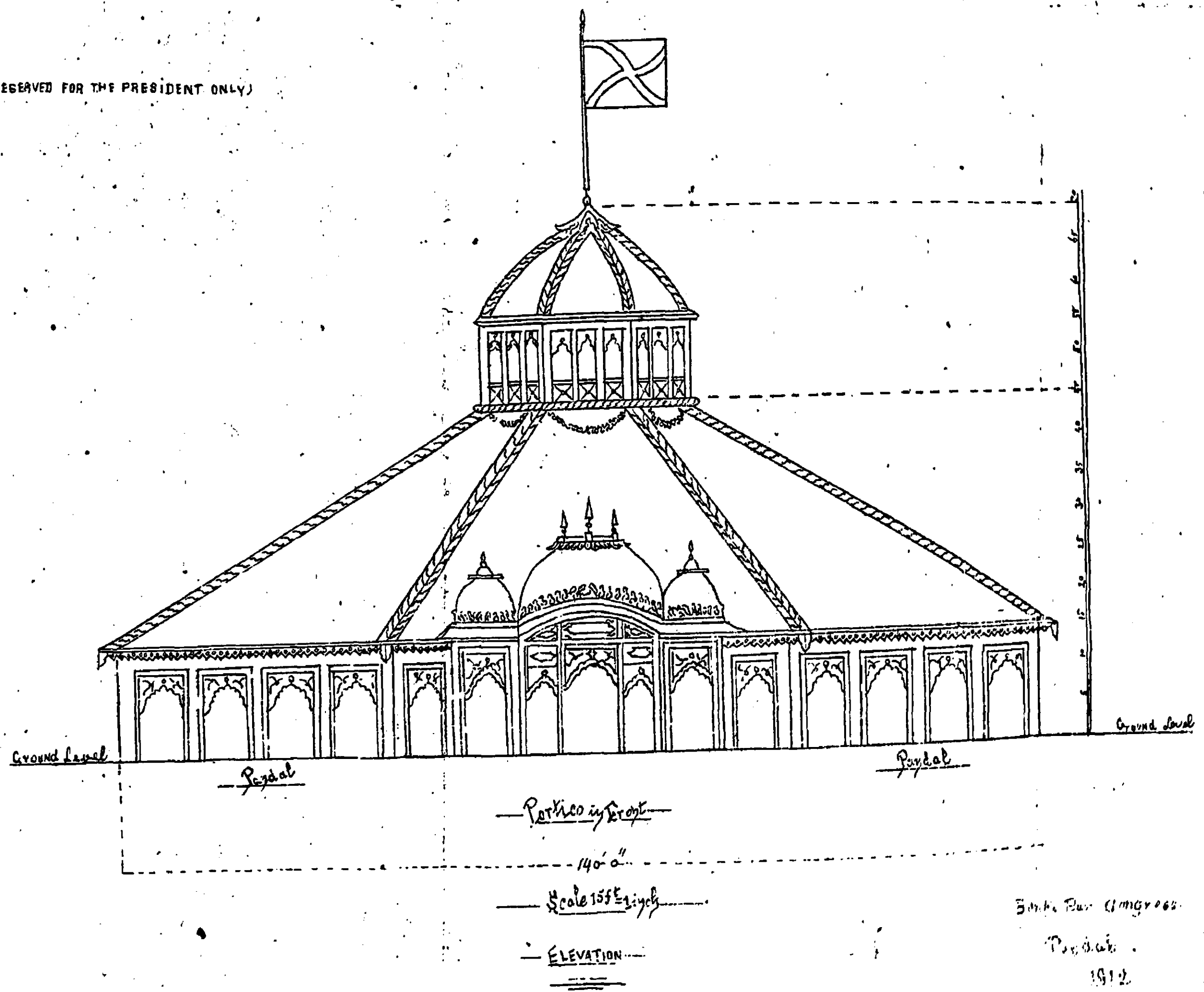
