban (2)	Dusadh (13)	Kisan (3)	Murao (2)
Barai (29)	Faqir (38)	Koeri (2)	Nai (26)
Barhai (16)	Gadaria (19)	Kol (39)	Pasi (42)
Bari (23)	Goria (24)	Kori (17)	Saini (2)
Bhar (5)	Gujar (1)	Kumhar (19)	Sainthwar (48)
Bharbhuja (30)	Halwai (30)	Kurmi (48)	Sonar (28)
Chamar (18)	Kachhi (2)	Lodha (3)	Tamboli (29)
Darzi (30)	Kahar (24)	Lohar (16)	Teli (33)
Dhanuk (14)	Kalwar (33)	Luniya (10)	Thathera (2

Volume XLI, page 384, dated February 1, 1929.

B. Rama Charana : Who was the person nominated to represent the backward and depressed classes in the Shahjahanpur Municipal Board in last term ? When does his term expire ?

The Honourable Nawab Mohammad Yusuf :

(*a*) Bala Kachhi (2).

(*b*) On 21st May 1929.

Starred question No. 15, dated February 27, 1932.

Rai Sahib Babu Rama Charana : What are the castes and number of the depressed class members nominated by the Government to the present local bodies of these provinces ?

The Hon'ble Nawab Mohammad Yusuf : Eleven Chamars (18), 1 Pasi (42), 2 Khatiks (42), 1 Bhunj (30), 1 Kumhar (19), 3 Koeris (2), 1 Barhai (16), 1 Kalwar (33), 1 Teli (33), 1 Lohar (16), 1 Mukeri (1), 1 Nai (26), and 1 Dhobi (27) were nominated to Municipal boards, and 17 Chamars (18), 4 Barbers (26), 1 Kharhera (18), 3 Kories (17), 1 Mochi (34), 1 Gohi, 2 Kalwars (33), 2 Lodhas (3), 1 Bhurji (30), 2 Doms (41), 2 Dusadhs (13), 1 Mallah (15), 1 Lohar (16), 1 Kandu (30), 1 Barhai (16), 1 Shilpkar (Hill Dom) (43), 1 Tamta (Hill Dom) (43), 2 Pasis (42), 1 Dhobi (27) and 1 Chik (46) were nominated to District boards.

Castes regarded by Local Bodies as depressed classes.

Full information is being gathered as to the castes which ha been regarded as depressed classes by the local bodies of the provin Information of the Municipal Board, Lucknow, is available and is quot below. Data from other local bodies will be submitted as soon as ava able.

Interpellation by B. Ram Charan, B.A., LL.B., Municipal Commissioner, Lucknow, and replied to by the Chairman, Municipal Board, Lucknow, on 13th of June 1930:

With reference to the answer to my question No. 5 of the same date will the chairman please state the names and castes of the ten depressed class teachers mentioned in the question 4 ?

Reply and also inform the Board of the reasons for such disproportion between the number of teachers of the two classes. Will it please him to consider the advisability of enquiring into the root cause of the same ? If not, why not ?

Reply 4 (*a*).—The Names of the ten depressed class teachers with their castes are given below :—

1.	Bhikhari Lal	Chamar (18)
2.	Chatter Pati	Pasi (42)
3.	Ram Lal	Kurmi (48)
4.	Rekhi Ram	Kahar (24)
5.	Kalka Prasad	Nai (26)
6.	Ajodhya Prasad ..	Teli (33)
7.	Mewa Lal	Kahar (24)
8.	Permeshwar Deen ..	Kurmi (48)
9.	Ganga Din Singh ..	Kurmi (48)
10.	Mathura Prasad ..	Kurmi (48)

(*b*) Because suitable men were not avilable.

Please see (*b*) above.

Question 10.—With reference to the answer to my question No. 11 of the same date will the Chairman be pleased to state the caste of the 4 depressed class pupil teachers and the circumstances under which only 4 out of 87 pupil teachers belonging to the depressed classes were admitted into Board's training school ?

Reply. (*a*) The names and castes of the four depressed class pupil teachers :—

Ram Lal S/o Chhotey Lal	Khewat (15)
Ram Lal S/o Balla	Kisan (3)
Ram Lal S/o Merhai	Ahir (1)
Chatter Pati	Pasi (42) (but calls himself Arya).

All-India Shraddhanand Dalitodhar Sabha on the depressed classes.

The above body is a body started and controlled by the Arya Samaj whose leaders are persons like Dr. Moonji, Bhai Parma Nand, etc., etc.

Following questions were asked in the Legislative Council (*vide* Council proceedings, Vol. XL, page 226, dated 15th December 1928):—

Ch. Dharamvir Singh: Is it a fact that the name of Mr. Dharam Singh, a Mali (2) by caste and a retired station master was submitted for nomination as their (depressed class) representative to the District Magistrate, Meerut, by the Dalitodhar Sabha, Ghaziabad, by means of a representation signed by the members of the Depressed classes of Ghaziabad, but his name has not been recommended to the Govt. ?

(4) Is it a fact that in this connection the name of Dharam Singh together with the name of Mr. Nanakchand, a literate sweeper (25) and a poet, was submitted to the District Magistrate and Commissioner by Swami Rama Nand, General Secretary, All-India Dalitodhar Sabha ?

(7) Has the Government received any memorial signed by a large number of members of the depressed classes of Ghaziabad praying that of the following educated and well qualified gentlemen be nominated to represent them on the local board :—

(1) Dharam Singh (Mali) (2),

(2) Mr. Durjan Singh (Jatava) (18),

(3) Nanak Chand (Sweeper) (25),

and what action is the Government going to take on this memorial ?

The answers are not relevant.

Views of the All-India Varnashram Dharm Sabha.

The Hon'ble Mr. Blunt in his first note (para. 3) says that there are many groups outside the pale of Hindu Social system "and it is to these groups to which we now give the name 'depressed', the descendants of Nishadas and Chandalas of Vedic times and the *Hin Jatyo* of Budhist times". It is admitted that the above test is perfectly correct. But the question is whether the castes in question are within or outside the pale of Hindu Social system. The simple answer is this that they are outside it. See the speech of Maharaja of Darbhanga at the Patna Session of the All-India Varnashram Dharm Sabha, the translation of an extract of which is quoted below :—

Hindu Dharm and Varnashram Dharm.

"Let the reformers (with whose good work I am in agreement) understand it clearly that the term Hindu Dharm is a comprehensive one and within it the Varnashram Dharm is a special boundary. All Varnashram Dharmis are Hindus but all Hindus are not Varnashram Hindus. To intermingle these would be detrimental to both. Many castes like Bhil (39), Gond (24), Dhend (18), Dusadh (13), Chamar (18), Julaha (17), Ghosi (1), Kumhar (19), Vyadh (46), Swapach (Dom) (41), Khewat (15), Machhua (fishermen) (15), Nartak (Gandharb) (37), Napit (barber) (16), Anulom-Pratilom (Gogala), Lohar (16), Barhai (16), Kisan (3), Kanait, Dhanuk (14), Nat (39), Sapera (39), Aghori, etc., etc., are included in the term Hindu and are within its pale, but are independent of

Varnashram Dharm, sacraments of which are not applicable to them (*i.e.*, they have no right to religious sacraments of Hindus). Therefore to wean them from their Dharm would amount to undue interference with Varnashram Dharm and to cause a great harm to it (in other words, such castes may be called Hindus but they are beyond the pale of Varnashram Dharma)."

Castes regarded by the Indian National Congressmen as depressed classes.

It is well known that the Congress boycotted the legislatures in 1930. But the liberal party did not join the boycott. Offended at this the Congressmen, to annoy the liberals and others who contested in the general elections of 1930, secured the return of the gentlemen whom they considered as depressed among Hindu society. In order to annoy the dissentient party they drew upon Chamar (18), Dhobi (27), Bhangi (25), Dom (41), Gadariya (9), Nai (26) and Kahar (24) castes to fill these seats. The caricatures of these men appeared in the Hindu press with disgraceful poems added below them.

RAMA CHARANA (*Rai Saheb*),
B.A., LL.B., Advocate, M.L.C.,
Member, U. P. Franchise Committee.

18th March 1932.

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V

Supplementary Questionnaire addressed by the Indian Franchise Committee to the Government of the United Provinces and the United Provinces Provincial Franchise Committee, dated 22nd March 1932.

1. The Franchise Committee would be glad of the final views of the Local Government/Provincial Committee as to the detailed qualifications to be prescribed for the franchise (precise rent or revenue, educational, or other qualification) on two alternative bases—

(*a*) existence of group system as a supplement to direct system,

(*b*) wholly direct system.

In recording their final proposals will Local Government/Provincial Committee bear in mind that the Prime Minister's letter emphasises the importance of securing that "the legislatures to which responsibility is to be entrusted should be representative of the general mass of the population, and that no important section of the community may lack the means of expressing its needs and its opinions".

Please therefore furnish an analysis showing the distribution of voting power between the various classes and categories of the population under the proposals finally adopted by the Local Government/Provincial Committee, and indicating how the unenfranchised residuum is composed?

The analysis should, if possible, be based on a detailed examination of effect of proposals on two or three typical constituencies.

2. In this connection the Franchise Committee would be glad to be informed if possible—

(*i*) How many joint families, and to what extent, would secure representation under these proposals?

(*ii*) The extent to which sub-tenants will be enfranchised under them. If sub-tenants will be enfranchised only to a very small extent, or not at all, would it be difficult so to adjust the proposals of the Local Government/Provincial Committee as to secure a larger degree of representation for them?

(*iii*) The number and percentage of—

occupancy tenants,

statutory tenants,

landless labourers,

who would be enfranchised.

(*iv*) The number and percentage (Hindus and Muslims respectively) who would be enfranchised under the Local Government's/Provincial Committee's proposals.

(*v*) The number of women who would be enfranchised.

(*vi*) The number of depressed classes who would be enfranchised.

(*vii*) The number of factory employees who would be enfranchised.

Polling machinery.

3. (*a*) What is the maximum number of votes that could be accurately polled in the province using the total number of officers and maximum accommodation possible :—

(*i*) if the election is spread over—

(*a*) one day,

(*b*) two days,

(*ii*) taking 800 as the average number of voters with whom a presiding officer could deal in a day—

(*a*) if 40 per cent. of the voters are women,

(*b*) if 10 per cent. of the voters are women ?

(*b*) What percentage would this number represent of—

(*a*) total ; and

(*b*) the adult population ?

(*c*) Do you consider that a longer polling period than that suggested above would be practicable or desirable ? If so, what do you suggest ?

(*d*) In answering the above please state :—

(*i*) whether your existing polling machinery can be simplified further than by the introduction of coloured boxes and the abandonment of the requirement that an elector shall put a cross mark on the voting paper against the name of the candidate for whom he desires to vote ? If so, in what respect ;

(*ii*) whether you consider it feasible and advisable for the polling clerks in twos to issue ballot papers to voters under the general supervision of the presiding officer or whether the ballot papers should be issued by the presiding officer himself ;

(*iii*) whether on the average you consider that 1,000 registered voters could be polled [either independently or as a result of the improvements referred to under (*i*)] per day by each polling unit ;

(*iv*) what polling hours do you propose ?

4. What is the maximum personnel which could be made available and suitably used as presiding or polling officers ? The Committee would be glad to have this information under the following heads :—

(*i*) Total number of Government Officers, gazetted, non-gazetted and ministerial.

(*ii*) Total number of pensioned Government Officers.

(*iii*) Total number of Court of Wards Officers (superior and ministerial).

(*iv*) Total number of members of local bodies (Municipal Commissioners), Members of District and Union Bench Courts, Honorary Magistrates, and any other category of honorary workers who could be employed. To what extent could these figures be supplemented by the use of non-official (schoolmasters, etc.)? Is any objection likely to be raised to their use for this purpose?

(*v*) To what extent could provision be made for—

(*a*) separate polling booths for women, and for women presiding officers and clerks,

(*b*) separate entrances and compartments for women voters?

5. What franchise qualifications would you propose in order to enfranchise the maximum number of voters you consider administratively possible in reply to question 3 above? What proportion of women would be enfranchised under those qualifications?

6. Do you recommend such a maximum extension or such franchise qualifications, and if not, why not?

7. What is the approximate cost (including preparation of the electoral roll) of a general election on the present basis? What would be approximately its probable cost on the basis of the franchise finally recommended by the Local Government/Provincial Committee?

8. What is the final opinion of the Local Government as between :—

(*a*) the combination of direct voting with a group system in any form;

(*b*) the wholly indirect system, *i.e.*, abandoning direct vote altogether;

(*c*) the extension of the direct franchise to the maximum administratively practicable?

In the event of your favouring (*a*), please state whether—

(*i*) you are in favour of grouping the mukhi voters in separate constituencies to return candidates to the Council;

(*ii*) you consider that in the Eastern part of the United Provinces it would be possible to form groups of Muslim primary voters;

(*iii*) in the event of your favouring the suggestion, which has been made that the unenfranchised residuum should be grouped in groups of 10 to return secondary electors for special non-communal constituencies, what proportion of depressed class secondary electors might be expected?

9. Have you any views as to the desirability of single-member constituencies, as opposed to multi-member constituencies, electing 2, 3 or 5 members each either by the single non-transferable vote, or by any other recognised device?

Women.

10. The Prime Minister's letter emphasizes the special importance of securing a more adequate enfranchisement of women :—

(*a*) What are the final views of the Local Government/Provincial Committee in the light of the discussions that have taken place, as to the steps to be taken for securing an increased number of women voters ?

(*b*) The suggestion has been made that if the existing Council franchise is adopted as the future Federal Assembly franchise, the wives of future Assembly voters should be enfranchised. What is your view as to the desirability of such a suggestion in the United Provinces. How many women, approximately, would be enfranchised under it ?

(*c*) Do you see any objection to a wife qualified for the vote in virtue of her husband's property retaining the right to vote on widowhood ?

11. How many women be enfranchised under the franchise finally recommended by the Local Government/Provincial Committee ?

Methods of securing the presence of women in the Legislatures.

12. The Local Government and the Provincial Committee make slightly different recommendations to secure this object. A memorandum containing various alternative suggestions made elsewhere is attached. The Franchise Committee would be glad of the final views of the Local Government/Provincial Committee in the light of the discussions which have taken place, as to the method by which a small number of women should be specially elected to the Council.

Depressed classes.

13. The Prime Minister's letter draws special attention to the problem of securing for the depressed classes representatives of their own choice in the legislatures.

(*a*) Adopting the criterion of untouchability (in the sense of causing pollution by touch or approach) in the broad sense (*i.e.*, as holding good of the whole or the greater part of the Province) do the Provincial Committee agree that the castes specified in paragraph 16 of the Local Government's letter are depressed. If not, what list would they suggest ?

(*b*) The suggestion has been made that the problem of securing a larger number of depressed class voters might be solved by grouping those of the depressed classes who are not directly qualified (by property, education, etc.), for the vote in groups of 10 each to return one secondary elector who would vote side by side with other directly qualified persons on the general electoral roll. It has also been suggested that either the secondary voters belonging to the depressed classes or all

depressed class voters might be made into a special electorate returning a certain number of members direct to the Legislature by means of a second or additional vote. What are your views as to the desirability and practicability of these proposals ?

14. Please give as close an estimate as possible of the number of depressed class voters, accepting for purposes of this calculation the castes specified in paragraph 16 of the local Government's letter, who will be enfranchised under the Local Government's/Provincial Committee's final proposals.

Labour.

14A. In the light of the discussions which have taken place do the Local Government/Provincial Committee wish to modify their views as to the suitability of trade unions as the basis of representation of organised labour.

15. Do you propose that the same electoral system should be applied to town and country. Do the Local Government/Provincial Committee consider that universal direct adult suffrage would be desirable and administratively feasible in those towns in the province with a population exceeding 50,000. If so, how many days would it take to poll the adult population, and could any approximate estimate be given of the expenditure involved ?

16. Do you consider that town and country should have representation in the Council proportionate to their numbers, or do you consider that the towns should have some weightage ; and if so, to what extent. Would you advise the grouping of municipalities and urban areas over say 5,000 into constituencies apart from the rural areas, as has been suggested in another Province ?

Provincial Legislature.

17. What are the final views of the Provincial Committee as to the number of seats to be reserved in the Provincial Legislature for each of the special interests they consider should be represented in it ?

Size of House.

18. What do you consider should be the size of the Provincial Legislature taking into account the necessity of making the constituencies conform to district boundaries and assuming the maintenance of separate electorates for Muslims on the present basis ?

Second Chamber.

19. What are the views of the Provincial Committee as to the desirability of a Second Chamber ? If they are in favour of a Second Chamber what should be its number, on what basis should it be constituted and what should be its powers *vis-a-vis* the Lower House. What qualifications would you prescribe for membership ?

20. Would the Provincial Committee modify their proposals about the franchise, or the representation of special interests, in the Lower House if there were a Second Chamber ? If so, in what respects ?

Federal Legislature.

21. What are the final views of the Provincial Committee as to the basis of the franchise for—

(*a*) the Senate, and

(*b*) the Federal Assembly,

and the extent to which it should be enlarged ?

22. The Franchise Committee would be glad if the Local Government would further consider the representation of women in the Federal Assembly.

23. How would you actually elect women and representatives of other special interests which you may think it desirable to include in the Federal Assembly ?

24. Would you require a literacy qualification for members of—

(*a*) the Provincial Council, and

(*b*) the Federal Assembly ?

25. The Franchise Committee would be glad if the Local Government/ Provincial Committee would state any other respects, not covered by the above questions, in which they would modify their original proposals.

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VI

Memorandum by the Government of the United Provinces in reply to the Supplementary Questionnaire* issued by the Indian Franchise Committee.

LETTER FROM THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED PROVINCES, TO THE SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, CAMP INDIA, No. 829-R., DATED NAINI TAL, THE 8TH APRIL 1932.

I am directed to refer to the memorandum of the Indian Franchise Committee, dated the 22nd March 1932,* in which they ask that certain points relating to the franchise should be further considered by the Government of the United Provinces, and to furnish the final views of His Excellency the Governer, his Executive Council and Ministers on them.

2. Material for the replies to many of the questions, specially those which embrace rural areas, had not been recently compiled, and was not therefore available at the headquarters of Government. But the Indian Franchise Committee required the information, which would ordinarily have taken many months to collect, within a fortnight. The Government considered that the best, indeed the only, method of obtaining it would be to direct every tahsildar throughout the province to select ten typical villages in the neighbourhood of his tahsil and submit a return within the shortest time possible, embodying the necessary statitics for those villages. The returns which would give statistics for 1,800 villages would then be collated and the results applied to the provinces as a whole. Up to the time that His Excellency the Governor held his meeting with his Council and Ministers, the returns of 80 tahsils or 800 villages had been tabulated and these form the basis of the present reply. Though the number of villages is relatively small, they are situated in every part of the province and they, therefore, represent with a fair degree of accuracy the conditions of the whole. Subsequent returns in fact, which have so far been partially tabulated, indicate that there will only be a decimal variation, if any, in most of the figures which are quoted below: and they will not, therefore, materially affect the decisions which have been reached. It is proposed, nevertheless, to forward the completed† statistics, as soon as they are ready, to the Indian Franchise Committee, so that they may be able to compare them with those already forwarded and use them in any other manner they think necessary.

3. In their first question the Indian Franchise Committee have asked this Government to inform them of the degree of representation that should be accorded to the various classes and categories of the population and to state the corresponding numbers and percentages for each. These figures will generally depend on the final decisions of the Government on problems contained in later questions, particularly those relating to polling machinery, the group system and the representation of women, labour and the depressed classes.

* Pages 361-366.

† See telegram No. 967-R. of 19th April 1932 printed at page 452.

It would, therefore, seem advisable to deal with those problems first, in the order in which they occur in the questionnaire, and then to return to the first question and to dispose of that as a summary of the rest. It may be mentioned here that the memorandum referred to in question 14, containing alternative suggestions regarding the inclusion of women in the legislature has not been received and that the fourth question is missing. It is presumed, however, that the absence of the latter is due merely to a clerical mistake in the serial order of the questions.

4. The first of the problems, with which I am to deal, is that contained in question 2 and relates to polling machinery. It is presumed that in their visits to this province the Indian Franchise Committee will have gained some knowledge of the methods by which votes are at present recorded. The Government have carefully examined the proposals to abolish the existing system of identification and to substitute the use of coloured boxes for the crossmarking of ballot papers; and they agree, though with some reluctance as regards the former (in view of the probability that it is likely to increase the number of election petitions), that effect may be given to them provided patwaris and the agents of candidates are present to minimize the chances of personation. They are influenced in their decision by the fact that signature slips have not apparently been found necessary in some other provinces. They can suggest no other way in which the polling machinery can be simplified.

5. The answer to question 3 will show that an average maximum of 200 presiding and polling officers is available per district. It is on this number that the votes which can be actually polled is mainly dependent. There will be no difficulty about clerks or polling stations, because clerks can be found in the ratio of five to one to officers; while schools, which are generally used as polling stations, are more than sufficient to meet all requirements. With the abolition of the identification process and of cross-marking on ballot papers, it will be more essential than ever that only those are appointed polling officers in whom the public can place a ready and implicit confidence.

6. Under the altered methods Government have come to the conclusion that a polling officer could deal on an average with between 600 and 700 actual voters (whether men or women) in place of the present 200 or 250. The main reason why he will not generally be able to deal with more is that voting is not evenly distributed during the time the poll is open. There are usually several hours in the day during which very few votes are recorded. But even though the number of votes recorded is limited to the above figure, the number on the rolls will be considerably higher. Figures for a normal election show that the polling ranges from 45 to 65 per cent. of the electors on the roll and it is therefore not expected that more than 66 per cent. of the electors will actually poll especially on a greatly enlarged register. So the polling officer, if he records 660 votes, will be dealing with a thousand electors on the roll. A simple calculation will accordingly be all that is necessary to ascertain the maximum capacity of the polling machinery. But before they proceed to make this calculation, Government

think it necessary to make a reservation, *viz.*, that at every polling station there must, in addition to the polling officers, continue to be a presiding officer whose special duty it will be to control the arrangements, watch the ballot boxes, instruct the illiterate voters, and deal with objections regarding identification. A convenient polling unit will then consist of a presiding officer, three polling officers and from six to eight clerks, and they will between them be able to deal with 3,000 voters on the roll or to record 2,000 actual votes. With these preliminary remarks it now becomes possible to reply to the questions.

Q. 2 (a).—(*i*) The total number of polling officers available—

(*a*) If the election is spread over one day—will be 200 × 48 (the number of districts in the province) or 9,600. As one in every four will be a presiding officer, they can deal with 7,200,000 voters on the roll or with between 14 to 15 per cent. of the whole population. The number of actual votes they will be able to record at 66 per cent. comes to 4,800,000.

(*b*) An additional 50 per cent. may be added to the above figures if the elections are spread over two days. Voters on the roll will then be 10,800,000, and votes recorded 7,200,000.

It must, however, be reiterated that these are maximum figures. There are several districts in which it will not be possible to find as many as 200 presiding and polling officers, and others in which sufficient police* will not be available to post at the many more numerous polling stations that will now be required. Government have thought it most necessary to go into this matter, because unless proper arrangements are made to preserve order the whole of the machinery is likely to be thrown out of gear. They have experience of unfortunate occurrences in the past in which failure to keep the crowd in check has led to most troublesome complications. They consider that on an average a minimum force of four constables with a subordinate officer in charge is required at each polling station, and that this force can only be found if the average number of polling stations is limited to 50 per district. On this basis it will be possible to deal, as before, with 7,200,000 voters on the roll, but with the same reservation, that in some districts the staff will be under this average and that it will therefore be necessary to take a proportion of less than 14 per cent. Even so, polling will have to be extended to two days in several of the more densely populated districts. After full consideration Government have come to the conclusion that the maximum figure which can safely be taken is 6,000,000, which is equivalent to 12½ per cent. of the population, or 25 per cent. of adults, exclusive of the Muslim voters who will number another 1·3 per cent. or 624,000.

