

should not be determined on the basis of the numerical strength of the community, and that in any case the Mahomedan representatives should never be an ineffective minority; (2) that as far as possible, appointment by election should be given preference over nomination; (3) that for the purposes of choosing Mahomedan members, Mahomedan landowners, lawyers, merchants and representatives of other important interests of a status to be subsequently determined by your Excellency's Government, Mahomedan members of the Provincial Councils and Mahomedan fellows of universities should be invested with electoral powers to be exercised in accordance with such procedure as may be prescribed by your Excellency's Government in that behalf.

The Executive Council

An impression has lately been gaining ground that one or more Indian Members may be appointed on the Executive Council of the Viceroy. In the event of such appointment being made we beg that the claims of Mahomedans in that connection may not be overlooked. More than one Mahomedan, we venture to say, will be found in the country fit to serve with distinction in that august chamber.

A Mahomedan University

We beg to approach your Excellency on a subject which must closely affect our national welfare. We are convinced that our aspirations as a community and our future progress are largely dependent on the foundation of a Mahomedan University which will be the centre of our religious and intellectual life. We therefore most respectfully pray that your Excellency will take steps to help us in an undertaking in which our community is so deeply interested.

In conclusion, we beg to assure your Excellency that in assisting the Mahomedan subjects of His Majesty at this stage in the development of Indian affairs in the directions indicated in the present address, your Excellency will be strengthening the basis of their unswerving loyalty to the Throne and laying the foundation of their political advancement and national prosperity, and your Excellency's name will be remembered with gratitude by their posterity for generations to come, and we feel confident

that your Excellency will be gracious enough to give due consideration to our prayers. We have the honour to subscribe ourselves, Your Excellency's most obedient and humble servants.

LORD MINTO'S REPLY

Appreciation of Mahomedan aspirations

After the address, His Excellency rose and delivered a most sympathetic reply, which was frequently punctuated with cheers and cries of "Hear, hear" from the members of the deputation, particularly when his Excellency declared that he was entirely in accord with the views of the deputation that any electoral system must take cognizance of the various religious beliefs of this great Empire and that the British Government would always in the future as in the past safeguard the political rights of the different communities entrusted to their charge. The Viceroy concluded by thanking the deputation for affording him the unique opportunity of meeting so many representative men.

The Viceroy said :—

Your Highness and Gentlemen, Allow me before I attempt to reply to the many considerations your address embodies, to welcome you heartily to Simla. Your presence here today is very full of meaning. To the document which you have presented me are attached the signatures of nobles, of Ministers of various States, of great landowners, of lawyers, of merchants and of many others of His Majesty's subjects. I welcome the representative character of your deputation as expressing the views and aspirations of the enlightened Muslim community of India. I feel that all you have said emanates from a representative body basing its opinions on a matured consideration of the existing political conditions of India, totally apart from the small personal or political sympathies and antipathies of scattered localities, and I am grateful to you for the opportunity you are affording me of expressing my appreciation of the just aims of the followers of Islam and their determination to share in the political history of our Empire.

As your Viceroy, I am proud of the recognition you express of the benefits conferred by British rule on the diverse races of

many creeds who go to form the population of this huge continent. You yourselves, the descendants of a conquering and ruling race, have told me to-day of your gratitude for the personal freedom, the liberty of worship, the general peace and the hopeful future which British administration has secured for India.

Help in the Past

It is interesting to look back on early British efforts to assist the Mahomedan population to qualify themselves for the public service. In 1782 Warren Hastings founded the Calcutta Madrassah with the intention of enabling its students to compete on more equal terms with the Hindus for employment under Government. In 1811 my ancestor, Lord Minto, advocated improvements in the Madrassah and the establishment of Mahomedan Colleges at other places throughout India. In later years the efforts of the Mahomedan Association led to the Government resolution of 1885 dealing with the educational position of the Mahomedan community and their employment in the public service, whilst Mahomedan educational effort has culminated in the College of Aligarh that great institution which the noble and broad-minded devotion of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan has dedicated to his co-religionists.