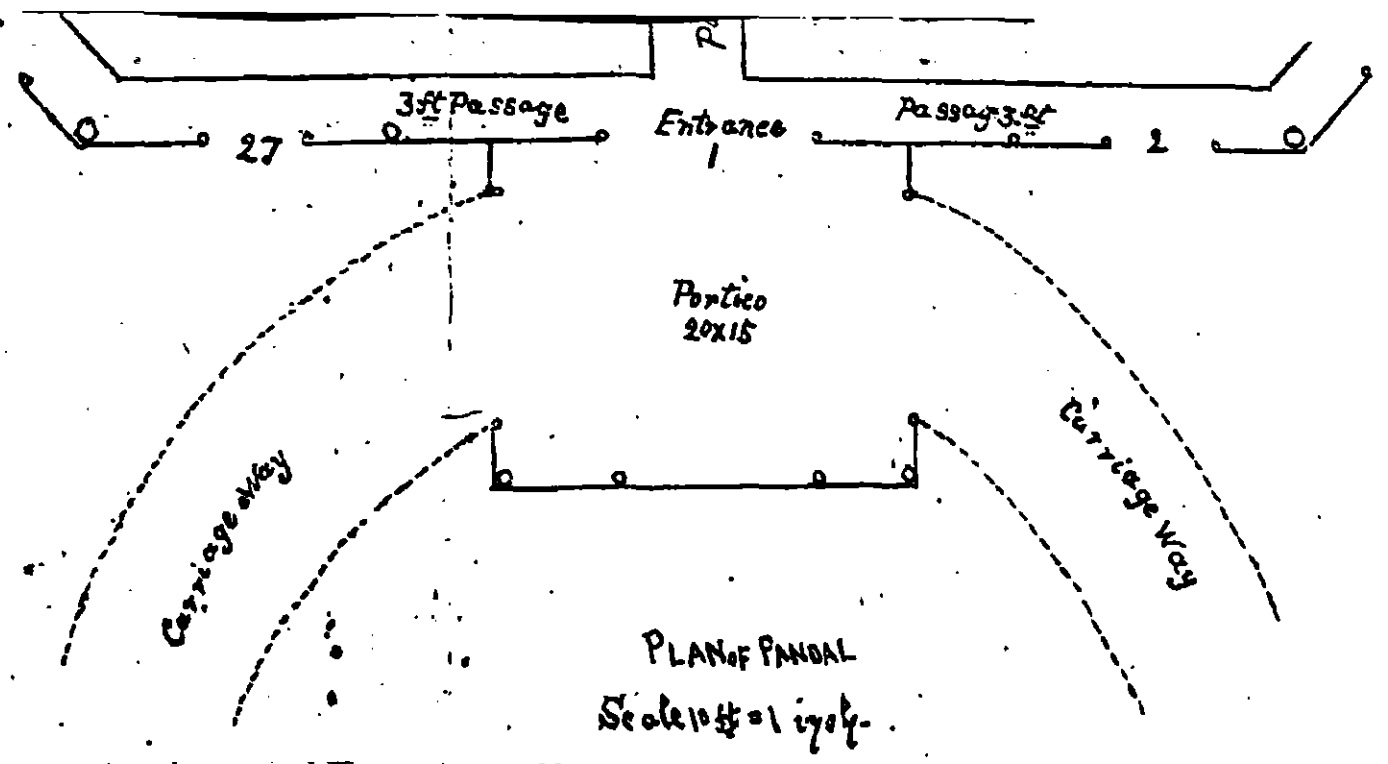


