TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PAGES

Introduction	xxi-cxii				
PART I.					
CHAPTER I.					
Representative Institutions in ancient India.					
'Election' in the Vedic Period—In the Post-Vedic period—Inscription —Greek writers—Kautalya—Non-monarchical States in ancient India—Ancient texts—Kautalya—Deliberation in Hindu republics—Village organis ations—Election of village committees—Unions of villages	!-				
CHAPTER II.					
The Constitution under the East India Company	•				
The East India Company—Commencement of Parliamentary contro over the affairs of the Company—The Regulating Act—The Board of Contro—The Governor-General of India—The Legislative Counsellor—The enlargement of the Council for legislative purposes	1				
CHAPTER III.	•				
Administration under the Crown till the inauguration Minto-Morley Reforms.	of the				
Transfer to the Crown—The Council of the Secretary of State—The Indian Councils' Act, 1861 and 1892	ne 14—17				
CHAPTER IV.					
The Minto Morley Reforms.					
The constitutional position at the time of the passing of the India Councils Act, 1909—The then political situation—The Covenanted Civ Service—The Provincial Civil Service—Lord Minto's minute of 1906—The Indian Executive Councillors—The Minto-Morley Reforms summarisms.	ril ne				
CHAPTER V.	•				
The events that led up to the Mont Ford Reform	s.				
The essential features of the pre-Mont-Ford Reform Constitution-Sir Thomas Munroe on reforms—Lord Hardinge on reforms—The Great W—Mr. Montagu's declaration of 20th August, 1917—The four formulae la down by the Mont-Ford Report	ar				
CHAPTER VI.					
The Mont Ford Reforms Summarised.					
Mont-Ford Reforms Summarised—Changes introduced by the Montage Summarised—Changes Summarised—Chang	30—32				

PART II.

CHAPTER VII.

The Home Government.	DAGTIC
Powers reserved to the Crown—The Secretary of State—Powers of the Secretary of State—In the reserved sphere—In the transferred sphere—The Council of India (Secretary of State's Council)—The powers of the Council of India—Committees of the Council of India—The revenues of India—Control of Indian finance by the Council of India—The fiscal convention—Purchase of Government stores	PAGES 3338
CHAPTER VIII.	
The Central Government in India.	
The Governor-General in Council—The Executive Council of the Governor-General—The departments of the Government of India—The Government of India is not responsible to the Legislature—Central subjects—Conflict of Laws—The functions of the Government of India—The powers of the Governor-General	38-42
CHAPTER IX.	
The Governors' Provinces.	
The Provinces of India—Reserved and transferred subjects—The Governor—The Executive Council of the Governor—The Governors' ministers—Burma—The Lieutenant Governor—Central control over Provinces	42 —47
CHAPTER X.	
Chief Commissioners' Provinces.	
The Chief Commissioners' Provinces—North West Frontier Province —British Baluchistan — Delhi—Ajmere-Merwara — Coorg—Andaman and Nicobar Islands—Aden,	47—51
CHAPTER XI.	
Backward Tracts.	
Backward tracts—Wholly excluded areas—Partially excluded areas	5152
CHAPTER XII.	
The Central Legislature.	
The Council of State—The franchise—Distribution of seats—The Legislative Assembly—Distribution of seats—Franchise—Powers of the Indian Legislature: deliberative interrogatory and Legislative—Methods of settling differences between the Chambers—The Indian budget—Non-votable heads—The annual finance Bill—Legislation by the Governor-General's certificate—Governor-General's regulations for the backward tracts—Secretary of State's powers with regard to Indian Legislatures	52—61

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER XIII.

Provincial Legislatures.

PAGES

The Provincial Legislatures—Franchise—Female suffrage—Procedure in Legislative Councils—The Powers of the Governor—Legislation by Certificate—Powers of local Legislatures—Previous sanction of the Governor-General—Concurrent Legislative Powers—Assent of the Governor—Reservation of Bills Rules—Crown may disallow Acts.

61--69

CHAPTER XIV.

The System of Financial Administration.