The Aligarh College

It was in July 1877 that Lord Lytton laid the foundation-stone of Aligarh, when Sir Syed Ahmed Khan addressed these memorable words to the Viceroy: "The personal honour which you have done me assures me of a great fact and fills me with feelings of a much higher nature than mere personal gratitude. I am assured that you, who upon this occasion represent the British rule, have sympathies with our labours and this assurance is very valuable and a source of great happiness. At my time of life it is a comfort to me to feel that the undertaking which has been for many years, and is now the sole object of my life has roused on the one hand the energies of my own countrymen, and on the other has won the sympathy of our British fellow-subjects and the support of our rulers, so that when the few years I may still be spared are over, and when I shall be no

longer amongst you, the College will still prosper and succeed in educating my countrymen to have the same affection for their country, the same feelings of loyalty for the British rule, the same appreciation of its blessings, the same sincerity of friendship with our British fellow-subjects as have been the ruling feelings of my life.”

Sir Syed’s Influence

Aligarh has won its laurels. Its students have gone forth to fight the battle of life strong in the tenets of their own religion, strong in the precepts of loyalty and patriotism, and now when there is much that is critical in the political future of India the inspiration of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and the teachings of Aligarh shine forth brilliantly in the pride of Mahomedan history, in the loyalty, commonsense and sound reasoning so eloquently expressed in your address. But, gentlemen, you go on to tell me that sincere as your belief is in the justice and fair dealings of your rulers, you cannot but be aware that “recent events ” have stirred up feelings amongst the younger generation of Mahomedans which might “pass beyond the control of temperate counsel and sober guidance.”

Policy in Eastern Bengal

Now I have no intention of entering into any discussion upon the affairs of Eastern Bengal and Assam, yet I hope that without offence to anyone I may thank the Mahomedan community of the new Province for the moderation and self-restraint they have shown under conditions which were new to them, and as to which there has been inevitably much misunderstanding, and that I may at the same time sympathise with all that is sincere in Bengalee sentiments. But above all, what I would ask you to believe is that the course the Viceroy and the Government of India have pursued in connection with the affairs of the new Province, the future of which is now I hope assured, has been dictated solely by a regard for what has appeared best for its present and future populations as a whole, irrespective of race or creed and that the Mahomedan community of Eastern Bengal and Assam can rely as firmly as ever on British justice

and fairplay for the appreciation of its loyalty and the safeguarding of its interests.

The unrest in India

You have addressed me, gentlemen, at a time when the political atmosphere is full of change. We all feel it would be foolish to attempt to deny its existence, hopes and ambitions new to India are making themselves felt. We cannot ignore them—we should be wrong to wish to do so — but to what is all this unrest due? Not to the discontent of misgoverned millions — I defy anyone honestly to assert that — not to say uprising of a disaffected people.

Fruits of Western Education

It is due to that educational growth in which only a very small portion of the population has as yet shared, of which British rule first sowed the seed and the fruits of which British rule is now doing its best to foster and to direct. There may be many tares in the harvest we are now reaping. The Western grain which we have sown may not be entirely suitable to the requirements of the people of India but the educational harvest will increase as years go on, and the healthiness of the nourishment it gives will depend on the careful administration and distribution of its products. You need not ask my pardon, gentlemen, for telling me that “Representative institutions of the European type are entirely new to the people of India” or that their introduction here requires the most earnest thought and care. I should be very far from welcoming all the political machinery of the Western world amongst the hereditary instincts and traditions of Eastern races. Western breadth of thought, the teachings of Western civilisation, the freedom of British individuality can do much for the people of India, but I recognise with you that they must not carry with them an impracticable insistence of the acceptance of political methods.

Political Future of Mahomedans

And now, gentlemen, I come to your own position in respect to the political future; the position of the Mahomedan community for whom you speak. You will, I feel sure, recognise that it is

impossible for me to follow you through any detailed consideration of the conditions and the share that the community has a right to claim in the administration of public affairs. I can at present only deal with generalities. The points which you have raised are before the Committee, which, as you know, I have lately appointed to consider the question of presentation (? representation), and I will take care that your address is submitted to them, but at the same time I hope I may be able to reply to the general tenor of your remarks without in any way forestalling the Committee's report.

The Question of Representation

The pith of your address, as I understand it, is a claim that in any system of representation whether it affects a Municipality, a District Board or a Legislative Council, in which it is proposed to introduce or increase an electoral organisation, the Mahomedan community should be represented as a community. You point out that in many cases electoral bodies, as now constituted, cannot be expected to return a Mahomedan candidate, and that if by chance they did so it could only be at the sacrifice of such a candidate's view to those of a majority opposed to his own community whom he would in no way represent, and you justly claim that your numerical strength both in respect to the political importance of your community and the service it has rendered to the Empire entitle you to consideration. I am entirely in accord with you ; please do not misunderstand me. I make no attempt to indicate by what means the representation of communities can be obtained, but I am as firmly convinced as I believe you to be that any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of this continent. The great mass of the people of India have no knowledge of representative institutions. I agree with you, gentlemen, that the initial rungs in the ladder of self-government are to be found in the Municipal and District Boards and that it is in that direction that we must look for the gradual political education of the people.

