

THE  
Western India National Liberal  
Association.

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ANNUAL REPORT.

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*(For the period beginning with February 1919 upto the  
end of June 1920).*

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The Council of the Association beg to submit to the members their report on the business transacted during the first year of their office.

2. The Association was founded on the 13th February 1919, and as you are aware, a provisional council of management was appointed to conduct its business pending the formal election of office-bearers and Council.

3. The Provisional Council immediately took on hand the framing of draft rules for the conduct and the management of the Association. The rules, when prepared, were submitted to the members for their consideration at the General Meeting called on the 30th April 1919. After a few alterations and amendments these were formally passed and adopted. (Vide Appendix A).

4. At the same meeting the Council of management and office-bearers were duly elected. (Vide Appendix B).

5. A larger part of the business transacted during the year under report, had a reference, directly and indirectly, to the many stirring events that had transpired in the Punjab and elsewhere, the principal details of which are here-in-below summarised.

(a) Appeal by the telegram to His Excellency the Viceroy praying that he will be pleased to exercise his prerogative of commuting the very harsh sentence passed on Mr. Kali Nath Roy, the

Editor of the Tribune, on charges which appeared to be unjust and unfounded. The feeble condition of his health was urged as another reason for his early release. (Vide Appendix C).

- (b) A general meeting of members was held on 10th July 1919 for the consideration of the lamentable situation which was then prevailing in the Punjab, specially in connection with the most unheard of sentences passed on some prominent citizens of Lahore such as Messrs. Har Kishenlal, Duni-chand and others. These men were sentenced to life, transportation and their property confiscated by the Martial Law Commission. A telegram in terms of the resolution of the meeting was forwarded to His Excellency the Viceroy. (Vide Appendix C a).
- (c) In view of further representation to be made to Government on the Punjab disturbances a sub-committee of the Council was appointed. But before they had completed their labours, more than one appeal had been made with regard to the sentences passed by the Martial Law Commission to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. In view of this fact the Sub-committee considered it inadvisable to proceed further with their task. There was also this additional reason that meanwhile, in response to Indian opinion generally, the Secretary of State announced in the House of Commons that a Committee with an impartial judicial officer as a president, will be appointed to inquire into the many tragic and other grave incidents that had occurred in Amritsar and elsewhere. (Vide Appendix C b).
- (d) Consideration of the final report of the sub-committee on the Punjab disturbances and a resolution passed at a meeting on 12th August 1919 that the President be authorised to send a telegram to His Honour the Lieut. Governor of

the Punjab, thanking him for the material reduction in several of the original sentences passed by the Martial Law Commission. (Vide Appendix C c).

- (e) Consideration by the Council at their meeting of 5th September 1919 the desirability of representing to the Government of India the importance of investigating the Punjab affairs by means of a Royal Commission rather than by a Committee of Inquiry the appointment of which was not deemed satisfactory by the general public. (Vide Appendix C d).
- (f) The Indemnity Bill, which was to be introduced into the Imperial Legislative Council during the autumn session of 1919, had created considerable alarm and uneasiness, and the Council, who had met on 5th September 1919, urged the Government of India by telegram, the expediency of the postponement of the Bill till the publication of the report of the Inquiry Committee. (Vide Appendix C e).
- (g) Representation made on 25th November 1919, in a long and elaborate telegram supported by reasons, urging that permission which was refused by the Punjab Government, be given by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General-in-Council for the more prominent persons who were originally convicted but afterwards released, to be present at the Inquiry in order to instruct when necessary the counsel engaged by the Congress Sub-committee and cross examine some of the military witnesses before the Inquiry Committee. (Vide Appendix C f).

6. A cablegram was forwarded to the Indian Reform Committee, London, expressing approval of the report made by the Minority of Hunter Committee, appreciating as sound the general principles laid down by the Cabinet, as stated in the despatch of the Secretary of State touching

the future administration of Martial Law in this country, pointing out that the conduct and action of Sir Michael O'Dwyer as deserving of stern censure rather than praise, and hoping that the subject will receive adequate attention from Parliament. (Vide Appendix D).

7. An appeal was sent by a cablegram to Parliament on the 22nd June 1920 respectfully urging to consider in a lofty and statesmanlike spirit the true issues revealed by the report and that such issues will not be allowed to be obscured by misleading statements of some European organisations and their supporters in England whose aim was to excite racial bitterness. Indians whose feelings and sentiments have been greatly hurt by the atrocious methods adopted to quell the disturbances were, it was apprehended, losing confidence in the spirit of Justice of British rule. They required reassurance in order to restore the waning confidence. (Vide Appendix E).

8. On 9th June 1919 the Council submitted to the Secretary of State a well reasoned statement prepared by the sub-committee appointed for the purpose on some of the most glaring reactionary tendencies which were discernible in the despatch of the Government of India of the 5th March 1919, tendencies which did not harmonise with the liberal suggestions made in the original Montagu-Chelmsford Report which the Moderate Party as a whole generally accepted. These reactionary tendencies had reference to the scheme of separate purse, freedom of the Provincial Government in matters of finance, status and independence of ministers and minor details of executive and administrative character. (Vide Appendix F).