- 1 THE CHANDRA GUPTA
- 2 THE BUJ
- 3 THE VAISALI
- 4 THE SMERASHAH
- 5 THE BINDUSARA
- 6 THE VIKRAMASILA
- 7 THE UDAYA
- 8 THE MALANDA
- 9 THE SITA
- 10 THE PARAS NATH
- 11 THE JARA SINDH
- 12 THE KAPILA
- 13 THE KALINGA
- 14 THE MAHENDRA (RESERVED FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY)
- 15 THE MĀGA DHA
- 16 THE SAUTAMA
- 17 THE RAJAGRIHA
- 18 THE BIM BISARA
- 19 THE SAMADRA GUPTA
- 20 THE UDANTA PURI
- 21 THE UDAIGIRI
- 22 THE VIDYA PATI
- 23 THE AZIMUSHAN
- 24 THE GURU GOVIND
- 25 THE MAHAVI RA
- 26 THE GHANA KYA
- 27 THE ASOKA



B. K. Bar. Amgrees
 Pandit
 1912

The Alamb Press, Meerut, U.P.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Plan of the Congress	Pandal— <i>Frontispiece</i>	I-V
First Day's Proceedings		
p. 1 to 45.		
Address of Welcome by the Chairman of the Reception Committee, the		
Hon'ble Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque,		1
<i>Election of the President.</i>		
Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee (Calcutta) proposes the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur		
R. N. Mudholker		9
The Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale (Poona)		11
The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (Allahabad)		11
The Hon'ble Mr. N. Subba Rao (Madras)		12
Lala Harkishan Lal (Lahore)		12
Babu Ambica Charan Muzamdar (Bengal)		12
The Hon'ble Maharaja-Kumar of Tikari (Behar)		12
The Hon'ble Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque		13
<i>Presidential Address.</i>		
<i>The Delhi Outrage.</i>		
Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee (Calcutta)		38
The Hon'ble Mr. S. Sinha (Behar)		38
The Hon'ble Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu (Calcutta)		38
Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee (Calcutta)		38
Mr. D. E. Wacha (Bombay)		39
Mr. Lajpat Rai (Panjab)		40
The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (Allahabad)		41
The Hon'ble Mr. N. Subba Row Pantulu (Madras)		41
Mr. Krishna Sahay (Behar)		42
Mr. Syed Mohamad Ismail (Behar)		42
The President.		42
Mr. D. E. Wacha (Bombay)		42
The Hon. M. Mazhar-ul-Haque		43
<i>Members of the Subjects Committee.</i>		
The Hon. Mr. D. A. Khare (Bombay)		44
The President		45
Second Day's Proceedings.		
The President		46
Mr. Ismail		46
<i>Telegrams of Sympathy.</i>		
The President		48
DEATH OF MR. A. O. HUME.		
The Hon. Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu (Calcutta)		49
The Hon. Pandit Moti Lal Nehru (Allahabad)		52
The President		53
Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee		53
THE VICEROY'S REPLY.		
The President		53
<i>Indians in the Colonies.</i>		
The Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale (Poona)		58
The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (Allahabad)		64
The Hon. Mr. Haque (Bankipore)		64
Lala Lajpat Rai (Lahore)		64
The Hon. Mr. Harchandrai Bishundas (Karachi)		64
Srijut Pramath Nath Banerjee (Calcutta)		65
Mr. Madanjit (Rangoon)		65
Mr. C. Y. Chintamani (Allahabad)		65
Mr. Kedarnath (Gaya)		66
The Hon. Mr. Gokhale (Poona)		67
The President		67
<i>The Public Services Commission.</i>		
The Hon. Mr. Subba Rao Pantalu (Madras)		67
The Hon. Rai Bahadur Baikunth Nath Sen (Bengal)		71
The Hon. Dr. D. Sarvadhikari		72

5

Pandit Gokarn Nath Misra (United Provinces )	...	...	...	73
Mr. D. G. Dalvi (Bombay )	...	...	...	75
Dr. Nilratan Sirkar (Bengal )	...	...	...	76
Dr. Ranjit Singh (United Provinces )	...	...	...	77
Pandit Herday Nath Kuzru (United Provinces )	...	...	...	79
The Hon. Babu Dwarka Nath (Behar )	...	...	...	80

The Sugadeshi Movement

The President	...	...	...	81
Babu Ambica Charn Mazamdar (Bengal )	...	...	...	81
Mt. Jogiah Pantulu (Berhampur Madras)	...	...	...	82
The President	...	...	...	83

Third Day's Proceedings.*Local Self-Government.*

The President	...	...	...	84
Rao Bahadur S. V. Narsinha Row (Madras )	...	...	...	84
Mr. N. A. Dravid (Berar )	...	...	...	85
Babu Arikshan Sinha (Behar )	...	...	...	86

Provincial Autonomy.

Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee (Bengal )	...	...	...	88
Mr. D. A. Khare (Bombay )	...	...	...	91
Mr. Shanker Jivan Roy (Calcutta )	...	...	...	92

Legislative Council.