(*ii*) If 800 instead of 666 is taken as the actual number of voters with which a polling officer could deal in a day, the number of votes polled

* *Vide* Note on the subject attached, page 381.

will be 5,760,000 or 12 per cent. It is estimated that it will take a polling officer as long to deal with four women as with five men, and therefore—

(*a*) where 40 per cent. of the actual voters are women, the number of votes recorded would be 5,300,000;

(*b*) where 10 per cent. were women, the number of votes would be 5,645,000.

Q. 2 (*b*).—(*a*) In the first case the percentage will be about 11 of the total population or 22 of adults.

(*b*) In the second case between 11 and 12 of the total population or 23 of adults.

But no deduction need be made for women from the number on the rolls, because few of them are expected actually to exercise their right; and 66 per cent. the proportion of actual voters taken above, will cover them as well as men.

(*c*) Government do not consider it either practicable or desirable to increase the polling period for non-Muslims generally to more than one day, though this will be necessary in some districts. This will not only cause increased expense and inconvenience to the candidates but will also lead to apprehension of disturbances, since a candidate dissatisfied with the first day's poll may cause trouble in order to be able to file an election petition. Moreover, the additional votes which can be polled in two days will be far less than double the number pollable on one day. The first day is not likely to attract many voters, most of whom will prefer to vote on the second, in the case of a two-day poll. It is presumed that a separate day for the election of Muslims will be retained.

(*d*) (*i*) This question has been replied to above.

(*ii*) It is essential that the polling officer should himself issue the ballot papers to electors and keep his own tally of them. This work should not be entrusted to clerks who can, however, attend to all the other preliminary processes. The presiding officer will be in general charge of the polling arrangements at each station.

(*iii*) By registered voters, it is understood that electors on the roll are meant. This question has been answered above in the affirmative.

(*iv*) The present polling hours are from 7-30 A.M. to 11-30 A.M. and from 12-30 P.M. to 4-30 P.M. The polling staff has to arrive at least half an hour in advance to make preliminary arrangements and to remain for half to one hour after the close of the poll to check the issue of ballot papers, seal the boxes, and pack up the returns and paraphernalia. The staff has had a very full day when journeys to and from polling stations are taken into account. The polling hours cannot therefore be extended.

Q. 3 (*i*) *to* (*iv*).—The maximum personnel which could be made available and could be suitably used as presiding and polling officers

comes on an average to 200 per district. The following statement will provide the information required by the Indian Franchise Committee under various heads.

The Government are of opinion that the services of members of local bodies or of honorary magistrates, assistant collectors and munsifs can only be utilized with a great deal of caution. Nearly all of them will be personally interested in the elections, and they will, as landholders or otherwise, be subject to the imputation that they have influenced the voting. As regards the use of vakils and mukhtars, experience shows that the large majority of these are employed by candidates as their election agents. Persons belonging to these classes to whom these considerations do not apply have been shown in a general heading "*Other gentlemen*". It is also thought inadvisable to utilize teachers other than those in Government service in view of the part which they have played in past elections.

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Statement of personnel available as presiding or polling officers in the province.

I.—Number of Government officers in various departments.

	Departments.	Gazetted officers.				Non-gazetted officers.			
		All-India services.		Other services.		Posts over Rs. 260 per mensem.		Posts between Rs. 250 and Rs. 100 per mensem.	
		Permanent.	Temporary.	Permanent.	Temporary.	Permanent.	Temporary.	Permanent.	Temporary.
1	Land Revenue and General Administration Department.	98	5	382	34	118	5	1,063	123
2	Law and Justice Department.	22	..	229	30	41	..	441	25
3	Public Works Department.	79	1	133	23	37	9	581	204
4	Agriculture Department.	11	..	39	8	4	..	206	9
5	Co-operative Department.	2	..	9	..	3	..	65	..
6	Veterinary Department.	1	..	3	2	..	..	19	4
7	Land Records Department.	1	..	2	2	1	..	20	3
8	Registration Department.	..	..	6	..	..	..	94	..
9	Museum Department	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
10	Education Department.	10	1	144	..	56	..	983	59
11	Excise Department	1	..	8	3	12	1	135	12
12	Stamps Department	..	..	3	..	..	..	1	..
13	Press Department	..	..	3	..	..	..	16	..
14	Industries Department.	2	..	30	2	9	1	88	2
15	Forest Department	27	..	21	4	2	..	150	3
16	Miscellaneous ..	..	..	5	..	..	..	2	..
	Total ..	254	7	1,018	108	283	16	3,864	444

Total number of Government officers—5,994.

II.—Other officials and non-officials.

1.	Officials of Co-operative Department (supervisors)	228
2.	Civil Government pensioners on Rs. 200 a month	400
3.	Court of Ward's officials— (*a*) Special managers, (*b*) Assistant managers, (*c*) Head clerks (ministerial)	63
4.	Members of local bodies	*Nil.**
5.	Honorary magistrates, assistant collectors or munsifs.	*Nil.**
6.	Vakils and mukhtars	*Nil.**
7.	Postmasters	1,200
8.	Teachers in Government High Schools	1,352
9.	Graduates and post-graduates	300
10.	Other gentlemen	1,000
	Total	4,543
	GRAND TOTAL	10,537

This will give an average of 220 per district: but 10 per cent. of this number should be deducted on account of leave, illness or other incapacity. There will then remain 200 per district.

(*v*) (*a*) It will seldom be possible to provide separate buildings as polling booths for women. Only a very limited number of tents can be made available, but it will be possible to construct thatched sheds at a moderate cost. There will not, however, be much actual demand for them because of the paucity of women who could be used as polling officers or clerks, specially in rural areas. In a few districts where missions exist, the ladies belonging to them will perhaps be prepared to undertake the duty.

(*b*) Separate compartments for women voters will only be available in the cases mentioned above, or at middle schools.

(*c*) Arrangements could be made to rope off separate entrances and exits for such voters.

Q. 5.—The franchise qualifications proposed are those which will produce a percentage of about 12·5 in rural constituencies for non-Muslims and a somewhat larger proportion in urban constituencies. This and the number of women who will be enfranchised under them will be given in reply to question 1.

Q. 6.—It will be seen that Government proposed to lower the franchise qualifications so as to admit the largest number administratively feasible.

* *Vide* foregoing observations.

Q. 7.—The approximate cost of a general election on the present basis, including the preparation of an electoral roll, is 4½ lakhs. If the present election arrangements are simplified in the manner proposed above, there will be a saving in certain items, but an additional expenditure in others. It is estimated that if 10 per cent. of the population are enfranchised, the cost of an election will be 10 lakhs; if 12·5 per cent.—12 lakhs; and if 15 per cent.—14 lakhs.

But expenditure will vary considerably according to the number of special electorates created and the introduction in whole or part of the group system.

Q. 8.—In paras. 2 and 6 of their previous letter, dated March 20, 1932, this Government have stated that they were willing to adopt the group system because it would embrace, particularly in rural areas, the elements of adult suffrage and would thus to some extent solve the problem of securing representation for women and depressed classes. They expressed this view however only with considerable hesitation and before they had received replies from all the district officers whom they had consulted. The majority of these officers do not favour the system and reconsideration of the whole question leads Government to view it with a hesitation which is even more pronounced than before. Their final opinion, therefore, is that it would be preferable to increase the electorate under the direct system, which would have the effect of bringing in more of the depressed classes, than to face the difficulties which the group system will undoubtedly present. The remaining parts of the question will thus no longer arise, though with reference to (*c*) (*ii*) it may be mentioned that there will undoubtedly be difficulties in composing groups of Muslim primary voters not only in the eastern but also in the southern parts of the province. An analysis of the Muslim inhabitants of 50 villages in the Rae Bareli district shows that there will not on an average be more than seven in each.

Q. 9.—The present feeling in the Province is certainly in favour of single, as opposed to multi-member, constituencies: and in this connection I am to refer to the previous observation which is contained in para. 7, page 565 of the Report on the working of the System of Government in the United Provinces. It is there stated that "a rural voter—and he is the average voter—finds sufficient difficulty in casting a straight vote for a single candidate. To ask him to arrange candidates in order of preference even with the existing franchise would be to try him far too highly." Moreover, if coloured boxes are used, the number of those which would be required in a multi-member constituency would add to the voter's confusion. A further argument against the multi-member constituency is that it means a bigger electorate: and this will not only increase the difficulties of canvassing but will also reduce the opportunities for personal contact between the candidates and their constituents.

Q. 10.—Government have considered further the question of securing an increased number of women voters in the light of the discussions which they have held with the Indian Franchise Committee. As a

result of the inquiries they have made they find that a proportion of 2·2 per cent. of the total female population in rural constituencies or some 500,000 women will be enfranchised in their own right, if the future qualifications are to be payment of Rs. 5 revenue or Rs. 10 rent. If, moreover, the proposal contained in para. 13 of this Government's previous letter is adopted—that in addition every woman should be allowed a vote who could produce a certificate that she could read and write—the above number, it is estimated, will be further increased by 128,000 to 628,000. Some members of Government are inclined to regard this as adequate representation. They would prefer to stop there rather than bring a large number of other woman on the roll by a qualification of which the only justification is that it will serve to enfranchise them. Other members of Government however regard this representation as inadequate and they agree with the proposal that the vote may be extended to the wives of electors who at present hold the franchise for the Council. This, it is calculated, would produce nearly a million more women voters.

Government consider it anomalous to give a vote based on a property qualification once that qualification has ceased to exist. They do not therefore approve of the proposal contained in question 10 (*c*).

Q. 11.—The total number of women to be enfranchised will be stated in reply to question 1.

Q. 12.—Government adhere to the conclusion contained in para. 14 of their previous letter that a definite number of seats should be reserved for women. They agree with the Provincial Franchise Committee that 5 is a suitable number, but adhere to their previous conclusion that these should be filled from among those candidates who have polled the largest proportionate number of votes, but have not been successful in obtaining a seat. They think there is comparatively little force in the reasons which the Provincial Committee have given for their variant recommendation on this point.

Q. 13.—A reply from Government is not apparently required to the first part of this question, but I am to say that Government have considered whether the group system might be applied to the depressed classes, even if it is not generally adopted for those who will otherwise remain without a vote. They have finally decided against this suggestion, because of the difficulties and expense that it would entail. Not only are the depressed classes dispersed throughout the province but also in numerous villages there will hardly be enough of them to form a single group of adults. But even so it would be necessary, if the group system were adopted, to put officers on special duty in every district to hold the primary elections. These difficulties would not be mitigated if either of the other proposals referred to by the Indian Franchise Committee were accepted. Even on Government's classification the secondary voters would not amount to more than 300,000: and it would hardly be reasonable to establish a separate electorate for them, when

this would require as many polling stations as for the general constituencies. Nor do Government agree to grant them a second or additional vote. Instead of abolishing the distinctions that at present exist between them and high caste Hindus (which seems to be the aim of the proposal), it would be more likely to perpetuate them, because the depressed class voters would gradually cease to take an interest in the return of candidates except from their own community. As it is, the depressed classes according to the Government's definition will have a fair amount of representation if the qualifications for voters are lowered. On a basis of Rs. 5 revenue and Rs. 10 rent they will possess 782,000 voters.

Government are informed that the Chairman of the Indian Franchise Committee has given a definition to the Chairman of the Provincial Committee which would confine the depressed classes to those who cause "pollution by touch or approach as it exists in this province." If so, the actual number would be reduced to 459,000, and on that definition it would be impossible to secure representation for other than those restricted classes. At the same time the local Government feel that it is necessary to take into consideration classes other than those so defined. Should this be admitted and representation is to be found for them, then, if nomination is not acceptable, Government are prepared to accept a procedure similar to that recommended for women in the answer to question 12. As regards the number of seats to be reserved for the depressed classes in the Provincial Council, Government agree with the Provincial Committee that 10 is a reasonable number. They would however be inclined to regard this as a minimum.

Q. 14.—An estimate of the number of depressed class voters who will be enfranchised under the local Government's proposals will be furnished in reply to question 1.

(*a*) Although the number of persons including women employed in factories registered under the Indian Factories Act is 92,000, more than a third of these are concentrated in Cawnpore district. Six other districts have between them another 35,000, while the remainder are distributed over 32 districts. Even this does not exhaust the problem. A certain percentage of the operatives are under 21 and a further number earn less than Rs. 15 a month or are casual labourers. When these factors are taken into account it is computed that only 38,649 out of 92,000 would be enfranchised. Government therefore propose that the qualifying wage should be reduced to Rs. 12 a month, a figure which would enfranchise 50,000 operatives. Even so, in places other than Cawnpore the operatives will find the greatest difficulty in combining to return a representative. Government think however that a beginning should now be made in accepting the principle of obtaining representation through trades unions by the reservation of a further seat for this purpose. But it must be understood that these unions should first be recognized by a tribunal such as that recommended by the Whitley Commission. Further, no union should be admitted for this purpose until the tribunal is satisfied that it embraces a number of workers so

substantial as to be representative of the interests of the industry concerned. Under the present system the proportion of the electorate is 10 per cent. in urban and 3 per cent. in rural constituencies. Under the franchise proposed for the rural areas 13·5 per cent. of the population will obtain a vote and the local Government recognize that there must also be some further enfranchisement in towns particularly as the standard of wealth and intelligence is greater in them and more interest is displayed in politics. They therefore propose that the rental qualification in urban areas which is at present Rs. 36 *per annum* should be reduced to Rs. 24. On the information available this would increase the representation from 10 to 15 per cent. of the total urban population. At the same time Government may observe that if it is decided to enfranchise women on the present Council qualifications of their husbands the electorate will be increased by another 8 per cent.

Government are not, however, prepared to agree to the grant of adult suffrage to towns in which the population exceeds 50,000. This would create a quite unreasonable disparity and, on account of the number of polling officers and of police that would be required, would mean a separate date for elections. The expense would also be high. Judging by the cost of a recent municipal election at Lucknow, this would not be less than 2½ lakhs.

Q. 16.—The present position in regard to the representation of town and country in the Council is that there are 89 general seats, 12 of which are urban and 77 rural. But while 96·7 per cent. of the total population live in rural, only 3·3 per cent. live in urban constituencies. Thus towns already have a very considerable weightage. But for the reasons given in reply to the former question, Government would have no objection to the formation of urban constituencies for all towns with a population of over 50,000. There are 17 of these in the province, with a total of close on 2 million residents. If the number of Council members is increased to 200 or more, it would seem reasonable to form at least 20 constituencies out of urban areas.

Government would not, however, advise the grouping of other municipalities or urban areas with a population of over 5,000 into separate constituencies, owing to the distances that often exist between them. It has been stated in para. 177 of the Report on the Working of the System of Government in the United Provinces that it would be necessary to group a considerable number together, and the constituencies thus formed would be entirely lacking in community of local interests.

Qs. 17 to 21.—Questions 17 to 21 are addressed to the Provincial Committee, and, having now given their views on all the main problems of franchise for the Council, Government are in a position to deal with the first question. But before doing so they think it would be as well to complete the remaining answers to the questionnaire, which relate mainly to the Federal Assembly.

Q. 22.—Government agree with the recommendation of the Provincial Committee that one seat should be reserved for women in the Federal Assembly. In para. 22 of their previous reply they expressed the view that representation to that Chamber should be through an electorate consisting of members of district and municipal boards. A Bill is now before the Provincial Council which, if it passes into law, will authorize Government to nominate one woman member to each of these boards in future. Government have accordingly considered the suggestion that all the members of these boards, or alternatively the women members only, should between them elect one woman as their representative in the Federal Assembly. They have, however, ultimately discarded it, because that method would mean the return of a representative by electors who would, in the first alternative, depend for her seat on the votes of what was almost entirely a male electorate and in the second, of those who were themselves nominated members. As both these methods are open to criticism, they would prefer an arrangement under which the woman who stands first under the system proposed in the reply to question 12 should be given the option of taking her seat in the Federal Assembly. If she did not exercise that option, her place would go to the woman standing next on the list.

Q. 23.—The method for electing a woman representative to the Federal Assembly has been discussed in reply to the previous question. In addition to this, the Government consider that special representation should be afforded to Trade and Commerce, as the bulk of legislation affecting these interests will be in the Federal Assembly and not in the Provincial Council, and it is doubtful whether these special interests will be sufficiently voiced by representatives elected through the ordinary channels.

Landlords should also obtain some special representation partly on general grounds and partly because their interests would be affected if the Federal Assembly introduced such measures as the extension of income-tax to agricultural income.

In the case of Trade and Commerce the number of representatives should be two, who would be elected, one by the Upper India Chamber of Commerce, and the other by a panel of other Chambers. In the case of landlords there should be two representatives, one of whom would be elected by the British Indian Association of Oudh and the other by the Agra Landlords' Association.

Q. 24.—Government are of opinion that a literacy qualification is required both for members of the Provincial Council and of the Federal Assembly. Literacy should be regarded as ability to read and write with facility either English or one of the vernaculars of the province. In view of past difficulties in the interpretation of a similar provision in the District Boards Act they think it essential that, if any question arises whether a candidate has the qualification, the test should be placed

in the hands of an absolutely impartial authority, as for instance a High Court Judge, whose decision will be final.

Q. 25.—In their last question the Indian Franchise Committee have asked whether the local Government wish to modify their original proposals in any other respect. The Government have held a further discussion regarding the special representation of landowners concerning which they made certain recommendations in para. 21 of their previous reply. Before they express any final opinion on this point, they wish to make a further inquiry as to the number of "superior revenue payers" not belonging to the British Indian Association of Oudh.

Q. 1.—Having now disposed of all other matters referred to them, Government are able to furnish the estimates for which the Indian Franchise Committee have asked in the first of their questions. It may be as well, however, in view of the fact that their recommendations will determine these estimates, to recapitulate as briefly as possible what these recommendations are on the more important points. Government have finally decided not to adopt the group system either for the unenfranchised residuum or for the depressed classes, but to base the suffrage on a widening of the electorate under the wholly direct system. They find that in the case both of women and of depressed classes, a fair measure of representation will be granted if the qualifications are reduced to the extent now proposed: and they have at the same time suggested means by which a further extension of the franchise may be given to women. Apart from this a method has been recommended by which these interests will secure a sufficient proportion of seats in the Legislative Council and the Federal Assembly. The reduction of qualifications will secure for the rural areas an electorate of approximately 13·5 per cent. of the population as compared with the existing 3·6 per cent. and for the urban constituencies of 15 per cent. (or if women are included some 23 per cent.) as compared with the present 10 per cent. This, Government think, is the limit indicated by the capacity of their polling machinery and the other arrangements which they can make for the conduct of elections. They regard these factors as of such primary importance that they have been at special pains to analyze them. This analysis is furnished partly in reply to questions 3 and 4, and partly as an appendix in which they have described the arrangements that could be made for policing an increased number of polling stations. Before the actual figures of representation are quoted, I am to deal with the two preliminary points contained in (*i*) and (*ii*) of the question.

It is not possible to provide any estimate of the joint families who would be included or of the extent to which they would secure representation. In the case both of joint families and of joint tenancies the practice has so far been to enfranchise only the head of the family or tenancy.

This position is well accepted in the province. It is difficult to devise any system for the accurate division of shares in a joint family,

which comprises infants as well as adults, and the local Government agree with the Provincial Committee in considering that sufficient allowance has been made for other than the head of the family by the creation of the literacy qualification.

Nor do Government think it necessary to grant representation to sub-tenants. The great majority of sub-tenants in this province are also tenants-in-chief. Statistics in fact show that if the franchise qualification is reduced to Rs. 5 revenue and Rs. 10 rent, only 520,000 sub-tenants in rural constituencies will not also have rights as tenants-in-chief.

In answering (*iii*) I am to say that Government have grouped all occupancy and statutory tenants together, because there is no fundamental difference in their status for the purpose of enfranchisement. If, as Government now finally propose, the rental qualification is reduced to Rs. 10, the percentage and number of enfranchised tenants-in-chief will be 11·3 per cent. of the total population in rural constituencies, or 5,198,000.

Apart from this, if the revenue qualification is also reduced to Rs. 5, a further proportion of 2·2 per cent. or another million will be enfranchised as landholders. Thus tenants-in-chief and landholders will between them secure a representation of 13·5 per cent. or 6,200,000.

"Landless labourers" number 11 per cent. or just over five millions of the total population in rural constituencies. They, however, include the adult relatives of all tenants and landholders in joint families and holdings, most of the members of backward and depressed classes, and village artizans. They will be sufficiently represented by the tenant vote and by the special arrangements that are proposed for giving the depressed classes a certain number of seats in the Legislative Council.

(*iv*) The percentage and numbers of non-Muslims and Muslims enfranchised in rural constituencies on a basis of Rs. 10 rent and Rs. 5 revenue would be (including the depressed classes)—

Non-Muslims	.. ..	12·4 per cent. or 5,700,000
Muslims	.. ..	1·1 per cent. or 500,000

of the total population of the rural constituencies.

(*v*) The number of women enfranchised in rural constituencies on their own qualifications on the above basis would be 500,000, or 1·1 per cent. of the total population.

If they are also enfranchised on the present Council qualifications of their husbands, the number would increase by a million roughly. The total would then probably be in the neighbourhood of 1,500,000 in rural constituencies.

(*vi*) The number of depressed classes enfranchised in their own rights would be 782,000 or 1·7 per cent. of the population in rural constituencies.

(*vii*) The number of factory employees ultimately enfranchised under Government's proposals may be taken as about 50,000.

The unenfranchised residuum of adults which will be composed of—

(1) landless labourers,

(2) village artizans,

(3) dependents,

will number 17¾ millions, which is equivalent to nearly 38·5 per cent. of the total population in rural constituencies.

Police arrangements for elections.

Government have made an inquiry into the number of police available for maintaining order at polling stations. The average number of polling stations per district is 30 at present: and this will often have to be doubled if the electorate is to be tripled or more. It is stated on page 171 of the Report on the Working of the System of Government that as a general rule one station can deal with an electoral roll of 2,000 to 2,500: this might however be stretched somewhat further to a maximum of say 3,000. On the basis of past figures it may be taken that not more than 66 per cent. of this maximum or 2,000 would actually come to the polls.

The non-Muslim population of the Province is 40,900,000, and if 15 per cent. are to be enfranchised, and the average number of polling stations per district is taken at 50, the average number of registered electors for each will be 2,550.

The strength of the district police force in the province is 29,633. Inquiry shows that a *maximum* of one-half of these could be made available for work at polling stations. This gives roughly 300 men per district, which would allow five men (a sub-inspector, head constable, or naik, and four constables) to a polling station; and that is the average minimum which Government consider necessary. The police would have to be on duty for ten hours on polling days and could hardly work the whole of this time without relief. Subsequently, they would have to transport the polling boxes to headquarters. Under the proposed system it will be a matter of first rate importance to guard against any tampering with them. At some polling stations, particularly in towns, five men will be quite inadequate: but rural polling stations could often do with less and make up the balance with chaukidars, who will in any case have to supplement the police units. The number of chaukidars in the province is now roughly 33,000.

Police arrangements can thus be made for polling 15 per cent. on an average, but it would hardly be safe to utilize the whole of the available force. There is also much unevenness in the distribution of the police force and of the population between the various districts. By way of illustration the cases of districts—Agra, Budaun, Hamirpur and Gorakhpur (which have been taken more or less at random) may be cited.