9. Soon after the publication of the Reform Bill in June 1919 your Council considered it carefully. As a result of their deliberations a long telegram was despatched to the Secretary of State pointing out some of the defects of the Bill and urging Parliament to make a beginning with responsible Government in other minor details. On the general aspects of the measure, as introduced in Parliament, the President made an emphatic reference to his speech on

the occasion of bidding good speed to some members of the Moderate Deputation on the eve of their departure to London. ( Vide Appendix G ).

10. The very last telegram on the Reform Bill was despatched on the 5th December 1919 when its extreme opponents in this country and the reactionary elements in London made their last attempt to mar, if possible, the excellent prospects of its ultimate passing into law. ( Vide Appendix H ).

11. In concluding this part of their report the Council cannot refrain from expressing their high appreciation of the indifatiguable energy, singleness of purpose, broad sympathy and practical statesmanship with which the Joint Committee discharged their most onerous and responsible duties. And they also beg to offer their grateful thanks to the witnesses who on behalf of the Deputation of the Moderate Party for the great care and marked ability with which they gave their evidence before the Joint Committee and the valuable assistance they rendered in other ways in that body all through the sittings. ( Vide Appendix I ).

12. The Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Congress having in December last invited a few prominent members of the Moderate Party in Bombay to attend the session at Amritsar the Council held their special meeting and resolved after full discussion, that the Moderates as a party should refrain from attending it. ( Vide Appendix J ).

13. In reference to the Khilafat agitation under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi, the council resolved at their meeting of the 16th March 1919 ( Vide Appendix K ) that the Hartal movement was apt to lead to mischievous consequences and should, therefore, be abandoned.

14. On the 3rd September 1919, the Council despatched a telegram to His Excellency the Viceroy praying for the inclusion in the army commission, of which Lord Esher was the chairman, one or more additional Indian gentlemen specially fitted to represent the people by reason of their

experience and familiarity with the special subject to be investigated by the Commission. ( Vide Appendix L).

On the occasion of the signing of the Peace Treaty the President with the consent of the Council, sent a cablegram to the Secretary of State requesting to convey to His Majesty the King Emperor the Association's hearty loyal congratulations. ( Vide Appendix M ).

15. Receptions were held during the year to bid good speed to some of the members of the Deputation and also to some on their return. And further when His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner and Lord Sinha returned to India, special receptions welcoming them were held at which the Association's grateful thanks were offered to both for the splendid service they had performed in reference to the Reforms and for their advocacy at the Paris Peace Conference as the representatives of India. Among the Deputation who proceeded to London Mr. N. M. Samarth was the very first to go to London and the last to return here. Along with his brother members he did yeoman's work in England with regard to the Reform Bill and spared no pains to put the case of the Moderate Party before the proper authorities and those who had a determining voice and influence in the political circle. On his return he was given a hearty reception and warmly thanked for his labours. Other members of the Moderate Party belonging to Provinces outside the Presidency, viz., the Hon. Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea, the Hon. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Mr. Ramachandra Rao, the Hon. Mr. Srinivas Sastri, Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru and others were equally welcomed on their return.

At the function in his honour on the 15th July 1919, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner expressed himself in the following terms.

" But I should like, in conclusion, to give expression to the pleasure I derive in meeting here today, the recently formed Moderate Party among whom. I am proud to claim many personal friends, including your veteran President,

Sir Dinshaw Wacha, who has literally grown grey in the services of his country. (applause). I have personally felt for a long time past that there was urgent need for such a party which bringing sane counsels to the people and greater sense of responsibility, moderation and restraint will surely play an important part in the future political regeneration of the country and at the same time prove a source of strength to the constituted authorities and to law, order and good government, along which path alone lies our future salvation". (Applause).

Reception was also held on the occasion of the Hon. Sir Sankaran Nair leaving for England. Lastly, on the 16th January 1920, Lord Sinha in returning thanks for the welcome reception held in his and Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu's Honour, spoke as follows.

"Indeed, to my thinking the whole future is in our hands. It is for us to make or mar it. It will depend upon the spirit of harmony and co-operation which we bring to bear upon the working of these Reforms. Indeed it will be impossible to work it without the spirit of unity and co-operation. (Applause). I rejoice to find that all sections of opinion in India are agreed upon this, that this measure has got to be worked in the spirit which I have just mentioned, it will lead us within a reasonable distance of time to the long-wished-for consummation". (Applause).

16. The accompanying statement of accounts of the Association, duly audited, is also placed before the Council for adoption.

17. Auditors for the current year will have to be appointed and the election of the new Council will have to be made in terms of the Rule No. 12.

18. On behalf of the Association the Council offer their sincere thanks to Messrs. Currimbhoy Ebrahim & Sons for allowing them to hold meetings in their Board Room.

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## THE WESTERN INDIA NATIONAL LIBERAL ASSOCIATION.