An Assurance

In the meantime I can only say to you that the Mahomedan community may rest assured that their political rights and interests as a community will be safeguarded in any administrative reorganization with which I am concerned and that you and the people of India may rely upon the British Raj to respect, as it has been its pride to do, the religious beliefs and the national traditions of the myriads composing the population of His' Majesty's Indian Empire.

Your Highness and Gentlemen, I sincerely thank you for the unique opportunity your deputation has given me of meeting so many distinguished and representative Mahomedans. I deeply appreciate the energy and interest in public affairs which have brought you here from great distances, and I only regret that your visit to Simla is necessarily so short.

APPENDIX XIII

ALLOCATION OF SEATS UNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1935, FOR THE LOWER HOUSE
IN EACH PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURE

Province.	Total Seats.			Seats for representatives of backward areas and tribes.	Sikh Seats.	Mahomedan Seats.	Anglo-Indian Seats.	European Seats.	Indian Christian Seats.	Seats for representatives of commerce, industry, mining and planting.	Land-holders Seats.	University Seats.	Seats for representatives of labour.	Seats for Women.				
	Total of General Seats.	General Seats reserved for Scheduled Castes.												General.	Sikh.	Mahomedan.	Anglo-Indian.	Indian Christian.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Madras	215	146	30	1	:	28	2	3	8	6	6	1	6	6	:	1	:	1
Bombay	175	114	15	1	:	29	2	3	3	7	2	1	7	5	:	1	:	:
Bengal	250	78	30	:	:	117	3	11	2	19	5	2	8	2	:	2	1	:
United Provinces	228	140	20	:	:	64	1	2	2	3	6	1	3	4	:	2	:	:
The Punjab	175	42	8	:	31	84	1	1	2	1	5	1	3	1	1	2	:	:
Bihar	152	86	15	7	:	39	1	2	1	4	4	1	3	3	:	1	:	:
Central Provinces and Berar	112	84	20	1	:	14	1	1	:	2	3	1	2	3	:	:	:	:
Assam	108	47	7	9	:	34	:	1	1	11	:	:	4	1	:	:	:	:
North-West Frontier Province	60	9	:	:	3	36	:	:	:	:	2	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Orissa	60	44	6	5	:	4	:	:	1	1	2	:	1	2	:	:	:	:
Sind	60	18	:	:	:	33	:	2	:	2	2	:	1	1	:	1	:	:

In Bombay seven of the general seats shall be reserved for Marathas.
In the Punjab one of the Land-holders seats shall be a seat to be filled by a Tumandar.
In Assam and Orissa the seats reserved for women shall be non-communal seats.

APPENDIX XIV
ALLOCATION OF SEATS UNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1935, FOR THE UPPER HOUSE
IN EACH PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURE

Province.	Total of Seats.	General Seats.	Mahomedan Seats.	European Seats.	Indian Christian Seats.	Seats to be filled by Legislative Assembly.	Seats to be filled by Governor
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Madras	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Not less than } 54 \\ \text{Not more than } 56 \end{array} \right\}$	35	7	1	3	..	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Not less than } 8 \\ \text{Not more than } 10 \end{array} \right\}$
Bombay	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Not less than } 29 \\ \text{Not more than } 30 \end{array} \right\}$	20	5	1	..	..	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Not less than } 3 \\ \text{Not more than } 4 \end{array} \right\}$
Bengal	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Not less than } 63 \\ \text{Not more than } 65 \end{array} \right\}$	10	17	3	..	27	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Not less than } 6 \\ \text{Not more than } 8 \end{array} \right\}$
United Provinces	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Not less than } 58 \\ \text{Not more than } 60 \end{array} \right\}$	34	17	1	..	..	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Not less than } 6 \\ \text{Not more than } 8 \end{array} \right\}$
Bihar	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Not less than } 29 \\ \text{Not more than } 30 \end{array} \right\}$	9	4	1	..	12	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Not less than } 3 \\ \text{Not more than } 4 \end{array} \right\}$
Assam	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Not less than } 21 \\ \text{Not more than } 22 \end{array} \right\}$	10	6	2	..	..	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Not less than } 3 \\ \text{Not more than } 4 \end{array} \right\}$