Agra contains a city of 205,000 inhabitants and is accordingly exceptionally well staffed. The constabular force available there is 342. The number of non-Muslim voters on a 15 per cent. basis would be 153,750, which means 2,562 voters for each polling station, if the number of these is increased from 30 to 60. There would thus be on an average five to six men for each. This number is not more than sufficient, as city polling stations will require more than four constables.

In Budaun, if the number of polling stations is increased from 23 to 46, four constables could, by a similar calculation, be found for each.

In Hamirpur, where only 110 constables are available, if the number of polling stations is increased from 18 to 25 only, there will be 2,816 voters and four constables for each.

Thus in the above three districts police arrangements could just be managed for 15 per cent. of the population, but there would be little or no margin for reserve.

The state of affairs is very different in Gorakhpur. The constabular force available there is 225. The number of non-Muslim voters on a 15 per cent. basis would be 478,000. If there were 90 polling stations instead of the present 45, the average number of registered voters would be 5,310, which is excessive. The number of polling stations might be increased to 150, which would give an average of 3,186 voters. But in that case even two constables would not be available for each. The only solution here is to leave the number of polling stations at 90; utilize all the chaukidars available and hold elections on two days. There are a few other districts, particularly, Basti, Azamgarh and Gonda in which a two days' election will be required.

From the police point of view the general conclusion then is that a percentage of under 15 per cent. of the population should be taken as electors, if there is to be a reserve for emergencies. Thirteen to fourteen per cent., would be a much safer figure, and that is between three and four times the present number of the enfranchised population.

In the above examples the constabular force in particular has been considered. Sufficient inferior police officers would generally be available in the ratio of one to four.

VII

Memorandum by the United Provinces Provincial Franchise Committee in reply to the Supplementary Questionnaire* issued by the Indian Franchise Committee.

The United Provinces Franchise Committee was constituted under G. O. No. 23-R., dated February 5, 1932. The Committee met at Lucknow from February 1 to 6; thereafter with the Indian Franchise Committee on February 7 to 9, and again separately on February 18. They held their meetings subsequently from March 3 to 17, excepting March 5 and 13, to examine witnesses and formulate conclusions. These meetings were held mostly in the afternoons on account of the Legislative Council being in session. The two Committees in joint session examined witnesses and held discussions from March 19 to 21. The Committee held their final meetings at Lucknow from April 1 to 3 to consider the subsequent questionnaire issued by the Indian Franchise Committee and discussed their report at Naini Tal on April 7 to 9.

The original questionnaire issued by the Indian Franchise Committee was circulated by the Provincial Committee to 32 ladies, 17 members of the Council, 51 depressed class members, 19 depressed class associations, 7 labour associations and 98 other associations and general public. Replies were received in time from 11 ladies, 3 members of the Council, 27 depressed class members, 12 depressed class associations, 2 labour associations and 101 other associations and general public. The Committee examined 7 ladies, 2 members of the Council, 6 depressed class members, 2 depressed class associations and 22 persons, representing other associations, official opinion and the general public (*vide* Appendix A†).

Witnesses were also examined in joint session of the two Committees (*vide* Appendix B‡).

The Committee were greatly handicapped in their work by the lack of accurate statistics which could be supplied only during the April meetings.

Adult suffrage the goal.—The Prime Minister's letter to the Chairman of the Indian Franchise Committee starts by referring to the decision of His Majesty's Government that "The Governor's provinces are to become responsibly governed"; and in view of this, emphasizes that "it is clearly necessary to so widen the electorate that the legislatures to which responsibility is to be entrusted should be representative of the general mass of population and that no important section of the community may lack the means of expressing its needs and its opinions." He has further reminded us that at the Franchise Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference, whose discussions related "primarily to the provincial electorates", "it was generally held that adult suffrage was the goal which should ultimately be attained"; but the majority of the Sub-Committee considered that "it was only practicable to reach that goal by stages," and that "the immediate increase" should not be less than 10 per cent. and not more than 25 per cent. of the population. The Indian Franchise

* Pages 361—366. † Page 405. ‡ Page 407.

Committee have laid down that these figures limit the scope of our possible recommendations.

The United Provinces Franchise Committee fully endorse the view that adult suffrage should be our aim and are definitely of opinion that it should be attained as early as practicable. The stability of a responsible constitution rests mainly on the extent to which it can make every one of its citizens feel that he or she has some voice in making it function; and it is for this reason that in no truly democratic State to-day any adult of sound mind is left without the right to vote. In this way there is created in every individual an interest in its proper governance. But it is obvious that there are practical difficulties in giving effect to this much desired aim. The difficulties relate, in our opinion, not to the incapacity of the voter to exercise his new power, nor to the inability of the candidate to handle a large electorate; but mainly to the administrative difficulty of enabling a large mass of the population to record its vote in a fair and satisfactory manner.

As vast numbers of voters are brought to the poll in other countries by means of adult suffrage, a question that needs to be answered is why a similar task is well nigh impossible in the immediate future in India. The same conditions prevail more or less all over India but we are at present chiefly concerned with our own province. This province is densely populated and covers a vast area; and our voters are not to any appreciable extent concentrated in big cities as in some other countries. The twin problems of providing enough polling officers to record votes and sufficient police to maintain order gain added force if more than 90 per cent. of the voters of the province have to go to booths scattered far and wide over the interior of the country. In cities there is always a reserve of police available, but only a small part of this can be used at one time. Similarly, in the bigger cities though there are many responsible citizens prepared to take up the work of polling at the centre where they reside, most of them will be unwilling to go out a long distance off. Thus the distribution of our large rural population over an extensive area produces a problem which is not always to be found in other countries where adult suffrage obtains. But by far the most disturbing factor which makes the problem bristle with difficulties at the present moment is due to the colossal illiteracy of the people. The polling officer in this country has to deal with voters, more than 90 per cent. of whom are illiterate, and in the recording of whose votes malpractices are possible. Thus the responsibilities of a polling officer are fairly heavy and onerous; and people ought to repose a certain amount of trust in him. This restricts choice to a limited class. Then we have to remember that owing to the peculiar political conditions of the country politics attracts a very large number. The educated people in a district, small in number though they be, are generally actively and openly identified with the interests of one candidate or another; and thus do not possess that independent and neutral frame of mind which is so essential to the discharge of a polling officer's duties. Past experience has shown that, apart from the bigger cities, it is not at all easy to find for this class of work a sufficient number of non-officials

to whom objection would not be taken by one party or the other. Similar considerations preclude the appointment of Government servants below a certain status.

Polling officers.—The Committee discussed the classes of officials and non-officials who could, in view of the consideration given above, be entrusted with the work of a polling officer. In the case of Government servants the Committee have decided to include all gazetted and non-gazetted officers who draw a salary of Rs. 100 per mensem and over, leaving out the officers of the police, medical and jail departments, who may not be available for more reasons than one. Officers taken from 16 Government departments total 5,994 in the whole of the province. Other sources from which polling officers can be drawn are supervisors of co-operative societies; civil pensioners of Government drawing a pension of Rs. 200 a month and over, the superior and ministerial staff of the Court of Wards, members of local bodies, honorary magistrates, honorary assistant collectors and munsifs, advocates and vakils (one-fourth of the total strength), postmasters (half of the total strength) on holidays, teachers of Government high schools, and finally the post-graduate students of Politics, Civics, Sociology and Economics, studying in the five universities of the province. It is estimated that at present the number of people available in the twelve categories mentioned above will be in round numbers 14,600 (*vide* Appendix C*). But many of them will not be available for some reason or other, as for instance leave, sickness, etc. Thus, it will be found that it will not be safe to presume that more than 10,000 officials and non-officials will be available for doing the work of polling officers for rural constituencies in the 48 districts of the province or an average of about 200 officers per district. Under the existing system of recording votes one polling officer cannot deal with more than 500 voters on the roll. Thus all the available polling officers would not be able to deal with more than 4,800,000. But this figure would include the voters for the Federal Assembly also. Thus hardly 10 per cent. of the population would be enfranchised.

As the Committee were anxious to bring in as large a number of voters as possible, they examined the question of simplifying the present machinery for the recording of votes in order that a polling officer might deal with larger numbers. They compared the system of this province with those of other provinces and after an examination of the evidence of competent and experienced Government officials, they are in a position to recommend a simpler method which will save a considerable part of the polling officer's time.

Polling machinery.—We consider that the tedious process of identification may be done away with generally, unless a voter's identity is challenged by the agent of a candidate. This process is not in existence in the majority of provinces and the manner in which even in these provinces identification takes place makes its utility in checking cases of personation doubtful. We are, at any rate, convinced that it does not produce results commensurate with the time wasted. The Committee

* Page 408.

further propose that the cross-marking done at present by the polling officer in the case of illiterate voters should be dispensed with, the voter may simply be given a ballot paper to be put in one of the coloured boxes (which will have distinctive symbols) for the candidate for whom it is meant. We do not think that the recording machinery can be simplified any further unless some mechanical device is introduced. In any case the system of coloured boxes will save so much of the polling officer's time that he will be able to record five or six times as many votes. We calculate that in future he will be able to deal with 1,000 voters on the roll if not more than 66 per cent. of them present themselves at the polls. In some districts at least more than 66 per cent. of votes have been actually recorded in the past, but the provincial average does not come up to that figure. In our opinion, the actual voting for some time to come at least will seldom exceed this percentage even in a fairly contested constituency, as among other reasons the voters will include a large number of women.

According to the calculations mentioned above it will be possible to bring on the roll about 9,600,000 voters. From these are to be deducted about 1,800,000 voters whom we propose to enfranchise under our scheme for the Federal Assembly. We are thus left with 7,800,000 voters for the Provincial Legislature. This is the highest number for whom polling arrangements can be made on one day. Allowing some margin for safety, our scheme should not exceed a figure of about 7 million voters. This will apply to non-Muslim voters only. Muslims, it is presumed, will retain a separate day for their elections.

The Committee considered the possibility of extending the franchise still further by other administrative expedients. It was proposed that the elections should be spread over more than one day, thus enabling the same administrative machinery to deal with larger numbers. Several objections may be urged against this proposal. Elections take place even now on two days, one for the non-Muslims, and another for the Muslims, and these days are treated as treasury holidays. If another day was added, it would mean excessive dislocation of public business and of the work of Government servants. It would also entail an excessive strain on the candidate, his supporters and workers besides adding to the expenditure of the State. It would further open the way for influential leaders with party organizations to throw in their weight at different places on different days and thus turn the scales in their favour in constituencies which they could not otherwise have captured. It is mainly for this reason that the general election is always held on one and the same day in all countries.

It was also suggested that it might be possible to enfranchise more people for the Provincial Legislature, if the Federal Assembly elections were held on a different day. The Committee rejected this proposal as in their view it was undesirable to ask the voters for the Assembly to go to the booths twice. These voters will, in a number of cases, have to travel long distances to reach the polling booth and it will be too much to expect them to spend two days over the elections. After all, we should do our best to encourage newly enfranchised voters to exercise their rights.

Thus it will be seen that so far as the direct vote is concerned, administrative arrangements cannot be made for recording the votes of more than 15 per cent. of the non-Muslim rural population on one day. If we add to it 1·4 per cent. for the Muslim population, the figure goes up to 16·4 per cent. In other words, one in every three adult persons gets a vote. No doubt this is yet far from adult suffrage, still it is at least a great improvement over the existing position.

There is not the same trouble about finding polling clerks as polling officers; and sufficient buildings are available for all the polling stations required. The Committee realize that it will be very difficult to arrange for recording the votes of *pardah* women, but think this should be done where feasible, especially in urban areas where polling officers may be available. Separate entrances and exits should however be provided.

Group system.—The extension of the franchise so as to include 25 per cent. of the population raises the question of the means by which it should be secured—should it be obtained by the extension of the present system of direct voting or should it be superseded or supplemented by the group system, as suggested in the questionnaire. The letter of the Prime Minister to the Chairman of the Indian Franchise Committee appears to rule out the replacement of the system of direct election by one of indirect election. "It is the wish of His Majesty's Government" wrote the Prime Minister to the Chairman of the Indian Franchise Committee, "that your Committee should consider in the first place what extension of the franchise for the Provincial Legislatures is desirable and administratively feasible and the possibility of supplementing direct representation by a system of group representation or otherwise." We have been asked to consider [question I (*h*), Part I] whether it would be desirable to abolish the existing system and to confine the electorate to secondaries chosen by groups of primary voters. But the Prime Minister's letter appears to require not only the maintenance but the extension of the system of direct voting.

Considering the question on its merits, the United Provinces Franchise Committee do not think that it would be either feasible or advantageous to do away with direct voting. Such a step is certainly to be regarded as retrograde by public opinion which wil suspect the mot ves of the Government and it will be very difficult to withdraw the direct vote from those who already enjoy it. Mr. Panna Lal, I.C.S., a witness of some importance, who preferred the indirect to the direct system, clearly stated that the abolition of the present system would create discontent against the administration.

The examples of the countr es in which elections take place by two stages (Turkey, Egypt, Syria and Iraq) are not such as to encourage us to follow in their footsteps. None of them controls its own destiny except Turkey, and Turkey can scarcely be regarded as Democracy. In Egypt the indirect system was introduced in 1930 not to prepare the way for direct suffrage but in order to do away with it and has been severely criticized by the political opponents of the party in power.

While the group system, as the sole method of enfranchisement, has nothing to recommend it, its adoption as a supplement to direct representation seems to have obvious advantages. It is *prima facie* a form of adult suffrage and enables us to enfranchise indirectly all those whom the existing system cannot bring within its fold. On closer examination, however, it appears that it can be introduced only at the expense of the direct system. We have already calculated the number of voters that could be handled at the polling booths with the resources at present at the disposal of the authorities, whatever form the franchise may take. As the number is independent of the qualifications that may be laid down for a voter, and, as according to the Prime Minister's letter, the direct franchise ought to be widened, there appears to be no reason why all the practicable addition to the existing electorate should not be based on the present system of direct voting. There is thus no room left for the introduction of the group system. It can be introduced only if the extension of the direct franchise is deliberately restricted in order to provide an opening for it.

If the group system is introduced, it is doubtful whether it will arouse interest among the masses. The official witnesses were divided in their views on the subject. The prestige which superior officers enjoy in rural areas makes it likely that if they themselves conduct the primary elections, villagers will assemble in large numbers ; but it is not likely that many such officers will be available for this particular work : and if it is left to inferior officers not only will the interest be less, but the results also far less reliable.

The value of the group system as a means of giving political education to the masses has been carefully considered by the Committee. Such political education as elections to the legislatures provide at present is due to direct contact between the voters and the candidates. The rival candidates approach the voters, explain the political situation to them and canvass the merits of their respective creeds and programmes. The primary elections will be held many months before a general election takes place. If a person has made up his mind so early to seek election and tries to influence the primary elections in his favour, he will be faced with the expense and worry of having to run two elections. In all probability however there will be no candidate in the field at this stage. The primary electors will therefore have no opportunity of receiving a political training by exercising their judgment on concrete issues : their task will only be to elect without reference to any political principle or platform a secondary elector who will owe no responsibility to them for the use he makes of his vote. Owing to the system of voting by ballot his " constituents " will have have no means by knowing for which party or individual he voted. They will, therefore, neither acquire any knowledge of the practical issues, which the legislators will have to deal with, or will they be in a position to influence their solution by the pressure which direct voters can exercise on those who seek their support. All the zamindar representatives that appeared before the Indian Franchise Committee, including those of the British Indian Association which

at first favoured the group system, have for this reason opposed its adoption.

Two other questions should also receive consideration in any examination of the desirability or otherwise of the group system. In the first place it will provide a strong temptation for the manipulation of the primary electors by those who wield power. Even if they resist this temptation, they will be suspected of attempting to misuse their influence and will be constantly exposed to hostile criticism. In the second place grouping may accentuate communal differences. Most of the supporters of the group system think that geographical divisions should be followed in the formation of groups. But as members of various castes not unoften live in separate localities forming compact blocks of their own, the geographical divisions may indirectly become communal and thus strengthen separatist tendencies.

For the reasons given above, the Committee are strongly of opinion that the group system should not be introduced in these provinces. Its introduction may retard the progress of the direct system. So long as any portion of the population remains unenfranchised, the pressure of public opinion will compel the Government in power to take steps to remedy this deficiency. But the group system may delay this consummation by creating a false impression that universal suffrage is already in existence.

Rural franchise.—The Committee having expressed themselves strongly in favour of completing the election to both the Federal Assembly and the Provincial Council on one day, and having rejected the scheme of supplementing the direct representation by the indirect through the group system, proceeded to consider the qualifications which would enfranchise 15 per cent. of the rural non-Muslim population.

They unanimously agree that this should be done, first by fixing a minimum property qualification, and secondly by introducing a literacy test. As regards the latter, they recommend the possession of an upper primary examination certificate or its equivalent for the male voters, and mere ability to read and write for the female voters.

In the case of women, it should be enough if the voter either satisfies the election officer or any other officer appointed by him for that purpose that her application for enrolment has been written by her, or produces a certificate to the effect signed by the mistress of a recognized school or a gazetted officer. It is obvious that this low literacy test will create administrative difficulties ; but the Committee recommend it as the cases to be dealt with under this qualification will not be large. As regards men, after examining the Director of Public Instruction the Committee were satisfied that their proposal would work well. Though the certificate is given by a low paid teacher, its authenticity may be relied on because a certain proportion of results is checked every year by

the higher inspecting staff. An objection has been raised that the certificate might not infrequently be lost ; but copies would generally be obtainable and the standard of education provided by the certificate is so low that it would never be difficult for a person whose inclusion on the roll was challenged on this ground, to prove that he possessed it. Moreover, the Committee are satisfied that the percentage of persons who will be enfranchised by the literacy qualification alone will be so small that cases of hardship due to the loss of certificate will be very few indeed.

On property qualifications alone, the required number of voters can be secured by prescribing the following qualifications for rural areas which the Committee unanimously recommend :—

(1) Payment of land revenue—Rs. 5 and above.

(2) Payment of rent—Rs. 10 and above.

(3) Enfranchisement of wives of those electors who possess the property qualifications demanded at present from a voter for the Provincial Legislative Council.

The Committee further recommend that in the case of joint families as many members as hold the minimum qualifications should get the vote, provided their names are recorded in the village papers.

It is calculated that among the non-Muslims, 5,700,000 persons or 12·4 per cent. of the population will be enfranchised under the first two heads ; and about 1,100,000 women or nearly 2·2 per cent. of the population will be enfranchised under the third head ; making a total of 6,700,000 voters or 14·6 per cent. of the non-Muslim rural population.

Similar figures for the Muslims under the above heads are 500,000 persons or 1·1 per cent. of the population under the first two heads : and 150,000 women or ·3 per cent. of the population under the third head. The total number of Muslims enfranchised will thus be 650,000 or 1·4 per cent. of the total rural population.

It will be seen that the percentage for Muslim and non-Muslim voters reflects satisfactorily the proportion of Muslims and non-Muslims to the total rural population ; there is therefore no need for prescribing different qualifications for them.

As for the depressed classes it is enough to say, that their number is confined to a little over half a million in this province, as has been unanimously agreed to by the Committee, on the basis of the definition given by the Chairman of the Indian Franchise Committee. However, it is important to mention that, among the three castes which the Committee regard as depressed, namely, sweepers, Doms and Dhanuks, sweepers and a considerable portion of Doms live chiefly in urban areas, and would therefore benefit by the scheme of adult suffrage which the Committee have recommended for 17 cities in the province.

An analysis of the figures given above will show that the voting is distributed between males and females in the following manner :—

(*a*) *Males.*—All payers of revenue and rent	..	5,700,000
(*b*) *Females.*—(1) All payers of revenue and rent in their own right.		500,000
(2) Wives of the present Legislative Council electors.		1,250,000
(3) Qualified as literates	..	128,000
Total of (*b*)	..	1,878,000

Thus women will form 25 per cent. of the total electorate.

Before coming to the classes still left unenfranchised it would be desirable to refer briefly to the two alternative proposals for the enfranchisement of women which were placed before the Committee.

One proposal was to enfranchise the wives of those who possessed double the minimum property qualification and the other to enfranchise the wives of those only who are at present voters for the Provincial Legislative Council. The Committee accepted the latter proposal for the following reasons :—

(*a*) The acceptance of the former would have necessitated the raising of the qualifications prescribed for tenants and that would have meant a corresponding reduction in the number of the latter. After a careful examination, the balance of advantage, in the Committee's opinion, lay in bringing in a larger number of the smaller tenants who represent a new class and who were more likely to exercise their rights than women.

(*b*) The effect of lowering the qualifications is that a much larger number of women has become directly enfranchised in their own right. Their percentage amounts to 1·25 of the population.

(*c*) Under the Committee's proposals, about 25 per cent. of the electorate will consist of women voters as compared with ·1 per cent. previously. This compares very favourably with the increase in the case of male voters.

Reference should be made to another proposal also which did not commend itself to the Committee. It related to the enfranchisement of sub-tenants. The large majority of the sub-tenants also hold rights as tenants-in-chief. In fact the number of those who have no rights other than those of sub-tenants compose the very small percentage of 1·5 per cent. of the population, but even this figure is misleading to a great extent.

It is necessary now to see what classes are included in the residuum of the population, which the Committee's scheme of franchise does not reach. This residuum will consist chiefly of the following classes :—

(*a*) payers of rent and revenue below the proposed minimum,

(*b*) sub-tenants who are not tenants-in-chief,

(*c*) village artisans and shopkeepers,

(*d*) landless labourers, and

(*e*) dependants.

With the proposed lowering of rent and revenue qualifications, it can safely be said that a substantial majority of tenants and landholders have been enfranchised. The same may truly be said of the sub-tenants also.

Again a village artisan is very often a tenant also. In many parts of the province, it would be difficult to find an artisan in an ordinary village who is not a cultivator. The dependence of this class on cultivation has lately added to the pressure on land. During the war and the post-war period of high prices, a villager with no land found it particularly difficult to maintain himself. Hence it is clear that representatives of this class will be found in fair numbers in the list of general rent-payers. It is difficult to prescribe any special qualification for them as they customarily receive payment in kind. Landless labourers may be divided into two classes—(1) those who reside in cities or towns which are included in the municipal, notified areas forming part of rural constituencies and (2) those who live in villages, and form the bulk of the labouring class. It should be noted that in villages, it is the dependants of tenants—their brothers, sons and female relations—that form the majority of landless labourers. Families, with no tenancies of any sort of their own, which depend entirely on labour for their maintenance are so few outside the urban areas mentioned above that they can safely be omitted.

Thus, while it would have been desirable to extend the franchise still further, had the polling machinery so permitted, there is no class of people whose interests will be completely neglected in our scheme. The main interests of the rural areas are those connected with the landlord and the tenant : and their qualifications have been so much lowered as to include a substantial section of persons on the lowest rung of the ladder, for those who earn not a rupee a month in the countryside through its chief industry, hardly deserve any other description.

Urban franchise.—There are at present 17 cities in the province with a population of over 50,000 (*vide* Appendix D*). The Committee by a majority consider that it is administratively possible to arrange for the polling of the adult population in those places ; therefore they recommended its immediate introduction.

The Committee do not consider that this can be objected to on the ground of the undesirability of introducing two different systems in the

* Page 410

urban and rural areas ; on the other hand, they consider that it will make the attainment of the ultimate goal easier. The experiments in the cities will demonstrate its political and educational value and strengthen public opinion in support of its extension to the villages. It may be noted that out of the 17 cities referred to above there are only five cities (Lucknow, Cawnpore, Benares, Agra and Allahabad), where the total number of voters in the non-Muslim electorate will be above 60,000. Cawnpore will have most (roughly 77,000 voters). Of these four are seats of Universities ; and in the fifth, there are a number of important educational institutions. Thus 60 to 70 additional men will be easily available from these sources to act as polling officers, besides Government servants of miscellaneous departments, who are not to be found in small districts. The other twelve cities too possess important educational institutions ; one, a University ; six, one or more degree or Intermediate colleges each ; and the rest more than one high school each.