*Statement of Receipts and Disbursements at 31st December 1919.*

RECEIPTS.				DISBURSEMENTS.										
				Rs.	a.	p.								
							Rs.	a.	p.					
			Rs.	a.	p.									
Donations ...	...	...	3,574	0	0	Establishment charge ...	560	0	0	Office rent ...	140	0	0	
						Furniture ...	241	8	0	Postage ...	66	14	0	
						Telegrams ...	1,054	14	0	Stationery ...	158	7	0	
Subscriptions ...	...	...	725	0	0	Printing charges ...	242	11	3	Type-writer charges ...	45	0	0	
						Periodicals, &c. ...	33	8	0	Miscellaneous expenses ...	159	14	0	
Interest (on current deposit account) ...	...	...	27	5	0	Expenses of the Welcome gathering in honour of the Hon'ble Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea ...	181	8	0	Balance :—				
										Rs.	a.	p.		
						National Bank of India Ltd....	1,223	4	0	Petty cash ...	25	0	0	
						Cash on hand ...	163	12	9					
						Total ...	1,412	0	9	Total ...	4,326	5	0	
			Total ...	4,326	5	0								

Bombay, 31st December 1919.

Examined and found correct.

(Sd.) SORAJI E. WARDEN,  
Hon. Auditor.

(Sd.) VASANTRAO S. RAVUT,  
Hon. Treasurer

8th July 1920.



## Appendix A. CONSTITUTION & RULES.

1. The name of the Association shall be "The Western Name. India National Liberal Association."
- II. (1) This Association is formed, in pursuance of Aims and clause (b) of Resolution XI of the 1st session objects. of the All-India Conference of the Moderate Party, with a view:—
- (1) to do sustained work for the political progress and the moral and material welfare of the people,
  - (2) to give expression from time to time to the considered opinion of the party on matters of public interest, and
  - (3) to inform and educate public opinion in this Presidency in support of its views, policy and methods.
- (2) The Association accepts article I of the Constitution of the Indian National Congress Organisation and will work for the fulfilment of the declaration made by His Majesty's Government on the 20th August 1917, in accordance with the principles embodied therein.
- III. For the promotion of its aims and objects, the Policy and Association shall pursue the following methods. principles, policy and methods:—
- (a) Law-abiding and constitutional methods of agitation or work.
  - (b) Co-operation with Government, whenever possible and Constitutional opposition to it, whenever necessary.
  - (c) Fostering a spirit of broadminded liberalism based on principles of liberty, equality and fraternity, among the different classes and communities of the people.
- IV. In due fulfilment of its aims and objects and in Educational and propagandist strict conformity with its policy and methods, work. the Association will carry on educative propagandist work by means of:—
- (a) leaflets, pamphlets and other publications;

- (b) memorials to Government; and
- (c) meetings or conferences, study classes, lectures and all such methods as may be deemed practicable and expedient to educate public opinion.

V. Having regard to the funds at its disposal from Library and time to time the Association shall establish other facilities. and maintain a library containing books, reports and journals and other publications necessary for the study of public questions and the promotion of its objects.

The Association will

- (a) provide facilities to members to meet constantly and exchange views on current topics and promote social intercourse among them,
- (b) make arrangements whenever desirable and possible, to collect information on questions of general or special interest,
- (c) and generally take such action as may further the aims and objects of the Association and all matters pertaining thereto.

VI. The headquarters of the Association will be located in Bombay, and Branches may be established in the Bombay Presidency, wherever necessary.

VII. Any person who is above 21 years of age and who expresses in writing, on the prescribed form of application, his acceptance of the aims and objects and methods and policy of the Association laid down in Rules II and III and his willingness to abide by them, and whose name is duly proposed, seconded and supported in writing by any three members of the Council of the Association, shall be eligible for election as a member of the Association. Members shall be elected by the Council of the Association at its meetings, due notice of the proposed election being given to every member of the Council, and no one who fails to secure the votes of at least two-thirds of the number present

at any such meeting shall be considered to have been elected. The voting shall always be by ballot.

VIII. The Association may elect from time to time Patrons and Vice-Patrons, from among those who make benefactions to the Association. Such election shall be made at a meeting of the Association on the recommendation of the Council.

IX. Members shall be of three classes;—  
Members.

- (a) Life-members paying Rs. 200.
- (b) Ordinary Members residing in Bombay paying Rs. 10 a year.
- (c) Non-resident members paying Rs. 5 a year.

X. Members shall have the right to be present and to vote at all meetings of the Association and shall be entitled to copies of such papers and publications as the Association may issue and to the use of the Library and Reading Room of the Association subject to the bye-laws in that behalf.

XI. Upon the unanimous recommendation of the Council, the Association may elect persons of special distinction as its Honorary members.

XII. The work of guiding the policy and administering the affairs of the Association shall vest in an executive Committee to be called the Council, consisting of not more than 36 members, exclusive of Office-bearers, the first Council being elected by the Promoters from among themselves for a period of three years and having the power to co-opt 10 additional members from the general body of whom five shall be from among the non-resident members. The subsequent elections of the Council shall also be triennial, but in the second and all following elections, out of the total number of members, 15 shall be elected by the retiring Council and the rest by the general body. All vacancies caused by resignations, default or death shall be filled by the Council itself.

XIII. All decisions and proceedings of the Council, except the election of members, will be subject to reversal or modification on motions brought by requisitions signed by at least one-fifth of the total number of members of the Association on 15 days' notice and passed at a meeting of the Association by a majority of at least two-thirds of the total number of the members present at such meeting.

XIV. The Association shall have a President, not more than four Vice-Presidents, not more than four Secretaries, and one Treasurer. All Office-bearers shall hold office for three years and shall so continue until new office-bearers are elected by the Members of the Association at the General Meeting next following the expiry of their terms of office.