APPENDIX XV
ALLOCATION OF SEATS UNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1935, FOR THE LOWER HOUSE OF THE FEDERAL
LEGISLATURE FOR BRITISH INDIA

Province.	Total Seats.	General Seats.		Sikh Seats.	Maho- medan Seats.	Anglo- Indian Seats.	Euro- pean Seats.	Indian Christian Seats.	Seats for representatives of commerce and industry.	Land holders Seats.	Seats for represent- atives of labour.	Women's Seats.
		Total of General Seats.	General Seats reserved for Sche- duled Castes.									
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Madras	37	19	4	..	8	1	1	2	2	1	1	2
Bombay	30	13	2	..	6	1	1	1	3	1	2	2
Bengal	37	10	3	..	17	1	1	1	3	1	2	1
United Provinces	37	19	3	..	12	1	1	1	..	1	1	1
The Punjab	30	6	1	6	14	..	1	1	..	1	..	1
Bihar	30	16	2	..	9	..	1	1	..	1	1	1
Central Provinces and Berar	15	..	2	..	3	..	..	..	..	1	1	1
Assam	10	4	1	..	3	..	1	1	..	..	1	..
North-West Frontier Province	5	1	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Orissa	5	4	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sind	5	1	..	..	3	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
British Baluchistan	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Delhi	2	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ajmer-Merwara	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Coorg	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Non-Provincial Seats	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	1	..
Total ..	250	105	19	6	82	4	8	8	11	7	10	9

APPENDIX XVI

ALLOCATION OF SEATS UNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT,
1935, FOR THE UPPER CHAMBER OF THE FEDERAL LEGISLATURE
FOR BRITISH INDIA

Province or Community.	Total Seats.	General Seats.	Seats for Scheduled Castes.	Sikh Seats.	Maho- medan Seats.	Women's Seats.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Madras	20	14	1	..	4	1
Bombay	16	10	1	..	4	1
Bengal	20	8	1	..	10	1
United Provinces	20	11	1	..	7	1
The Punjab	16	3	..	4	8	1
Bihar	16	10	1	..	4	1
Central Provinces and Berar ..	8	6	1	..	1	..
Assam	5	3	..	..	2	..
North-West Frontier Province ..	5	1	..	..	4	..
Orissa	5	4	..	..	1	..
Sind	5	2	..	..	3	..
British Baluchistan	1	..	..	..	1	..
Delhi	1	1	..	..	..	..
Ajmer-Merwara	1	1	..	..	..	..
Coorg	1	1	..	..	..	..
Anglo-Indians	1	..	..	..	..	..
Europeans	7	..	..	..	..	..
Indian Christians	2	..	..	..	..	..
Total ..	150	75	6	4	49	6

APPENDIX XVII

ALLOCATION OF SEATS UNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT,
1935, FOR THE LOWER AND UPPER HOUSE OF THE FEDERAL
LEGISLATURE FOR INDIAN STATES

States and Groups of States.	Number of seats in the Council of State.	States and Groups of States.	Number of Seats in the Federal Assembly.	Population
1	2	3	4	5
DIVISION I		DIVISION I		
Hyderabad	5	Hyderabad	16	14,436,142
DIVISION II		DIVISION II		
Mysore	3	Mysore	7	6,557,302
DIVISION III		DIVISION III		
Kashmir	3	Kashmir	4	8,646,243
DIVISION IV		DIVISION IV		
Gwalior	3	Gwalior	4	3,523,070
DIVISION V		DIVISION V		
Baroda	3	Baroda	3	2,443,007
DIVISION VI		DIVISION VI		
Kalat	2	Kalat	1	342,101
DIVISION VII		DIVISION VII		
Sikkim	1	Sikkim	..	109,808
DIVISION VIII		DIVISION VIII		
1. Rampur	1	1. Rampur	1	465,225
2. Benares	1	2. Benares	1	391,272
DIVISION IX		DIVISION IX		
1. Travancore	2	1. Travancore	5	5,095,973
2. Cochin	2	2. Cochin	1	1,205,016
3. Pudukkottai ..	1	3. Pudukkottai ..	1	400,694
Banganapalle .. }		Banganapalle .. }		39,218
Sandur }		Sandur }		13,583
DIVISION X		DIVISION X		
1. Udaipur	2	1. Udaipur	2	1,566,910
2. Jaipur	2	2. Jaipur	3	2,631,775
3. Jodhpur	2	3. Jodhpur	2	2,125,982
4. Bikaner	2	4. Bikaner	1	936,218
5. Alwar	1	5. Alwar	1	749,751
6. Kotah	1	6. Kotah	1	685,804
7. Bharatpur	1	7. Bharatpur	1	486,954
8. Tonk	1	8. Tonk	1	317,360

APPENDIX XVII- (Contd.)