Thus the total number of voters that will be brought on the roll as a result of our recommendations for both rural and urban areas will be as follows :—

Rural constituencies—6,200,000 ; of these 5,700,000 will be non-Muslims, and 500,000 Muslims.

Urban constituencies—1,000,000 ; of these 620,000 will be non-Muslims and 380,000 Muslims.

Qualification of candidates.—The Committee are unanimously of opinion that candidates for the Provincial Council should be required to be literate.

Representation.

Size of Council.—The size of a constituency is too big at present to allow a member to keep in touch with his constituents. The enlargement of the electorate will make this task more difficult still. It is, therefore, obvious that the number of constituencies must be considerably enlarged. The rural electorate is being enlarged from 3 per cent. of the rural population to 16·5 per cent. or by 450 per cent. ; and the urban from 10 per cent. of the urban population to 50 per cent. or by 400 per cent. Therefore, if the increase in the size of the House were to keep pace with the increase in the size of the electorate, we should have 500 to 550 members. But bearing in mind other considerations which are no less relevant, the Committee unanimously recommend that the new House should consist of 250 members. These seats have to be divided between the urban and rural constituencies and the special interests.

Distribution of seats between urban and rural areas.—The Committee discussed the question of the weightage which cities are getting at present over the rural area in the matter of seats allotted to each of them. They agree by a substantial majority to allow them to retain their present weightage, because, after all, they will continue, for at least some time to come, to be the main nerve-centres of all activities for the advancement of the people, as it is there that men with education, intelligen-

and wealth mainly reside. The Committee further agree that municipal and other areas with a population of less than 50,000 should continue to be included in rural constituencies. That would, in a large number of cases, entail the joining together of areas, which were so far off from each other as to make the task of the candidate in approaching his constituents extremely difficult. Moreover, there is not much disparity between their interests and those of rural areas proper.

Size of Constituencies.—After deducting the proportionate number of urban constituencies from the proposed total strength of the House, it would be easy to calculate the size of an average rural constituency and the average number of voters to be found there. But accurate calculation is not possible as the acceptance of the majority or minority recommendations (or the adoption of an intermediate course) will affect the total number of seats available for general constituencies. It may be safely presumed, however, that the average area of a future general constituency will in any case be less than half the average area at present; and that the average number of voters will be between 60 and 70 thousand.

Single-member or multi-member constituencies.—This leads to the discussion of the question whether it is desirable to have multi-member or single-member constituencies. The Committee favour the latter Course. They are fully aware of the advantages which a multi-member constituency gives to the minorities in securing their effective representation; but the illiteracy of the average voter will make such a system unworkable. He will find it impossible to remember the names of the candidates or their colours.

Representation of women.—A number of lady witnesses who appeared before the Committee strongly held the view that women should be able to enter the legislatures without any artificial aid. They considered the provision of special facilities as derogatory to their self-respect, or at any rate as prejudicial to their claim of equality with men. But the committee consider that in the present circumstances provision should be made for a minimum number of women whose presence is essential in all progressive legislatures.

The Committee, therefore, recommend that five seats should be specially provided for them in addition to those which they may be able to secure from general constituencies.

The Committee wish to make it clear that they have asked for only five seats to be reserved for women on the distinct assumption that a large number of women would be enfranchised on the property qualifications of their husbands as recommended elsewhere. If, however, it is decided to confine the vote to those women who possess property in their own right the number of women enfranchised will be so greatly reduced as to make it negligible in comparison with the total number of electors. It must not be forgotten that by Hindu Law the vast majority of women are debarred from possessing property in their own names and that being so the property qualification operates most unfavourably for

Hindu women. In point of fact even women belonging to other communities, *e.g.*, Muslims, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, etc., do not in the vast majority of cases possess property in their own names but there is no legal bar to their acquiring proprietorship of their husbands' property or that of other relatives of theirs. It is understood that if the vote is given only to those women who possess a certain literacy qualification or own property in their own names the number of women enfranchised in the whole province would not exceed 6 lakhs. This number would be scattered over all the Muslim and non-Muslim constituencies of the province so that in any constituencies the number of women voters would be so small as to make the women's vote wholly ineffective. The Committee hope that in fairness to the women of the province they will be given the vote on their husbands' property qualifications if they pay as land revenue Rs. 25 a year or as rent Rs. 50, for that seems to be the only method by which a fair number of women can be enfranchised. Should however this recommendation not find favour, the Committee would in that case recommend that instead of five seats as above recommended, a larger number of seats should be reserved for women.

The Committee is strongly opposed to the nomination or co-option of women members by the legislature. The objections to nomination are obvious. The objection to co-option is that the legislature would at that stage be composed entirely of men and so would naturally not command the confidence of the women of the province. Nor would co-option give a fair chance to women who had not the good fortune of being known to the members of the Council. Quiet workers who do not possess social influence or a high provincial reputation will thus be placed at considerable disadvantage. It may be stated with a fair degree of confidence that, as a rule, those women who were chosen under a system of co-option would not be those who were elected to the Council under a system of popular election. Seats are being reserved in the legislature for a limited number of women so that these latter may truly represent and give expression to the points of view of women. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance that those who fill the seats reserved for women should be able to say they have been sent there by the general body of women themselves. In other words, they should not be men's women but women's women.

The Committee, therefore, after examining carefully all alternative methods, recommend that of the women who contest the general constituencies and are defeated, those who poll the highest number of votes should be declared elected up to the required number. A question arises here whether the highest absolute number or the highest proportionate number of votes should determine the success of a candidate. Defects are inherent in both methods, but as it is simpler to take absolute figures, the Committee consider that the balance of advantage lies in accepting the absolute number of votes as the test of success.

Depressed classes.—Before the problem of the depressed classes can be dealt with it is necessary to decide what communities should be regarded as depressed. "The phrase 'depressed class'," says Mr. Blunt in his note on the origin and nature of the depressed and backward classes, "is of comparatively recent coinage. It is not to be found in Crooke's great work (Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Province and Oudh). It was not used by Sir Richard Burn in the Census Report of 1901; nor was it used in the Census Report of 1911. It seems to have found its way, probably from Madras into the United Provinces about 1920. . . . it does not translate any vernacular term." As no precise meaning has been attached to the word "depressed" the inclusion of a particular caste under this category is a matter of individual judgment. The population of the classes called depressed has, therefore, been differently estimated from time to time by different authorities and even by different departments of the same Government. This fact should be clearly borne in mind in considering the figures relating to the population of the depressed classes, which are often referred to in discussions on this subject. The absence of an exact definition deprives them of much of their value, and makes it highly unsafe to base any conclusions on them.

Various criteria of what should cause a class to be regarded as depressed were suggested to us by the witnesses that represented the classes whom they called depressed. The representative of the United Provinces Adi-Hindu (depressed classes) Association practically proposed that the classes from whose hands the higher castes would not take food or water should be regarded as depressed. These restrictions are applied only by the orthodox sections of the higher castes but however regrettable they may appear, they cannot be made a ground for according special representation.

The caste system may be regarded as an obstacle to progress by the social reformer, but its existence cannot be considered to be a reason for differentiating politically between the various classes composing the Hindu community. The object of the present inquiry is not to alter the religious beliefs of the Hindus or to reform their social organization, but to prevent the imposition of civic disabilities on any section of the people. Again, the so-called depressed classes observe the caste rules quite as strictly as those of the twice-born castes. As Mr. Blunt says in his note, "many low castes are quite as particular as high castes regarding these food taboos".

Dr. Ambedkar and Rao Bahadur R. Srinivasan submitted a scheme for the protection of the depressed classes to the Minorities Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference in 1930. Its object was stated to be the abolition of untouchability and creation of equality of citizenship, but it apparently made no demand for the elimination of the caste system. It suggested that in order to give effect to this the denial of certain rights should be made legally punishable, but the list of rights enumerated in it makes no reference to temple entry or food or water taboos.

The United Provinces Hindu Backward Classes League would make the word " depressed " synonymous with " backward ". It suggests that all those classes should be treated as depressed which are not likely to send representatives " of their own choice " to the Legislative Council, and submits a long list of the castes which would come under this definition, and which form about 60 per cent. of the population of these provinces. It asks that all such classes should be called backward and not depressed and says expressly that " untouchability as prevailing in these provinces is very little—almost nominal ". Its representative said in his oral evidence, " Untouchability does not exist in these provinces at all. It is only among the *bhangis* ". The " Adi-Hindus " contest the validity of this claim and their representative, Babu Ram Sahai, says in his minute of dissent that the " touchable *Sudras* " should not be allowed to call themselves depressed, and that " the term ' depressed classes ' be strictly defined as meaning persons belonging to the communities which are subjected to the system of untouchability of the sort prevalent in the province ". It is obvious that if the ingenious definition of the Backward Class League were accepted, the depressed classes, properly so-called, would be as far from securing protection for their rights as they are now.

Before considering further the position taken up by the Backward Classes League it is necessary to remove a misunderstanding created by paragraph 28 of Mr. Blunt's note. After referring to the election of the members of the " low or depressed castes " to the present Council owing to Congress support, he says " Every other elected Hindu member in the present Council belongs to some twice-born caste ; nor can I remember a single elected *Sudra* member in any previous Council ". The fact, however, is that since 1921 there has been no Council without some members who did not belong to the twice-born castes. The present Council also contains such members, excluding those who owe their election to the efforts of Congressmen to discredit the Council.

If the test laid down by the Backward Classes League be accepted, the major portion not merely of the Hindu community but also of the Muslim community would consist of the depressed classes, and among the Hindus practically all castes other than the twice-born would have to be labelled as depressed. In discussions regarding the depressed classes, references are often made to the investigations of Sir Richard Burn as Superintendent of Census Operations in the United Provinces in 1901, regarding the position of caste in the social heirarchy. He divided the Hindus into thirteen groups after taking their castes into consideration, and the Muslims into four on the basis of their social status, according to the social precedence of the classes mentioned in each group. It will be apparent from an examination of the tables given in the Census Report of 1901, Volume I, that quite as large a percentage of the population has remained unrepresented in the Legislative Council among the Muslims with their freer social outlook as among the caste-ridden Hindus. With notable exceptions, the classes mentioned in the last three Muslim

groups, which constitute about 66 per cent. of the Muslim population, have been unable to send representatives " of their own choice " to the Legislative Council. If the criterion referred to above be sound, not only in India but probably in many advanced Western countries also the larger portion of the population will have to be classified as depressed. The problem of the depressed classes is considered to be peculiar to India and the Hindu community. We must, therefore, discard the above test and all those based on educational or economic backwardness, which are universal phenomena, and seek for some definition which would bring out the special nature of the problem we are dealing with.

In Madras Presidency, to which we owe the word " depressed ", the classes to which this epithet is now applied were formerly known as " untouchables ". This designation was dropped and a less opprobrious nomenclature adopted out of regard for the susceptibilities of those to whom it applied, but this change of name ought not to make us oblivious of its real significance. It connotes untouchability and it is the fact of untouchability, advertised far and wide, that has led its peculiar significance to the question of depressed classes in the eyes of the world. It is in this light that the matter has been discussed since the appointment of the Simon Commission. The Indian Franchise Committee confined the use of term " depressed classes ", to those who are untouchables. The Simon Commission, agreeing with this view, adopted the test of " causing pollution by touch or by the approach within a certain distance " to distinguish the depressed classes from the rest of the population. The test of untouchability was laid down by Dr. Ambedkar also at the minority Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference, and, as pointed out by Babu Ram Sahai in his minute of dissent, " All the discussions in regard to these classes at both the sessions of the Round Table Conference at London took place on the basis of untouchability." The Indian Franchise Committee, in its revised questionnaire (question 13), also has adopted the criterion of untouchability in this sense defined by the Simon Commission, that is, causing pollution by touch or approach.

The United Provinces Franchise Committee, which has investigated this matter carefully, is in agreement with the views expressed above. It is of opinion that only those classes should be called " depressed " which are untouchable. Judged by this test, the problem of untouchability is non-existent in these provinces except in the case of Bhangis, Doms and Dhanuks whose total population, including those sections which are touchable, is only 581,000. Rai Ram Charan Sahib and Babu Ram Sahai questioned the correctness of the Indian Franchise Committee's ruling but, if it is final, they, too, agree that only the three castes mentioned above fall under the definition of " depressed".

As the number of untouchables is too small and scattered to enable them to make their influence felt in the elections of members of the Legislative Council, the Committee recommend that they should be represented in the Council by a nominated member chosen from among themselves.

In order to get a complete view of the question of the depressed classes, we may well consider whether there are no other classes on which social custom imposes disabilities similar to those associated with untouchability. It is not possible to deal with all the allegations made in this connection, but two of them are important enough to demand consideration here. It has been frequently asserted that there are a number of castes which, although they may not be theoretically untouchable, are not allowed to draw water from wells and find it very difficult to get their children admitted into public schools.

With regard to the first point, the trend of the evidence received by the Committee is to the effect that generally the low castes are not prohibited from drawing water from the wells used by the " twice-born ". This was testified to by the executive officers examined by the Committee. Mr. Blunt also states in his note that the reports received at the Census of 1931 that " this restriction is disappearing rapidly and that for the most part untouchables are as free to use the common well as anybody else ".

As for education, the memorandum submitted by the local Government to the Simon Commission shows clearly that, taken as a whole, the children of the low castes can gain admission freely to public schools; while in special schools the increase in the number of such children is only 57 per cent. that in ordinary schools is 2·75 per cent. Every official who appeared before the Committee stated that he had experienced no difficulty in regard to the admission of Chamar boys to primary schools in rural areas. Mr. Panna Lal, I.C.S., expressing his individual opinion very strongly on this point and referring to the depressed school said, " the desire which exists for separation on the part of the leaders was responsible for such institutions ". He believed there was no real need for them. The Director of Public Instruction in his report on " Public Instruction " for the year 1929-30 says, " the tendency is still for an increase of depressed class children in the ordinary schools. The prejudice against association with the depressed classes has broken down so much that ' boys of high caste attend depressed class schools where such have reasonably good teachers '. Only occasional and exceptional instances occur, in which the depressed class boys find it difficult to get education in places, where schools are available which they desire to attend. Many districts have awarded scholarships to depressed class boys to enable them to continue their studies in the vernacular middle schools. These scholarships, in addition to encouraging the intelligent depressed class boys to finish their secondary education, help in the supply of teachers from the depressed classes. Most districts employ supervisors of depressed classes schools.....Most boards are anxious to educate the depressed classes. The fact that the rate of their progress in education has not been more rapid is due largely to their poverty and apathy. Compulsory education is likely to help them." The same authority observes in his report for 1930-31. " It is notable that, while the number of the depressed classes special schools is decreasing, the number of children of

these classes in ordinary schools is increasing.....The higher castes are more inclined than they were to remove untouchability for political and social reasons, and it is now rare that cases of refusal of admission of these boys into the ordinary public schools occur..... Special consideration was given to the candidates of the backward communities during the current year in deputations to Government training institutions. Satisfactory reports in this connection have been received from almost every division."

It is clear from what has been said above that the problem associated with the depressed classes is in fact as well as in name confined to the untouchables. Strictly speaking, therefore, the task of the Committee ends with the consideration of the case of the untouchables, but, as special stress has been laid by the Indian Franchise Committee on the necessity of all classes of the community being provided with the means of voicing their views, and as there are various classes at present which have no opportunity of doing this because of their educational backwardness and the poverty of their civil condition, the Committee are of opinion that nine seats may be allotted to these classes, provided that this principle is followed in other provinces also. These nine seats should be filled in the same manner as those set apart for women. The candidates desirous of coming within this category should obtain a certificate to that effect from the Governor. The necessity for this certificate is due to the fact that a caste which may answer the above description at one election may not do so at another. This conclusion was arrived at unanimously but at the time of the signing of the report Rai Sahib Babu Rama Charana and Babu Ram Sahai dissented from it.

Labour.—The total number of persons employed at factories registered under the Indian Factories Act is about 92,000. The Provincial Committee propose that all such employees should be enfranchised, provided they are 21 years of age, draw a pay of not less than Rs. 10 per mensem, and have been in regular employ for the previous six months. This, it is estimated, should produce about 30,000 voters at Cawnpore and 20,000 at other centres where labour is concentrated, *i.e.*, Lucknow, Gorakhpur, Aligarh, Allahabad, Agra and Jhansi. There should be two constituencies, one confined to operatives who are living at Cawnpore, and one for members of trade unions elsewhere. These trade unions must however, be registered and be properly representative of the interests concerned.

Special interests.

Landlords.—The Committee have discussed at great length the special representation of landlords in the Council. They are unanimous in thinking that this should continue, but vary as to number of seats to be allotted. Their opinions ultimately crystallized themselves into three different proposals. Six members (Raja Jagannath Bakhsh Singh, Nawab Jamshed Ali Khan, Rai Bahadur Thakur Bikram Singh, Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Husain, Khan Bahadur Maulvi Fasih-ud-din

and Mr. H. C. Desanges) were in favour of allotting to the landlords 29 seats in the following manner :—

Non-taluqdars, Oudh	1
Agra Zamindars' Association	8
United Provinces Zamindars' Association	8
British Indian Association	12
	29

Four members (Mr. H. N. Kunzru, Dr. K. N. Malaviya, Mrs. Srivastava, and Babu Ram Sahai) proposed to give them 12 seats in the following manner :—

Non-taluqdars	1
Agra Zamindars' (general constituencies) ..	7
British Indian Association	4
	12

The first group, composed mainly of landlords, thought it essential that they should have a full opportunity for the presentation of their case, and that they should on occasions be able to make their weight felt in the House because of the importance of the interests they held in the country and of the part they had played in its progress. This was all the more necessary in view of the risks to which they were exposed by a wide extension of the franchise which was being recommended and the transfer of power to popular control.

The second group thought that the risks were exaggerated. In the past the landlords had secured representation quite out of proportion to their numbers and even in the last Council they had formed 45 per cent. of the elected members. It was most unlikely that, at any rate, for some time to come, they would lose their influence to such an extent as not to retain their strong position. The grant to them of so many seats, if a second Chamber were also established, would enable this one interest to dominate the legislature.

The remaining members (Rai Rajeshwar Bali, Mr. J. H. Darwin and Dr. S. S. Nehru) took an intermediate view and suggested the following distribution of seats :—

Non-taluqdars	1
Agra Zamindars' Association	4
United Provinces Zamindars' Association	4
British Indian Association	7
	16

It was agreed by a majority in the case of British Indian Association of Oudh and of the Agra and United Provinces Zamindars' Associations, that election should be by the method of the single transferable vote; and in the case of the non-taluqdars of Oudh, that those paying revenue of a thousand rupees and over should form the electorate.

Commerce and Industry.—The Committee recommend that four seats should be allotted to Chambers of Commerce in the following manner:—

Two seats to the Upper India Chamber of Commerce.

One seat to the United Provinces Chamber of Commerce.

One seat to other bodies representing Indian Commerce.

Universities.—The Committee recommend the allotment of two seats to the Universities, one to the Allahabad University and the other jointly to the Lucknow and Agra Universities.

Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians.—The European are represented at present in the Legislative Council by an elected member, and the Indian Christian and Anglo-Indian communities by a nominated member each. The Simon Commission recommended in effect that the representation of Europeans and Indian Christians should be doubled, while that of the Anglo-Indian community should be maintained at its present figure and that election should take the place of nomination. The local Government proposed in its Despatch on the Simon Report that all the three communities should be allotted two representatives each. The Committee recommend by a majority the allotment of three seats to each community.

Federal Legislature.

Federal Assembly.—The Committee unanimously agree that the election to the Federal Assembly should be by the direct method. The question has a history behind it. While the Montford Report expressed its preference for it, the Franchise Committee presided over by Lord Southborough recommended a system of indirect election. Their recommendation was in agreement with the views of a majority of local Governments, including our own; but ultimately direct election was adopted and this is still in force. The Simon Commission re-opened the question, and advanced a number of arguments in favour of indirect election, one or two of which contained a certain amount of plausibility. We do not propose to examine them here as they have been dealt with in an able and convincing manner in paras. 126 to 137 of the Government of India's Despatch on proposals for constitutional reforms. We are in full agreement with the many arguments advanced therein. The Committee would only add that if, after the critical and masterly analysis to which the proposal of the Simon Committee has been subjected in the above mentioned Despatch, the Government of India or the higher authorities still accept it, public opinion in the country will entertain serious misgivings about the intentions of Government. The present system has worked as well as political conditions prevalent during the period would permit. The Assembly has established a definite position for itself and no one can seriously suggest that it has not been representative of the people. Nor can it be said that

its members have been unmindful of provincial interests; on the contrary, they have given good proof of their desire to protect them, as, for instance, in connection with the remission of provincial contributions.

The Committee consider that the proposed size of the Federal Assembly should be increased from 300 to 400. They presume that under the new scheme of a responsible Federal Assembly there will be no room for the nomination of official and unofficial members. Thus the chief reason for the Government of India's proposal to limit the size no longer holds good. A larger House will make it further possible to reduce the size of constituencies and widen the franchise. Nor does a House of 400 seem too large, when the size and population of this vast sub-continent is compared with those of other countries with Central Legislatures of an equal or even larger size. The Committee would, however, insist that the Lower House should be at least double the size of the Upper House. The relative strength of the two Houses in other Federal countries such as Australia and South Africa strengthens this claim.

Another point to which the Committee attach much importance is the allocation of seats to this province. It was proposed in 1918 to allocate less seats to this province than to the three presidencies; but on the grounds "of population and general position in the country" among other reasons, it ultimately obtained equal representation with all presidencies except Bengal. The Committee urge that on these grounds, it is entitled to 48 seats. Representation in the Lower House of the Central Legislature should be on the basis of population.

With an increase in the number of seats, the franchise could be extended. The Committee unanimously agree that—

(1) the franchise qualification for general constituencies of the Federal Assembly should be the present Provincial Council qualifications;

(2) in addition, the wives of the present voters for the Assembly should be given the vote.

It is estimated that on the above qualifications, 1,800,000 voters will be enfranchised.

The Committee agree that special interests should be represented in the Federal Assembly in the following manner:—

One seat for landlords as before.

One seat for Europeans and Anglo-Indians.

One seat for women to be elected in the same manner as for the Provincial Legislative Council.

One of the two members for the depressed classes on the Committee would also like to have a seat provided for the members of the classes whom he calls backward. The other member would abide by the London Minorities Pact.

Upper House.—The Committee, in the case of the Upper House also, unanimously agree that direct election should continue. The system has worked well in this case also; and both the local Government in their previous recommendations and the Government of India in their Despatch on the Simon Commission's report support its continuance.

The Committee further suggest that more seats should be allotted to these provinces in the Upper House as well.

The Committee recommend the widening of franchise on the basis of the following qualifications :—

(*a*) payment of land revenue of Rs. 2,000 and above.

(*b*) payment of income-tax on an income of Rs. 4,000 and above,

(*c*) all the other present qualifications for the Council of State to be retained,

(*d*) possession of the degree of doctor in Arts, Science and Law, and

(*e*) the wives of all the above voters.

The Committee unanimously agree that no interests should receive special representation in this House.

Qualifications of candidates.—The Committee are unanimously of opinion that, as in the case of the Provincial Council, candidates for either House of the Federal Legislature should be required to be literate.

RAJESHWAR BALI.
H. CECIL DESANGES.
HIDAYAT HUSAIN.
JAMSHED ALI KHAN.
BIRKAM SINHA.
(Mrs.) KAILASH SRIVASTAVA.
FASIH-UD-DIN.*
RAM SAHAI.*
S. S. NEHRU.
J. H. DARWIN.
HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU.
KASHI NARAYAN MALAVIYA.
RAMA CHARANA.*

NAINI TAL :

April 9, 1932.