XV. There shall be at least one meeting of the Council every month. There shall be at least one half-yearly meeting of the Association besides the Annual General Meeting which shall be held in the month of March to review and adopt the Annual Report and the Audited Statement of Accounts.

XVI. Seven shall form the quorum of a meeting of the Council, and sixteen of the meeting of the Association. A quorum shall not be necessary for a Meeting adjourned for want of quorum. Fresh notice of a Meeting so adjourned shall be given.

XVII. The President of the Association shall preside at all meetings of the Association, and of the Council, and in his absence any one of the Vice-Presidents, and in their absence the meeting shall elect its own chairman.

XVIII. The Chairman, with the consent of the Meeting, may adjourn any Meeting from time to time and from place to place, but no business shall be transacted at any such adjourned Meeting other than the business left unfinished at the Meeting from which the adjournment took place.

XIX. Every resolution or amendment thereto submitted to a meeting shall be decided in the first instance by a show of hands, but a ballot shall be taken if demanded by any three of the members present. Such demand must be made immediately on the Chairman declaring the counting.

XX. All moneys belonging to the Association shall be Receipts and banked or invested in such manner as the Funds. Council may from time to time decide.

XXI. The Council shall keep or cause to be kept a Minute Book. minute book to record the proceedings of all the meetings. All books, papers and accounts in connection with the Funds of the Association shall be open to members for inspection during office hours.

XXII. For the study, consideration and discussion of Special Com- public questions, and educative and propa- mittees. gandist work in furtherence of the objects of the Association, special Committees, consisting of members of the Association, shall be appointed by the Council. Each such special Committee shall elect its own Chairman and a Secretary from among such members of the said Committee as are members of the Council. Each such Committee shall include at least 5 members of the Council and one of the Secretaries of the Association. Each such Committee shall submit to the Council annually a report of the work done by it during the course of the year.

XXIII. Except Rules II and III, which can be altered Change of only by a unanimous vote of the Associa- Rules. tion, the General Body of the Association shall have the power to change, amend, or make any addition to the Rules, provided that the meeting of the Association called for the purpose shall be attended by at least half the total number of members of the Association and the motion for the alteration, addition or amendment in question is accepted by a majority of at least three-fourths of the total number of members present at the meeting.

XXIV. No such proposal for change, amendment or addition shall be brought before the Association unless it

has been previously recommended by the Council in office for the year.

XXV. The Council may frame bye-laws not inconsistent with these rules for the purpose of carrying on the work of the Association.

## Appendix B.

### COUNCIL.

**President**.....The Hon'ble Sir Dinshaw Edulji  
Wacha, K.T., Jiji House,  
Raveline Street, Fort, Bombay (1)

**Vice-President**...Sir N. G. Chandavarkar, K.T., B. A.,  
LL.B., Pedder Road, Bombay.

#### Members.

- 1 Sir Hormusji A. Wadia, K.T, 37, Marine Lines,  
Bombay (1).
- 2 Sir Chimanlal H. Setalvad, K.T., B. A., LL.B.,  
Nepean Sea Road, Bombay (6).
- 3 The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, K.T., 13,  
Esplanade Road, Bombay (1).
- 4 Sir Vithaldas D. Thackersey, K.T., Warden Road,  
Mahalaxmi, Bombay (6).
- 5 The Hon'ble Mr. Gokuldas K. Parekh, B. A., LL.B.,  
New Queen's Road, Bombay (6).
- 6 Narayan Vishnu Gokhale, Esqr., B. A., LL.B.,  
Girgaon Road, Bombay (4).
- 7 W. A. Chambers, Esq., Standard Building, Fort,  
Bombay (1).
- 8 N. M. Samarth, Esqr., B. A., LL.B., Girgaum  
Back Road, Bombay (4).
- 9 K. Natarajan, Esqr., B. A., Indian Social Reformer  
Office, Empire Building, Fort, Bombay (1).
- 10 The Hon'ble Mr. R. P. Paranjpye, M. A., B. SC.,  
Principal, Fergusson College, Poona City.

- 11 The Hon'ble Mr. B. S. Kamat, B. A., Ganesh Khind Road, Poona.
- 12 The Hon'ble Mr. Phiroze C. Sethna, Canada Building, Fort, Bombay (1).
- 13 Kazi Kabiruddin, Esqr., Barrister-at-law, Chowpaty Sea Face, Bombay (7).
- 14 Sorabji E. Warden, Esqr., Opposite Post Office, Colaba, Bombay.
- 15 Hari Sitaram Dixit, Esqr., B. A., LL. B., Solicitor, Hamam Street, Fort, Bombay (1).
- 16 Rao Saheb Manaji Rajooji, Kamathipura, 3rd Street, Bombay (8).
- 17 H. C. Coyaji, Esqr., B. A., LL. B., Advocate, Hughes Road, Bombay (6).
- 18 Cawasji Jehangir, Esq., Readymoney House, Nepean Sea Road, Bombay (6).
- 19 Rao Bahadur Gopaldas Viharidas Desai, Nadiad.
- 20 Rao Bahadur Ramanbhai Mahipatram Nilkanth, B. A., LL. B., Oliphant Road, Ahmedabad
- 21 Rao Bahadur Thakorram Kapilram, B. A., LL. B., Athwa Lines, Surat.
- 22 G. K. Gadgil, Esqr., B. A., Barrister-at-law, Sadashiv Peth, Poona City.
- 23 Moro Balwant Marathe, B. A., LL. B., Pleader, Belgaum.
- 24 Valchand Ramchand Kothari, Esqr., B. A., Editor, "Jagaruk," 1464, Kasba Peth, Poona City.
- 25 Peter A. Baptist, Esqr., Mathew Road, Bombay.
- 26 D. G. Dalvi, Esqr., M. A. LL. B., Charny Road, Girgaum, Bombay (4).
- 27 V. P. Vaidya, Esqr., B. A., Barrister-at-law, 121, Meadows Street, Fort, Bombay (1).
- 28 G. M. Gupte, Esqr., B. A., LL. B., Advocate, 102 A, Hill Road, Bandra.