States and Groups of States.	Number of seats in the Council of State.	States and Groups of States.	Number of Seats in the Federal Assembly.	Population
1	2	3	4	5
DIVISION X- (Continued)		DIVISION X- (Continued)		
9. Dholpur	1	9. Dholpur	1	254,986
10. Karauli	1	Karauli }		140,525
11. Bundi	1	10. Bundi	1	216,722
12. Sirohi	1	Sirohi }		216,528
13. Dungarpur	1	11. Dungarpur	1	227,544
14. Banswara	1	Banswara }		260,670
15. Partabgarh	1	12. Partabgarh	1	76,539
Jhalawar }		Jhalawar }		107,890
16. Jaisalmer	1	13. Jaisalmer	1	76,255
Kishengarh }		Kishengarh }		85,744
DIVISION XI		DIVISION XI		
1. Indore	2	1. Indore	2	1,825,089
2. Bhopal	2	2. Bhopal	1	729,955
3. Rewa	2	3. Rewa	2	1,587,445
4. Datia	1	4. Datia	1	158,834
5. Orchha }		Orchha }		314,661
6. Dhar	1	5. Dhar		243,430
7. Dewas (Senior) ...	1	Dewas (Senior) ... }	1	83,321
Dewas (Junior) ... }		Dewas (Junior) ... }		70,513
8. Jaora	1	6. Jaora	1	100,166
Ratlam }		Ratlam }		107,321
9. Panna		7. Panna		212,130
Samthar }	1	Samthar }	1	33,307
Ajaigarh }		Ajaigarh }		85,895
10. Bijawar		8. Bijawar		115,852
Charkbari }	1	Charkbari }	1	120,351
Chhatarpur }		Chhatarpur }		161,267
11. Baoni		9. Baoni		19,132
Nagod		Nagod	1	74,589
Maihar }	1	Maihar }		68,991
Baraundha }		Baraundha }		16,071
12. Barwani		10. Barwani		141,110
Ali Rajpur }	1	Ali Rajpur }	1	101,963
Shahpura }		Shahpura }		54,233
13. Jhabua		11. Jhabua		145,522
Sailana }	1	Saiiana }	1	35,223
Sitamaui }		Sitamaui }		28,422
14. Rajgarh		12. Rajgarh		134,891
Narsingarh }	1	Narsingarh }	1	113,873
Khilchipur }		Khilchipur }		45,583

APPENDIX XVII- (Contd.)

States and Groups of States.	Number of seats in the Council of State.	States and Groups of States.	Number of Seats in the Federal Assembly.	Population
1	2	3	4	5
DIVISION XII		DIVISION XII		
1. Cutch	1	1. Cutch	1	514,307
2. Idar	1	2. Idar	1	262,660
3. Nawanagar	1	3. Nawanagar	1	409,192
4. Bhavnagar	1	4. Bhavnagar	1	500,274
5. Junagadh	1	5. Junagadh	1	545,152
6. Rajpipla	1	6. Rajpipla	1	206,114
Palanpur		Palanpur		264,179
7. Dhrangadhra ... }	1	7. Dhrangadhra ... }	1	88,961
Gondal		Gondal		205,846
8. Porbandar	1	8. Porbandar	1	115,673
Morvi		Morvi		113,023
9. Radhaupur		9. Radhaupur		70,530
Wankaner }	1	Wankaner	1	44,259
Palitana		Palitana		624,150
10. Cambay	1	10. Cambay	1	87,701
Dharampur		Dharampur		112,031
Balasinor		Balasinor		52,527
11. Baria		11. Baria		159,429
Chhota Udepur ... }	1	Chhota Udepur ... }	1	144,640
Sant		Sant		83,531
Lunawada		Lunawada		95,162
12. Bansda		12. Bansda		48,839
Sachin	1	Sachin		22,107
Jawhar }		Jawhar		57,261
Danta		Danta		26,196
13. Dhrol		Dhrol		27,639
Limbdi	1	Limbdi	1	40,088
Wadhwan		Wadhwan		42,602
Rajkot		Rajkot		75,540
DIVISION XIII		DIVISION XIII		
1. Kolhapur	2	1. Kolhapur	1	957,137
2. Sangli		2. Sangli		258,442
Savantvadi	1	Savantvadi	1	230,589
3. Jabhura		3. Jabhura		110,379
Mudhol	1	Mudhol	1	62,832
Bhor		Bhor		141,546
4. Jamkhandi		4. Jamkhandi		114,270
Miraj (Senior) ... }		Miraj (Senior) ... }		93,938
Miraj (Junior) ... }		Miraj (Junior) ... }		40,684
Kurundwad		Kurundwad		44,204
(Senior)	1	(Senior)	1	
Kurundwad		Kurundwad		75,540
(Junior)		(Junior)		