*Subject to Notes of Dissent.

APPENDIX A.

List of witnesses who appeared before the United Provinces Franchise Committee.

March 7, 1932.

1. Mrs. Maya Das, Cawnpore.
2. Mrs. A. C. Banerji, Allahabad.
3. Mrs. Raj Dulari Nehru, Lucknow.
4. Mr. E. Ahmad Shah, Lucknow.
5. Mr. J. G. Ryan, Upper India Chamber of Commerce, Cawnpore.
6. Mr. P. K. Banerji, Ex-Chairman, Municipal Board, Firozabad.

March 8, 1932.

7. Mr. Baldeo Prasad Jaiswara, of Allahabad.
8. Mr. Hari Tampta, of Almora (Spokesman) and four others.
9. Rai Uma Nath Bali, Chairman, District Board, Bara Banki.
10. Nawab Mirza Murtaza Hussain Khan Sahib, Lucknow.
11. Khan Bahadur Razi-ud-din Ahmad, of Gonda.

March 9, 1932.

12. General Secretary, United Provinces Backward Classes League, Lucknow.
13. Khan Sahib M. Afzal Hussain, All-India Constitutionalist League, Fyzabad.
14. Sahu Jwala Saran, M.L.C., Moradabad.
15. Mr. A. P. Sen, Lucknow.
16. Mr. B. R. Sahney, Lucknow.
17. Dalit Jat Sudharak Sabha, Gorakhpur.

March 10, 1932.

18. Lady Wazir Hasan, Lucknow.
19. Miss Vincent, Lucknow.
20. Begam Habibullah, Lucknow.
21. Mrs. Nanavatti, Lucknow.
22. Rai Bahadur Thakur Mashal Singh, Hardoi.
23. Pandit Sheo Karan Nath Misra, Fyzabad.

March 11, 1932.

24. Secretary, United Provinces Zamindars' Association, Muzaffarnagar.
25. Secretary, British Indian Association, Lucknow.
26. Mr. Brij Chand Sharma, Revenue Minister, Rampur State.
27. Pandit Rameshwar Dayal, District Magistrate, Benares.

March 12, 1932.

28. Mr. E. H. H. Edye, I.C.S., Gorakhpur.
29. Mr. Panna Lal, I.C.S., Budaun.
30. Rai Bahadur Babu Chimman Lal, New Delhi.
31. Pandit Raj Nath Kunzru, Agra.

March 13, 1932.

32. Mr. Mukandi Lal, Lansdowne.
33. Pandit Rahas Behari Tewari, Lucknow.
34. Mr. Ishrat Husain, Deputy Collector, Saharanpur.
35. Mr. Ram Saran Nigam, Deputy Collector.
36. Babu Jangi Lal Chaurasia, Lucknow.
37. Babu Ram Adhin, Lucknow.
38. Babu Gauri Shankar, Lucknow.
39. Babu Ishwar Din Pasi, Lucknow



APPENDIX B.

List of witnesses who appeared before the Joint Session of the two Committees.

Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, Khan Bahadur Muhammad Ismail, M.L.C., and Khan Bahadur M. Fazlur Rahman Khan, M.L.C. (Muslims); Mr. J. H. Darwin, I.C.S., Mr. Panna Lal, I.C.S., Dr. S. S. Nehru, I.C.S., two Deputy Collectors, (Mr. Ishrat Husain and Mr. Sheokaran Nath Misra) (officials); Miss Vincent (All-India Women's Conference); Mrs. B. M. J. Gupta (Lucknow Women's Association); Pandit Brijnath Shargha (United Provinces Dharma Rakshan Sabha); Mr. T. Gavin Jones (European Association, Cawnpore); Mr. J. G. Ryan (Upper India Chamber of Commerce, Cawnpore); Rai Sahib M. Das (Bengal and North-Western Railwaymen's Association); Hon'ble Raja Sir Rampal Singh (British Indian Association of Oudh); Major D. R. Ranjit Singh (Agra Province Zamindars' Association, Allahabad); Lala Hari Raj Swarup, M.L.A. (United Provinces Zamindars' Association); Mr. P. N. Sapru (United Provinces Liberal Association, Allahabad); Mr. Ram Das Jiwit (Dalit Jat Sudharak Sabha); Mr. Gauri Shankar Pal (United Provinces Hindu Backward Classes League); Mr. Baldev Prasad (United Provinces Adi-Hindu Depressed Classes Association); Mr. O. M. Chiene (Anglo-Indian Association, Allahabad); Mr. S. R. Sharma; Khan Bahadur Masudul Hasan; Rai Bahadur Babu Vikramajit Singh (United Provinces Chamber of Commerce) and Mr. J. L. Sathe, I.C.S., (Director of Industries).

सत्यमेव जयते

APPENDIX C.

(TO BE SUBSTITUTED FOR STATEMENT ALREADY SUPPLIED.)

Possible Presiding Officers in the United Provinces.

1.—Number of Government officers in certain departments.

	Departments.	Gazetted officers.				Non-gazetted officers.			
		All-India services.		Other services.		Posts over Rs. 200 per mensem.		Posts between Rs. 250 and Rs. 100 per mensem.	
		Permanent.	Temporary.	Permanent.	Temporary.	Permanent.	Temporary.	Permanent.	Temporary.
1	Land Revenue and General Administration Department.	98	5	382	34	118	5	1,063	123
2	Law and Justice Department.	22	..	229	30	41	..	441	25
3	Public Works Department.	79	1	133	23	37	9	581	204
4	Agriculture Department.	11	..	39	8	4	..	206	9
5	Co-operative Department.	2	..	9	..	3	..	65	..
6	Veterinary Department.	1	..	3	2	..	..	19	4
7	Land Records Department.	1	..	2	2	1	..	20	3
8	Registration Department.	..	..	6	..	..	..	94	..
9	Museum Department	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
10	Education Department.	10	1	144	..	56	..	983	59
11	Excise Department	1	..	8	3	12	1	135	12
12	Stamps Department	..	..	3	..	..	..	1	..
13	Press Department	..	..	3	..	..	..	16	..
14	Industries Department.	2	..	30	2	9	1	88	2
15	Forest Department	27	..	21	4	2	..	150	3
16	Miscellaneous ..	..	..	5	..	..	..	2	..
	Total ..	254	7	1,018	108	283	16	3,864	444

Total number of Government Officers—5,994.

II.—Co-operative societies officials (supervisors) ..	228
III.—Government pensioners—Civil (drawing over Rs. 200 per mensem).	400
IV.—Court of Wards' officers	
Superiors—(*a*) Special managers ..	28
(*b*) Assistant managers ..	7
Ministerial—Head clerks	28
V.—Members of local bodies—(*a*) Municipal boards ..	1,189
(*b*) District boards ..	1,503
VI.—Honorary magistrates	960
VII.—Honorary assistant collectors	100
VIII.—Honorary munsifs	117
X.—Advocates and vakils	1,200
X.—Post offices (Postmasters on holidays)	1,200
XI.—Teachers (Government high schools)	1,352
II.—Post graduate students (in faculties of Economics, Civics, Politics and Sociology)	100
Total ..	14,606

सत्यमेव जयते

APPENDIX D.

	Total.	*Non-Muslims.*	*Muslims.*
1. Lucknow	250,939	149,266	101,673
2. Cawnpore	219,189	153,729	65,460
3. Benares	201,037	139,171	61,866
4. Agra	205,487	133,438	72,049
5. Allahabad	173,095	119,706	54,189
6. Bareilly	134,179	64,375	69,804
7. Meerut	91,181	46,446	44,730
8. Moradabad	110,562	46,852	63,710
9. Shahjahanpur	79,316	36,004	43,312
10. Jhansi	64,591	48,971	15,620
11. Saharanpur	78,655	32,308	46,347
12. Koil-Aligarh	63,832	47,894	35,938
13. Gorakhpur	59,369	37,847	21,522
14. Fyzabad	59,827	44,745	15,082
15. Mirzapur	61,184	48,908	12,276
16. Muttra	60,559	47,881	12,678
17. Farrukhabad	56,503	40,446	16,057
Total ..	1,990,305	1,237,987	752,318

(1) Minute of dissent by Khan Bahadur Maulvi Fasih-ud-din.

A scrutiny of the figures of the population of the various municipalities in these provinces shows that there are three districts ; the populations of the municipalities of each of those districts exceeds 50 thousand and these three districts too require to be added to the 17 municipalities question. The following is the detail :—

(1) Bijnor	Nagina	18,736
	Chandpur	11,032
	Najibabad	18,504
	Dhampur	7,448
	Bijnor	18,095
		73,853
(2) Budaun ..	Budaun	39,118
	Sahaswan	15,972
	Ujhani	11,186
		66,176
(3) Bulandshahr ..	Bulandshahr ..	19,509
	Sikandrabad ..	16,857
	Khurja	25,729
		62,095

None of the municipalities in each group of a district possess features of rural area more than the 17 municipalities already selected and many of them are historically important as seats of Hindu and Muslim Provincial satraps and still continue to possess importance from the point of view of trade and culture.

As to the 17 districts we have already allotted 18 seats to them, *viz.*, six for Muslims and 12 for non-Muslims. Three more may be allotted on account of the addition of three more districts, *viz.*, one for Muslims and two for non-Muslims.

The groups for the seven Muslim seats according to the population and the allocation of the municipalities should be as follows :—

Name of municipality.	*Number of seats.*
Lucknow	1
Benares, Gorakhpur, Mirzapur and Fyzabad	1
Agra, Muttra, Farrukhabad, Aligarh and Jhansi	2
Cawnpore and Allahabad ..	1

Name of municipality.	*Number of seats.*
Meerut, Saharanpur and three municipalities of Bulandshahr	1
Bareilly, Moradabad and six municipalities of Bijnor	1
Shahjahanpur and three municipalities of Budaun	1

A calculation of the population figures of the above municipalities shows that the average total population of each Muslim constituency will be about 105,000 and of the non-Muslim population it will be 104,000.

FASIH-UD-DIN.

(2) Explanatory note.

Under the changed circumstances introduced by the ruling of Lord Lothian regarding the definition of "depressed classes," our Committee's recommendation of nine extra seats for the so-called backward classes, and the Government expert's report about the limited facilities available for recording votes, I have decided not to dissent from the rest of the Committee on the question of group system. With other conclusions arrived at in the Committee's report, I am in agreement.

KASHI NARAIN MALAVIYA.

NAINI TAL;
April 9, 1932.

(3) Note of dissent by Rai Sahib Babu Rama Charana.

The United Provinces Franchise Committee have not themselves defined the term "depressed classes" but have requested the Chairman, Indian Franchise Committee, to give a ruling on the subject. A ruling has been received which is construed to contain a definition of the term. But I submit that the ruling does not give a definition at all. Lord Lothian says—"It is clear that I cannot authoritatively interpret what His Majesty's Government precisely means by the term 'depressed classes' in the Prime Minister's letter to me." The ruling simply asks the Chairman of this Committee to interpret it for the purpose of the present inquiry as meaning untouchability, that is to say, pollution by touch or approach, as it exists in the United Provinces.

The following communities, both touchable and untouchable, have hitherto been regarded as depressed classes in these provinces :—

(1) Ahir group.
(2) Kachhi group.
(3) Lodha group.
(4) Bhoksha group.
(5) Bhar.
(6) Phansiya.
(7) Gidhiya.
(8) Meo.

(9) Gadariya.
(10) Luniya group.
(11) Arakh group.
(12) Sejwari group.
(13) Dusadh.
(14) Dhanuk.
(15) Riverine group (Mallah group)
(16) Barhai group.
(17) Kori group.
(18) Chamar group.
(19) Kumhar group.
(20) Khairwa.
(21) Dalera.
(22) Carrier group (Banjara group)
(23) Bari group.
(24) Kahar group.
(25) Bhangi group.
(26) Nai.
(27) Dhobi.
(28) Sonar group.
(29) Barai group.
(30) Darzi group.
(31) Churihar group.
(32) Ramaiya group.
(33) Kalwar and Teli.
(34) Mochi.
(35) Gandharb group.
(36) Dharhi group.
(37) Bhand.
(38) Sectarian group (Atit, Sadh).
(39) Kolarian group.
(40) Bayar group.
(41) Dom group.
(42) Pasi group.
(43) Hill Dom group.
(44) Habura group.
(45) Nat group.
(46) Badhik group.
(47) Kapariya group.
(48) Kurmi.

That these communities are depressed classes will appear from the following sources given in the attached note* :—

(1) From the speech of His Excellency the Governor, who in his reply to an address puts the number of the depressed classes at about 20 millions and includes castes whose occupations are regarded degrading besides the untouchables.

(2) From the Despatch of the United Provinces Government.

(3) The United Provinces Muslims' memorandum submitted to the Simon Commission.

(4) Council questions and answers including answers given by our Hon'ble the President of the United Provinces Franchise Committee when he was a Minister of the United Provinces Government.

(5) Local Boards' records.

(6) From the speech of Maharaja Darbhanga as President of the All-India Varnashram Dharm Sabha at the Patna Session.

(7) Election of the depressed classes members by Congressmen as an act of mockery to the present Council.

(8) Other sources.

* Printed on pages 351-360.

So the position now is that although in actual practice as I had shown above as well as in my supplementary memorandum submitted to the Simon Commission in 1928 (copy herewith attached) both touchable and untouchable castes enumerated above have been regarded as depressed (*a*) by the champions of these classes including Mr. M. R. Jayakar and the Hon'ble Chairman of this Committee, (*b*) by the Government itself, (*c*) by the Census authorities, and (*d*) by the so-called untouchables themselves, *vide* memorandum of Dhan Singh, L.H.M.S. (Homoeo), President, All-India Jatav (a sect of Chamar) and other Depressed Classes Association of Shahganj, Agra, to the Simon Commission, referred to in my supplementary memorandum to the Simon Commission (copy herewith attached), yet now when responsible Government is going to be introduced it is said that no caste is depressed except Bhangi, Dom and Dhanuk.

It is said that the Simon Commission laid down untouchability only as the test of depression in the sense of causing pollution by touch or approach. But I respectfully submit that it is not so. Observations of the Simon Commission on page 40 of volume I of their report, which is relied on in support of this proposition, do not bear it out. Far from prescribing " untouchability " as the test of depression they clearly state two other tests, *viz.*, denial of access to the interior of ordinary Hindu temples and admission or refusal of children to schools. They emphasize that " these considerations must be borne in mind if any question arises of making a list of individuals who belong to the depressed classes as for example for election purposes ". They admittedly made an estimate of untouchables only " in the first of the above senses " excluding aboriginals.

The Commission themselves make the point quite clear by what they observe on page 67 of the same volume I.

They remark—" It will plainly be necessary, after the main principles of the new system of representation have been settled, to entrust to some specially appointed body (like the former Franchise Committee) the tasks of drawing up fresh electoral rules to carry these principles into effect and one of the tasks of such a body will be to frame for each province a definition of ' depressed classes ' (which may well vary, some time even between parts of the same province) and to determine their numbers so defined ".

Therefore the contention of some of the members of the United Provinces Franchise Committee that exactly the same criteria should be applied to the definition of the term " depressed classes " hardly holds water.

Therefore it is the task of the Indian Franchise Committee to define the term and they cannot take untouchability only in the sense of causing pollution by touch or approach as the test. They have also to take into account the other tests, *e.g.*, degrading profession criminal tribes, etc., which the local Government have themselves accepted, *vide* para. 23 of their letter no. 4949-C., dated August 23rd, 1930, from the Chief

Secretary to the Government of the United Provinces, to the Joint Secretary, Government of India, Reforms Office.

The Simon Commission through their telegram, dated October 3rd, 1928, asked the Government of India to be supplied with a critical account of the total number of the depressed classes in British India, province by province, and they suggested that the account should distinguish between and explain the various categories (giving number of each) which have been included from time to time amongst the depressed classes both by champions of these classes and Government itself, Census authorities and responsible bodies such as the Southborough Franchise Committee (*vide* memorandum of the Government of India No. E. Ind.-282, submitted to the Simon Commission).

In reply the Government of India expressed their inability to comply with the request of the Commission owing to the very short time allowed for the purpose. In para. 2 of the memorandum reference is given of a resolution moved in 1916 in the Imperial Legislative Council on the definition of the depressed classes, and the tenor of the discussion in the Imperial Council was to include in this expression—

(1) criminal and wandering tribes,

(2) aboriginal tribes, and

(3) untouchables ;

which definition the Government of India accepted and proceeded to inquire local Governments on its basis.

It is clear from the foregoing remarks that in the United Provinces at least untouchability and specially in the sense given in the ruling of the Chairman of the Indian Franchise Committee cannot be the criterion of depression, for it would defeat its own object, namely, to secure adequate representation of communities who have not hitherto been able and who are not likely to be able to do so in the future so much so that the United Provinces Government have been compelled to resort to nomination to provide representation for them even in local bodies what to speak of the local legislature.

That both touchable and untouchable communities should be regarded as depressed classes in these provinces is further corroborated by the replies to the questionnaire received from—

(1) Pandit Sheo Karan Misra (Brahmin), B.A., Deputy Collector, Fyzabad,

(2) Pandit Suraj Nath Sapru (Brahmin), Deputy Collector, Aligarh,

(3) The United Provinces Backward Classes League, Lucknow,

(4) The United Provinces Kahar Sudharak Sabha, Cawnpore,

(5) The Dalit Jat Sudharak Sabha of (*a*) Gorakhpur, (*b*) Azamgarh, and (*c*) Basti,

(6) All-India Bhurji Maha Sabha, Lucknow,

(7) The Mallah Panchayat, Benares, and others,

many of whom have been examined before the joint session of the Indian and the United Provinces Franchise Committees.

The United Provinces Government appointed Hon'ble Mr. Blunt, the Finance Member, to make an exhaustive examination of the subject. He has arrived at certain definition given on page 10 of his second note on depressed classes, and has given in appendix II the names and numbers of the depressed and backward classes which amount to about 15 millions. It is very curious indeed that the local Government have not accepted even this figure coming as it does from a very experienced member of the Government.

Applying the three tests culled from the discussion of the Imperial Legislative Council the Riverine group satisfies all the three conditions, that is to say, the group even to-day traces its descent from the aboriginal Nishadas of the Vedic period. *Bind, Chain* and *Tyar* of this group are untouchables; the *Chain* sect of the group is further treated as criminal tribe by the Government. The Kahar group also traces its origin from the aboriginal Nishadhas and their profession is considered degrading. The Hon'ble Mr. Blunt, I beg to submit, should have classed the Reverine and Kahar groups as depressed and not backward. However, the distinction is unimportant for the political purpose for which this inquiry is made. But if for any reason a distinction is to be made, I would in that case submit that backward classes should receive exactly the same protection as the depressed classes, for it would be very unfair to deprive the former of the protection which they have been rightly receiving, by mere change of nomenclature for no fault of theirs. These backward classes are composed of communities which are purely untouchable in the sense given by Mr. Blunt and partly untouchable as well as criminal and aboriginal tribes (though not generally untouchable). It cannot be gainsaid that they are, not only, not any the less educationally and economically backward but also socially so. In one sense their condition is more deplorable, for untouchables are spared from the menial services which are forced upon the backward classes. The yoke of slavery is tighter upon them for the mere reason of their touchability. The non-Brahmins in the Madras Presidency are given reservation of seats although their condition is far more superior to the backward classes of these provinces. There is no reason whatsoever that these classes should not get the same protection specially when their condition is exactly equal to that of the depressed classes. I have received copies of resolutions and representations sent to this Committee of the backward classes from almost all the districts of these provinces emphatically demanding reservation of seats.

The question of untouchability in this province is not acute. But the division of Hindus into high and low, twice-born and Sudra is very acute. Though some castes claim to be twice-born but their claim has never been accepted by the high caste Hindus. There is a real clash of interest between the high and low class Hindus, which has exhibited itself in the

formation of Hindu Backward Classes League and the Adi-Hindu Sabha and the like. There has been a clamour on the part of these clashes for separate electorate. And yet it passes my understanding when I hear the Hindu members of the Committee say that there are no backward and depressed classes except Bhangis and Doms. I am sorry to remark that they have taken advantage of the difficulty of a theoretical definition being possible. But why theorize when there are the above-mentioned communities who have not been able to elect representatives of their own choice hitherto, and who, with the exception of perhaps Kurmi, Ahir group, Kachhi group, Lodha group, Barhai group, Sonar group, Barai group, Kalwar group and Gandharb group, are not likely to elect representatives of their own choice in future, even if adult suffrage be introduced. Already the majority of the voters belong to the above communities and any extension of the franchise will not alter the result.

The Report on the Working of the System of Government, United Provinces, January 19th, 1928, volume III, submitted to the Indian Statutory Commission says at page 2 :—

"In the province as a whole the four leading castes, Brahman, Thakur, Vaishya and Kayastha, form 21·1 per cent. of the total Hindu population, but these five castes have supplied no less than 93 per cent. of the Hindu members of the Council. The Jat, with 1·8 per cent. of the population, have contributed another 5 per cent. to the Hindu membership ; and all the millions included in the multitude of other Hindu castes including the real agricultural castes, though they amount to over 76 per cent. of the Hindu population have only succeeded in supplying 2 per cent. of the representation."

Of course the result of guaranteeing representation to these classes would be to deprive the high class Hindus of the unjust and undemocratic monopoly which they have hitherto enjoyed and which they are attempting to retain by every possible means. There is absolutely no reason why over 35 per cent. population should go unrepresented when they are groaning under the prejudice of the high class Hindus.

I agree with the Hon'ble Mr. Blunt that the castes recorded as depressed and backward in Appendix II of his second note cannot get representation in legislatures. But I would also add to that list the Gadariya, Darzi group, Nai and Bari group.

The speech in vernacular of Hon'ble Raja Shambhu Dayal, of January 23, 1926, in the Legislative Council on the resolution regarding education of depressed classes reveals the true estimation in which the high class Hindus hold them. They regard the progress of the depressed classes as incongruous and improper as if it were tantamount to wearing the footdress over the head. The origin of the Sudra is also ascribed to the foot of the Creator.

The educational disabilities of the depressed classes can be judged by the report of 1927 of the Committee appointed to inquire into and report on the state of primary education of boys of the Muslim community

and of educationally backward communities in the United Provinces. Two paragraphs from page 8 of the report are quoted below :—

"Employers of unskilled labourers have no desire to raise literacy among their employees and create discontent. The literate members of other castes and communities are averse from increasing literacy in the depressed classes for fear of competition for the posts of patwaris, school masters, etc.

These economic causes combined with strong social prejudice have resulted in local opposition to the foundation of special schools, which usually shows itself in refusal to supply a house or ground for the school on the part of owners of property. In places where accommodation has been found, common methods of breaking up of schools are to threaten parents or pupils with dismissal from employment and to make the teacher so uncomfortable that he resigns."

The note on page 30 of the same report of Rai Sahib Pandit Sukhdeo Tewari, B.A., a retired officer of the Education Department and belonging to the highest caste of Hindus, says :—

"As the development of education in any country depends on its special circumstances such as old tradition, public opinion, etc., education both in rural and urban areas here was confined amongst the literary classes only. The backward communities were allowed to remain in ignorance as they were before . . . . . The high class and literate Hindu communities, particularly the zamindars, discouraged the backward classes to educate their boys as they did not like the latter to become more learned and question their authority over them. The teachers who happened to belong to literate communities did not admit boys of untouchable classes for one reason or another. Only a few boys of Kahars, Ahirs, Nais, etc., were taken in *to serve as menial servants.* Although the angle of vision has now changed still I believe that there is a considerable number of high class people who discourage education amongst the backward classes . . . . . On investigation it was brought to light that no attempt was even made to educate the depressed and other backward Hindu communities which formed a large percentage of the total Hindu population."