- 29 Moreswar W. Pradhan, Esqr, B. A., LL. B.,  
Sai Pradhan Baug, Ghorebunder Road,  
Santa Cruz. (B. B. & C. I. Ry.)
- 30 Jaisukhlal K. Mehta, Esqr., M. A., Andheri.  
(B. B. & C. I. Ry.)
- 31 Vasant Sakharam Ravut, Esqr., Near New French  
Bridge, Chowpaty, Bombay (7).
- 32 M. D. Altekar, Esq., M. A., Haji Cassam's Blocks,  
French Bridge, Bombay (7).
- 33 Vasant N. Naik, Esqr., M. A., Benham Hall Lane,  
Girgaum, Bombay (4).
- 34 Krishnarao Purushottam Kothare, Esqr., C/o K. P.  
Kothare & Co., 71, Apollo Street,  
Fort, Bombay (1).
- 35 H. J. Bhabha, Esqr., M. A., Pedder Road, Bombay (6).
- 36 N. F. Kanny, Esqr., Chinoy Mansion, Middle Colaba,  
Bombay (5).
- 37 The Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, Servants of India  
Society, Bombay (4).

#### Secretaries.

1. Rahimtoolla Currimbhoy, Esqr., 13, Esplanade Road,  
Fort, Bombay (1).
2. J. R. Gharpure, Esqr., B. A., LL. B., Angre's Wadi,  
Girgaum, Bombay (4).
3. J. R. B. Jeejibhoy, Esqr., Alice Building, Bombay (1).
4. N. M. Joshi, Esqr., B. A., Servants of India Society,  
Girgaum, Bombay (4).

### Appendix C.

"The Western India National Liberal Association pray that His Excellency the Viceroy may be graciously pleased to exercise prerogative of mercy and direct immediate release of Mr. Kali Nath Roy, convicted of and



sentenced to rigorous imprisonment by Martial Law Commission, Punjab. The Association urge that the articles found by the Commission, to be seditious, are mere criticisms of the acts and measures of the Punjab Government. No words of dissatisfaction in them. Mr. Roy's whole career and writings as Editor of the Tribune, have been that of sober journalist and sincerely loyal to support the cause of British Government while frankly criticising specific policy for improvement. The Association pray that His Excellency will grant this prayer as Mr. Roy's health has suffered."

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### Appendix C a.

"The Western India National Liberal Association beg to approach Your Excellency with a fervent prayer for exercise of prerogative in the case of sentences of Lala Harkishanlal, Pandit Rambhuj Chowdhary, Lala Dunichand and others, passed by the Martial Law Commission last week at Lahore and Amritsar as the Indian opinion regards these sentences as terribly severe and unjust."

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### Appendix C b.

"As after the appointment of the sub-Committee, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council has granted leave to appeal in some of the cases decided by the Martial Law Commission in the Punjab and other like cases are to follow by way of appeal to the said Council, this sub-Committee think that it would be contrary to law on the part of any public body or private person to take during the pendency of the appeals any action which may have a comment on the merits of the cases which are sub-judice. Further the Secretary of State having promised by his declaration in the House of Commons the appointment of a Commission to inquire into the causes etc. of the occurrences in the Punjab and the administration of the Martial Law, this sub-Committee thinks that as presently advised the Association should abstain from dealing with the

Punjab situation in the absence of definite and reliable information at its disposal.

“The Sub-Committee notice that the Lieut. Governor of the Punjab had materially reduced the sentences in the cases of Lala Harkishanlal and some others as to which the President of the Association had wired to His Excellency the Viceroy submitting that the said sentences with the penalty of forfeiture of property were terribly cruel and praying for reduction. The Sub-Committee leaves it to the Council of the Association to decide whether, under the circumstances, the President should be authorised to send a wire to the Lieutenant Governor thanking him for the reduction of the sentences and the cancellation of the order of forfeiture. In the opinion of the sub-Committee such a wire should be a proper sequel to the wire sent to the Viceroy, especially as the latter appears to have borne fruit.”

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### Appendix C c.

“The Western India National Liberal Association without prejudice to the merits of the Punjab cases and the situation arisen on account of the Privy Council appeals and promised commission, beg to express to Your Honour the appreciation of and thanks for the material reductions of sentences to some of the cases tried by the Martial Law Commission. At the same time the Association crave leave to pray earnestly for like sympathetic action regarding other cases tried and sentenced.”