Financial Administration till 1870—Lord Mayo's system of Provincial financial settlement—Lord Lytton's administration—Lord Ripon's administration—War and famine—Revision in 1904—Financial arrangements at the time of the Mont-Ford Reforms—Mont-Ford report on financial arrangements—Famine—Contributions from Provinces—Meston Committee proposals—Financial arrangements under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms—Reforms Enquiry Committee—Contributions extinguished—Sources of Provincial revenue—The Public Accounts Committee—The Finance Committee—Control of Provincial finance by the Secretary of State in Council—Control of Central finance by the Secretary of State in Council—Control of Provincial finance by the Centre—Borrowing powers—The Auditor-General in India—The Auditor in England

69-84

CHAPTER XV.

The Administrative System.

Districts and Sub-divisions and Taluks—Secretaries to Government—
The Central Secretariat—Agency functions of the Provincial Governments

84--86

CHAPTER XVI

The Administrative Services.

The Indian Civil Service—The Indian Police Service—The Indian Forest Service—The Indian Service of Engineers—The Indian Educational Service—The Indian Medical Service—other All-India Services—Lee Commission on the All-India Services—Indianisation of the Services—The Public Services in India classified

87---93

CHAPTER XVII.

The High Commissioner for India, the Imperial Conference and the League of Nations.

The High Commissioner for India—Dominion High Commissioners—The Imperial Conference—The League of Nations ...

93--96

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Judiciary in India.

The Subordinate Criminal Judiciary—The Subordinate Civil Judiciary
Control of the Subordinate Judiciary ...

97-100

PAGES

CHAPTER XIX.

The Indian Railways.

Earliest construction—The guaranteed system—The system of annual subsidy—Construction by State Agency—The revised guaranteed system—The relations between the Government and the guaranteed Companies—Railway lines classified—Administrative control of Government over Railways—The Railway Board—Sir William Ackworth Committee—The Separation of Railway finance from General finance

100-106

CHAPTER XX.

The Army in India.

Proportion of Indian and British forces in India—Viceroy's Commission—The early Army policy in India—First King's Commissions—The Eight Unit Scheme—The Skeen Committee—Indianisation of one division of the Army—The Indian Sandhurst—real significance of Indianisation—Simon Commission on Indianisation—the Armed forces of the Dominions—Commander-in-chief's speech — Capitation Tribunal — Defence budget analysed—the Indian Navy—the Navy of the Dominions—the Indian Air force

106-126

CHAPTER XXI.

The Indian States and the Chamber of Princes.

The Butler Committee, Davidson Committee and other Committees on States—Classification of States—The internal Government of the States—Tariff—Police and State Forces—Posts and telegraphs—Currency and coinage—Railway areas—British Residents in States—Salutes—Tributes from the States—Immunities—Growth of relationship between the States and the Paramount power—The legal relationship between the States and the Paramount Power—Incidents of Paramountcy—External affairs—Inter-Statal relations—Defence and protection—Intervention—Succession—Adoption—Minority—The Chamber of Princes—Its composition—The powers of the Chamber of Princes—The future of the Chamber of Princes—Secretary of State on Chamber of Princes. ...

127-136

CHAPTER XXII.

The working of the Mont-Ford Reforms.

The working of the reforms—'The Swarajists' in the Legislatures
—Transitional character of the Reforms—The Legislative Assembly's
resolution for a revision of the Constitution—The evils of a temporary Constitution—

136-138

CHAPTER XXIII.

The events that led up to the White Paper of March 1933.

The Simon Commission—Its procedure—The announcement of the Round Table Conference—Viceroy's statement of 13th May. 1930—Publication of the Simon Commission report—The Viceroy's speech of 9th July, 1930—The Congress and the Round Table Conference—the first Round Table Conference—Sub-Committees of the Round Table Conference—Resolution at plenary session of the first Round Table Conference—The Prime Minister's speech of the 19th January, 1931—Main outlines of the future Constitution—The Gandhi-Irwin Pact—The second Round Table Conference—The Prime Minister's speech outlining the future policy of His Majesty's Government—Committees of enquiry—The consultative Committee—The speech of the Secretary of State in the House of Commons on 27—6—32—Threat of non-co-operation by liberals—The Premier's communal award—The third Round Table Conference—Speech of the Secretary of State at the third Round Table Conference—The White Paper of March, 1933—The Government of India Act, 1935—...