Instances are not wanting of local bodies who deliberately discourage education among the depressed classes. A passage relating to education of depressed class boys on page 41 of the General Report on Public Instruction in the United Provinces for 1926, is given below :—

"To some extent the appointment of supervisors is responsible for the decrease but in the Benares division it is reported to be due to discouragement of this class of education by the boards, the Jaunpur district board in particular and that of Ghazipur in a less degree, obtaining discreditable mention."

The doors of public services maintained by the Government and the local bodies are banged against the qualified men of the depressed classes. They have no means to ventilate their grievances in this connection.

The areas in which they live are generally insanitary and the health department of the Government and the local bodies do not care for them.

The depressed classes are generally tenants with no fixity of tenure, no fixity of rent and therefore no freedom of vote. They are not any the less intelligent but they are not independent to vote for men of their own choice. In short the condition of the depressed and backward classes is not far from slavery.

Number of seats to be allotted to Depressed and Backward Classes.

The Committee during my unavoidable absence decided that one seat should be given by nomination to Bhangis, Doms and Dhanuks (as according to the ruling of the Chairman these castes alone are depressed classes), and nine seats should be reserved in joint electorates for the backward classes. While I am thankful to the Committee that they have kindly recognized the necessity of special protection being provided for the backward classes (hitherto regarded as depressed), I differ from them on two points, namely, (1) that they have conditioned their allotment of seats to the principle being followed in other provinces, and (2) that the number of seats allotted is only 9. My reasons are—

As to the condition precedent:—The Committee have recognized the stress which has been rightly laid by the Indian Franchise Committee on the necessity of all classes of the community being provided with the means of voicing their views in the Provincial Legislature and also the fact that there are various classes at present which have no opportunity of doing this because of their educational backwardness and the poverty of their civil condition. This being so, I cannot follow the necessity of the proviso which has been attached. As I have said above that in spite of the fact that their voters are in a majority under the present franchise, no caste given in Appendix II of Mr. Blunt's second note except Ahir and (Kurmi) have been able to send representatives of their own choice. Excluding these two castes, and Bhangi, Dom and Dhanuk the population of such unrepresented castes is 21,652,594.

Now allotment of nine seats for such a large population is much too small. Even if I exclude, by hoping against hope, that Kachhi group, Lodha group, Barhai group, Sonar group, Barai group and Gandharb group will get their representation in general electorate through the extension of the franchise, the number is still considerable, that is, about 17 millions. Nor will the position be altered even if we take the number of castes described by Mr. Blunt as depressed and backward classes after deducting Bhangi, Dom and Dhanuk. We are faced even then with a population which comes roughly to 29 per cent. of the whole population of the United Provinces. There is absolutely no reason why we should go lower down this figure. Mr. Blunt has given very good reasons for his opinion that this population of the province will not be able to secure representation of their own choice. I therefore beg to submit that nine seats would hardly do justice to such a large population. The Provincial and Central Simon Committees recommended 15 seats out of a House of 182 and for a constitution under which Government was not going to be responsible to the legislature. I agreed to this number of 15 for ten years only at the expiry of which period I claimed representation on population basis. Even if recommendations of these two committees are to be

accepted the number of seats should be at least 21 out of a House of 250 now proposed.

The Simon Commission turned down the recommendations of the two Simon Committees and recommended reservation of seats on three-fourth of the population (which they took at 13 millions) yielding 40 seats, *vide* letter No. 4949-C., dated August 23, 1930, from the Chief Secretary to the Government of the United Provinces to the Joint Secretary to the Government of India, Reforms Office. The Local Government have not approved of the 40 seats, *vide* paragraph 23 of the letter because they say that the number of seats has been based by the Simon Commission on the total strength but not on the electoral strength. But as I have already submitted that the electoral strength of the depressed and backward classes (even if we take only classes now described by Mr. Blunt as depressed and backward) will be considerable even under the present narrow franchise and in order to prove this statement of mine to the hilt I put certain questions in the last session of the Legislative Council, *vide* question No. 8 (starred), dated March 12, 1932. The Government ordered the district authorities to collect the figures but afterwards when the figures were ready, in many districts at least, the Government wired to stop the collection of the information for the reasons best known to them.

It is regretted that in paragraph 14 of their revised questionnaire, the Indian Franchise Committee has asked for what the number of depressed class voters would be accepting, only the castes specified in paragraph 16 of the local Government's letter. They have not asked for the present electoral strength under the present constitution. I do not know why the number of the voters of the backward castes as found by Mr. Blunt is not necessary. These castes have not in the past got and cannot in future get representation of their own choice and nobody challenges this finding of Mr. Blunt. The only reason I can conceive of is that there is nobody to represent the backward classes on the Indian Franchise Committee to espouse the cause of these classes who have now been turned into backward classes. I would very strongly, though humbly, request the Indian Franchise Committee to get the necessary information now, which is ready almost in every district. The United Provinces Franchise Committee has avoided giving the voting strength even of the castes mentioned in paragraph 16 of the local Government's letter.

Therefore I will not be satisfied unless at last 48 seats calculated on the line of the Simon Commission which is based on three-fourths of the population estimated at 13 millions as against over 14 millions now found by Mr. Blunt, is conceded. There is no difficulty to fill up these 48 seats by fully qualified men in no way inferior to the generality of the members hitherto returned to the Council from among the high class Hindus. I also want adequate representation in the Federal Assembly and also in the Second Chamber of the local Legislature, if formed.

NAINI TAL;
April 7, 1932.

RAMA CHARANA,
Member, Franchise Committee,
United Provinces.

Enclosure No. 2 to Rai Sahib Babu Rama Charana's note of dissent.*

Supplementary Memorandum.

FROM RAI SAHIB BABU RAMA CHARANA, B.A., LL.B., NOMINATED MEMBER OF THE UNITED PROVINCES LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL TO REPRESENT THE INTERESTS OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES, TO THE CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN STATUTORY COMMISSION, CAMP INDIA.

In continuation of my memorandum on the subject of the " depressed classes," I beg to submit the following as a supplement thereto in view of the fact that I have not given the strength of the depressed classes of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh in that memorandum.

The necessity of mentioning the numerical strength of the depressed classes becomes all the more important in view of the facts—

(*a*) that all the estimates hitherto made are open to the common objection that they include untouchable classes only in spite of the admitted fact that in the United Provinces at least the extent of the depressed classes includes many touchable classes who are generally regarded as Sudras like the untouchables ;

(*b*) that the United Provinces Government have always shrunk owing to " the extreme delicacy of official sentiment " from attempting even a rough estimate ;

(*c*) that the Government of India have observed in their " Note on the Depressed Classes " prepared at the request of the Statutory Commission that " there has accordingly been no official definition of any castes or tribes of the community as depressed classes and the question whether or not any group of the community is socially depressed or treated as untouchable is a matter of local custom. If therefore the Commission desire to investigate the question whether any particular caste or tribe should or should not be described as ' depressed ', their inquiries would presumably be made in the provinces concerned ";

(*d*) that the estimates in the Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education, 1912—1927, are open to the objection that " we are left without precise information of the particular data on which Mr. Sharp relied when reaching a decision whether to include or to exclude any particular caste ";

(*e*) that the estimates based on the Census Report, 1921, according to Mr. Marten " do not include (1) the full strength of the castes and tribes concerned, and (2) the tribal aborigines more recently absorbed in Hinduism, many of whom are considered impure ";

* Enclosure No. 1 not printed being identical with the note on pages 351—360.

(*f*) Mr. Bajpai's figures were contested by Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah, M.L.C., in a letter to the *Times of India*, dated May 15, 1928 ; and

(*g*) that the Franchise Committee's estimates of 1919 are inaccurate due probably to the fact that the Committee " were not setting themselves to the task of reaching any authoritative total of what might be called the depressed class. They made a very rough division of Hindus into Brahmans, non-Brahmans, and others ".

I have stated above that the United Provinces Government have always shrunk from defining the extent of the " depressed classes ". The reasons is not far to seek. The word " depressed " does not literally mean untouchable but in course of time it has associated with it the idea of untouchability. It is because of this idea of untouchability in the term " depressed " that the Government shrunk to call any caste " depressed ". Many castes also who are undoubtedly depressed in the proper sense of the term do not like to call themselves depressed for the same reason. It is imperative that a suitable term acceptable to all concerned be coined. I would suggest that the term " Hindu backward classes " be adopted.

We all know what castes in these provinces are considered as depressed classes by " champions of these classes and by Government itself ". It is in its original literal sense that the word has been used by the Government of these provinces. This Government has never used untouchability as the test of depression, and rightly too. In other words, political as opposed to social depression has been the test with the United Provinces Government. If the Government were to adopt untouchability as the test many castes who though not untouchable but who are as depressed as untouchables, would not be covered by the term. What the Government wants to do is to give protection to the classes who are politically backward either due to untouchability or any other causes. Political rather than social reform is the aim of us all.

Leader like Mr. Jayakar, M.L.A., also used the term to include both touchables and untouchables as is apparent from his resolution in the Assembly to the effect that special educational facilities be given to untouchables and *other depressed classes*.

The next question that arises is whether there are concrete instances in which this Government has actually acted upon its secret definition, *i.e.*, have regarded as " depressed classes " both touchable and untouchable classes, generally regarded as Sudras. To answer this question we shall have to refer to the nominations the Government have made from time to time for the depressed classes. Take the instance of the village *panchayats*. I reproduce below the question which I put to the Government on June 20, 1927, in the Legislative Council and the reply of the Government given in its answer :—

Question No. 101.—Will the Government be pleased to state the total number of village *panchayats* in the different districts of these

provinces ? How many *panches* and *sarpanches* out of these belong to the depressed classes in each *panchayat* ? Will the Government be pleased to give *the names and castes of such depressed class panches and sarpanches.*

The Hon'ble Nawab Muhammad Yusuf : A statement (not printed in the Proceedings) containing the information is laid on the honourable member's table.

It would appear that the statement was not printed in the Proceedings of the Council because it is very big and unwieldy containing 102 foolscap pages. It was put on my table and I will place it in original before the Commission at the proper time. I give below the principal castes of the different *panches* and *sarpanches* of the depressed classes mentioned in the statement. They are as follows arranged in alphabetical order according to the arrangement of castes given in table XIII-A and C, part II, volume XVI of the Census Report, 1921 :—

(1) Ahir.
(2) Ahar.
(3) Baghban.
(4) Barai.
(5) Barhai.
(6) Bari.
(7) Bhangi.*
(8) Bhar.
(9) Bharbhunja.
(10) Bhoksha.*
(11) Chamar.
(12) Darzi.
(13) Dhanuk.
(14) Dhobi.
(15) Dhunia.
(16) Dom (Plains).*
(17) Dusadh.
(18) Faqir.
(19) Gadariya.
(20) Gond.*
(21) Goria.
(22) Gujar.
(23) Habura.*
(24) Halwai.
(25) Kachhi.
(26) Hill depressed classes.
(27) Kahar.
(28) Kalwar.
(29) Kewat.
(30) Khatik.
(31) Kisan.
(32) Koeri.
(33) Kol.
(34) Kori.
(35) Kumhar.
(36) Kurmi.
(37) Lodha.
(38) Lohar.
(39) Luniya.
(40) Mali.
(41) Mallah.
(42) Murao.
(43) Nai.
(44) Nat.*
(45) Pasi.
(46) Saini.
(47) Sainthwar.
(48) Sonar.
(49) Tamboli.
(50) Teli.
(51) Tharu.*
(52) Thathera.
(53) Others.

I have not mentioned in the above list the names of sub-castes and minor castes entered in the Government statement as they are covered by one or other of the castes mentioned above or are covered by No. 53. The castes marked * are not in the Government statement because no member of them has been admitted to any village *panchayat* as their position in a society is very low and some of them are gipsies and considered as criminal tribes. The Hill depressed classes mentioned at No. 26 are not included in the Government statement because the Government

have not nominated members of the Hill depressed classes to any *panchayat* about which there is a just grievance and a point has actually been made by Munshi Hari Tamta, member, district and municipal boards Almora and Chairman of the Kumaun Shilpkar Sabha (Union of Industrial Workers), Almora, United Provinces, India, in paragraph 4 of his memorandum submitted to the Commission.

Similar instances are found in the nominations made by Government to district and municipal boards and also to the Council, *e.g.*, my question No. 90 put on March 4, 1927, in the Legislative Council and its answer by Government reproduced below :—

Will the Government be pleased to state the castes of the depressed class nominated members shown in the statement of the said answer for 1924-25 ? (The answer referred to is starred question No. 1 of Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Husain of June 25, 1926, regarding the strength of the Hindu, Muslim, Indian Christian and depressed class members on different local boards, which is printed in Appendix A, pages 1 to 3 of the Representation of the Muslims of the United Provinces to the Commission.)

The Hon'ble Nawab Muhammad Yusuf: Kumhars, Jatiya, Kachhi Pasi, Teli, Chamar, Nai and Bhangi.

Of these 1, 3, 5 and 7 are touchable and the rest untouchable depressed classes.

As regards instances of the nominations to the Legislative Council the rule is that the Governor will nominate a member representative of the classes who in his opinion are depressed classes. Here again the rule has been framed in such language because of the delicacy of official sentiment. I am the present member of the Council and I belong to the Mullah caste which is touchable. Mr. Khem Chand who preceded me belongs to Jatiya, a sub-caste of Chamars.

Thus there is no doubt that the castes given above are depressed classes. None of these castes except Bhangis are strictly speaking untouchables. In these Provinces untouchability of the type obtaining in Madras is unknown. Here nobody considers himself polluted by the shadow of anybody nor even by touch except that of Bhangis. Here we have very little or no untouchability and that also is fast dying out. But the privilage of touch has nothing to do with political rights. Kahars have been touchables always but they are as backward politically and economically as are the Chamars. Then again the same caste which is touchable in one place is untouchable in another place. In the Kumaun division all castes except Brahmans, Thakurs and Baniyas are untouchables, while most of these are touchables in the plains. In this connection the following remarks in the memorandum of Mr. Ram Prasad, Ahir Pleader, Tulsi Ram's compound, Sultanpur, Oudh, are very important :—

> " (1) The majority of the population of India is made up of Hindus which consists of various castes, which can easily be divided politically into two classes—the higher (*i.e.*, those

who wear sacred cord) and the lower (*i.e.*, those who do not wear sacred cord) including Chamars and sweepers.

(2) (*a*) Really speaking the lower classes as defined in paragraph 1 above, have politically the same disabilities, as against the higher classes such as Ahirs, Gadaryas are labourers in the field just as a Chamar is ; they are all subject to *begar*. The former are in this line put to more work than the latter, because they can touch and carry eatables and draw water for the higher classes.

(*b*) It may be said that the lower classes are made up of the middle classes and the lower castes—amongst the former may be mentioned the Ahirs, Gadariyas, Kurmis, etc., and among the latter the Chamars, Sweepers, Dhobis, etc., but this classification is a thing of the past and cannot be made castewise now-a-days, for now the Brahmans and Kshattriyas have taken to agriculture leaving their own occupation—the major portion of the land in the villages is under their cultivation, the lower classes have usually small holdings.

The British officers in the Civil and Military employ/employed sweepers and Chamars as their bearers and ' Ahahs ' and thus raised the status of many of their families.

On the other hand Chamars have thriven by hide work and many of them are amongst the first class rich families—such as in Cawnpore Rai Sanwal Dass family and others."

These castes are considered depressed not only by Government but by the so-called untouchables and the so-called high class Hindus. Dr. Dhan Singh, L.H.M.S. (Homœo.), President, All-India Jatao (a sect of Chamar who are untouchables) and other Depressed Classes Association, Shahganj, Agra, in his memorandum to the Commission at page 4 remarks :—

" As a matter of fact there does not appear to be any earthly reason why 60 per cent. of the total Hindu population will allow themselves to be ill-treated by 40 per cent. caste Hindus."

The 60 per cent. depressed classes referred to in the above observation are composed of as follows according to Census of 1921 :—

Touchable depressed classes, *e.g.*, Tamolis, Kachhis and Kahars, etc.	13,973,188
Untouchable depressed classes, *e.g.*, Doms, Bhangis, etc.	14,693,816
	28,667,004

Raja Bahadur Kushal Pal Singh, M.A., LL.B., M.L.C., Minister for Education, and Member, United Provinces Simon Committee, speaks exactly of the same percentage 60 in his memorandum at page 12 to the Statutory Commission.

It will thus be seen that both touchable and untouchable castes mentioned above have been considered as depressed classes in these provinces both by champions of these classes and also by Government itself and census authorities.

The enumeration of castes given by United Provinces Government published at page 5 of the Note on Depressed classes submitted to the Government of India is admittedly a list of untouchable depressed classes only, *vide* page 2 of the Note. Secondly it does not exhaust all the castes that are considered untouchable in these provinces, *e.g.*, Pasi, Dusadh, Habura, Gond, Kol, Nat, etc., have been omitted.

I have said in my previous memorandum that the depressed classes are regarded as Sudras by the so-called high class Hindus, but as a matter of fact they are the descendants of the aborigines of India who had a civilization of their own. All the castes which make up the Sudra class have certain customs which are common to them all, but they have nothing in common with the high class Hindus.

The custom of widow remarriage, the *panchayat* system and worship of family gods is common to all the so-called Sudras but is not found among the high classes. Widow remarriage is actually prohibited by the religious books of Hindus. It is true that a few men of some of these castes have recently started Sabhas and claim to be Kshattriyas, Vaishyas and even Brahmans, *e.g.*, some Jatiya Chamars have started their Sabha under the name of Jatava Maha Sabha and claim to be Kshattriyas. Some members of Nai (barber) caste claim to be Brahmans. Some Telis and Bhurjis claim to be Vaishyas. But these claims have never been accepted by the high class Hindus. Only recently at Rajapur in the district of Banda some Kalwars who claim to be Kshattriyas had put on sacred thread in obedience to a resolution of their Maha Sabha. They were subjected to various sorts of indignities by the high class Hindus, a report of which appeared in several newspapers. I myself had put certain questions about it in Council but they were disallowed on technical grounds. In this connection the remarks of Mr. Ram Prasad Ahir, Pleader of Sultanpur (Oudh), are pertinent and are quoted below :—

> (2) (*c*) " All the castes which make up the lower classes, as defined in paragraph 1 above have certain customs (social and religious) which are common to them all, but they have nothing in common with the higher classes.
>
> These are as under :—
>
> (*a*) All these castes (*e.g.*, those who do not wear the sacred cord) drink wine. I mean by usage, there is no prohibition and consequently no fear of being outcasted like the higher castes. It is quite a different matter that some personally for some reason or other may not drink.
>
> (*b*) Remarriage (widow) is allowed.
>
> (*c*) There are caste *panchayats*.

(*d*) Twice at harvest season each of these castes worship their family gods which is mostly common to each. At this worship no Brahman can preside and the gods worshipped find no place in the Brahmanical dictionary.

The question then arises why others are regarded (socially) to be a little better than the other. The reason is not far to seek—and it is that the former have placed themselves a little under the Brahman influence, the latter did not yield to Brahmanical pressure—the former invite Brahmans to solemnize marriages, the latter perform marriages by themselves.

All these settle their matrimonial and social disputes by themselves by their caste *panchayats* and a Brahman has no hand in it. Supposing an Ahir *panchayat* admitted a Chamar into his brotherhood, all that a Brahman or with him the higher castes now can do is that they may refrain drinking water touched by the Ahirs, and the Brahman may refuse to solemnize marriages, none of which would be of any consequence whatsoever, for that is the case with Muhammadans and others as well.

It is true that some selfish persons instigated by the like of the higher class have started Sabhas wherein some of these castes claim to be 'Kshattriyas'. To make claim on religious grounds is one thing, the present worth, the present position as acknowledged by the rest of the population is another and is what has to be taken into consideration.

It is clearly to the advantage of higher classes that when the question of entry into legislature comes they may tell that some of these castes are 'Kshattriyas' because in that way they would be able to go there to the entire exclusion of these castes who are far inferior to them in education, money and other requisites, and cannot compete with them and thus they would succeed in keeping these castes behind as before.

If these castes were acknowledged to be Kshattriyas, the Kshattriya Sabha would have absorbed their Sabha, and they would exist no more. On the contrary in the Kshattriya Sabha, no Ahir, Gadariya, Kurmi or any member of the lower class was ever invited. There is a proverb running :—

Ahir, Gadaria, Pasi,

Tinon Satya Nasi,

meaning Ahir, Gadariya, Pasi, all the three are the destroyers of the truth.

Those who do not wear the sacred cord are enjoined not to read the *Vedas* and are classed as Sudras. There is a proverb running :—

Gagri Dana,

Sud Utana."

As soon as a Sudra has a goblet full of corn he becomes proud, that is to say, he must be constantly kept to live from hand to mouth (lest he might go on strike).

Born and brought up with these ideas how can the higher classes have any sympathy with the lower classes ?

It would be worth while to inquire what treatment is meted out to these castes by the higher classes :—

(*a*) In villages.

(*b*) By the higher class men, who alone occupy the public offices when they deal with the lower class men in their official capacity.

(*c*) In how many cases when redress is sought by the lower classes against a higher class man, the case never comes to court at all, owing to undue pressure of the higher classes.

I have said in my previous memorandum that the root cause of the degradation of the depressed classes is not due to any inherent defect in them. They are as strong in intellect as the high class Hindus and the Muslims are. Very little or no opportunity of education has been given to these classes yet I can point out scores of graduates and at least about two dozen lawyers. It is an indication of ignorance or even selfishness on the part of those who say that they are not strong in intellect. Even in British *raj* the depressed classes have been given very little opportunities for education and the high class Hindus have not failed to discourage their education whenever and wherever they can. I quote below the remarks of Rai Sahib Pandit Sukhdeo Tewari, B.A., a member of the Educational Services of these Provinces and a gentleman of the Brahman class. The remarks quoted below were made by him as a member of the Committee appointed by the United Provinces Government to inquire into and report on the state of primary education of boys of the Muslim community and of educationally backward communities in the United Provinces :—

" As the development of education in any country depends on its special circumstances such as old tradition, public opinion, etc., education both in rural and urban areas here was confined amongst the literary classes only. The backward communities were allowed to remain in ignorance as they were before . . . . . The high class and literate Hindu communities, particularly the zamindars, discouraged the backward classes to educate their boys as they did not like the latter to become more learned and question their authority over them. The teachers who happened to belong to literate communities did not admit boys of untouchable classes for one reason or another. Only a few boys of Kahars, Ahirs, Nais, etc., were taken in to serve them as menial servants."

Add to this the instance from the Government Report on Public Instruction in the United Provinces for the year ending March 31, 1926, page 41, mentioned in my previous memorandum, showing that even district and municipal boards, who are charged with the duty of diffusion

of education among depressed classes, discourage the same. There is another instance of a member of the Legislative Council publicly ridiculing the attempt of the nominated depressed class representative to get a resolution passed through the Council recommending the grant of certain scholarships for the children of the depressed classes. He considers the imparting of education to depressed classes as objectionable as it is to put on foot leather dress on head and the headdress on foot.

Therefore the charge of weakness of intellect in the depressed classes is unfounded. They have not been given opportunities of developing their intellect.

It has been suggested by some that depressed classes are a disorganized body. Cohesion is wanting in them. No one man can represent their views. To such criticism my answer is that this ground is directed against suitability of democracy itself to Hindus in general. Hinduism is only another name of communalism. A Brahman cares for a Brahman, a Kshattriya for a Kshattriya, and a Bania for a Bania. Nepotism is the rule with Hindus. Sangathan movement is a proclamation of want of homogeneity among the Hindus.