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### Appendix C d.

“Resolved that the announcement by His Excellency the Viceroy of the Commission appointed by the Governor-General-in-Council regarding the causes of and the measures taken to cope with, the recent disorders in Delhi, the Punjab and the Bombay Presidency, have failed to give satisfaction in as much as such inquiry being an investigation into the merits of Martial policy sanctioned by that

Government ought to be entrusted to an Independent Royal Commission."

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### Appendix C e.

"It was resolved that this Association shared the grave concern of the public as to His Excellency the Viceroy's announcement that an Indemnity Bill would be passed at the earliest convenient moment. The Association further stated that the necessity for such Bill depended on the results of enquiry. It, therefore, urged that the Bill be abandoned for the time being."

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### Appendix C f.

"The Council of the Western India National Liberal Association, Bombay, regret that the Punjab Government should have refused to accede to the prayer of the Congress Sub-Committee to allow the Punjab leaders who have been convicted and sentenced to imprisonment by Martial Law Commission, to be present at the meetings of the Punjab Disorders Inquiry Committee and instruct the counsel whom the Committee have already permitted to attend and cross-examine official witnesses with reference to the evidence led against the said leaders in particular and generally as to the Punjab situation before and during Martial Law. The Council think the prayer was perfectly reasonable under the circumstances of and with due regard to the special nature and object of the Inquiry. The nature and object have been made clear by three and unimpeachable facts which are as follows: First, The Disorders Inquiry Committee has been appointed to find upon evidence, adduced before it, whether the introduction of the Martial Law was necessary in the Punjab. This was distinctly stated to the object of the Committee by the mover of the Indemnity Bill in the Viceroy's Legislative Council after the preamble of the Bill which originally affirmed that the Martial Law was necessary, had been deliberately modified in the Select

Committee. The modification which merely affirmed the fact of the introduction of Martial Law and left at large the question of its necessity to be determined by the Inquiry Committee, was accepted by the Legislative Council. Secondly, the case of the Punjab Government has throughout been that the enforcement of the Martial Law was rendered necessary by the existence of a state of rebellion and that the state of rebellion in its term had been brought about inter-alia by the seditious speeches, acts and conduct of the leaders imprisoned under sentences of Martial Law. Thirdly, Mr. Montagu has publicly stated in Parliament that the question of the revision of sentences of these leaders and others imprisoned, entirely depend upon the recommendations of the Committee presided over by Lord Hunter. These three broad facts forming the leading link in the chain of the object and nature of that inquiry amply justified the prayer that the imprisoned leaders should be allowed to be present at the meetings of the Committee throughout and have full opportunity of instructing the counsel with reference to the evidence given against them by the official witnesses and the evidence as to the circumstances which led to Martial Law enforcement. The Council of the Western India National Liberal Association recognise, of course, that Lord Hunter's Committee has no power to compel Government to accede to the prayer but at the same time the Council respectfully represents that the Committee should be within the legitimate limits of its power if it points out to Government not only the prejudice likely to arise against the case of Government in support of the necessity of Martial Law and of a state of rebellion, but also the difficulty of arriving at satisfactory findings unfettered by grave circumstances of prejudice by not allowing the same opportunity to the imprisoned leaders which has been freely from the beginning of the inquiry allowed to the representatives of Government of attending daily and instructing counsel and questioning witnesses. The Council of the Western India National Liberal Association humbly urge that such opportunity if given to the said leaders in the same way that it has been given to the

Government representatives, would enable the Inquiry Committee to record findings and make recommendations unfettered by any possible circumstance of prejudice and inspire Public confidence in these findings and recommendations. Therefore the Council trust that the Punjab Government will be pleased to accede to the prayer even at this stage of inquiry."

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### Appendix D.

"With regard to the Majority and the Minority Reports of the Hunter Committee and the despatches of the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India thereon, the Council of the Western India National Liberal Association express appreciation of sound general principles enunciated in Cabinet's considered statement for future guidance. At the same time the Council urge that Sir Michael O'Dyer's and Government of India's responsibility for the deplorable happenings in the Punjab deserves stress and censure rather than the lavish praise bestowed on them in the Secretary of State's despatch. The Council hope that in the ensuing debate in Parliament, this aspect of the question will receive adequate attention. The Council strongly support the conclusions of the Minority report. In view of the European Association's misleading cable, it is worthy of note that Rev. N. Macnicol writing in the "Servant of India" observes that the Times of India was surely right in affirming that the great majority of those in India, worthy to bear the name of Englishmen, abhorred in their hearts the squalid tale of panic and violence and incompetence that the Hunter Commission revealed".

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### Appendix E.