139-154

PART III.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The All-India Federation.

PAGES

The Government of India Act 1935-The Federation of India-The Simon Commission on Federation-Economic ties between the States and British India-The Units of the Indian Federation not homogeneous-The Instruments of Accession of States-Federal subjects-Federation to be perpetual and indissoluble—No right to secede—The Federation and Paramountcy -Federal and non-federal sphere of activities with regard to the State units-The offices of Governor-General and Governor-The office of Viceroy-The signifiance of the Seals-Dominion practice in the selection of the Governor. General-The Instrument of Instructions-Purpose and function of the Instructions-Contents of the Instructions-Approval by Parliament-Scope and legal effect of the Instructions-Salary of the Governor-General-Conditions for the inauguration of the Federation-Accession of the States-Statement of Sir Akbar Hydari-Conditions subject to which States will enter the Federation-Federal Reserve Bank-Provincial autonomy-Address by Parliament for issuing proclamation-Sir Samuel Hoare on safeguards-The financial position of India-The Hailey Memorandum on the finances of India-Sir Samuel Hoare on the Hailey Memorandum-The Simon Commission on India's finances-Sir Samuel Hoare's replies to Major Atlee's questions-Financial enquiry to precede the introduction of provincial autonomy-The Reserve Bank Act

155--183

CHAPTER XXV.

The Units of the Federation.

Governors' Provinces—Federated States—Chief Commissioners' Provinces—Separation of Sind and Orissa—The Berars—Aden—Burma

183---186

CHAPTER XXVI.

The Federal Executive.

The Governor-General-His staff-The Commander-in-chief-The Governor-General's Council of Ministers-Selection of Ministers-The Prime Minister-Collective responsibility of Ministers-The Federal Ministry -The reserved departments of the Governor-General-The Governor-General's Counsellors—Scope of the defence and external affairs departments -The Committee of Imperial Defence-The Governor-General's financial Adviser-Relations between the financial Adviser and the Finance Minister-Relations between the reserved Departments and the finance department in charge of a Minister-Relations between the Governor-General and his Ministers-Powers and functions of the Finance Minister-Safeguards-Prime Minister on safeguards at the second Round Table Conference-The Joint Select Committee on safeguards-The essential elements-The Governorspecial responsibilities-Financial safeguards-Minorities-Services-States-Commercial safeguards-Discrimination against British Imports-The fiscal convention-The precise effect of imposing special responsibilities-How these special responsibilities have to be workedReasons for vesting wide powers—Discretionary powers of the Governor-General—Governor-General's special powers with regard to the legislature—Governor-General's Acts—Procedure for passing Governor-General's Acts—Governor-General's power to arrest the course of discussion in the legislature—Power to make rules of legislative business-Power of making ordinances—Power to assent, or withhold assent—Dominion analogy—Governor-General's powers summarised—Governor-General's responsibility to Parliament

187-226

CHAPTER XXVII.

The Federal Legislature.

Bicameral—Purpose of—Distribution of seats—Weightage to States
—Nominated seats to the Council of State—Qualifications for membership—
_ndirect elections—Reasons therefor—To be open to review—Method of election—Defects of proportional representation—Disqualifications for membership.

...

226-239

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Powers of the Federal Legislature.

Bills—Money Bills and votes of supply—Disagreement between the Chambers—Joint Session—Procedure with regard to financial proposals and appropriation of funds—The budget—votable and non votable heads—Heads non-votable and not open to discussion—Authentication by the Governor-General of the appropriations—Purpose of authentication—Equality of powers between both Chambers—Powers of Second Chambers in other countries—Ministry responsible to both Chambers—Practice in other countries—Votes of representatives of Indian States on purely British Indian Questions—Views of the Joint Select Committee

239-250

CHAPTER XXIX.

The Governors' Provinces.