APPENDIX XVII – (Contd.)

States and Groups of States.	Number of seats in the Council of State.	States and Groups of States.	Number of Seats in the Federal Assembly.	Population
1	2	3	4	5
DIVISION XIII- (Continued)		DIVISION XIII - (Continued)		
5. Akalkot } Phaltan } Jath } Aundh } Ramdurg }	1	5. Akalkot } Phaltan } Jath } Aundh } Ramdurg }	1	92,605 58,761 91,099 76,507 35,454
DIVISION XIV		DIVISION XIV		
1. Patiala 2 2. Bhawalpur 2 3. Khairpur 1 4. Kapurthala 1 5. Jind 1 6. Nabha 1	2 2 1 1 1 1	1. Patiala 2 2. Bhawalpur 1 3. Khairpur 1 4. Kapurthala 1 5. Jind 1 6. Nabha 1 7. Tehri-Garhwal 1 8. Mandi 1 Bilaspur } Suket } 9. Sirmur 1 Chamba }	2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	1,625,520 984,612 227,183 316,757 324,676 287,574 349,573 207,465 100,994 58,408 148,568 146,870
7. Mandi } Bilaspur } Suket }	1	10. Faridkot } Malerkotia } Loharu }	1	164,364 83,072 23,338
8. Tehri-Garhwal } Sirmur } Chamba }	1			
9. Faridkot } Malerkotia } Loharu }	1			
DIVISION XV		DIVISION XV		
1. Cooch 1 Behar	1	1. Cooch Behar 1	1	590,886
2. Tripura } Manipur }	1	2. Tripura 1 3. Manipur 1	1 1	382,450 445,606
DIVISION XVI		DIVISION XVI		
1. Mayurbhanj } Sonepur }	1	1. Mayurbhanj 1 2. Sonepur 1	1 1	889,603 237,920
2. Patna } Kalahandi }	1	3. Patna 1 4. Kalahandi 1	1 1	566,924 513,716
3. Keonjhar } Dhenkanul } Nayagarli } Talcher } Nilgiri }	1	5. Keonjhar 1 6. Gangpur 1 7. Bastar 1 8. Surgnja 1	1 1 1 1	460,609 356,674 524,721 501,939

APPENDIX XVII – (Contd.)

States and Groups of States.	Number of seats in the Council of State.	States and Groups of States.	Number of Seats in the Federal Assembly.	Population
1	2	3	4	5
DIVISION XVI– (Continued)		DIVISION XVI– (Continued)		
4. Gangpur	1	9. Dhenkanal	3	284,326
Bamra		Nayagarh		142,406
Seraikela		Seraikela		143,525
Baud		Baud		135,248
Bonal		Talcher		69,702
		Bonal		80,186
5. Bastar	1	Nilgiri	3	68,594
Surguja		Bamra		151,047
Raigarh				
Nandgaon				
6. Khairgarh	1	10. Raigarh	3	277,569
Jashpur		Khairagarh		157,400
Kanker		Jashpur		193,698
Korea		Ranker		136,101
Sarangarh		Sarangarh		128,967
		Korea		90,886
		Nandgaon		182,380
DIVISION XVII		DIVISION XVII		
States not mentioned in any of the preceding Divisions, but described in paragraph 12 of this Part of this Schedule.	2	States not mentioned in any of the preceding Divisions but described in paragraph 12 of this Part of this Schedule.	5	3,047,129
Total Population of the States in this Table				78,996,844

APPENDIX XVIII
COMMUNAL AWARD BY HIS MAJESTY'S
GOVERNMENT—1932

In the statement made by the Prime Minister on 1st December last on behalf of His Majesty's Government at the close of the second session of the Round Table Conference, which was immediately afterwards endorsed by both Houses of Parliament, it was made plain that if the communities in India were unable to reach a settlement acceptable to all parties on the communal questions which the Conference had failed to solve His Majesty's Government were determined that India's constitutional advance should not on that account be frustrated, and that they would remove this obstacle by devising and applying themselves a provisional scheme.