The President	...	...	...	94
The Hon. Mr. S. Sinha (Bankipore )	...	...	...	94
The Hon. Babu Dwarka Nath (Muzafferpur )	...	...	...	96
The President	...	...	...	96
The Hon. Babu Dwarka Nath	...	...	...	96
The President	...	...	...	98
The Hon'ble Mr. Krishna Rao (Nellore)	...	...	...	98
The President	...	...	...	99
The Hon'ble Mr. Krishna Rao	...	...	...	99
Babu Surendra Nath Mallick (Calcutta )	...	...	...	99
Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhry (Lahore )	...	...	...	99
Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra (Lucknow )	...	...	...	99
Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru (United Provinces )	...	...	...	99
Mr. O. Y. Chintamani (Allahabad )	...	...	...	100
The Hon'ble Mr. Haque	...	...	...	101
Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru	...	...	...	101
The Hon'ble Mr. Haque	...	...	...	101
Mr. President	...	...	...	101

Executive Councils for the United Provinces and the Panjab.

The Hon'ble Pandit Moli Lal Nehru (Allahabad )	...	...	...	102
Munshi Chail Behary Lal (Sitapur )	...	...	...	103
Lala Harkishun Lal	...	...	...	103

Legislative Councils for Central Provinces and Assam.

Rao Bahadur R. G. Mundle (Yeotmel Berar )	...	...	...	103
Mr. G. N. Kane (Amraoti )	...	...	...	104

Separate Electorate for Local Boards.

Mr. President	105
---------------	-----	-----	-----	-----

Law Membership.

Mr. President	105
---------------	-----	-----	-----	-----

Education.

Babu Sachindra Prasad Bose (Calcutta )	...	...	...	106
Mr. O. P. Ramaswany Aiyar (Madras )	...	...	...	108
The Hon'ble Mr. Rammanbhai Mahiputrana	...	...	...	109
Mr. R. C. Ghose	...	...	...	109
Mr. A. P. Patro (Berhampur )	...	...	...	110

Sanitation.

Mr. President	...	...	...	112
Mr. G. K. Devadhar (Bombay )	...	...	...	112
Dr. Ranjit Singh (Allahabad )	...	...	...	114

Public Expenditure.

Mr. President	115
---------------	-----	-----	-----	-----

Land Settlement.

Mr. President	115
---------------	-----	-----	-----	-----

<i>Indians in the Army.</i>						
Mr. President	...	...	...	...	...	115
Mr. Hon. Mr. Narimha Raja (Vizagapatam )	...	...	...	...	...	116
Mr. Prakasa Rao (Coconada )	...	...	...	...	...	116
<i>High Court.</i>						
Mr. President	...	...	...	...	...	117
<i>Appreciation of Mr. Gokhale's Service.</i>						
The President	...	...	...	...	...	118
Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru (Allahabad)	...	...	...	...	...	118
Mr. Krishna Sahay (Bankipore)	...	...	...	...	...	119
<i>Constitution.</i>						
The President	...	...	...	...	...	119
<i>The British Committee.</i>						
The President	...	...	...	...	...	120
The Hon'ble, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (Allahabad)	...	...	...	...	...	120
Babu Surendranath Banerjee (Bengal)	...	...	...	...	...	121
The President	...	...	...	...	...	123
<i>The All-India Congress Committee.</i>						
The President	...	...	...	...	...	123
<i>General Secretary.</i>						
The President	...	...	...	...	...	126
<i>The Next Congress.</i>						
The President	...	...	...	...	...	126
The Hon'ble Mr. Harchandrai Vishendas (Karachi).	...	...	...	...	...	126
The Hon'ble Mr. G. M. Bhurguri (Karachi).	...	...	...	...	...	127
The President	...	...	...	...	...	127
<i>Vote of Thanks to the President.</i>						
The Hon'ble Mr. S. Sinha (Bankipur)	...	...	...	...	...	127
<i>The President's Concluding Address</i>						
The President	...	...	...	...	...	128