"The western India National Liberal Association humbly appeals to Parliament that it will be pleased to consider and deal with the true issues involved in the Hunter Committee Report in that spirit of calm and lofty statesmanship imperatively called for by the time and the

perturbed feelings and sentiments of the Indian people by reason of the conduct and action of those responsible for the administration of Martial Law during the late disturbances in certain localities in the Punjab. The Association specially appeals to Parliament, firstly, because of the coming debate in both Houses, and secondly, because of the public utterances of some European organisations in India and their supporters in England with regard to the cruel excesses committed at Amritsar. The utterances are evidently aimed at rousing racial feelings and obscuring the real issues which are writ plain on the face of the Report. They state that the measures adopted effectively supported what might have developed into an open rebellion of no little magnitude. The Association respectfully craves leave to point out to Parliament that there is hardly any difference between the plea now urged and the plea urged in times past by despots or tyrants as recorded in history. The plea, however, ignores the broad fact admitted alike in the Majority and Minority Report, viz. that the disturbances were at the outset and afterwards created by a small fraction, the vast majority of the people remaining loyal and holding themselves aloof from taking any part therein. Equally plain stands the fact that the general effect of the diverse shocking atrocities, which it is superfluous to repeat here, supported by bombs and aeroplanes to inspire terror—atrocities in which those engaged loath pride and glory in their evidence before the Hunter Committee—have indubitably perturbed the better and sober mind of India. A condition of insecurity prevails which, if not immediately removed, threatens not a little to diminish the confidence of the people in the humanity and justice which have hitherto characterised the British Rule in India.

"It is this plain and momentous issue which the Association earnestly hopes, will in no way be obscured during the debate. The Parliament will not fail to consider it while bearing in mind the credit that may be boastfully claimed by general Dyer and other officers having stamped out "Rebellion".

"The Association begs to assure Parliament that howsoever the disturbances were quelled, the shocking excesses committed under the æges of the Martial Law have sorely wounded the hearts and not a little unhinged the minds of millions of peaceful and lawabiding people, and profoundly shaken their faith, so firmly held hitherto, in the justice and mercy of the British Rule in India.

"The Association respectfully begs, therefore, that the decision which the Parliament may arrive at will have the same effect of at once restoring and re-establishing confidence on a sounder and more permanent footing. The feeling is that good intentioned and liberal minded as the British are, they will see that the officers of the Crown in India are not to be wholly trusted where fairplay, justice and humanity are required. It will be an evil day when the British come to confide in the future in men of the character who may boast, as those now implicated have ruthlessly boasted, that Indians must be ruled and kept under heels by a reign of terror rather than British. It is this problem which Parliament, it is hoped, will recognise and successfully solve in a spirit of broadmindness and courageous statesmanship.

"Lastly, it is unnecessary for the Association to assure Parliament that it asks not for vindictive action, that vindictiveness is not in the nature of Indian people but is opposed to their religious and social traditions. The Association deems it its duty, however, humbly to pray Parliament that it will be pleased to take definite steps to carry assurances to the wounded mind and bleeding heart of the people of India due to the deplorable Punjab tragedy".

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## Appendix F.

"The Western India National Liberal Association including among its members some of the foremost moderates on their side who on the appearance of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report pleaded for its general acceptance with their countrymen, now think it their duty to

enter their emphatic protest against the reactionary character of the modifications which the final despatch of the Government of India, dated 5th. March, has suggested. The Association has not the least hesitation in saying that the acceptance of these modifications will mutilate the original scheme beyond recognition. The suggested separate purse system, the removal of the Budget control of the Provincial Councils provided in the original scheme, the proposed resumption of portfolios by Governors under certain contingencies, the direct access to the Governors for members of the permanent services serving under ministers, the method of appointment of Governors and generally the position of inferiority assigned to the ministers, all these new features now proposed by the Government virtually take away with one hand what is pretended to be given by the other. The adoption of these modifications will be looked upon by all shades of Indian opinion as practically amounting to nonfulfilment of the pledges contained in the famous pronouncement and an act of breach of faith with the people of India to which His Majesty's Government ought not to be a party. The Association trust that the retrograd modifications suggested by the Government of India will be summarily rejected by Parliament and the integrity of the original scheme at least kept in all essential particulars. The Association further hope and trust that the modifications suggested by the Moderates' Conference as regards the constitution and functions of the Government of India will be incorporated in the Bill now before Parliament".

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### Appendix G.

"The Western India National Liberal Association beg respectfully to submit that the Government of India's despatch on Southborough Committee Report is reactionary and under guise of safeguards proposed restrictions which are subversive of the principles and proposals of the Reform scheme of Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu and by reducing the Parliamentary announcement of August 17th



to mere name. It recommends in the name of responsible Government a scheme as shadowy and misleading as that of Napoleon III as to France and Bismark as to Germany making history of bureaucratic policy as to reform report itself. The Association pray that Parliament will grant a beginning of responsible Government substantial and not shadowy strengthening the bureaucracy. As to the Bill introduced into the House of Commons and read second time, the Association reserve definite opinion on detailed provisions seeing that apparently it is skeleton legislation. But the Association beg strongly to represent that by proposing to invest the Executive Government with power to make rules having force of law at almost every step, the Bill reduces the value of responsible Government' and, to Executive delegates legislative power beyond reasonable necessity and strengthens Executive's discretionary power of Government by arming to delegate whole authority to make rules. Such large delegations of legislative power to Executive is opposed to modern theory of constitutional reform and progressive realisation of Responsible Government."

The following cable which Mr. N. M. Joshi sent to England consisting of a short summary of the speech that the Hon'ble Sir Dinshaw Wacha made on the occasion of bidding farewell to the Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani on his way to England.