2. On the 19th March last His Majesty's Government, having been informed that the continued failure of the communities to reach agreement was blocking the progress of the plans for the framing of a new Constitution, stated that they were engaged upon a careful re-examination of the difficult and controversial questions which arise. They are now satisfied that without a decision of at least some aspects of the problems connected with the position of minorities under the new Constitution, no further progress can be made with the framing of the Constitution.

3. His Majesty's Government have accordingly decided that they will include provisions to give effect to the scheme set out below in the proposals relating to the Indian Constitution to be laid in due course before Parliament. The scope of this scheme is purposely confined to the arrangements to be made for the representation of the British Indian communities in the Provincial Legislatures, consideration of representation in the Legislature at the Centre being deferred for the reason given in paragraph 20 below. The decision to limit the scope of the scheme implies no failure to realise that the framing of the Constitution

* Parliamentary Paper (Command 4147) of 1932. Officially it is spoken of as *Communal Decision*.

will necessitate the decision of a number of the problems of great importance to minorities, but has been taken in the hope that once a pronouncement has been made upon the basic questions of method and proportions of representation the communities themselves may find it possible to arrive at a *modus vivendi* on other communal problems, which have not as yet received the examination they require.

4. His Majesty's Government wish it to be most clearly understood that they themselves can be no parties to any negotiations which may be initiated with a view to the revision of their decision, and will not be prepared to give consideration to any representation aimed at securing the modification of it which is not supported by all the parties affected. But they are most desirous to close no door to an agreed settlement should such happily be forthcoming. If, therefore before a new Government of India Act has passed into law, they are satisfied that the communities who are concerned are mutually agreed upon a practicable alternative scheme, either in respect of any one or more of the Governors' Provinces or in respect of the whole of the British India, they will be prepared to recommend to Parliament that that alternative should be submitted for the provisions now outlined.

5. Seats in the Legislative Councils in the Governors' Provinces, or in the Lower House if there is an Upper Chamber, will be allocated as shown in the annexed table.*

6. Election to the seats allotted to Muhammadan, European and Sikh constituencies will be by voters voting in separate communal electorates covering between them the whole area of the Province (apart from any portions which may in special cases be excluded from the electoral area as "backward").

Provision will be made in the Constitution itself to empower a revision of this electoral arrangement (and the other similar arrangements mentioned below) after 10 years with the assent of the communities affected, for the ascertainment of which suitable means will be devised.

7. All qualified electors, who are not voters either in a Muhammadan, Sikh, Indian Christian (see paragraph 10 below),

* See page 370.

Anglo-Indian (see paragraph 11 below) or European constituency, will be entitled to vote in a general constituency.

8. Seven seats will be reserved for Mahrattas in certain selected plural member general constituencies in Bombay.

9. Members of the “depressed classes” qualified to vote will vote in a general constituency. In view of the fact that for a considerable period these classes would be unlikely, by this means alone, to secure any adequate representation in the Legislature, a number of special seats will be assigned to them as shown in the table. These seats will be filled by election from special constituencies in which only members of the “depressed classes” electorally qualified will be entitled to vote. Any person voting in such a special constituency will, as stated above, be also entitled to vote in a general constituency. It is intended that these constituencies should be formed in selected areas where the Depressed Classes are most numerous, and that, except in Madras, they should not cover the whole area of the Province.

In Bengal it seems possible that in some general constituencies a majority of the voters will belong to the Depressed Classes. Accordingly, pending further investigation, no number has been fixed for the members to be returned from the special Depressed Class constituencies in that Province. It is intended to secure that the Depressed Classes should obtain not less than 10 seats in the Bengal Legislature.

The precise definition in each Province of those who (if electorally qualified) will be entitled to vote in the special Depressed Class constituencies has not yet been finally determined. It will be based as a rule on the general principles advocated in the Franchise Committee’s Report. Modification may, however, be found necessary in some Provinces in Northern India where the application of the general criteria of untouchability might result in a definition unsuitable in some respects to the special conditions of the Province.