Provincial autonomy defined—The Provincial executive—The Governor—Powers analogous to the Governor-General—discretionary powers—
Powers to frame rules—Governor's Council of Ministers-Governor's special
responsibilities—Control of the Governor-General and the Secretary of State
—Special responsibilities with regard to the Police force—Access of officials
to Governor—The Governor's special Secretariat establishment—Relations
between the Governor and his Ministers—Prime Ministers—Joint responsibility of Ministers—Votes of no confidence—The right to claim a dissolution.

250-267

CHAPTER XXX.

The Legislatures of Governors' Provinces.

Unicameral except in Bengal, United Provinces, Bihar Bombay and Madras—Principles underlying bicameral Legislatures—Arguments for and against—Legislative Council (Upper Chamber, and Legislative Assembly—The composition of the Chambers—Distribution of seats—Qualifications of candidates—Franchise—Procedure and conduct of business—Quorum ...

267-276

CHAPTER XXXI.

Powers of the Legislatures in Governors' Provinces.

Powers of the Chambers not co-extensive—Assent and withholding of assent to Bills—Reservation of Bills—Joint Sessions—Procedure with

	PAGES
regard to financial proposals and appropriation of funds—The Provincial budget—Non-votable heads—Anglo-Indian and European education—Governor's powers—Governor's Acts—Governor's powers to make ordinan-	
ces—Governor's powers summarised	277—281
CHAPTER XXXII.	
Chief Commissioners' Provinces.	
Appointment of Chief Commissioners—Executive authority—Laws applicable—Special provisions for Andaman and Nicobar islands and British	
Baluchistan	282-283
CHAPTER XXXIII.	
Excluded areas.	
Wholly excluded areas and partially excluded areas—Legislation for	
excluded areas	283284
CHAPTER XXXIV.	
Demarcation of the powers of the Federal and Provincial Legislatures.	
powers—Residual subjects—Federal Legislation on behalf of Provinces—Confisc between Federal and provincial laws—Conflict between Federal Law and State law—Time-limit for questioning validity of laws—Matters beyond the competence of all legislatures—Previous sanction of Governor-General—In regard to Federal Legislation—In regard to Provincial Legislation—Previous sanction of the Governor	2 8 4—296
Discriminatory Legislation.	
The Simon Commission on discriminatory legislation—Joint Select Committee's views—General declaration in respect of all British subjects 'domiciled in India—Special protection in respect of British Subjects domiciled in United Kidgdom—Right of entry—Taxation, travel etc.,—Special provisions for British Companies—Sir Malcolm Hailey's explanation—Exceptions—Grants, bounties and subsidies—Recommendations of the External Capital Committee—Ships and shipping—Professional qualifications—Freedom of contract not interfered with—Reservation of Bills discriminatory in effect though not in form—Medical profession—controversy between Great Britain and India regarding Indian Medical Degrees—The Indian Medical Council Act—The Commercial safeguards analysed—Conventions to take the place of these safeguards—The principle of reciprocity	296—310
CHAPTER XXXVI.	
Administrative relations between the Federal Government and the Units.	
Federation and Provinces—Federation and State-members—inter- Provincial Council—Water supplies—Views of the Joint Select Committee	310—317