Molvi Syed Wazir Hussain (*Chapra*).
 Babu Jugeshwar Prasad Singh (*Mozafferpore*)
 M. S. Dass Esqr. C. I. E. (*Cuttack*).
 W. M. Dass Esqr. (*Bankipore*).
 Keshari Prasad Singh Esqr. „
 Rai Narayan Prasad Sahab (*Patna*).
 Babu Brijanandan Sing (*Bankipore*).
 Hon'ble Babu Brijakishore Prasad (*Darbhanga*).
 Babu Nandkishore Lall (*Gaya*).
 Babu Kalipada Ghosh (*Ranchi*).
 Doctor Ramkali Gupta (*Bankipore*).
 Rai Gajadhur Prasad Bahadur „
 Babu Durga Prasad (*Chapra*).
 Khan Bahadur Doctor Asdar Ali Khan (*Bankipore*).

Mr. Sachchidanda Sinha was General Secretary and Mr. Kuar Nandan Sahay, Joint General Secretary, while Mr. Krishna Ballabh Sahay was Treasurer. There were ten Assistant Secretaries headed by Mr. Parameshwar Lal (who was also Captain of the Congress Volunteers). The full list of Assistant Secretaries is as follows:

Prameshwar Lall Esqr (*Bankipore*).
 A. Hakeem Esqr., Do.
 M. Yusuf Esqr., Do.
 M. Yunus Esqr., Do.
 G. N. Bose Esqr (*Motihari*).
 Babu Sri Krishna Prasad (*Bhagalpore*).
 Babu Mathura Nath Sinha (*Bankipore*).
 Babu Nalini Ranjan Sinha Do.
 Babu Bhawani Sahay Do.
 Zakaria Gauhar Ali Esqr., Do.

A more representative Reception Committee in a popular sense, and one more efficient, could not possibly have been constituted. The Committee set to work with characteristic energy and it was not long before an organisation was evolved perfect in every detail and fully capable of making the Twenty-seventh Session of the Congress the unalloyed success it proved to be. It would be invidious to mention the names of individual workers, but it may confidently be asserted that there was no laggard in the camp. As already indicated, the generous co-operation of Hindu and Moslems smoothed the way when little difficulties had had to be encountered, especially, in the matter of the selection of sites for the delegates Camps. The Congress pavilion itself was located in the spacious compound owned by Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque on Fraser Road. The camps were pitched on suitable (and practically all available) sites on Fraser Road and Exhibition Road, which enabled the Committee to concentrate the entire Congress camp within a few minutes' walk of the Congress pavilion, thus rendering possible familiar intercourse and exchange of thoughts between the delegates from all parts of India and Burma.

Here it may be useful to give a description of the Congress pavilion, which was designed on somewhat unique lines and which has been considered worthy of reproduction (*vide* Appendix B.) It will be readily admitted that the design of the pavilion suffers in no way by comparison with that of any previous Congress. The compound was beautifully laid out and illuminated with rows of Kitson lamps, and the entire arrangements were remarkably satisfactory. The pavilion itself was a thing of beauty. Capable of accommodating five thousand persons, it was tastefully decorated and was draped, within and without. The unique feature of the pavilion was the twenty-

(III)

eight gateways opening into it each named after some great personality or event in the ancient or more recent history of Maghada.

The gateways were named and numbered as under :

- I. The Pataliputra Gate.
- II. The Chandragupta Gate.
- III. The Buddha Gate.
- IV. The Vaisali Gate.
- V. The Shershah Gate.
- VI. The Bindasara Gate.
- VII. The Vikarmasila Gate.
- VIII. The Udaya Gate.
- IX. The Nalanda Gate.
- X. The Sita Gate.
- XI. The Parasnath Gate.
- XII. The Jarasandha Gate.
- XIII. The Kapila Gate.
- XIV. The Kalinga Gate.
- XV. The Magadha Gate.
- XVI. The Gautama Gate.
- XVII. The Rajagriha Gate.
- XVIII. The Bimbassra Gate.
- XIX. The Samudragupta Gate.
- XX. The Udantapuri Gate.
- XXI. The Udaigiri gate.
- XXII. The Vidyapati Gate.
- XXIII. The Azim Shah Gate.
- XXIV. The Guru Govind Gate.
- XXV. The Mahavira Gate.
- XXVI. The Chanakya Gate.
- XXVII. The Asoka Gate.