His Majesty’s Government do not consider that these special Depressed Class constituencies will be required for more than a limited time. They intend that the Constitution shall provide that they shall come to an end after 20 years if they have not

previously been abolished under the general powers of electoral revision referred to in paragraph 6.

10. Election to the seats allotted to Indian Christians will be by voters voting in separate communal electorates. It seems almost certain that practical difficulties will, except possibly in Madras, prevent the formation of Indian Christian constituencies covering the whole area of the Province, and that accordingly special Indian Christian constituencies will have to be formed only in one or two selected areas in the Province. Indian Christian voters in these areas will not vote in a general constituency. Indian Christian voters outside these areas will vote in a general constituency. Special arrangements may be needed in Bihar and Orissa, where a considerable proportion of the Indian Christian community belongs to the aboriginal tribes.

11. Election to the seats allotted to Anglo-Indians will be by voters voting in separate communal electorates. It is at present intended, subject to investigation of any practical difficulties that may arise, that the Anglo-Indian constituencies shall cover the whole area of each Province, a postal ballot being employed; but no final decision has yet been reached.

12. The method of filling the seats assigned for representatives from backward areas is still under investigation, and the number of seats so assigned should be regarded as provisional pending a final decision as to the constitutional arrangements to be made in relation to such areas.

13. His Majesty's Government attach great importance to securing that the new Legislatures should contain at least a small number of women members. They feel that at the outset this object could not be achieved without creating a certain number of seats specially allotted to women. They also feel that it is essential that women members should not be drawn disproportionately from one community. They have been unable to find any system which would avoid this risk, and would be consistent with the rest of the scheme for representation which they have found it necessary to adopt, except that of limiting the electorate for each special women's seat to voters from one community.* The special women's seats have accordingly been specifically

* Subject to one exception, see note (e) to Table, Appendix XVI.

divided, as shown in the table, between the various communities. The precise electoral machinery to be employed in these special constituencies is still under consideration.

14. The seats allotted to "Labour" will be filled from non-communal constituencies. The electoral arrangements have still to be determined, but it is likely that in most Provinces the Labour constituencies will be partly trade union and partly special constituencies as recommended by the Franchise Committee.

15. The special seats allotted to Commerce and Industry, Mining and Planting will be filled by election through Chambers of Commerce and various Associations. The details of the electoral arrangements for these seats must await further investigation.

16. The special seats allotted to Land-holders will be filled by election by special Land-holders' constituencies.

17. The method to be employed for election to the University seats is still under consideration.

18. His Majesty's Government have found it impossible in determining these questions of representation in the Provincial Legislatures to avoid entering into considerable detail. There remains, nevertheless, the determination of the constituencies. They intend that this task should be undertaken in India as early as possible.

It is possible that in some instances delimitation of constituencies might be materially improved by slight variations from the numbers of seats now given. His Majesty's Government reserve the right to make such slight variations, for such purpose, provided that they would not materially affect the essential balance between communities. No such variations will, however, be made in the case of Bengal and Punjab.

19. The question of the composition of Second Chambers in the Provinces has so far received comparatively little attention in the constitutional discussions and requires further consideration before a decision is reached as to which Provinces shall have a Second Chamber or a scheme is drawn up for their composition.

His Majesty's Government consider that the composition of the Upper House in a Province should be such as not to disturb in any essential the balance between the communities resulting from the composition of the Lower House.

20. His Majesty's Government do not propose at present to enter into the question of the size and composition of the Legislature at the Centre, since this involves among other questions that of representation of the Indian States which still needs further discussion. They will, of course, when considering the composition, pay full regard to the claims of all communities for adequate representation therein.

21. His Majesty's Government have already accepted the principle that Sind should be constituted a separate Province, if satisfactory means of financing it can be found. As the financial problems involved still have to be reviewed in connection with other problems of federal finance, His Majesty's Government have thought preferable to include, at this stage, figures for a Legislature for the existing Province of Bombay, in addition to the schemes for separate Legislatures for Bombay Presidency proper and Sind.

22. The figures given for Bihar and Orissa relate to the existing Province. The question of constituting a separate Province of Orissa is still under investigation.

23. The inclusion in the table of figures relating to a Legislature for the Central Provinces including Berar does not imply that any decision has yet been reached regarding the future constitutional position of Berar.

London,
4th August, 1932.