Then it is said that depressed classes will be in the hands of Swaraj-*cum*-Nationalist party if they are given separate electorates. My humble submission is that the depressed classes want their separation from Hindus, who are mainly responsible for suppression of these classes, even according to the Nehru Committee it is unreasonable to suppose that they will side with Swaraj and Nationalist parties which are composed mainly of high class Hindus.

Enclosure No. 3 to Rai Sahib Babu Rama Charana's note of dissent.

The depressed classes.

The problem of the representation of the depressed classes is one of vital importance and requires immediate attention. Its importance will fully appear from the following very pertinent observations of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru :—

> "I do say what is my most sincere conviction, that unless you are able to solve your own social problems about the depressed classes and the untouchables, I do not see any real prospect for real genuine constitutional advance, and any constitution that you may get will certainly not arouse any interest in me, because I do feel, howsoever good, howsoever perfect, howsoever ideal your constitution may be unless you have got the support of the minorities and unless you command the confidence of those whom in your vanity you may describe as depressed classes, your constitution will not be worth a day's purchase."

The depressed classes have not yet taken to the art of canvassing. They are a heterogeneous group and there is no cohesion among them. In the present state of things it would be unwise to give elected seats to them, for it would scarcely be possible for all the various sub-castes who form the depressed classes to agree upon a representative of their interests. The elective system is bound to cause internal dissensions and instead of being a blessing it will be a veritable curse to them. No single person can adequately represent the views of various communities scattered over a very wide area. The present franchise is not at all suited for the proper representation of the depressed classes, the majority of whom are neither zamindars nor tenants. Adult suffrage would be too unwieldy to be thought of. In view of the backward condition of the depressed classes a separate electorate is certain to pass under the control of those professional agitators who shed crocodile tears for them, and the inevitable result would be that the representative of the depressed classes would be the nominee and a servile follower of the Nationalist-*cum*-Swaraj party. Legal practitioners, who are generally Nationalists, will exercise most unwholesome and deadening influence on the electoral body. They will influence zamindars and money-lenders who will influence voters residing in their villages. In fact the depressed classes will be more subservient to their zamindars and money-lenders than high caste Hindus. The persons elected will neither reflect the opinion and views of the depressed classes nor support Government. They will be pliant tools in the hands of the Swaraj-*cum*-Nationalist party who will use them as a weapon to embarrass Government. Thus the sympathies of Government, which the depressed classes need most in their present condition, will be alienated. It is therefore imperative that the representation of the depressed classes should be secured through nomination. So far as they are concerned the elective system is entirely unsuitable. The person nominated to represent the depressed class must himself belong to that class. Nationalists are already exploiting the depressed classes for their own benefit. Unless the present constitution is so changed as to give all classes a recognized voice in the affairs of their country and thereby rouse their sub-conscious self-respect, the actual position and standard of life of the depressed classes would remain very much what it is at present. The rise of man of humble origin to power and affluence improves his social relations with high caste Hindus. It would be idle to attribute the depression of the depressed classes to the religious and social system of the Hindus. If Government improve their political status by giving them honorary offices, representation on local bodies and legislatures and in public services, commensurate with their numerical strength, their social position would automatically improve and social injustice will become a thing of the past. Caste Hindus are jeered at for giving better treatment to the members of the depressed classes when they embrace Islam or Christianity. The change of religion does not improve the social position of these unfortunate persons. The majority of Bhangis in the north of Firozabad tahsil are Christians but their social position is much the same as it was before their conversion to Christianity. Their social position rises *pari passu* with the rise in their economic condition.

It is not enough for Government to make them equal in the eye of law or to give them equal opportunities with caste Hindus. It is the duty of Government to place them in such a position as would enable them to avail themselves of these opportunities. It is then and then alone that the social position of the depressed classes will approximate to the level of that of the high caste Hindus. Nationalists want to derive full benefit from the numerical strength of the depressed classes. Their leaders profess great solicitude for them, and promise them equality of treatment on condition of their siding with them. The depressed classes as a whole must be made to realize, as some of them are realizing at present, that equality of treatment is their birthright. As a matter of fact there does not appear to be any earthly reason why 60 per cent. of the total Hindu population will allow themselves to be ill-treated by 40 per cent. caste Hindus. There are 60 seats allotted to Hindus in the United Provinces Legislative Council. If the Nationalists want to be just, let them give them half the number of seats. The leaders of the Nationalist party want representation to be on the population basis. If this principle is accepted, the depressed classes will naturally claim very large increase in the number of representatives as they form the bulk of the Hindu population in the United Provinces. For the sake of political education it is necessary that the depressed classes should remain included among Hindus. It is not desirable to break up the solidarity of the Hindu population. In order to give some voice to the depressed classes, 15 members of this class should be appointed nominated members to represent their views. In making nominations, due weight should be given to the recommendations of really representative associations. Since they form the bulk of the Hindu population they insist on their adequate representation on local bodies, public services and also on legislatures and honorary offices—a desire which is perfectly legitimate. I suggest that at least 15 seats in the United Provinces Legislative Council be allotted to nominated representatives of the depressed classes. The Reforms Inquiry Committee recommended that the representation of the depressed classes in the Provincial Council should be increased and that further representation could only be secured by nomination.

DR. DHAN SINGH, L.H.M.S. (HOMŒO.)

President,

All-India Jatav and Other Depressed Classes Education Association, Shahganj, Agra.

(4) Minute of dissent on franchise and the representation of the depressed classes by Babu Ram Sahai, member, representing the depressed classes on the United Provinces Provincial Franchise Committee.

Franchise.

1. I stand for universal adult suffrage, not as the ultimate goal but as the immediate objective. I am of opinion that unless adult suffrage is introduced, power will not be transferred to the people as a whole but will pass into the hands of a section of the people. In order therefore that the people should have their real voice, I strongly advocate the introduction of adult suffrage.

Definition of "Depressed Classes".

2. During the course of our discussion, difficulties have been raised as to who exactly constitute the depressed classes. The terms "depressed classes" and "backward classes" are bandied together and cause confusion. It is of paramount importance that the term "depressed classes" be defined and the meaning of the expression be fixed. The vagueness of the expression has been most prejudicial to the interests of the classes who ought really to have been covered by it and efforts to ameliorate their condition by allotting seats to them in legislatures or statutory local bodies were neutralized by the claims of other communities to be included among them on the score of their backwardness in education.

3. The first attempt to enumerate these classes was made in the Census report of 1901. The next report of 1911 showed that the classes (untouchables) who came under the category of "depressed classes" number 55 millions of the total Hindu population. The report of 1921 puts the figure at a low and conservative minimum of 43 millions in British India, it being added that "we may confidently place the numbers of the depressed classes all of whom are considered impure at something between 55 and 60 millions in India proper". In January 1929 the provincial Governments were circularized by the Indian Central Committee asking for the latest figures and the number of the depressed classes (untouchables) was given as 44½ millions. In the case of the United Provinces the figures given by the local Government showed the depressed classes as 13 millions. Further, both the Simon Commission and the Indian Central Committee reports confined the term "depressed classes" to those who are classed as "untouchables", and all the discussions in regard to these classes at both the sessions of the Round Table Conference at London took place on the basis of untouchability. This clearly shows that this has been the principle of enumeration of these classes from the very start up till now.

4. The lines of division which mark off the depressed classes from the rest of the Hindus are clear and unmistakable. Leaving aside the

numerous disabilities from which they suffer the following tests as regards untouchability may be applied so far as this province is concerned :

(*i*) Will a caste Hindu take water touched by a person belonging to the depressed classes if he comes to know his caste ?

(*ii*) Will caste Hindus allow him entry into eating houses maintained by them for the Hindu public if his caste is known ?

(*iii*) Will caste Hindus allow him to stay in *dharamsalas* maintained by them for the Hindus if his caste is known ?

5. As regards their condition the depressed classes belong to the lowest rung of the Hindu social ladder. Treated as helots and subjected to every conceivable mark of humiliation by the upper classes, they have remained the submerged tenth of the population. Everywhere in the province they live segregated in mohallas termed as "Chamrauti", "Pasiana", "Koriana", "Khatkana", etc., pursue the lowly calling of their forefathers and were till recently content to lead their scheduled and degraded lives—contented because they were told that their present condition was but the logical sequence of their sins in the past lives, that they were assigned the position of slaves and serfs by the Creator himself and that any deviation from that would mean eternal perdition to them. Reconciled to the irredeemable *karma*, despised and downtrodden, they eke out their little lives by engaging in servile and inoffensive pursuits.

6. Though technically a Hindu, a member of the depressed classes cannot venture to enter into the precincts of the *Bishwanatji* temple at Benares or of any *thakurdwara* anywhere in the province. He cannot bathe on the *ghats* at Benares which are under the control of the municipal board nor can he draw water from the municipal wells in that place (*vide* "The *Hamdam* and *Oudh* of 11th March 1932, and "*The Haqiqat*" of 15th March 1932). Caste fury assumed a grave aspect when an untouchable woman was discovered walking in the streets of that holy city. The offended Hindus belaboured her most mercilessly (*vide The Aj* of 26th October, 1927).

The *barat* (marriage procession) of a wealthy member of the Jatia (Chamar) community was not allowed by the Hindus to pass through the public thoroughfare in Agra because the bridegroom was on horseback (*vide* evidence given by the depressed classes representatives before the Simon Commission at Lucknow in November 1928). A similar *barat* procession of a *Shilpkar* (hill Dom) was stopped and looted in Kumaun.

A fairly educated member of the Chamar caste happened to get up on the platform of the Hindu Mahasabha. The moment his caste was known there was a pandemonium that the Sabha was defiled by the intrusion of the Chamar and the confusion did not subside until the untouchable stepped out.

Only recently a Pasi student in the district board vernacular school at Amethi, Lucknow, was subjected to all sorts of persecution by the orthodox headmaster of the school. Firstly his name was struck off from the register for absence due to illness and he was told to carry on his own occupation. After moving the higher authorities the boy was re-admitted but was given a sound beating. He was medically examined and a report made to the educational authorities concerned. The headmaster resented this and did not send up the boy's name for the ensuing examination. After great effort and lot of correspondence with the higher authorities the boy has now been allowed to appear in the examination. Depressed class students are similarly persecuted elsewhere (*vide The Oudh* of 16th March, 1932).

In Etawah on the occasion of the *Holi* festival every year a Chamar woman is sent for from her home by the caste Hindus and in the name of immemorial custom all sorts of abuses and ndignities are heaped upon her, her helpless father, brother and even husband being passive onlookers. Could these privi'eged people venture to meet out similar treatment to the womenfolk of any community other than the depressed classes ?

In the last election a few persons from amongst the depressed classes were sent to the provincial Council by the hoodwinking of the Congress Committees and the caste Hindus as their dummies, not on account of any sympathy for them. They were sent up with proclamation in the streets that the Council had become such a contemptible institution that it was only fit for the depressed classes. This is the real value the caste Hindus attach to these classes.

7. Such is the condition of the depressed classes and the treatment meted out to them in this province. But since proposals for the future constitution of the country and of sharing of the political power by the people are being thrashed out, the political value of the depressed classes has grown in the eyes of our caste Hindu brethern as well as the touchable *Sudras* who are labelled as the " Backward Classes". In order to retain their overwhelming majority and hold upon the depressed classes as hitherto, efforts are being made by the former to minimize the number of the depressed classes as much as possible and to show that there is no untouchability and no disabilities in this province.

The " backward classes " on the other hand who would have nothing to do with these untouchable classes are now anxious to come under the category of the depressed classes in order to usurp the small slice of political rights that may fall to the lot of these unfortunate people for the amelioration of their condition. The depressed classes can certainly not compete with the former nor with the latter.

8. The above conclusively shows that it is imperative that the untouchable castes among the Hindus be grouped together and the term " depressed classes " be strictly defined as meaning persons belonging to

the communities which are subjected to the system of untouchability of the sort prevalent in the province and which should be enumerated by name in a schedule to be prepared for electoral purposes. On this basis the United Provinces Adi-Hindu Depressed Classes Registered Association which has been striving for the uplift of these classes for the last ten years has prepared a list and submitted to the Provincial Committee. I endorse the list which is reproduced below :—

List of castes which form the depressed classes in the United Provinces.

The list consists of the castes which are subjected to the system of untouchability of the sort prevalent in the province and has been based on the following test :—

(1) The caste Hindus do not take food or water touched by these people.

(2) The caste Hindus will not allow their entry into eating houses maintained by them for the Hindu public.

(3) The caste Hindus will not allow them to stay in *dharamsalas* maintained by them for the Hindus.

Abbreviations used : D=Depressed, ND=Not depressed, DB=Dubious, NL=Not listed, DF=Doubtful.

Serial No.	Communities.	According to Census, 1901.	According to Mr. Blunt's first note.	According to United Provinces Depressed Class Committee.	According to Adi-Hindu Depressed Class Registered Association.
1	Agariya	D	D	D	D
2	Aheriya	D	D	DF	D
3	Arakh	D	D	NL	D
4	Bhar	D	D	DF	D
5	Raj Bhar				
6	Beldar	D	D	NL	D
7	Bhuinyan	D	D	D	D
8	Bhuinyar	D	D	NL	D

Serial No.	Communities.	According to Census, 1901.	According to Mr. Blunt's first note.	According to United Provinces Depressed Class Committee.	According to Adi-Hindu Depressed Class Registered Association.
9	Byar	D	D	D	D
10	Badhik	D	D	D	D
11	Barwar	D	D	D	D
12	Bhantu	D	D	D	D
13	Balai	D	DF	NL	D
14	Bahaliya	D	D	DF	D
15	Beriyas	D	D	D	D
16	Bengali	D	D	D	D
17	Bansphor	D	D	D	D
18	Bajgi	D	D	DB	D
19	Bhangi	D	D	D	D
20	Balsher	D	D	D	D
21	Basor	D	D	D	D
22	Bhogsau	D	ND	NL	D
23	Bawariya	D	D	D	D
24	Cheru	D	D	D	D
25	*Chamar*—Kuril, Aharwar, Jatiya, Dhusiya, Dohar, Jaiswar, Gharami.	D	D	D	D
26	Dharhi	D	D	NL	D
27	Dalera	D	ND	D	D
28	Dhobi	D	D	DF	D
29	Dhanuk	D	D	DF	D
30	Dusadh	D	DF	DF	D

Serial No.	Communities.	According to Census, 1901.	According to Mr. Blunt's first note.	According to United Provinces Depressed Class Committee.	According to Adi-Hindu Depressed Class Registered Association.
31	Dharkar	D	D	D	D
32	Dhangar	D	D	D	D
33	Domar	D	D	D	D
34	Dabgar	D	D	NL	D
35	Fakir	D	NL	NL	D
36	Dom	D	D	D	D
37	Hill Dom	D	D	D	D
38	Ghasiya	D	D	D	D
39	Habura	D	D	D	D
40	Kharot	D	D	NL	D
41	Khairaha	D	D	NL	D
42	Khairwa	D	D	NL	D
43	Kol	D	D	D	D
44	Khangar (excluding K. Rajputs).	D	D	D	D
45	Kapariya	D	D	D	D
46	Kori	D	D	NL	D
47	Khatik	D	D	D	D
48	Kanjar	D	D	D	D
49	Korwa	D	D	D	D
50	Kharwar (excluding Banbansi).	D	D	D	D
51	Majhwar Majhi ..	D	D	D	D
52	Musahar	D	D	D	D
53	Meo	D	ND	D	D

Serial No.	Communities.	According to Census, 1901.	According to Mr. Blunt's first note.	According to United Provinces Depressed Class Committee.	According to Adi-Hindu Depressed Class Registered Association.
54	Nat Group	D	D	D	D
55	Parahiya	D	D	NL	D
56	Pahri	D	NL	D	D
57	Panka	D	D	D	D
58	Patari	D	D	D	D
59	Pasi Tarmali	D	D	D	D
60	Raji	NL	D	NL	D
61	Saun	D	D	NL	D
62	Sansiya	D	D	D	D
63	Sahariya	D	D	D	D
64	Tharu	D	DF	NL	D

9. After discussing the tentative report of the United Provinces Franchise Committee and in the light of the results of the deliberations of the Indian Franchise Committee with the Provincial Committee on the one hand and the local Government on the other, the Indian Franchise Committee in paragraph 13(*a*)* of their note forwarded with Local Reforms Department letter No. 719-R., dated March 25, 1932, have asked for the final views of the Provincial Committee as to whether they agree that the castes, specified in paragraph 16 of local Government's letter No. 104-CX., dated March 20, 1932, to the Secretary, Indian Franchise Committee, are depressed and if not, what list they would suggest. The Chairman of the Indian Franchise Committee has also given a ruling in this connection asking the Chairman of the Provincial Committee to interpret the term " depressed classes " as meaning untouchability, that is to say, pollution by touch or approach *as it exists in the United Provinces.*

10. On this point my reply is as follows :—

I do not accept the list given by the Government in paragraph 16 of their letter. I accept the second note† on the question of the depressed classes prepared by the Hon'ble Mr. E. A. H. Blunt, Member, Executive Council, and the list of such

* Page 364. † Page 303.

classes appended thereto (which confirms in the main with that submitted by the United Provinces Adi-Hindu Depressed Classes Registered Association and endorsed by me in paragraph 8 above) subject to the following :—

Mr. Blunt in the list appended to his second note (Appendix II*) has shown certain classes as " touchables " which are universally regarded as " untouchables." In other words he has shown the " Arakh group ", the " Kori " of the three western divisions, the " Chamars " in urban areas and the " Kapariyas " as touchables. With regard to these I have to state as follows :—

(1) *Arakh group.*—The Arakh group is a part of the Pasi tribe and is untouchable. This group is placed in group X in Sir Richard Burn's table of classification of social classes.

(2) *Kori.*—The Koris are of a very low status and are untouchables everywhere in the province. They are in group XI.

(3) *Chamar.*—The very name of " *Chamar* " connotes abomination and is a byword for untouchability and degradation not only everywhere in this province but in the whole country. He is regarded with loathing and disgust by the caste Hindus everywhere. Except when it is absolutely necessary a high class Hindu will not visit his quarters in villages as well as in towns. In villages he is the currier, tanner and dealer in hides ; in towns he is the tanner, leather worker, saddler and shoemaker. Sections thereof are grass-cutters and grooms and menial and domestic servants for Europeans. Their women work as *dais* or midwives, which is considered a very degrading profession in India. He is subject to the social disabilities everywhere. A wealthy member of the Kuril (Chamar) community in Cawnpore ventured to offer himself for election to the local municipal board, but the social prejudice of the caste Hindus would not tolerate the election of a Chamar and he was badly defeated at the polls. The 2,000,000 Chamars who are omitted by Mr. Blunt are certainly untouchables and must be included in the depressed classes list. They are placed in group XII.

(4) *Kapariya.*—This is a small caste. The Kapariyas are greatly despised and are untouchables. They are in group X (C).

11. Mr. Blunt has also made a distinction between untouchables and the depressed classes. Some of the untouchables he says are not depressed and he does not count them for the purpose of representation as for instance " Bhar". Bhar is an untouchable, as has been shown in Mr. Blunt's note, and is the other name for Pasi. He is certainly depressed. In certain places they are called Pasis, while in others they are termed as Tarmali, Arakh or Bhar.

* Page 328.

12. All untouchables suffer from social disabilities and therefore must be taken into account for political purposes and reckoned as depressed. The total population of the untouchables in this province according to my calculation would be—

Total according to Mr. Blunt	..	9,184,315 Untouchables.
Add	..	110,032 Arakh group.
		140,267 Kori (excluding Orh and Balai).
		2,000,000 Chamar group.
		803 Kapariya.
Total according to my calculation		11,435,417 untouchables.

13. The following schedule shows the untouchable classes and their population in this province in the order in which they are shown in Appendix II to Mr. Blunt's note :—

(1) Tharu	19,028
(2) Bhar	460,643
(3) Gidhiya	191
(4) Beldar, Kharot	45,473
(5) Arakh group	110,032
(6) Dusadh	71,340
(7) Dhanuk	127,581
(8) Kori	916,106
(9) Chamar group	6,187,770
(10) Bhangi group	349,053
(11) Dhobi	656,913
(12) Dharhi group	7,599
(13) Kolarian group	128,356
(14) Byar group	78,770
(15) Dom group	109,906
(16) Pasi group	1,738,163
(17) Hill Dom group	316,012
(18) Habura group	38,325
(19) Nat group	37,072
(20) Badhik group	35,781
(21) Kapariya	803
Total ..	11,435,417

Representation of the Depressed Classes.

14. I am of opinion that the depressed classes cannot secure representation in the general electorates much less can they secure representation of their own choice even if there was adult suffrage. The reasons are as follows :—

(*a*) In every territorial constituencies the depressed classes are in a minority of the population and will be a minority of voters in the electorates much too small to win a seat for themselves.

(*b*) Owing to social prejudice no voter of the high caste will vote for the depressed classes candidates.

(*c*) On the other hand owing to economic dependence on the higher castes and the religious and social influence of the high castes many depressed classes voters may be led to vote for a high caste candidate as against a candidate of his own caste. No depressed class man has ever been elected to the legislature. At the last election 11 were elected by the Congress to bring the Council into ridicule and contempt.

These handicaps in the way of a depressed class candidate will be greatly increased if the franchise was limited although an extension of the franchise will not remove these handicaps owing to the reasons mentioned above. The only method therefore open to the depressed class to secure representatives of their own choice is by means of separate electorates. In order that they may have an independent, effective and potential voice for their protection against discrimination and oppression as hitherto on the part of the caste Hindus, and in order that they may be able to organize themselves to come up to the general level to an appreciable extent, I strongly advocate that separate electorates should be created for them at least for 20 years in any case.

15. I am happy to find support for this view from the Government of the United Provinces in their despatch No. 4949-C., dated Naini Tal, August 23, 1930. The Government of the United Provinces expressed itself as follows on the recommendation made by the Simon Commission in regard to the representation of the depressed classes.

* * * * * * * *

This Government also disagree with the Commission in regard to the method of election. They agree that it is desirable to introduce some system of election in place of nomination, but they dislike the proposal that the election should be made by the non-Muslim electorate to a number of reserved seats. As explained in the extract which will be found in the appendix from a note by Raja Bahadur Kushal Pal Singh this is not what the depressed class leaders themselves ask for and it is not likely to satisfy them. The commission themselves admit that separate electorates are more likely to secure the return of an adequate number of persons who enjoy the confidence of the depressed classes. That admission suggests the vital objection to their proposal, namely, that in the

general non-Muslim constituencies the depressed class voters will be far outnumbered by the other voters and the members returned will be those who are supported by the majority of voters as distinct from the depressed class voters. The Commission's proposals will not in fact give the depressed classes members who will be trusted by them to represent their special interests. The alternative is separate electorates. These no doubt have their own disadvantages but if the initial difficulty of creating an electorate can be overcome, this Government consider that these classes should not, on a purely theoretical ground, be denied a privilege which has already been given to Muslims and Europeans and which it is proposed to give to Indian Christians and Anglo-Indians. The objection that such an electorate will involve stigmatizing each elector and will militate against his rise on the social scale is not one that is likely to weigh with those principally concerned and if the representatives in the legislatures must be stigmatized, and even the Commission's proposal involves this there seems no reason why the voters should not be. It is at least arguable also that the position of these classes is more likely to be improved by securing real representation in the local legislature than by the ineffective form of representation suggested by the Commission.

Extract from the Note of Raja Bahadur Kushal Pal Singh.