One gate, reserved for the President, was unnumbered, and designated the Mahendru Gate.

The seating arrangements within the pavilion were perfect of their kind. The delegates' blocks were in the centre, the first and second class visitors' blocks being on either side, while the third class visitors' block was placed behind the delegates'. Two separate gateways were reserved for ladies, and similarly the other gateways were reserved for delegates, distinguished visitors, &c. Close to the pavilion were placed the Congress office, the Post and Telegraph offices, &c.

The laying out of the delegates' camps entailed considerable labour not to speak of the expense, and as will appear from the sequel, the arrangements in this regard gave the greatest satisfaction to the delegates. A brief description of the Provincial camps may not be out of place here. Of these were four, the Bengal and Burma Camp to the north-east of the pavilion; the Bombay, Madras and Central Provinces camp to the south-east; the Upper India camp to the south; and the General Camp (intended for the accommodation of delegates living in the European style) far off to the east. Some idea of the labour entailed in the laying out of these several camps may be gathered from the fact that nearly 320 tents had had to be pitched, besides accommodation provided for delegates in the private residences, on Fraser Road and Exhibition Road, of Messrs. Sinha, Krishna Sahay, Parmeshwar Lall, M. Yunus, K. P. Singh, and Behari Lall Bhattacharya. Thus, the President and party were put up at Mr. Krishna Sahay's, Messrs. D. E. Wacha and D. A.

Khare, the General Secretaries at the Behar Club, both on Fraser Road, while Mr. Surendranath Banerjea stayed at Mr. Bhattacharya's palatial mansion on Exhibition Road. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale was Mr. S. Sinha's guest.

Here it seem appropriate to refer to the recorded opinion of that experienced Congressman and veteran critic, Mr. Dinshaw E. Wacha, as to the efficacy and excellence of the arrangements made for the comfort of the delegates. This Congress veteran wrote :

The first thing that impressed me when I had gone round the pandal and the delegates' camps, beautifully and systematically laid out amidst sylvan scenery and under mango topes, was that some one with a master mind for method and manner had a very clear conception of what was wanted. He had conceived how the ground should be laid out, how harmony and order, as in nature, should be evolved, how utility must be attained at any cost and how beauty might be made a handmaid to that utility, without being subordinated.

Mr. Wacha goes on to describe the Congress pavilion in enthusiastic but not undeserved terms,—“the mind which conceived it and gave it body and form was certainly a methodical mind chastened by experience, refined by native talent.” Elsewhere he says : “That kind of conception (of harmonious blending of beauty and utility) and method has been rarely seen at other Congress camps which I have visited these many years. All through, I repeat, there was order and harmony, utility and simple beauty combined. Again I could well take a mental note that the same mind had also an economic eye. So that if there was harmony and order outside, it was evolved at the least expense which was in striking contrast with the costly and fantastic surroundings I have marked elsewhere.” No apology is needed for the following further quotation. After referring to the excellent arrangements made for creature comforts, Mr. Wacha concludes.

So far all these features we are bound to give out unstinted praise to the chief organisers and the workers. So I say, “Wah ! Wah !! Sabash Bankipore where the Congress was on virgin field. But was not there the veteran, though young, who *knows* what Congress organisation means. There was the genial Beharee who rejoices in the name of Sachchidananda Sinha. Let the Congress give him and that stately and majestic Grand Master of Ceremonies Mr. Haque, our own Congress side, K. M. C. O., our Knights of the Meritorious Order of Congress Organisers. You have Asoka's pillar near Bankipur. Why not have a Minor on the very site where the pandal is, to commemorate the first Congress ever held in the ancient capital of the Great Chandragupta and Asoka Empire ? I say Floreat Behar ! Attribute as generous on the part of the giver as deserved by its recipients.