CHAPTER XXXVII.	PAGES
Allocation of Revenues.	
General problems—Provincial Revenues—Federal Revenues—Assignments to units from Federal Revenues—' Prescribed' meaning of—temporary retention of assigned Revenues—Sir Akbar Hydari on assignments-Contribution by the States to the Federal fisc—Provincial Government's concern in the Federal budget—Surcharges on income-tax—Corporation tax—Adjustment of ributes against contributions due from States—Tributes—Immunities—Abolition of tributes—Ceded territories—States' customs—Subventions to deficit Provinces—Joint Select Committee on subventions—Committee for the	
allocation of revenues	317—333
CHAPTER XXXVIII.	
Borrowing Powers, Audit and Accounts.	
Powers of the Federal Government—Powers of the Provincial Government—The Auditor-General in India—Provincial Auditor-General—	
Auditor of Home accounts	333—335
CHAPTER XXXIX.	
The Secretary of State for India.	
Advisers to the Secretary of State-Powers of the advisers	335336
CHAPTER XL.	
Property, contracts and suits.	
Legal proceedings—Property vested in His Majesty for the purposes of the Federal and Provincial Governments—Contracts—Existing rights maintained	336338
CHAPTER XLI.	
The Federal Court	
The powers of the Federal Court—Original jurisdiction—Appellate jurisdiction—Letter of request to Federated States—Appeals to Privy Council—Composition—Qualifications of judges—Advisory jurisdiction—The powers of the U. S. A. Supreme Court—Powers of the High Court of Australia—A Supreme Court of Appeal for British India—Joint Select Committee on—appellate division of the Federal Court—No Court of Criminal Appeal	338 348
CHAPTER XLII.	
The Provincial High Courts.	
Changes proposed under the new Constitution—The Secretary of	
State's memorandum—Jurisdiction, powers and authority of High Courts	349-353
CHAPTER XLIII.	
The Federal Railway Authority.	
The Railway Authority—White Paper proposals—London Conference—Composition—Chief Commissioner for Railways—Financial Commissioner—Relations between the Railway Authority and the Federal Government—New proposals analysed and criticised	353—360

TABLE OF CONTENTS				
CHAPTER XLIV.				
The Services of the Crown in India.	PAGES			
General considerations—Future recruitment—Joint Select Committee on recruitment by Secretary of State—Arrangement to be subject to review—Existing ratio of British and Indian personnel to be maintained—Superior Medical and Railway Services—Foreign and political department—Other Services—special provisions regarding forest and irrigation service—The rights of members of the public services—Right of appeal—Indemnity for official acts—Family pensions fund	360—375			
CHAPTER XLV.				
Public Services Commissions.				
Federal and Provincial Commissions—appointment and conditions of service—Duties of the Commissions	376377			
CHAPTER XLVI.				
Provisions in the event of a break-down of the Consti	tution.			
Proclamation by Governor-General or Governor-Communication to Secretary of State-Revocation by Parliament	378			
CHAPTER XLVII.				
Fundamental rights. Definition—Fundamental duties—Desirability of getting a declaration of rights in the Constitution—Opinion divided—Joint Parliamentary Committee on fundamental rights—Their specific recommendations	378 —3 84			
CHAPTER XLVIII.	9			
Constituent Powers.				
Rigid and flexible Constitutions—White paper proposals—Joint Select Committee's views—Indian legislatures to be associated with future modifications—Constitutional Resolutions—Constitutional Revision and the Indian States—Orders in Council	204 200			
CHAPTER XLIX.				
Miscellaneous.				
Advocate Ceneral—High Commissioner—other matters	301			

Advocate-General—High Commissioner—other matters ... 391

CHAPTER L.

Transitory provisions 392—393

CHAPTER LI.

The Constitution of Burma and its relations with India 393-399

APPENDICES.

					PAGES
A_{μ}	Central and Provin Devolution rules	s of the		nent of	400-408
	India Act 1919	• • •	•••		400-400
В.	Qualifications of vo Provincial Legis ment of India A	latures u			408-A
C.	Distribution of seats lature. (Extract Government of I	ts from	Schedule I	to the	409-415
D.	Distribution of seats lative Assemblie tution. (Extracthe Government	s under ts from	the new C Schedule	Consti- V to	416-417
Е.	List of Federal, Pro Legislative lists tion. (Schedule	ovincial, under t VII to	and cond he new Co	current enstitu- rnment	
	of India Act 193	5)	••••	****	418-425
F.	Figures of area, reverging religion of the pthe Provinces and	rincipal	communi		426
G.	Area and revenues of				427
			_		±≈.
H.	Literacy of the Prov States	•••	•••	·	428
J.	Area, population, a Legislatures in l	India, a			
	some other coun		•••	•••	429
K.	Payments to member lature in select (Legis-	429
L.	Progress of enfranc	hisemen	t in the	United	
	Kingdom as com				430
Μ.	Defence expenditure	e of the	Dominio	ns and	
	India	•••	•••	•••	430
. I	NDEX	•••	•••	•••	431-439