"Presiding over the farewell function of the Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani and other moderate delegates, the Hon'ble Sir D. E. Wacha condemned the Government doings in the Punjab as melancholy specimen of statesmanship. Reserving his opinion on the details of the modifications of the Montagu. Scheme proposed in the Government of India's Despatch, Sir Dinshaw Wacha said that they were no improvements but improvements backwards. The Government of India was reactionary and consisted of political archaeologists; Sir Sankaran Nair was an only exception, whom Sir Dinshaw Wacha enlogised for his valuable dissenting minute, which ably and faithfully

expressed the Indian opinion. The British Cabinet would note that the Government of India had no reply to Sir Sankaran Nair and the Hon. Sir Dinshaw Wacha trusted that the dispatch would be swept overboard and Sir Sankaran Nair's minute stand".

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### Appendix H.

"Indian opinion of nearly all shades having welcomed, generally speaking, Lord Selborne Committee's Report and prayed passing of the Bill by 15th or 20th December at the latest on the lines of that Report, is greatly pained at the opposition of Lord Sydenham and other reactionaries at the immediate passing of the Bill. The postponement at the Bill by Parliament in deference to the said re-actionaries is sure to cause serious disappointment and dissatisfaction throughout India and give handle to the Indian Extremists who are practically joining hands with the British Extremists like Lord Sydenham to kill the Bill. India fervently prays Parliament to pass the Bill by the middle of December and ensure confidence, first, in England's liberal rule. India is anxiously expectant for Parliament's prompt passing of the Bill".

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### Appendix I.

"The Council of the Western India National Liberal Association, Bombay convey, their appreciation of the work of the Joint Committee resulting in real improvements on the original Bill. While praying Parliament to accept these improvements and pass Bill forthwith, the Council beg to submit that it would add greatly to general satisfaction if Parliament could see its way to introduce principle of responsibility in the Central Government also".

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### Appendix J.

"It having been brought to the notice of the Council that some members of the Association have received letters from Swami Shradhananda, Chairman of the Reception

Committee and from the Hon'ble Pandit Motilal Nehru, president-elect of the forthcoming session of the Indian National Congress at Amritsar, appealing to the said members to attend the session, the Council feel it right to publish the following statement of what, in their view, is the right attitude for liberals to adopt on the subject of the said appeal.

“ As regards the Punjab troubles (on which stress is laid in both the letters of the appeal), the Council have from the outset represented to the authorities, both here and in England, in unmistakable terms their views of the policy pursued by Government in reference to Martial Law administration and other main aspects of the Punjab situation from time to time. The Moderates' Conference which is to meet this month will give further expression to the views of the Moderates on those questions and such expression will be more effective than if the Moderates joined the Congress, under the present circumstances of the political situation, with special reference to the Reform Bill. This Council, therefore, while strongly sympathising with the people of the Punjab, are of opinion that the Moderates as a party should not attend the Amritsar Congress.”

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### Appendix K.

“The Council of the Western India National Liberal Association, while fully sympathising with, and supporting with all their earnestness, their moslem countrymen in their demand for the retention of the authority of the Sultan of Turkey over Constantinople and the Holy places of Islam, appeal to their Mahomedan brethren and fellow subjects and beg to emphasise the inexpediency and harm to that cause sure to be caused by the Hartal-Boycott movement, which some have announced their intention to start with the avowed object of resorting, as they say, to “all possible methods for assisting their Khalifa against all his enemies”. The Council desire to point out that the

Hartal movement is apt to engender bitterness of feelings and disturb order and peace and harm the cause for which it is undertaken. Under the circumstances the Council beg to affirm their conviction that it would be not only not right, but it would be highly impolitic at this juncture to encourage such a movement. The Council lay stress upon the word "at this juncture" because the Government of India has been and is doing its best to further the cause of the Khilafat. Moreover, Mr. Montagu and many other leading statesmen in England have taken up that cause with all their might. The Premier is receiving the Khilafat deputation and he has already declared that he is pledged to the cause. That being the hopeful outlook of the cause and the opponents of the Khilafat movement in England having given out that the movement so far as India is concerned, is a threat to England, it is the duty of us all in India not to weaken the hands of our supporters by anything in the nature of a threat, real or seeming. On the other hand, let us take our firm stand upon the righteousness of our cause and loyally support those who are doing their best to uphold the Khilafat and serve the interests of Turkey. The Council, therefore, make this appeal, not only in the interests of order, peace and loyalty, but also in the interests of the cause of the Khilafat itself, which Mohomedans, Hindus, Parsis as well as Britons in India have espoused as their joint cause".

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### Appendix L.

"Resolved that the Chairman be authorised to send a wire to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India praying for the inclusion in the Army Commission of one or more additional Indian gentlemen specially fitted to represent the people by reason of experience of the public life of the country and familiarity with India's wants and present conditions and aspirations under British Rule in respect of Military Commissions and training".

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## Appendix M.

“On behalf of and as President of the Western India National Liberal Association, Bombay, I beg you to be so kind as to proffer to His Majesty the King Emperor our humble, hearty and loyal congratulations on the signing of the Peace Treaty and the Declaration of Peace with fervant prayers to Almighty for enduring Peace and the substantial glory and liberally widening influence of His Majesty's Empire for the benefit of civilisation and humanity. His Majesty's message and Proclamation on the declaration of Peace have heartened India which hopes and prays for durable prosperity and progress as an integral part and partner of the British Empire”.

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