The limit set to this Introduction precludes any reference to the proceedings of the Congress,—the brilliant address delivered by Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque which, among other things, contains a forcible statement of the case for Hindu-Muslim *entente* ; the encyclopædic survey of Indian politics by the President, Sao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, C. I. E.; the masterly review of the South African question by Mr. G. K. Gokhale ; and the skilful handling of the difficult questions bearing on Indian administrative problems by the speakers on the resolutions passed by the Congress, and notably on Autonomy for India, by Mr. Surendrath Banerjea ; on the Public Service Commission by Mr. N. Subba Row Pantulu Garu, on the the Swadeshi movement by Mr. Ambica Charan Mazumdar, and last, not least, on the constitution of the Legislative Councils by Mr. S. Sinha. A pathetic personal touch was added by the heartfelt tributes paid to the memory of the Congress Budda—Allan Octavian Hume—

One who never turned his back but marched breast forward
 Never doubted clouds would break
 Never dreamed though right were worsted wrong would triumph
 Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
 Sleep to wake.

(17)

The appalling infamy of the Delhi outrage was a poignant memory when the Congress met, and it will not be considered an impertinence if the deliberate opinion be recorded here that the greatest of Indian orators touched the loftiest level, even of his eloquence, when he gave expression to the universal sentiment of horror and indignation at the crime and of sympathy with the illustrious sufferers.

This brief *resume* will not be considered adequate if it does not incorporate the notable message sent to the Congress by that Grand Old Man Dadabhai Naoroji. The following is the text of the Message :—

THE SANDS VEVOVA, AUDHERI.

20th December, 1912.

To

THE HON'BLE MR. M. HAQUE,

Chairman of the Reception Committee of the

Bankipore Congress.

My dear Sir,

I am very much obliged for your kind letter, inviting me to attend the Bankipore Congress, but I am sorry I shall not be able to take any part in the work of the Congress.

The Congress has done much good work in the past. But it has to do far greater work in the future. It says so in its constitution. The objects of the Indian National Congress are the attainment by the people of India of a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire and a participation by them in the rights and responsibility of the Empire on equal terms with those members. These objects are to be achieved by constitutional means by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administrations.

These are great objects and will need most earnest and devoted efforts. All I can say is that I wish from the bottom of my heart, equal success in the future as has been achieved in the past. The Bankipore Congress has to commence this very work. You refer, in your letter, to the Public Service Commission as the most important Indian question. It is the sole and whole remedy for the prosperity of Indian. Even to-day in the year 1912 our able and sympathetic Finance Minister says: "It was also a striking lesson of how narrow is the line in India between plenty and want." What is it that the Indians ask? In the blessed year 1833, the British people and Parliament achieved most glorious deeds. No nation on earth ancient and modern have achieved this glory. It is peculiarly and essentially British glory. The two great glorious deeds were the emancipation of the slave and the emancipation of the people of India from an unnatural anti-British and unfair system of Public Service—the system of remote foreign dominion with inseparable evils. The slave obtained his emancipation at once and became a free man. But the unfortunate British Indians are struggling for nearly the past 80 years; for the emancipation and the right which they obtained by the highest of all British rights, the right of a deliberate act of Parliament—this act of Parliament was not the result of any efforts, agitation or claims by the Indians themselves. It was the spontaneous result of the sense of the justice, of humanity and righteousness of the British people themselves and a deliberate decision after a spontaneous careful enquiry. This result was that famous clause—as Lord Macaulay called it—that wise, that benevolent, that noble clause.

The Indians are not asking any new reform. They had their reform of the public service granted to them by a deliberate act of Parliament long ago. They have been kept out of the right they already possessed for nearly 80 years. They

are asking only the right of an act of Parliament. His Majesty the King Emperor has bestowed upon us the precious gift of hope and with that hope I trust that the present British statesmen and people will unreservedly and fully give us with every grace and good-will, and according to the report of 1860 of the Committee of the India Office Council what we have already possessed by right for past 80 years, but what has been withheld from us all this long time. The Court of directors at the time the clause was passed in 1833 interpreted the clause "that there shall be no governing caste in British India &c. &c." In short we are asking what has already been our right and property for more than three quarters of a century.

I express my hopes again that we will not be again disappointed and that we shall be granted now what has been our own right for all this long time.

I sincerely wish every success to the Bankipur Congress till their objects are attained, to the glory of the British nation all their own and to the satisfaction and devoted loyalty of Indians, to British supremacy and Empire.

With best wishes,
Yours truly,
(Sd.) DADABHAI NAOROJI.