. . . The importance of the depressed classes will fully appear from the following very pertinent observations of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru :—

> " I do say what is my most sincere conviction, that unless you are able to solve your own social problems about the depressed classes and the untouchables, I do not see any real prospect for real genuine constitutional advance, and any constitution that you may get will certainly not arouse any interest in me, because, I do feel however good, however perfect, however ideal your constitution may be, unless you have got the support of the minorities and unless you command the confidence of those whom in your vanity you may describe as depressed classes, your constitution will not be worth a day's purchase."

So far as my information goes, suitable representatives of the depressed classes will be forthcoming to fill 40 seats on the Council.

The Simon Commission admit that most of the depressed class associations which appeared before them favoured separate electorates with seats allocated on the basis of population. The United Provinces Adi-Hindu (Depressed Class) Leaders Conference was held at Allahabad on July 23rd,—" This Conference while thanking the members of the Indian Statutory Commission for taking a keen interest in the cause of the depressed classes strongly protest against their recommendation of a joint electorate system and is of opinion that nothing short of a separate electorate would ameliorate the social and political status of the depressed classes." The Simon Commission concede that " separate electorates would no doubt be the safest method of securing the return of an adequate number of persons who enjoy the confidence of the depressed classes ".

But they are averse from recommending separate electorates for them on the ground that separate electorates will prevent their political amalgamation with other Hindus. They have ignored one important fact. The depressed classes are not a homogeneous body. They consist of a large number of heterogeneous clans which are socially distinct and are kept apart from one another by a spirit of rigid exclusiveness and separation. They entirely lack cohesion and are scattered all over the province. Although according to our *Shastras* as interpreted by the Calcutta High Court the various sub-divisions of the *Sudra* castes can intermarry but in actual practice intermarriage between them is impossible. The depressed classes have been divided into separate clans by very shortly defined boundaries over which it is impossible for one to pass to another. Ethnologically they are so many tribes and clans, with separate histories and customs. There should be two distinct stages in the process of their political amalgamations with the high caste Hindus. The first stage should be that they should be brought together and welded into one political unit. Their unification into one political unit will be seriously retarded if the system recommended by the Simon Commission is adopted. Their voting strength will be much smaller than that of the high caste Hindus. A member of the depressed class who wants to get himself elected will look rather to the ease with which he can secure election to the Council than to the political education of his order. He will naturally solicit the support of the high caste Hindus who will be both numerous and influential. . . . When such a candidate is returned to the Council, he will be a servile follower of the high caste Hindus and will be more concerned to keep their favour than to represent the interests of his own order. . . . . If the system recommended by the Simon Commission is adopted the candidates returned to the Council will not only show no interest in the welfare of the depressed classes but will regard themselves as members of the high castes and in no way allied to the depressed classes. The result will be that the concession proposed by the Simon Commission instead of being blessing will be a veritable curse to them.

16. As regards the number of seats to be allotted to them in the Provincial Council, I stand by the Minorities Pact arrived at in London and claim for them 20 per cent. seats as the irreducible minimum, their population being about one-fourth of the total population of the province.

17. If after the lapse of 20 years the confidence of the depressed classes in the sense of equity, justice and fair play on the part of the caste Hindus grows and their suspicion of majority manipulation vanishes to such an extent as would render separate electorates unnecessary, the depressed classes would not hesitate to go in for joint electorate with reservation of seats, this being decided by a referendum of the votes held at the demand of the majority of their representatives in the legislature concerned and resulting in an absolute majority of the members of the depressed classes, having the franchise.

Constituencies for the Depressed Classes.

18. The depressed classes representation for the Provincial Legislature should be distributed between rural areas by districts and in urban areas by industrial towns in which the depressed classes are largely concentrated. If the number of seats assigned to the depressed classes are less than the number of constituencies then instead of combing the constituencies in order to equalize them to the number of seats, the principle of rotation should be applied. Voters of these depressed classes constituencies without their turn will vote in the general electorate.

Representation of the Depressed Classes in the Federal Legislature.

19. I am of opinion that (*a*) the franchise qualification for the Provincial Legislature and for the Lower House of the Federal Legislature should be the same in case of all communities and in the case of the depressed classes. I am further of the opinion that (*b*) the depressed class constituencies for the Lower House of the Federal Legislature should be confined to certain urban areas within the province regulated by a system of rotation and (*c*) I support the scheme of indirect election by Provincial Legislatures for the composition of the Upper House of the Federal Legislature by single transferable vote but provision should be made that every Provincial Legislature shall elect a minimum number of the depressed classes in the Upper House.

Second Chamber of the Provincial Legislature.

20. I am opposed to the creation of a Second Chamber of the Provincial Legislature.

NAINI TAL : RAM SAHAI.

April 7, 1932.

(5) Explanatory note in support of the establishment of a Second Chamber in the province, by Rai Rajeshwar Bali, Chairman, United Provinces Provincial Franchise Committee.

The need of an Upper House, as a counterpoise to democratic fervour, has been felt in most countries. The safety which lies in second thoughts or in appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober, and the advisability of a check on hasty and ill-considered legislation provide arguments too well-known and fully recognized to require reiteration. In fact, a Second Chamber is a feature of most civilized constitutions of the world to-day, and it is not unusual to find them in constituent provinces of Federal States both within and outside the Empire. In the Commonwealth of Australia, all the States have two Houses except Queensland which dispensed with its Second Chamber recently. In Canada, there are Second Chambers in Quebec and Nova Scotia ; and they were in existence in New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Manitoba till late in the last century. The Legislatures in the States of Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal and Orange River Colony of South Africa were bi-cameral till the

new constitution was introduced in 1909. Further, we find them in the component States of United States of America which is held up as a model of Federal Constitution. The only States in the American Federation that ever tried to do with a single Chamber were Transylvania, Georgia and Vermont; but, after short periods, they all adopted the bicameral system more than a century ago.

The need in our case is even more insistent on account of certain peculiar circumstances. We are launching on a form of Government without precedent in our historical tradition. We propose to give extension of powers, through a wide franchise, to a class of people who have not been accustomed to exercise civic rights in any important form.

Besides, the political conditions of the country have been such that extremism has commanded the largest popular support. By ignoring the constant constitutional pressure exercised by the more moderate parties for the redress of our grievances and accelerating the pace of political progress, the Government have placed them and their methods at a discount and supplied the Congress with a dynamic programme which, for economic reasons particularly, possesses an irresistible appeal for the people at large. It is only natural under the circumstances that the party, which goes to the farthest limit in showing its dissatisfaction, both by word and deed, with the existing state of things, should receive the widest allegiance. The sacrifices made and the sufferings endured by a large number of its members have undoubtedly caught the imagination of the masses and strengthened its position still further. Thus it can be easily foreseen that at the first election, the Congress is bound to sweep the polls to the practical exclusion of every other party—Liberal or Nationalist, Constitutionalist or Zamindar; and is likely to remain in power for some time to come until it is destroyed by its own rashness. It may be noted that though its intensive work in rural areas has commenced only recently, its influence was felt sufficiently at the last elections, wherever it interested itself even indirectly. It easily got elected from those places a number of such unsuitable persons as could never have been thought of as members of any legislature in normal circumstances. In fact, they have been sent to the Legislative Council with the avowed object of bringing it into ridicule. Therefore, though the zamindar and the lawyer classes have predominated in the provincial Legislature up till now, there is but little chance for them in future except on the Congress ticket. That being so, two problems arise.

Firstly, if the new Government is to be formed by the congressmen, there will be a paucity in their ranks of men able to run successfully the complicated machinery of administration. It is no slur on the organization, if, in spite of the admitted ability and brilliance in other directions of some of its leaders, a sufficient number of those well-equipped with executive experience or skill in handling men and affairs or knowledge of the details and intricacies of administration is not to be found for some time to come; for after all, an average congressman has been brought up and trained rather in an atmosphere of perennial hope and enthusiasm—very often to the neglect of his own personal affairs—than in that of facing the

hard realities of actual Government. In fact, it is this idealism, this disdain and disinclination for weighing the consequences of action carefully beforehand that have sustained the movement and provided it with its chief motive power. The Second Chamber will be of great assistance in supplying some useful personnel for the new Government; particularly as, with its proposed liberal franchise, it may be expected to represent, instead of one particular class, the aristocracy of intellect, wealth and experience of the province.

Secondly, the new Government is bound to give its earliest attention to the problem of the unemployment of the educated middle classes in the towns and to the introduction of such agrarian measures as will help to keep its position secure with the rural voter. It will all be for the good and progress of the province if these problems are handled in a spirit of sympathy and goodwill on the one hand and general equity and fairness on the other. But their existence opens a tempting field for rash and daring experimentation to those, who in a majority of cases, may not have much to lose themselves; the more so, as the peculiar conditions of the province invest the rural voter with the supreme power of making or unmaking Governments. It must be remembered that, among congressmen, there are some with pronounced socialistic views who make no secret of their sympathy for the Russian model; then there are some who are particularly hostile to the existence of zamindars as a class; and there are yet those who have not hesitated to exploit the present economic distress for the advancement of party interests. It is not suggested that a majority of congressmen must always consist of men of any particular type mentioned above; but the manner in which the no-rent campaign was recently forced on the province, in spite of its strong condemnation by the non-zamindari opinion and even open protests by a section of the Congress itself, amply demonstrates that it is the left winger which has ever so much chance to influence final decisions, and there is every likelihood that the initial and overwhelming triumph will strengthen his position still further in the counsels of the party. Therefore, the events of the last twelve months indicate sufficiently the possibilities of the future.

The zamindar, in spite of his efforts in the interests of the tenants and his own pecuniary losses as a result of the recent economic crisis, has not been spared an intensive propaganda of abuse and misrepresentation against his class as such. Thus the fears of the zamindar—and in fact, of all property-holders cannot be said to be baseless fictions or exaggerated. Wild and extravagant election promises and appeals to passions and prejudices against them may create conditions which may soon develop into those of class-war. Not all the efforts of that growing section among them which is for a just and peaceful adjustment of the agrarian problem will avail; for after all, class instinct can be aroused to a pitch which may demand almost the practical destruction of the one or the benefit of the other. Moreover, the problem gets still more complicated by the fact that land revenue paid by the zamindar is the chief mainstay of provincial finance; and any unfair tampering with the system for purposes of providing quick receipts to a ministry hardpressed for more money and unprepared for popular disfavour, may hasten the day o

his ruin. Thus a machinery has to be devised which will on the one hand ensure sufficient Legislative activity to advance and satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people at large, and to provide on the other a brake to the disruptive tendencies of extremist politicians. It must be stressed that it would be preferable to have a Second Chamber for above purpose to vesting comprehensive powers of veto in the hands of the Governor.

Lastly, the difficulties pointed out above should not lead to any whittling down of the powers that must be transferred to popular control in order to make the province " responsibly governed " ; or to any tampering with the proposed franchise for the Legislatures which is, in fact, the minimum needed to train the people in the art of self-government. Property-holders are equally anxious and insistent with others that the province must get the fullest of autonomy and not merely a shadow of it. Their only desire is to guard against the adoption of hasty, abrupt and violent methods which will not, in their view, result in peaceful, steady and ordered progress of the province. Therefore, it must be made absolutely clear, that, firstly, anything short of full provincial autonomy will not receive their approval or support, and secondly, at least some of those who at present favour the establishment of a Second Chamber will withdraw their support in case a less liberal scheme is mooted.

RAJESHWAR BALI.

सत्यमेव जयते

Miscellaneous correspondence with the Local Government and the United Provinces Provincial Franchise Committee on matters arising out of replies to the Questionnaire.

APPENDIX.

I

Provincial Franchise Committee's reply to Supplementary questions 19 and 20*.

TELEGRAM FROM THE JOINT SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISEE COMMITTEE, TO THE REFORMS OFFICER, NAINITAL, No. E. 604-U. P., DATED 12TH APRIL 1932.

Provincial Committee's supplementary report does not reply to questions 19 and 20 of supplementary questionnaire. Could you telegraph their views on points raised in those questions.

DEMI-OFFICIAL FROM THE REFORMS OFFICER, UNITED PROVINCES, TO THE JOINT SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, No. 432-R., DATED THE 13TH APRIL 1932.

With reference to your telegram No. E. 604/U. P., dated April 12th, I confirm my telegram of date and expand the reply as follows :—

Question 19—Provincial Second Chamber.—(1) The Committee decided by a majority in favour of the establishment of a Second Chamber in these provinces.

(2) The following franchise qualifications were approved by the Committee :—

(*a*) payers of Land Revenue of Rs. 1,000 and over,

(*b*) payers of income-tax on an income of Rs. 2,000 and over.

(*c*) payers of rent of Rs. 1,500 and over.

(*d*) and the following—

(*i*) Members of Provincial and Central Legislatures, past and present.

(*ii*) Chairman of municipal and district boards, present.

(*iii*) Fellows or members of the University Senates.

(*iv*) Members of the Court of any University.

(*v*) Presidents of the Chambers of Commerce, past and present.

(*vi*) Presidents and Vice-Presidents of Central Co-operative Banks.

(*vii*) Judges of the High Court and Chief Court, past.

(*viii*) Holders of the Indian titles of Raja and Nawab and higher titles.

(*ix*) Holders of all English titles.

(*x*) Shamsul-Ulemas and Mahamahopadhyas.

(*xi*) M. As. and M. Scs. and higher degrees. (The proposal for enfranchising all graduates of 7 years' standing was lost by 5-7 votes.)

(*xii*) Wives of all the above voters.

(3) The majority decided that the size of the Second Chamber should be 60; the minority consisting of 4 were, however, in favour of a house of 50 if a Second Chamber was to be established.

(4) The Committee have agreed that the powers of the Second Chamber *vis-a-vis* the Lower House should be based on the following general principles :—

(*a*) Ministry to be responsible to the Lower House.

(*b*) Power of the purse to be exercised by the Lower House.

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* Pages 365-366.

(*c*) Votes of censure on the Government will affect the Ministry only if passed in the Lower House.

(*d*) Taxation bills to originate in the Lower House.

(*e*) Co-equal powers in regard to legislation.

(*f*) Joint sessions in cases of deadlocks other than those relating to the budget.

(5) The Committee agreed that there should be no representation of special interests in the Second Chamber.

Question 20.—The Committee by a majority decided that they would not modify their proposals about the franchise or the representation of special interests in the Lower House if there were a Second Chamber.



II

Supplementary correspondence with the Government of the United Provinces regarding percentage of population enfranchised.

TELEGRAM FROM THE JOINT SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, TO THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED PROVINCES, No. E.-602-U.P., DATED 12TH APRIL 1932.

Your letter 8th April, 829-R. We understand that local Government recommend a rural electorate of 6,200,000, this figure including 500,000 women and 782,000 depressed classes but taking no account of 128,000 women who would come on roll if literacy qualification were introduced or of approximately one million who would be enfranchised if votes were given to wives of present Council voters. In urban areas we calculate that 15 per cent. recommended would give total electorate of 375,000 additional to above, this including 50,000 factory workers, and say 30,000 women. If wives of present Council voters were enfranchised we calculate that 200,000 additional women would be enfranchised in urban areas. Please telegraph whether you accept these figures as correct. If they are then total electorate recommended by local Government would apparently be 6,703,000 or 14 per cent. of total if literacy qualification is accepted for women, and 7,903,000 or 16 and a half per cent. of total if in addition wives of Council voters are enfranchised. Do you agree.

TELEGRAM FROM THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF UNITED PROVINCES, NAINITAL, TO THE JOINT SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, No. 136-CX., DATED THE 14TH APRIL 1932.

Your E.-602/U. P. of twelfth. Your figures 6,200,000 rural votes 128,000 literate women 1,000,000 wives of rural council voters correct. Your figures of urban voters not understood. Governments latest calculation for urban vote based on further returns is as follows. Existing voters urban constituencies 150,000 add for additional voters enfranchised by reduced rental qualification in existing urban constituencies 60,000 add for ditto in urban areas now included in rural vote 67,000 add for wives of council voters in existing urban constituencies 120,000 total 397,000 urban voters. Grand total for province 7,725,000 or sixteen and quarter per cent. of total population. But allowance must be made for much overlapping in female categories also of total female vote of 1,748,000. Government believe that at least eighty per cent. will not attempt to go to polls. At four council elections hitherto held percentages of female votes actually polled has been zero three ten and two. Government therefore consider that real electorate on above basis will not exceed six and half millions and be manageable *vide* last sentence in reply to question two of your questionnaire. Labour vote of 50,000 was considered to be separate from above. Suggest that polling for labour constituencies should be held on different days.

Your E.-608-LG. maximum number of regular police available 15,000. This number liable to be reduced by calls which might be made during time of general political disturbance number actually required for polling booths on scale estimated by us is about twelve thousand *plus* reliefs which would have to be provided in some cases. About same number of chaukidars also available but Government emphasise that for election purposes chaukidars can only be used as auxiliary to not in substitution of regular police since they lack intelligence and training necessary for such duties.

DEMI-OFFICIAL FROM REFORMS OFFICE, UNITED PROVINCES, NAINITAL, TO THE SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, No. 142/C.X., DATED THE 15TH APRIL 1932.

In continuation of my telegram No. 136-C.X. of April 14, I am desired to add a few explanatory remarks for the use of the Franchise Committee, though it is hoped that the telegram explained with sufficient clearness what views were held by this Government on the points raised in your telegram No. E./602/U. P. of April 12.

2. The calculations with regard to the future urban vote were given briefly in the telegram. The position is at present that the total population of urban constituencies slightly exceeds 1,500,000; whilst the total number of voters in those constituencies on the present franchise is slightly less than 150,000. The percentage of voters to population is thus approximately 10 per cent. It was ascertained from some municipal returns, received after our reply was despatched on April 8, that the increase in the number of voters caused by the proposal to lower the rental qualification from Rs. 36 to Rs. 24 per annum will be rather less than that previously calculated. Conditions as to rent vary considerably all over the province; and it seems that the actual increase will be in the neighbourhood of 3·6 instead of 5 per cent. previously reported. Making this reduction, we reckon that the additional number of voters in existing urban constituencies on the reduced franchise will be about 60,000, whilst in the other municipalities, whose voters are at present included in rural constituencies, the corresponding addition will be about 67,000. Adding 120,000 wives of Council voters in the existing urban constituencies, *i.e.*, 80 per cent. of 150,000, the present number of voters, we get a total of 397,000 for the urban vote.

3. In considering the special arrangements which could be recommended for the representation of organised labour, *vide* reply to question 9 of your second questionnaire, Government did not consider in detail the question whether operatives, who possess the ordinary urban franchise on a rental qualification of Rs. 24 per annum, should also have a second vote in the special labour constituency, the qualification for a vote in which would be the receipt of not less than Rs. 12 per mensem as wages. On the whole, His Excellency is inclined to think that there is no objection to operatives being given this second vote, if they are qualified in both constituencies. A parallel may be found in the case of employers of labour in Cawnpore, who possess a vote for the ordinary urban constituency and at the same time have a voice in the special representation of commerce by their position in the Upper India or the U. P. Chamber of Commerce. The number of operatives in Cawnpore, who would possess the ordinary urban franchise, is, it is calculated, not likely to exceed about 12,000 out of 35,000 such operatives, since it is usual for more than one family to occupy a house, whilst only the recorded tenant receives a vote.

4. Finally, I am to explain, with reference to the last paragraph of the telegram that although on a calculation of an average maximum of 50 polling stations in 48 districts, each being staffed by one police officer or subordinate officer and four constables, the total force of police required will only amount to 12,000 out of 15,000 reported to be available, this Government consider that the reserve of 25 per cent. thus resulting is absolutely necessary. It must be remembered that in the remoter parts of some districts the police force employed at polling stations will have to be absent from their ordinary duties for the best part of three days. The reduction of the total available force, from which certain further reductions must also be allowed on account of leave and illness, by one-half is a somewhat drastic measure, which in times of general political disturbance or special local rivalry between candidates for election may be difficult to carry out everywhere. It has also to be remembered that some provision for reliefs is always required and that in the towns, specially the larger towns, a force of four constables is definitely insufficient. Actually, it is often found necessary, where there is keen rivalry, to post a sub-inspector and eight or ten constables, or even more, in order to maintain order and see that a steady flow of voters is maintained. Chaukidars will certainly be required to reinforce the small number of regular police available in rural constituencies, but they cannot possibly be utilised as a substitute for them, as they will require to be carefully supervised and directed.

III

Number of Muslim and non-Muslim women land revenue payers.

TELEGRAM FROM THE INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE TO THE REFORMS OFFICER, UNITED PROVINCES, No. N.-576-U.P., DATED THE 5TH APRIL 1932.

Please telegraph number women entered in revenue records as proprietors. How many of these are Muslim ?

TELEGRAM FROM THE REFORMS OFFICER, TO THE INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, No. 1028-R., DATED APRIL 23RD, 1932.

Reference your telegram N.-576-U.P., dated April five. Figures collected from eighteen hundred villages. It is estimated that women land revenue payers number 230,786 of whom 77,078 are Muslim.

IV

Revised figures of probable numbers enfranchised.

TELEGRAM FROM THE JOINT SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, TO THE REFORMS OFFICER, NAINITAL, E.-708-U.P., DATED THE 20TH APRIL 1932.

Figures given by Census for population of United Provinces on 1931 basis are as follows rural 42,984,912 urban 5,424,621. These figures are based on inclusive in urban of all municipalities. To enable us to check percentages given in your telegram 967-R. of 18th please telegraph (*a*) figures of total population rural (*b*) and urban areas respectively on which your calculations are based (*c*) totals on basis of revised percentages who will be enfranchised under each head (women, landless labourers, depressed classes, Muslims, non-Muslims, unenfranchised residuum).

TELEGRAM FROM THE REFORMS OFFICER, NAINITAL, TO THE JOINT SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, No. 983-R., DATED THE 21ST APRIL 1932.

Your telegram priority F.-708-U.P., April twenty. Figures of population roughly forty-six million rural and two million urban in seventeen municipalities with population of fifty thousand and over. According to revised percentages tenants in Chief number 4,968,000 landless labourers 3,956,000 non-Muslims 5,198,000 Women 414,000 Depressed Classes 644,009 and residuum 17,388,000. Percentage for Muslims remains unaltered at one point one. They number 506,000.

V

Effect of franchise recommended by the Government of the United Provinces.

TELEGRAM FROM UNITED PROVINCES GOVERNMENT, No. 967-R., DATED THE 19TH APRIL 1932.

Calculations for eighteen hundred villages now complete pages twelve and thirteen of my letter number 829-R., dated April eight please make following corrections alter percentage tenants-in-chief from eleven point three to ten point eight. Alter percentage landless labourers from eleven to eight point six. Alter percentage non-muslims from twelve point four to eleven point three. Alter percentage women from one point to point nine. Alter percentage depressed classes from one point seven to one point four. Alter percentage residuum from thirtyeight point five to thirtyseven point eight. Remaining figures correct.

TELEGRAM FROM THE JOINT SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, TO THE REFORMS OFFICER, NAINITAL, No. E.-603-U.P., DATED THE 12TH APRIL 1932

Rural electorate proposed by provincial committee as analysed on page 7 amounts to 7,578,000. In addition committee on page 8 propose 1,000,000 urban electors. Total is eight and a half millions. How is this reconciled with statement on page 8 that total rural electorate is 2,600,000. Could you say what percentage of females included in proposed million urban electors.

TELEGRAM FROM THE REFORMS OFFICER, NAINITAL, TO THE JOINT SECRETARY, INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEE, No. 926-R., DATED THE 14TH APRIL 1932.

Reference your telegram E./603-U.P. priority dated April twelveth five hundred thousand male muslim payers of rent and revenue left out on page *seven* and one million eight hundred and seventy eight thousand female electors left out on page *eight*. Forty two and a half per cent. female included in proposed million urban electors.

